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Folder Title:
[Snow-Miscellaneous, 1990-1992]

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increasing his burden of debt. His marriage to Mary Hicks Stewart, a wealthy widow, relieved his financial situation somewhat, but by the end of the century the market for his paintings had disappeared. Two years later he died suddenly at the age of seventy-two.

Though he was nearly forgotten at the time of his death, Bierstadt's position as one of the chief interpreters of the American landscape is secure. Perhaps no other artist played such a decisive role in defining—visually—western American grandeur. *Albert Bierstadt: Art & Enterprise*, an exhibition of works drawn from all stages of the artist's career, provides a new generation of viewers and scholars the opportunity to reassess Bierstadt's contribution and achievement.



Wreck of the "Ancon" in Loring Bay, Alaska, 1889. Oil on paper mounted on panel, 14 x 19 1/4 inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Martha C. Karolik for the Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815-1865.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS

ALBERT BIERSTADT: A SYMPOSIUM

Friday, January 24, 10:30 a.m.-12:00 noon; 1:30-5:00 p.m.

Speakers will address conservation issues, including recent investigations of Bierstadt's method and materials.

Saturday, January 25, 10:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.; 2:00-4:00 p.m.

Topics will focus on art historical issues, including new research on the artist's early years abroad and the cultural significance of the great Western paintings.

Open to the public, seating on a first-come, first-served basis, East Building auditorium. For more information, please inquire at the information desks or call (202) 842-6690.

SUNDAY LECTURE

Missing Link: The Rediscovery of Albert Bierstadt's Early Masterpiece, "Lake Lucerne," Nancy Anderson, assistant curator of American and British paintings, National Gallery of Art.

December 8, 4:00 p.m., East Building auditorium

TOURS OF THE EXHIBITION

One-hour tours of the exhibition are offered to the public by staff lecturers. No reservations are required. For dates and times, please check the monthly calendar of events available at the information desks or call (202) 842-6690.

Special Appointment Tours

Tours by appointment are available Tuesday through Friday for adult groups of 20 or more and weekdays for school groups. Please call the education division (202) 842-6247 (adults) or (202) 842-6249 (school groups).

RECORDED TOUR

Narrated by Nancy Anderson, co-curator of the exhibition. Available at the entrance to the exhibition for \$3.50; \$3.00 for senior citizens, students, and groups of ten or more. To reserve recorded tours for groups, please call (202) 842-6592.

FILM SERIES

Western Vistas

A special series of feature films and short subjects that reflect the literary and artistic impulse to romanticize the Western landscape. For detailed program information, please inquire at the information desks or call (202) 842-6690.

Saturdays, January 11 through February 24, at 2:00 p.m., and Sundays at 6:00 p.m., East Building auditorium

FAMILY PROGRAM

Great Landscapes, a program for children between ages six and ten, accompanied by an adult, will include a guided

tour of the exhibition, an art project, and take-home materials.

Saturdays, November 9, 16, and 23, 1:00-3:00 p.m.

The program is free, but reservations are required. Please call (202) 842-6796.

TEACHER WORKSHOP

A workshop for teachers, on Saturday, December 7, from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., will focus on American history and social studies through Bierstadt's paintings. The workshop will include a slide lecture, a tour of the exhibition, and a discussion session. \$15.00 fee. Pre-registration is required. For more information, call (202) 842-6796.

EDUCATION RESOURCES

The National Gallery of Art has produced a range of programs on nineteenth-century American landscape paintings and on painters who are contemporaries of Albert Bierstadt. A free catalogue of videocassettes, slide programs, and films available on a free-loan basis, may be requested in writing from the Department of Education Resources, Extension Programs Section, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC 20565.

Admission to the National Gallery of Art and to all of its programs is free except as noted.

The brochure for the exhibition and the large print version of the brochure are made possible by Philip Morris Companies Inc.

Text written by Nancy Anderson, department of American and British paintings, National Gallery of Art, and Linda Ferber, department of American art, Brooklyn Museum.

Albert Bierstadt: Art & Enterprise was organized by The Brooklyn Museum in association with the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

