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[Fall of Communism-Speech/Notes, 1990]

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market development -  
out priced by change  
"market case"

individual is in the center...  
Reform to expand  
strategy and content  
but to expand depend...  
take is not the center.  
economic model - failure  
political model - instability

5 stages -

shortest to  
modernity

detour

Grander - battle of ideas

system  
was possible by

same political choices

might to make

CRISIS of  
COMMUNISM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Freedom point was the way

3/55  
H.A.

communism did not  
fit.

straight jacket on human  
creativity  
spirit

denoc - infinitely adaptable.

Clinton, Campbell.

~~Gardner~~ THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON current vice + incoming....

Pinkerton's Office:

RE:

nothing qualitatively different  
on goals - just politicizing.

DORAN: LANNY Griffith

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



Purpich: - choice  
1984 - from vouchers idea.  
11<sup>th</sup> + 12<sup>th</sup> grades option:  
go to v. coll. or College.  
w/ \$ following....



60 sp.  
57,100.  
2.8%  
65,270

32      27  
6 | 190    7 | 190    30  
  18      14  
  10      50  
          49

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON →

Perestoiila -

still opening up 25%  
from 84-87 - w/o  
much result -  
more \$ per yr than entire  
fed Budget....

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WASHINGTON

Perverse incentives -  
bureaucratic.

Monopoly - principals  
or curricula  
can't change schedule,  
fine, hve ~~hve~~

Tie funds to student.

Amer people:

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

↗  
No more business  
as usual. ↘

---

Woke though —  
you never have  
restrict. w/o short-term  
dislocations (see econ  
reforms in EE. — why  
don't we see this in  
social programs)

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WASHINGTON

grants → qual.

input ↔ output.

focus on the former....

{ Golden  
Robinson  
Judge

late 83-88 from Velp's.  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Masseng

Kachigian 82-3.

ORIGINAL

Bahobian

⊗ Dolan

⊗ Rohr.

Parvin

Elliot

1st Reason Learn.

Bakshian - full til 84?

Elliot 84-86.  
Noonan

Dolan 86-88.

1/3/90

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Paraphrase:

~~Copy~~ If you can order what  
appear to be chaotic events,  
people often make the mistaken  
inference that you not only  
understand - but also affect -  
the events...

Charles Krauthammer

# ... Is History History?

9/15/89

Last year it was American decline. This year, Washington's newest intellectual fashion is the "end of history," the brilliant and outrageously provocative thesis of Francis Fukuyama. According to him, now that the Cold War is over and we have won, now that the rest of the world is bent on adopting Western ideas and institutions, history—with its great crusades and wars and ideological struggles—is over. The rest is commentary—a peaceful, rather boring eternity during which mankind, through with fighting, turns the world into one big capitalist bazaar.

Fukuyama is only half wrong. It is not history but politics, on the grand scale, that has come to an end. As I suggested here last March, the perennial political question that has been asked since Plato—What is the good polity?—has been answered. The debate is over, the answer is in: that system which combines political pluralism, democratic government, individual rights and a mixed economy. In short, modern Western democracy.

The triumph of the Western Idea is total. From Luanda to Latvia, the watchword is reform, and today reform invariably means economic deregulation and political liberalization, i.e., adopting one, or all of the elements of the liberal democratic idea.

The Fukuyama fallacy occurs with the jump from the triumph of the Western idea (true) to the universalization of Western reality (false). He believes the world will ultimately come to be like us—and thus become one large, peaceful Common Market. Why does he believe this? Because he believes in the Hegelian notion that the idea ultimately determines reality.

Invoking the authority of Hegel is a weighty debating device. But it is hardly evidence. I would invoke, instead, 3,000 years of history which have amply and uninterruptedly demonstrated man's potential for evil. If evil is inherent in human nature, it will inevitably

find its social and political expression. Hence conflict. Hence history. QED.