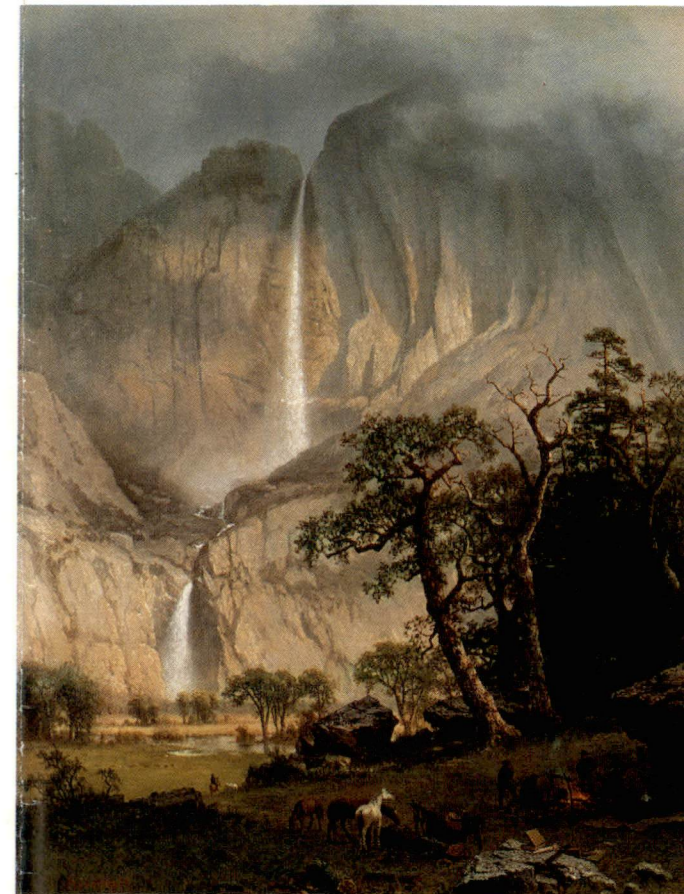
The exhibition is made possible by
Philip Morris Companies Inc.

Critical support was also provided by The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc. Additional funds were provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts, Federal agencies, by the New York State Council on the Arts, and by Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur L. Ross, Jr.

Cover: *Cho-looke, The Yosemite Fall, 1864.* Oil on canvas, 34 1/2 x 27 1/4 inches. Timken Art Gallery, The Putnam Foundation, San Diego.

ALBERT BIERSTADT

Art & Enterprise



National Gallery of Art

November 3, 1991-February 17, 1992

The exhibition is made possible by Philip Morris Companies Inc.



Carte-de-visite photograph of Albert Bierstadt by Napoleon Sarony, New York. Collection of James P. Crain.

Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902), one of the most prominent American landscape painters of the nineteenth century, is best known for his panoramic views of the American West. Justly celebrated as the preeminent painter of the Rocky Mountains, the Sierra Nevada, and Yosemite Valley, Bierstadt applied his superb technical skills to a broad range of subjects, producing a body of work that includes European and tropical views as well as the heroic western pictures. Now, a full century after the last of his great western panoramas was completed, more than seventy of Bierstadt's finest paintings, representing all phases of his career, have been gathered from public and private collections for this retrospective exhibition.

EARLY YEARS

Born in Solingen, Germany, the son of a Prussian soldier and his wife, Albert Bierstadt came to America in 1832 when his parents immigrated to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where his father found work as a cooper. Despite family opposition and a reported lack of natural gifts, Bierstadt determined early on that he wished to become an artist. He began by teaching himself the rudiments of drawing and then advertising his



Seal Rock, circa 1872. Oil on canvas, 30 x 44 inches. New Britain Museum of American Art, Connecticut; Alix W. Stanley Fund.

A SECOND TRIP TO CALIFORNIA

Soon after returning from Europe, Bierstadt began to plan a second trip to California. In July 1871 the artist and his wife boarded the recently completed transcontinental railroad, and within days they had arrived in San Francisco, where Bierstadt enjoyed the patronage of California's railroad barons and a kinder critical climate. For more than two years, Bierstadt traveled widely within the state in search of fresh subject matter. He returned to Yosemite, but in the eight years since his earlier visit, the valley had become a tourist mecca, thanks in part to the popularity of his own paintings. Bierstadt's search for pristine wilderness eventually led him to Hetch Hetchy Valley north of Yosemite, the rugged South Sierra near Kings Canyon, and the Farallon Islands west of the Golden Gate. The oil sketches secured on these trips served as studies for the steady stream of paintings that appeared during the 1870s.

CHANGE OF TASTE

By the mid-1870s, however, the novelty of Yosemite and the western landscape had worn thin and reviews of Bierstadt's work became increasingly negative in tone. By 1880 both he and Frederic Church, once celebrated as heroic artist-explorers, were disparaged as living relics of an

older, outmoded generation. By then, too, the mighty landscape icons of midcentury—the Rocky Mountains, the Sierra Nevada, Yosemite, Yellowstone—had been conquered by the railroad and turned into tourist sites—today's national parks.

During the 1880s Bierstadt pursued new subject matter on trips to Canada, Alaska, and the Bahamas. Although the market for his work declined in the East, he was still accorded celebrity status in more distant cities, where he had greater success selling paintings. Although his attempts to secure commissions from the officers of the Canadian Pacific Railway drew only a tepid response, European patrons continued to purchase his paintings in the 1880s and 1890s.



The Shore of the Turquoise Sea, 1878. Oil on canvas, 42½ x 64½ inches. Manoogian Collection.

LATE WORKS

In 1888 Bierstadt began work on the last of his large western showpieces, *The Last of the Buffalo*, for the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1889. The subject was a timely one. By the mid-1880s the number of buffalo still grazing on the plains had been reduced to a few hundred and the species was in immediate danger of extinction. Bierstadt began his painting in an atmosphere of widespread public outrage over the wanton destruction of American wildlife and ever more forceful calls for preservation. In *The Last of the Buffalo*, a dramatic re-creation of the once-



The Last of the Buffalo, 1888. Oil on canvas, 71¼ x 119¼ inches. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Gift of Mary (Mrs. Albert) Bierstadt, 1909.

great herds and the Indian hunters who pursued them, Bierstadt made his point through irony, for at the time he completed his painting, the possibility that the "last of the buffalo" might be those on his canvas was very real.

The American selection committee for the Exposition, however, rejected the painting, declaring that both the subject and the style were too old-fashioned. An international controversy ensued, during which the artist, a recipient of the cross of the French Legion of Honor, exercised his right to exhibit *The Last of the Buffalo* at the Paris Salon. The painting was later sold to an English entrepreneur for a substantial sum.

In July 1889, just a few months after *The Last of the Buffalo* had been rejected, Bierstadt traveled across Canada to Puget Sound, where he boarded a steamer bound for Alaska. Though his ship went aground near Loring Bay and he was stranded for several days in a fishing village, Bierstadt used his time to advantage, securing dozens of sketches. Among them was the elegantly spare *Wreck of the "Ancon" in Loring Bay, Alaska*, which, like *The Last of the Buffalo*, demonstrates that Bierstadt had lost neither his enthusiasm for painting nor his ability to produce powerful images.

The final decade of Bierstadt's career was marked by personal loss and financial distress. His beloved Rosalie died in 1893 after a long illness. Various business ventures turned sour,



Seal Rock, circa 1872. Oil on canvas, 30 x 44 inches. New Britain Museum of American Art, Connecticut; Alix W. Stanley Fund.

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services as a drawing instructor. After several years of saving the meager profits from such endeavors, he set sail for Düsseldorf, where he hoped to study with Andreas Achenbach, a prominent member of the Düsseldorf circle of artists. Although his desire to work with Achenbach was not realized, Bierstadt made remarkable progress under the informal guidance of Emanuel Leutze and Worthington Whittredge, two American artists working in the German art capital. After more than two years in Germany, Bierstadt journeyed to Switzerland and Italy, where he continued his habit of producing plein-air (open-air) oil sketches, which he later used to compose studio paintings. In the fall of 1857, after four years abroad, Bierstadt returned to New Bedford, where he soon prospered as a painter of both European and American subjects.



Sunlight and Shadow, 1862. Oil on canvas, 41½ x 35½ inches. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd.



Thunderstorm in the Rocky Mountains, 1859. Oil on canvas, 19 x 29 inches. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Gift of Mrs. Edward Hale and Mrs. John Carroll Perkins given in memory of their father, Elias T. Milliken.

FIRST TRIP WEST

In 1858 Bierstadt made his bid for national attention when he placed a six-by-ten-foot painting of Switzerland's Lake Lucerne on exhibition at the National Academy of Design in New York. Widely praised by critics, *Lake Lucerne* demonstrated the high level of Bierstadt's technical expertise. Less than a month after the exhibition opened, Bierstadt was elected a member of the academy.

Although he had enjoyed substantial success following his return from Europe, Bierstadt soon sought fresh subject matter. In 1859, one year after his New York debut, he joined Frederick W. Lander's survey party to the Rocky Mountains, and in the Far West he found the subject that



Surveyor's Wagon in the Rockies, circa 1859. Oil on paper mounted on masonite, 7¼ x 12⅛ inches. The Saint Louis Art Museum; Gift of J. Lionberger Davis.

would make him famous. Though not the first artist to see or even paint the Rocky Mountains, Bierstadt was the first who had at his command the technical skill, European experience, and marketing expertise that would allow him to produce heroic western landscapes for an eastern audience excited by reports of great natural wonders.

Following his return from the Rockies, Bierstadt left New Bedford and moved to New York, where he settled in the Tenth Street Studio Building. There he joined a group of artists that included Frederic Church, the most celebrated landscape painter of the day. An accomplished businessman as well as a gifted artist, Church had already achieved the success to which Bierstadt aspired.

As early as January 1860, Bierstadt began exhibiting paintings with Rocky Mountain subjects. Three months later he contributed the first of his large-scale western landscapes, *Base of the Rocky Mountains* (now unlocated), to the annual exhibition at the National Academy of Design. One reviewer described the picture as "the pièce de résistance" of the show. Three years later Bierstadt completed the most important picture to result from the 1859 trip: *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak*. Widely exhibited, the painting garnered much praise and confirmed Bierstadt's position as the preeminent visual interpreter of the West.

THE SECOND TRIP WEST

In the spring of 1863, while the Civil War was still raging, Bierstadt departed on a second overland journey. Accompanied by Fitz Hugh Ludlow, a well-known journalist and writer, Bierstadt set his sights on the Pacific Coast. Ludlow's spirited letters describing their journey were published in newspapers in both New York and San Francisco and later served as the basis for his book-length account of their expedition, *The Heart of the Continent* (1870).

Following the old Oregon Trail through Nebraska Territory, Bierstadt and Ludlow took

the southern route to California and arrived in San Francisco in July. Within days they were on their way to Yosemite Valley. "If report was true," Ludlow wrote, "we were going to the original site of the Garden of Eden." Awed by Yosemite's spectacular scenery, they spent seven weeks camped beneath the valley's soaring granite walls. While in the valley, Bierstadt completed numerous plein-air sketches, which he later used to compose the first of his Yosemite paintings.