The most baffling thing about the Fukuyama hypothesis is not its content but its popularity. That the summer issue of *The National Interest* (which features his article) should sell out is one thing. That the essay should be featured in publications in Britain, Australia, France, Japan, Italy, Brazil, Israel and the Netherlands is another. The French magazine *Commentaire*, for example, will devote most of its next issue to Fukuyama and his critics. How can a theory so extravagant, so tongue-in-cheek (if Fukuyama thought history was over, he should be a carpenter not a top State Department adviser) enjoy such a vogue?

I have a theory. Every age has millennial tremors, a sense that the end is near, that we are history's last chapter. This premonitory feeling may wax and wane, but it is always there, and must (and does) find political and intellectual expression. The early '80s, for example, were quite engulfed by apocalyptic thinking. It is now a bit embarrassing to remember how gripped the country was by nuclear hysteria. Remember Ground Zero Day? "The Day After"? The wild popularity of Jonathan Schell's preposterous epic "The Fate of the Earth"? The warnings that unless something was done right away—say, a nuclear freeze—the world would not last past tomorrow?

The nuclear apocalypse died with the INF Treaty and the Reagan-Gorbachev Moscow love-fest. The millennial impulse found a new outlet, however, a bit less dramatic but no less worrying: overextended by debt and speculation, the American economy was headed for collapse. It was 1929.

What killed this particular strain of economic apocalypticism was, ironically enough, the stock market crash of 1987. At first, the doomsayers had a field day. Paul Kennedy's thesis about

American decline appeared in the aftermath of the crash and flourished in its atmosphere of gloom and apprehension.

But then—nothing happened. No recession. No inflation. No collapse. In fact, the market recently surpassed its pre-crash all-time high. The apocalypse turned out to be a market correction. Foiled again, the doomsayers retreated and the Kennedy thesis fell out of fashion.

But the millennial impulse does not die. So along comes Fukuyama to satisfy it in the most extraordinary way: with a positive, a happy, a cheery millennium. For once, we are offered an end, of days that is not fire and ice but Elysian fields—a future of permanent peace, of eternal triumph, of historical ennui. Utopia.

The Fukuyama thesis is not just perfectly pitched to satisfy our millennial yearnings. It is perfectly timed. It appears at the turn of the last calendar corner, before the literal millennium (the year 2000). And it captures the self-satisfied, inward-turning mood of a people that has just won a great (albeit cold) war. Fukuyama's is a classic of postwar utopianism, that genre of philosophical euphoria not seen since shortly after our last great victory 40 years ago when utopianism of another kind (end-of-power-politics, brotherhood-of-man, United Nations utopianism) flourished briefly.

Alas, briefly. With Solidarity in power, with Yeltsin taking Manhattan, with unemployment at 5.2 percent, it is easy to believe that we have arrived at the fields of ambrosia. But let the tanks roll into Latvia, let the economy land hard, let the Exxon Valdez run aground this time off Cape Cod, or, better still, let the Kremlin issue a terse statement announcing Gorbachev's retirement for reasons of health—and the fashion will change rather quickly. Enjoy the end of history while you can. It hasn't long to run.

Photocopy-Preservation

# Who's Working for Whom

Roll Call Presents the Most Up-to-Date Roster of Political Consultants Hired So Far for the 1990 Senate Races. Clip and Save.

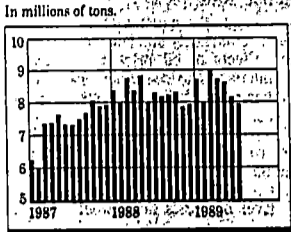
Listed are consultants working for Senate incumbents and for current House Members who are running for Senate. States marked with an asterisk will have open-seat elections in 1990. Compiled by Steve Langdon.

Candidate	General Consultant	Polling	Fundraising	Media
Alabama Howell Heflin (D)	Undecided	Garin-Hart Strategic Research	Fundraising Management Group	Squier/Eskew Communications
Alaska Ted Stevens (R)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Arkansas David Pryor (D)	In-house	Harrison & Goldberg Inc.	In-house	Squier/Eskew Communications
Colorado* Rep. Hank Brown (R)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Ringe Media Inc.
Delaware Joe Biden (D)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Georgia Sam Nunn (D)	In-house	Hickman-Maslin Research, Inc.	In-house	In-house
Idaho James McClure (R)	In-house	Moore Information	Sumner & Ziebart Fundraising Cons.	Williamson & Reinhard/Cline
Illinois Paul Simon (D) Rep. Lynn Martin (R)	In-house Bob Teeter	Hickman-Maslin Research, Inc. Undecided	Barbara Silby & Associates Steve Gordon & Associates	Doak, Shrum & Associates Ailes Communications
Indiana Dan Coats (R)	Richard Morris and Bob Teeter	Undecided	Jim Foster & Associates	Undecided
Iowa Tom Harkin (D) Rep. Tom Tauke (R)	In-house In-house	Garin-Hart Strategic Research American Viewpoint	In-house In-house	Squier/Eskew Communications Dresner, Sykes, Jordan & Townsend
Kansas Nancy Kassebaum (R)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Kentucky Mitch McConnell (R)	Bob Teeter	Market Opinion Research	In-house	Ailes Communications
Louisiana J. Bennett Johnston (D)	In-house	Garin-Hart Strategic Research	In-house	John Franzen Multimedia
Maine William Cohen (R)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Massachusetts John Kerry (D)	Undecided	Undecided	In-house	Undecided
Michigan Carl Levin (D) Rep. Bill Schuette (R)	In-house Rech./Stgy./Mgmt. and Bob Teeter	Mellman & Lazarus, Inc. Market Strategies, Inc.	In-house In-house	Struble-Totten Communications Stuart Stevens
Minnesota Rudy Boschwitz (R)	Bob Teeter	Lawrence Research	In-house	Robert Goodman Agency, Inc.
Mississippi Thad Cochran (R)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Montana Max Baucus (D)	In-house	Garin-Hart Strategic Research	In-house	Greer, Margolis, Mitchell & Assoc.
Nebraska James Exon (D)	Jim Robinson & Associates	Hickman-Maslin Research, Inc.	In-house	Raymond D. Strother Ltd.
New Hampshire* Rep. Bob Smith (R)	Jim Murphy	Arthur J. Finkelstein & Assoc.	Undecided	Undecided
New Jersey Bill Bradley (D)	In-house	Joe Peritz & Associates	In-house	Michael Kaye
New Mexico Pete Domenici (R)	Undecided	Research/Strategy/Management	Undecided	Undecided
North Carolina Jesse Helms (R)	Jefferson Marketing, Inc.	Arthur J. Finkelstein & Assoc.	Jefferson Marketing, Inc.	Jefferson Marketing, Inc.
Oklahoma David Boren (D)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Oregon Mark Hatfield (R) Rep. Ron Wyden (D)**	Undecided In-house	Undecided Mellman & Lazarus, Inc.	Undecided In-house	Undecided In-house
Rhode Island Claiborne Pell (D) Rep. Claudine Schneider (R)	Undecided Undecided	Undecided American Viewpoint (likely)	Undecided Undecided	Undecided Undecided
South Carolina Strom Thurmond (R)	Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly	Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly	Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly	Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly
South Dakota Larry Pressler (R)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided
Tennessee Al Gore (D)	In-house	Mellman & Lazarus, Inc.	In-house	Squier/Eskew Communications
Texas Phil Gramm (R)	Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly	Tarrance & Associates	PM Corporation	Ailes Communications
Virginia John Warner (R)	DCM Group	DCM Group	In-house	DCM Group
West Virginia Jay Rockefeller (D)	In-house	Garin-Hart Strategic Research	In-house	Squier/Eskew Communications
Wyoming Alan Simpson (R)	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided	Undecided

\* Wyden has not declared his candidacy for Senate and is officially running for re-election to his House seat.

UST 28, 1989

## Steel Production



PRODUCTION of raw steel fell to 7,954,74 tons in July from 8,171,053 tons in June, the American Iron and Steel Institute reports.