By early September Bierstadt and Ludlow had returned to San Francisco. Shortly thereafter they resumed their journey, traveling north to the Columbia River in Washington Territory. Again, Bierstadt completed numerous plein-air sketches and Ludlow kept detailed notes describing the terrain and its inhabitants. In Portland they boarded a steamer bound for San Francisco, and by mid-December they had successfully crossed the Isthmus of Panama and returned to New York City.



Yosemite Valley, 1868. Oil on canvas, 36 x 54 inches. The Oakland Museum; Gift of Miss Marguerite Laird in memory of Mr. and Mrs. P. W. Laird.

THE GREAT WESTERN LANDSCAPES

Almost immediately upon his return, Bierstadt set to work on the series of paintings that would mark the high point of his career. *Cho-looke, The Yosemite Fall*, a western idyll that shows the artist and his companions camped near Yosemite Falls,



Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mt. Rosalie, 1866. Oil on canvas, 83 x 142¼ inches. The Brooklyn Museum 76.79, Museum Collection.

was completed early in 1864. Shortly thereafter Bierstadt began a large painting of Oregon's Mount Hood and an equally expansive view of Yosemite Valley. In 1865 the sale of his earlier masterwork, *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak*, to James McHenry, an English railroad entrepreneur, for \$25,000 caused a sensation and marked a milestone in Bierstadt's career. Though he continued to produce easel paintings and publish engravings and chromolithographs for a more moderate market, Bierstadt increasingly pursued the patronage of wealthy entrepreneurs and European aristocrats. *Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mt. Rosalie*, completed in 1866, for example, was purchased for a similarly astonishing sum by Thomas W. Kennard, another English railroad investor.

At the same time that he was producing some of his most important paintings, Bierstadt was overseeing the construction of an enormous house and studio, later known as Malkasten, overlooking the Hudson River near Irvington, New York. In that studio he painted the largest of his western panoramas, *The Domes of the Yosemite*, 1867 (St. Johnsbury Athenaeum, St. Johnsbury, Vt.), a work commissioned by Le Grand Lockwood, an American financier. Even at the moment of his greatest popular and material success, however, Bierstadt began to feel the impact of changes in American taste that would accelerate during the coming decade.