## Mysterious Circles In British Fields Spook the Populace

Locals Blame UFOs, Yanks And Mad Hedgehogs; The Queen Is on the Case

By CRAIG FORMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
CHEESEFOOT HEAD, England—For 83 years, John Scull's family has grown wheat on the rolling farmlands near here. Now, his wheat fields have holes.

Well, not exactly holes. They are large, near-perfect circles of flattened wheat, swirled to the ground in a precise spiral pattern. They appear overnight in the middle of otherwise ordinary-looking fields. And nobody knows what's causing them.

"It's the most unusual thing to happen on this patch, that's for sure," says the lanky Mr. Scull, tugging reflectively on his short beard.

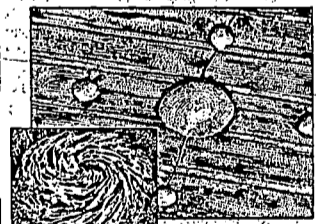
What's happening in Mr. Scull's wheat field is happening in farmlands all over southern England this summer, and it's creating an uproar throughout the country.

Investigators and scientists are slogging through fields, jugging video cameras, fancy infrared scopes and other high-tech detection devices. Curious tourists and reporters from around the globe are descending upon the peaceful villages, sometimes wreaking more havoc than the circles themselves. They trample the ripening wheat. They set up ladders in fields to take pictures. They get into auto accidents. Pastoral Cheesefoot Head (population: six) now has traffic jams.

### Questioning Thatcher

"Loads of people are looking for the circles," says a woman selling strawberries at a roadside stand near another circle-prone field. Is her location a good one? "It is now," she says.

British agriculture and defense officials want to know more. So does Queen Elizabeth, who is said to have sharply questioned Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher



Wheat circles, with close-up (inset)

about the circles recently. While those talks are kept secret, a Buckingham Palace spokesman says the Queen took a hurriedly published book about the circles to her summer palace in Scotland this month, as Britain's biggest landowner, she has every reason not to be amused.

The largest circles are about 100 feet in diameter. Sometimes groups of circles seem to resemble giant crucifixes and Celtic crosses stretching across the undulating hills. Inside the circles, the wheat is leveled completely. But the crops are undamaged and continue to grow. Horizontally.

At first, many thought the whole thing a hoax, in the proud tradition of such well-known British oddities as the Loch Ness monster and the Piltdown man. (Indeed, the bones of the Piltdown man were found in the early 1900s in a field only a few dozen miles east of here. For decades he was thought to be prehistoric forebear of man, only to be exposed as a complete fake in 1953.)

But the circles' precision and number—they weren't widespread until recently, with more than 250 recorded this year—have dispelled most talk of hoaxes. Whatever makes the circles leaves no tracks. Many of the circles can't easily be seen unless you are in the middle of a wheat field.

Please Turn to Page 46, Column 3

## Mysterious Circles On Farms in Britain Spook the Populace

Continued From First Page

which more or less undercuts the point of faking them in the first place.

Nor is it the first time unexplained phenomena have been found around here. One of the greatest concentrations of circles is near the mysterious standing stone formations at Stonehenge and Avebury. No one has fully explained them, either.

Still, farmers and scientists are abuzz with theories. One is that the circles are caused by hedgehogs gone mad, or by buck deer in rut. Another blames mysterious whirlwinds never before encountered here. Other theories include bizarre insect infestations or a new strain of virus. Or over-fertilization. Or under-fertilization.

Then there are high-tech explanations. Some people believe the circles are caused by helicopters. Aviation experts point out, however, that helicopters would have to fly upside down to carve such flawless circles. Others contend the circles are made by a mysterious magnetic force, or by a Star Wars space-defense beam run amok. And of course, there's the inevitable flying saucer theory: Alien ships flatten the crops when they touch down to visit Earth. Indeed, a mysterious white substance that laboratories haven't identified has been found near some circles.

"I reckon it's one of them UFOs," says Edley Ware, a weathered farmhand. "You never know what is going on in this world." He pauses for a moment, as a new thought strikes him. "You know, it could be the bloody Yanks. They always have some thing up their sleeves."

One of the biggest circular formations is near a stone-age burial ground in Silbury Hill. Seven circles stretch across hundreds of feet of prime British farmland, rolling golden fields of wheat gently baking in this summer's unusually warm sun. Near a distant farmhouse, a wisp of smoke rises from burning stubble. A harvester drones at the bottom of the field, methodically scooping up the ripe crop. Wind blows, gently rustling the wheat still standing.

Carved with almost surgical precision, the largest circle in the formation is a 100-foot-wide ring of flattened wheat stalks. The still-growing grain is darker than surrounding crop because it has gotten less sunlight. Outside the circle, the stalks of wheat stand straight, about three feet tall.

At the center of the circle, the wheat has been spun together to form a thatched mound a few inches high. From this point, the stalks are spun out clockwise, as if a giant fist has powerfully, but gently, twisted them into the ground.

Colin Andrews, an electrical engineer who is one of the two authors of "Circular Evidence," the book the Queen is reading, argues that a rotating field of high energy is creating the circles. "It may well be some form of intelligence," he says. Pat Delgado, his co-author, thinks there may be a message in the circles. "It could be a cry for help," he says. "It could mean, 'If you destroy this food, your planet is finished.'"

"That's bunkum," says Terence Meaden, a local meteorologist. "The idea that there is some intelligence operating is pure fantasy." Whirlwinds, he contends, are the only explanation. Cool sea breezes mixing with hot air above the fields are forming spinning wind vortices that touch down and twist the wheat. Many other scientists and government officials also subscribe to this view.

But not the farmers. "It's a load of rubbish. I don't believe a whirlwind could do that," says Simon Brown, who has had several circles on his farm. They are carved too neatly, he says, and the fields bear no traces of moving winds. One of the formations, a large circle ringed by four smaller ones, could fit the imprint of an alien spaceship with four pods for feet, some say—though Mr. Brown has no truck with the UFO theory, either.

But Mr. Brown believes the appearance of the circles does prove one thing: "It means we have absolutely no bloody idea of what goes on around us. It's one of those eternal mysteries. Long may they continue."