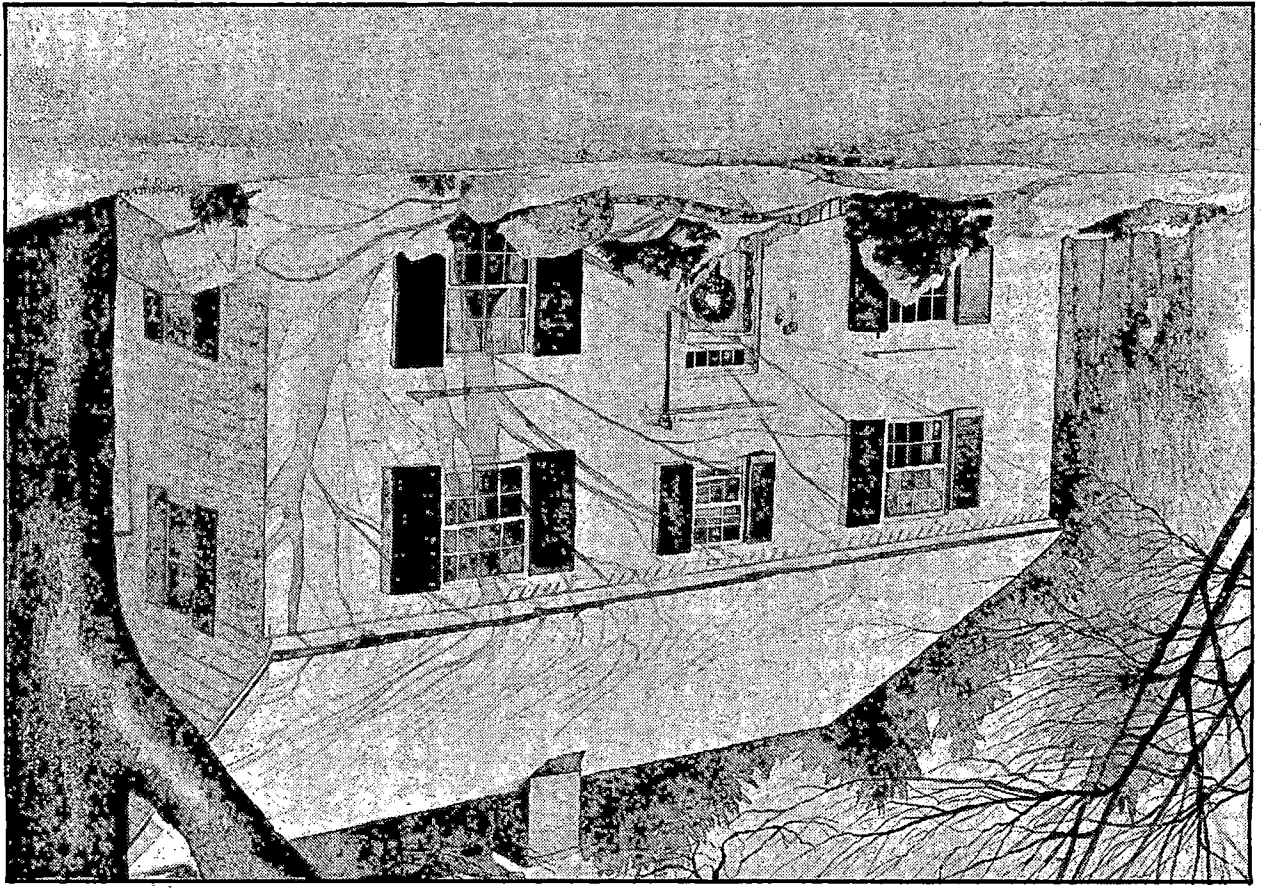
RETURN TO EUROPE

In the fall of 1866 Bierstadt married Rosalie Osborne, the divorced wife of Fitz Hugh Ludlow. The following spring the artist and his bride sailed for Europe on a two-year working honeymoon. Buoyed, no doubt, by the recent purchases of McHenry and Kennard, Bierstadt actively pursued additional European patronage by exhibiting his paintings abroad and by astute social cultivation. In the spring of 1868, for example, near the end of his European sojourn, Bierstadt placed three works, including *Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains, California*, one of his finest western landscapes, on private exhibition at the Langham Hotel in London. The English press responded with high praise.

Before his departure for Europe, Bierstadt had begun what was to become a decade-long campaign of vigorous lobbying to secure a congressional commission for two paintings intended for the House Chamber of the Capitol. His difficulty in placing these works reflected the profound changes that were taking place in American taste toward landscape, changes that made Bierstadt's later years a constant struggle to maintain the level of patronage that he had enjoyed at the very height of his early fame and fortune.



Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains, California, 1868. Oil on canvas, 72 x 120 inches. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Bequest of Helen Huntington Hull.



William C. Ellis, M.D.
34 FT. ANNHEAST RD
Glen Falls, N.Y. 12801

My Dear Mrs. Mabley -

11/3/91

You were so kind to give me your card on the afternoon of Friday Oct 25th when the Yale Class of 1954^W left the White House following President Bush's personal brief. You indicated that there would be some official photographs of that session and since I didn't bring my camera (as requested), I don't have a memento of the occasion - I would be most grateful if one could be found. My address is written above.

Thank you so much for anything you can do.

Cordially

William C. Ellis

W^MC ELLIS
34 FT. Amherst Rd
Glens Falls N.Y. 12801



Ms. Helen R. Mobley
Office of Public Liason
The White House
Washington DC.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Date: 10/28/91

TO:

Tony Snow

FROM:

NELSON LUND
Associate Counsel
to the President

- Action
- Comments
- FYI

Race / Civil Rts



General Services Administration
Office of Congressional and
Intergovernmental Affairs
Washington, DC 20405

April 13, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DEBRA R. ANDERSON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

THRU: LONNIE P. TAYLOR
ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATOR FOR CONGRESSIONAL
AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

FROM: STUART B. PIPER 
INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS OFFICER

SUBJECT: Items for the White House Intergovernmental Report
for the week of April 6-10, 1992

Federal Business Opportunity Symposium

GSA Region 3 held its third Federal Business Opportunity Symposium in Hunt Valley, MD, a suburb of Baltimore. Approximately 95 small, minority, and woman entrepreneurs participated in the meeting presided over by GSA Regional Administrator George Cordes. The District Office of the Small Business Administration participated in the symposium and Congresswoman Helen Bentley sent a representative. Prior symposiums have been held in Philadelphia, PA and Richmond, VA. Future symposiums are scheduled for Pittsburgh, PA and Charleston, WV.

Presidential Disaster Declared in Mississippi

President Bush declared a disaster in the four Mississippi counties of Lauderdale, Sharkey, Washington, and Yalobusha. The disaster resulted from damage suffered from tornados, high winds, and storms in mid-March. GSA has provided telecommunications support, transportation for the Federal Emergency Management Agency's furniture and equipment, contracts for rental cars, office supplies, copier service, and security guard service. The Disaster Field Office is located in Meridian, MS.

Buy Recycled Conference and Trade Show - Portland, Oregon

Representatives from GSA's Public Building and Federal Supply Services participated in a "Buy Recycled Conference and Trade Show" held in Portland, OR.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMPROMISE

1. **THE QUOTA ISSUE HAS BEEN RESOLVED. THE COMPROMISE BILL IS CONSISTENT WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PRINCIPLES AND WITH HIS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL (S. 611)**
 - o The burden of proof on the business necessity issue is shifted to the employer (as in all bills);
 - o The issue of defining business necessity is resolved by codifying pre-Wards Cove case law, including Griggs and Beazer (as in the President's bill);
 - o The "particularity/group of practices" issue is resolved by codifying the Wards Cove approach (as in the President's bill).

THIS BILL DOES NOT IMPEDE MERIT HIRING. IT IS NOT A QUOTA BILL.

2. **ON THE DAMAGES ISSUE, THE COMPROMISE INCORPORATES A SLIGHTLY MODIFIED VERSION OF THE DANFORTH PROPOSAL.**
 - o Compensatory and punitive damages will now be available under Title VII;
 - o These damages are capped, setting an important precedent for tort reform;
 - o Damages for 98% of all businesses are capped at \$50,000, the lowest tier of the new damages structure (and much lower than the cap in the President's bill).
3. **CONGRESS MUST APPLY THIS NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW TO ITSELF.**
 - o Congressional employees deserve to be protected from sexual harassment and other forms of improper discrimination.
 - o Congressional employees deserve the same judicially enforceable rights as other Americans.

David Duke

Talking points on David Duke

- 11/10/91

* I have a hard time believing that in this day and age anyone could take seriously a man who was selling Nazi literature just last year. Fifty years ago, I volunteered to fight in World War II, along with millions of other Americans. We fought because we wanted to crush this evil, because we knew it was the right thing to do. Millions died in that cause, and they did not die in vain. Yet here we are in 1991, dealing with someone who is a Nazi, although he wraps himself in causes that many people accept. I find it disgusting.

* David Duke argues that his Nazi affiliations represented "youthful indiscretions." I don't buy it. I went to war at the age of 17, and by that time, I understood the difference between right and wrong, good and evil. Most people do. David Duke was involved in Nazi causes at the age of 40. That's not youthful indiscretion; that's his view of things. Let me say, with each appearance he makes, he tramples upon the memories of brave men and women who fought and died resisting Hitler and his evils, and he mocks the bravery and sacrifice of people who risked everything to keep America free.

* David Duke claims that he's fighting for the common man, and resisting distant, bad government. Well, most of the people who serve our country in the military might be called "the common man" or "the common woman," even though they're the lifeblood of our liberty. No one who has embraced Nazism can ever speak for the average American, because patriotic Americans despise Nazism with every ounce of their being.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

Eco/Taxes/Tax data

November 26, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: BRUCE BARTLETT

SUBJECT: Taxes

It is interesting to note that despite the criticism of the Bush Administration over raising taxes, taxes at the federal level have not, in fact, risen at all. They are lower now, even after the budget agreement, than they were early in 1989, before any Bush policies took effect.

Where taxes have increased, however, is at the state and local level, where they have risen by almost one percent of GNP since 1988. Moreover, reports indicate that state and local taxes are expected to continue rising in 1992.

I wonder, therefore, whether the administration isn't partially being blamed for what state and local governments are doing. Perhaps there is some way of raising this point in a speech without appearing to be critical of state and local governments.

ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Congress of the United States:

The United States enters the 1990s as a prosperous nation with a healthy and dynamic economy. Our living standards remain well above those of other major industrialized nations, and our prosperity is spread widely. Since 1982, American firms and workers have produced the longest peacetime expansion on record and created more than 20 million jobs. The containment of inflation during this long economic expansion is a milestone in postwar U.S. history.

In 1989, we regained our position as the world's leading exporter and retained our position as the world's leading job creator, with the fraction of the population employed reaching its highest level ever. In all, 2½ million jobs were created in 1989. The unemployment rate fell to levels not seen since the early 1970s, as did jobless rates for blacks and teenagers. The unemployment rate for Hispanics was the lowest since 1980, when the United States began regularly reporting it.

We have proven to the world that economic and political freedom works. After years of economic decline, the people of Eastern Europe are turning toward free markets to revive economic growth and raise living standards. I remain strongly committed to aiding the efforts of these brave men and women to transform their societies—and thereby to change the world.

Despite our successes, we cannot be satisfied with simply sustaining the strong record of the 1980s. We must improve on that record, deal with inherited problems, and meet the new challenges and seize the new opportunities before us.

GOALS AND PRINCIPLES

The primary economic goal of my Administration is to achieve the highest possible rate of sustainable economic growth. Achieving this goal will require action on many fronts—but it will permit progress on many more. Growth is the key to raising living standards, to leaving a legacy of prosperity for our children, to uplifting those most in need, and to maintaining America's leadership in the world.

To achieve this goal, we must both enhance our economy's ability to grow and ensure that its potential is more often fully utilized than in previous decades. To these ends, as explained in the *Report* that follows, my Administration will:

- Reduce government borrowing by slowing the growth of Federal spending while economic growth raises revenue until the budget is balanced, and reduce the national debt thereafter;
- Support a credible, systematic monetary policy program that sustains maximum economic growth while controlling and reducing inflation;
- Remove barriers to innovation, investment, work, and saving in the tax, legal, and regulatory systems;
- Avoid unnecessary regulation and design necessary regulatory programs to harness market forces effectively to serve the Nation's interest; and
- Continue to lead the world to freer trade and more open markets, and to support market-oriented reforms around the world.