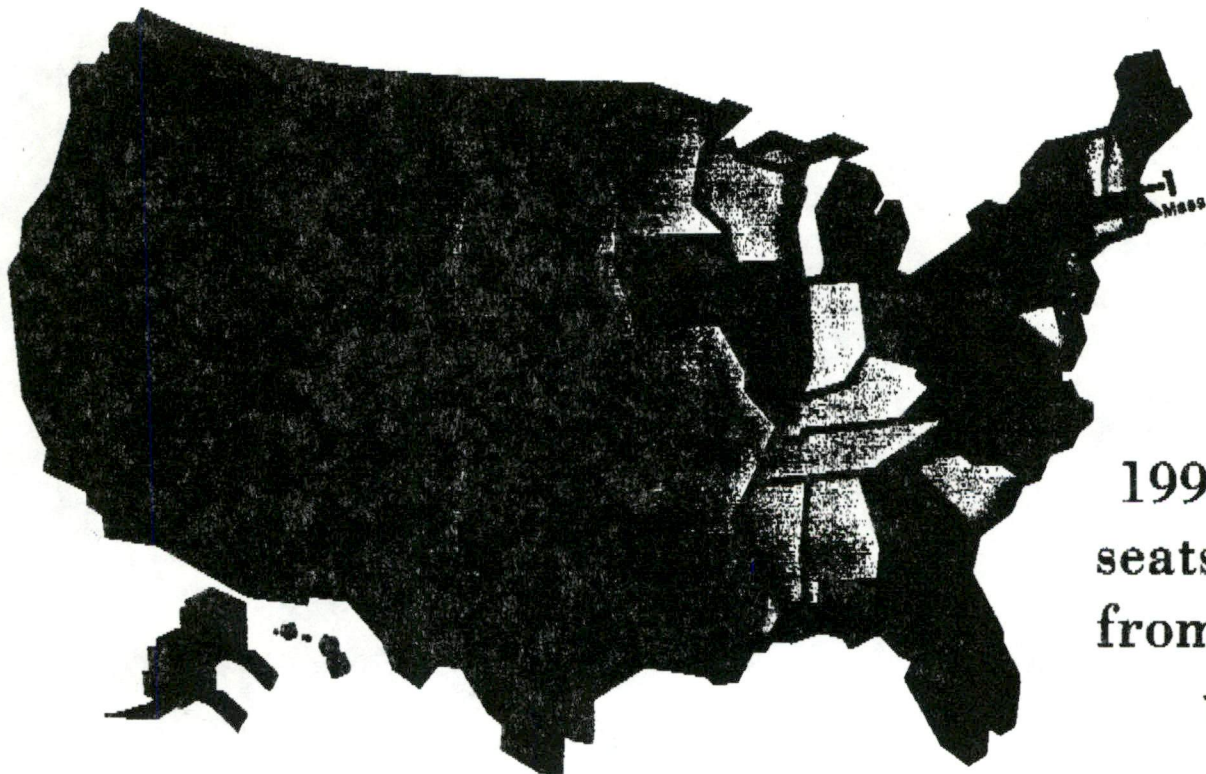
# Equal votes and fair elections

The 1990 Census, the official count of America's population, will work a great transformation in American politics. As many as 20 states will gain or lose congressional seats which will be reapportioned according to population shifts between the states.

The regional population shifts demand the redrawing of political boundaries, creating an opportunity for politicians to gerrymander. That term comes from early American history: It means drawing political lines to help one party ... and to injure the other.

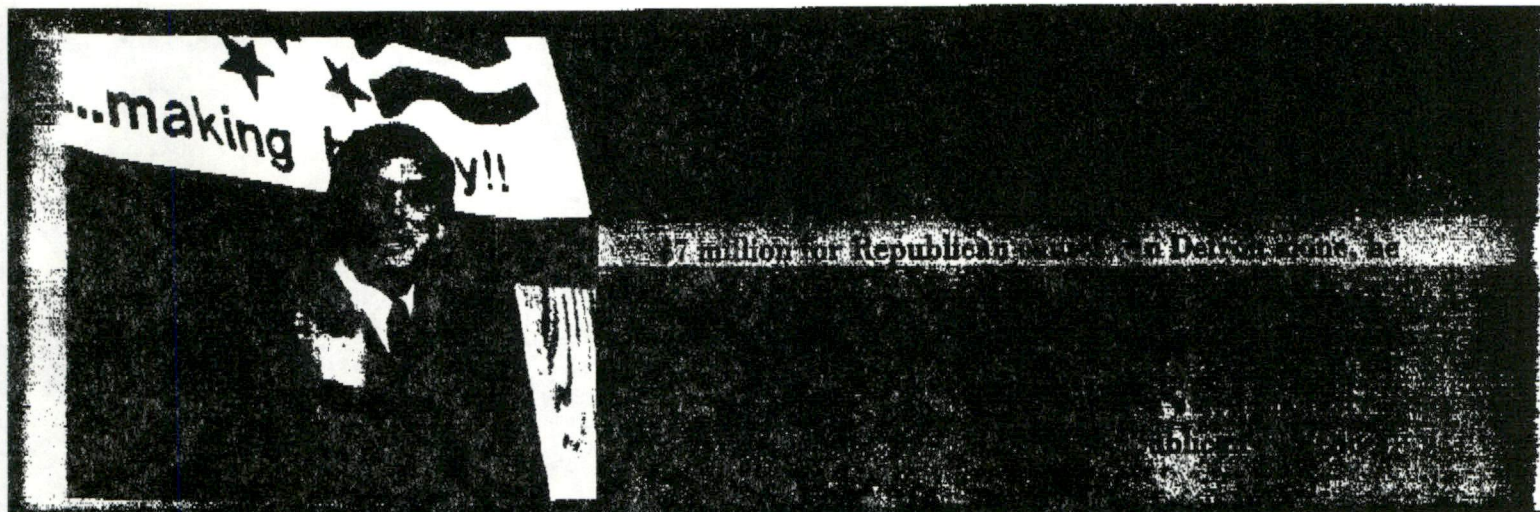
In 1983, retiring California Governor Jerry Brown didn't miss his chance. Just before leaving office, he signed into California law a Democrat-drawn redistricting plan with political lines so unfair and warped that in the 1984 elections — even though Republican congressional candidates in the state won more total votes than their Democratic opponents — Democrats continued to hold on to a 27-18 majority in that state's delegation. Republicans held 21 seats before the gerrymander, but only 18 after it. So complete was the gerrymander that only one congressional seat changed party hands during the entire decade.