In advancing these principles, we must be both ambitious and realistic. There is room to improve, and there is much to be done to prepare for the next century. We must not fear to dream great dreams. But we must not fail to do our homework; the American people are ill-served by promises that cannot be kept.

MACROECONOMIC PROSPECTS AND POLICIES

The economy's performance during 1989, the seventh year of economic expansion, has set the stage for healthy growth in the 1990s. Growth in national output was more moderate in 1989 than the very rapid pace in 1988 and 1987. But, in sharp contrast to most past periods of low unemployment and high capacity utilization, inflation was kept firmly in check. Measured broadly, the price level rose 4.1 percent during 1989, down from 4.5 percent during 1988.

If my budget proposals are adopted, and if the Federal Reserve maintains a credible policy program to support strong noninflationary growth, the economy is projected to expand in 1990 at a slightly faster pace than in 1989. Growth is projected to pick up in the second half of the year and to continue at a strong pace as the level of output rises to the economy's full potential.

Fiscal and monetary policies should establish credible commitments to policy plans aimed at maximizing sustainable growth over the long run. A steady hand at the helm is necessary to produce rapid and continuous increases in employment and living standards.

My budget proposals reflect a strong commitment to the principles of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law, which has helped reduce the Federal deficit from 5.3 percent of GNP in fiscal 1986 to 2.9 percent in fiscal 1989. That is why I insisted last fall that the Congress pass a clean reconciliation bill and stood by the sequestration order that resulted from my strict adherence to the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law.

I have also proposed a fundamental new rule for fiscal policy that would ensure that projected future Social Security surpluses are

not spent for other purposes but are used to build the reserves necessary to guarantee the soundness of Social Security. Moreover, it would transform the Federal Government from a chronic borrower, draining savings away from private investment, to a saver, providing funds for capital formation and economic growth by reducing the national debt.

I remain strongly committed to the principles of low marginal tax rates and a broad tax base developed in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 and the Tax Reform Act of 1986. Steady adherence to these principles reduces government's distorting effect on the market forces that drive economic growth.

I strongly support the Federal Reserve's goal of noninflationary growth and share with them the conviction that inflation must be controlled and reduced in a predictable fashion. Accelerating inflation not only erodes the value of families' savings, it produces economic imbalances and policy responses that often lead to recessions.

The United States is part of an increasingly integrated global economy, in which domestic fiscal and monetary policies affect the economies of other nations, though the main impacts are on the domestic economy. My Administration remains committed to participating actively in the valuable process of coordinating macroeconomic policies internationally.

ENCOURAGING ECONOMIC GROWTH

As we begin the 1990s, a central focus of my economic policies will be to build on the successes of the 1980s by creating an environment in which the private sector can serve as the engine that powers strong, noninflationary economic growth.

America's continued economic progress depends on the innovation and entrepreneurship of our people. I will therefore continue to press for a permanent research and experimentation tax credit, for increased Federal support of research with widespread societal benefits and that private firms would not have adequate incentives to undertake, for removal of regulatory and legal barriers to innovation, and for a lower tax rate on capital gains.

We must remove impediments to saving and investment in order to enhance the economy's growth potential. The fiscal policy I described earlier will raise national saving. In addition, I have asked the Congress to enact the Savings and Economic Growth Act of 1990, which contains a comprehensive program to raise household saving across the entire income spectrum. This program would help American families plan for the future and, in the process, make more funds available to finance investment and spur productivity, thus raising living standards, enhancing competitiveness, and expanding employment opportunities.

One of my highest legislative priorities this year is to reduce the capital gains tax rate. This tax reform would promote risk-taking and entrepreneurship by lowering the cost of capital, thereby encouraging new business formation and creating new jobs. A capital gains tax cut would stimulate saving and investment throughout the economy.

Government can encourage economic growth but cannot manage it. I remain strongly opposed to any sort of industrial policy, in which the government, not the market, would pick winners and losers. Second-guessing the market is the way to raise government spending and taxes, not living standards.

The growth of our Nation's labor force is projected to slow in the 1990s, and demands for skilled workers are expected to continue to increase. These developments will shift attention away from worries about the supply of jobs that have haunted us since the 1930s and toward new concerns about the supply of workers and skills.

We cannot maintain our position of world leadership or sustain rapid economic growth if our workers lack the skills of their foreign competitors. As I demonstrated last fall at the Education Summit, the Federal Government can lead in improving the inadequate performance of our elementary and secondary schools. Because school systems must be held accountable for their students' performance, the Nation's Governors and I have developed ambitious national education goals. To meet these goals, we must give students and parents the freedom to choose their schools, and we must give schools the flexibility to meet their students' needs.

More disadvantaged Americans must be brought into the economic mainstream, not just to enhance our Nation's economic growth, but as a matter of simple decency. To this end, I have supported legislation to open new opportunities for the disabled, increased assistance to the homeless, helped implement welfare reform, proposed more effective job training programs, and introduced initiatives that will bring jobs and better housing to depressed inner cities. I have proposed substantial increases in spending for Head Start to prepare children from disadvantaged families for effective learning.