Time and again Democratic party officials have used the once- a-decade redistricting to sabotage a fair and competitive election process, render votes meaningless, and lock in the election results for a decade. The result: A challenger rarely wins. In 1982, the re-election rate for incumbent members of Congress was 90 percent. In 1988 it reached an unbelievable 98.3 percent.



After the  
1990 Census,  
seats will shift  
from frostbelt  
to sunbelt

Numbers indicate Republican National Committee projections of gains and losses of U.S. House seats based on the 1990 Census.

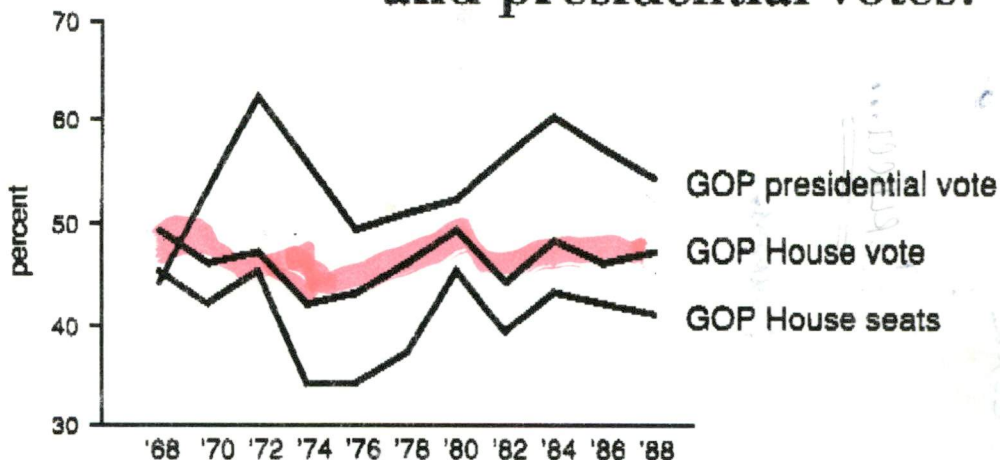


Gerrymandering has so reduced the chances that a member of Congress will lose an election that, by 1988, fewer than 10 percent of congressional races were won with less than 55 percent of the vote. In other words, few races are even considered contests. Challengers get the message: In 1988, 81 members of Congress — mostly Democrats — had no opponent.

Chairman Atwater has made fair redistricting a top priority at the Republican National Committee. The Committee is working to make the redistricting process a public process; train legal experts on the issue; encourage minority groups to participate by drawing redistricting maps; train Republican legislative staff on redistricting and census issues; spread the message about this voter disenfranchisement; develop redistricting software for Republican state parties and other groups; and support Census Bureau efforts to see that the 1990 Census is the most fair, complete, and accurate in history.

## The Republican share of House seats is consistently less than its share of the total nationwide House and presidential votes.

Republicans must be partners in the redistricting process to ensure fair lines. Working to elect Republican governors, or gain Republican majorities in state legislatures, will give us a seat at the table when the new lines are drawn. We must turn out the vote for GOP candidates in 1990 or lose any chance of gaining a majority in Congress until the next millennium.



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