Those who cannot read and write cannot participate fully in the economy. Mrs. Bush and I will continue to support the difficult but important struggle to eliminate adult functional illiteracy.

REGULATORY REFORM

The improved performance of U.S. markets that were deregulated during the 1980s showed clearly that government interference with competitive private markets inflates prices, retards innovation, slows growth, and eliminates jobs. But in some cases, well-designed regulation can serve the public interest.

My proposals for reform of food safety regulation and the Clean Air Act follow the two key principles that apply in these cases: the goals of regulation must balance costs and benefits; and the methods of regulation must be flexible and cost-effective. One of my top legislative priorities is to improve the Clean Air Act in a way that preserves both a healthy environment and a sound economy.

When confronted with a threat to the solvency of our thrift institutions, my Administration moved swiftly to resolve the crisis. We must continue to reform the regulation of financial institutions and markets to preserve the soundness of the U.S. financial sector while encouraging innovation and competition.

THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

The 1980s have underscored the increased importance of global economic events in shaping our lives. We have all been touched by the movements toward political and economic freedom in Eastern Europe. We have been impressed by the rapid growth of market-oriented Asian economies. And we have great expectations for the movement in the European Community toward a single, open market by 1992.

Reductions in trade barriers between nations have raised living standards around the world. Investment has become more globally integrated, as citizens of other countries recognize the great strength and potential of our economy, and as Americans continue to invest abroad.

My Administration is strongly committed to supporting the historic efforts of the governments and people of Eastern Europe to move toward market-based economies. Similarly, under the Brady Plan, we will continue to support heavily indebted nations that adopt sound economic policies to revive economic growth. In both cases, reform must be comprehensive to succeed, but the rewards of success will be great.

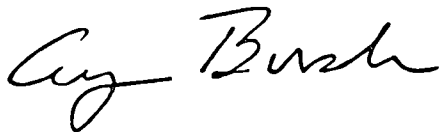
America will continue to lead the way to a world of free, competitive markets. Increased global competition is an opportunity for the United States and the world, not a threat. But we cannot remain competitive by avoiding competition. My Administration will therefore continue to resist calls for protection and managed trade. To serve the interests of all Americans, we must open markets here and abroad, not close them. I will strongly resist any attempts to hinder the free international flows of investment capital, which have benefited workers and consumers here and abroad. And my Administration will work to reduce existing barriers to international investment throughout the world.

My highest trade policy priority is the successful completion this year of the current Uruguay Round of negotiations, aimed at strengthening and broadening the General Agreement on Tariffs

and Trade (GATT). Successful completion of these negotiations will expand the world's gains from free and fair trade and raise living standards in all nations.

LOOKING AHEAD

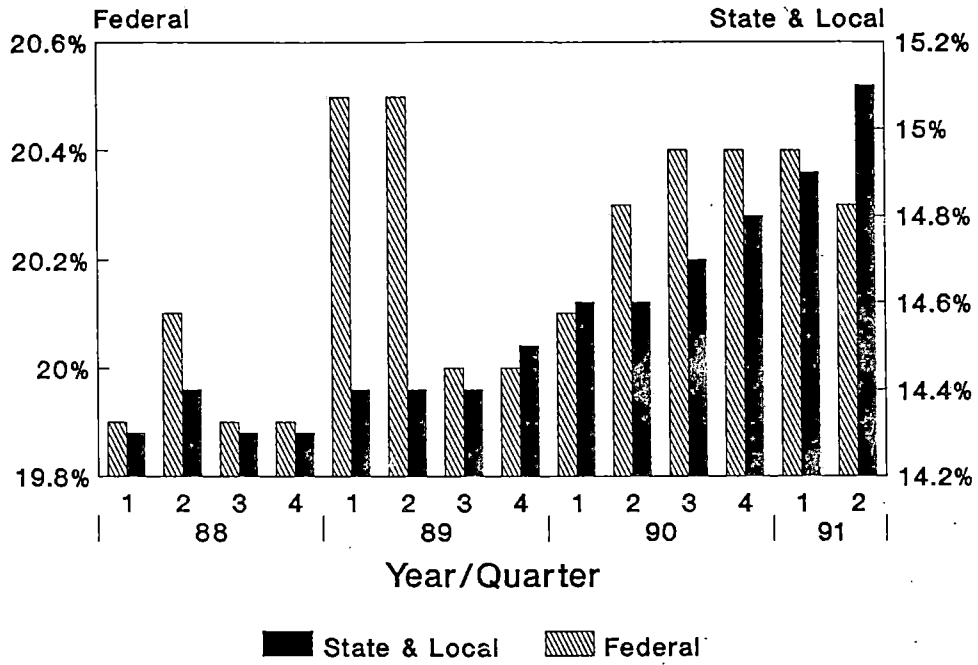
When I look back on the 1980s, on what the American people have accomplished, it is with pride. And when I look forward to the 1990s, it is with hope and optimism. Our excellent economic health will allow us to build on the successes of the 1980s as we prepare for the next century. Clearly, there is much work to be done. But with the economic principles and policies that I have proposed, I am confident that the United States can enjoy strong, sustainable economic growth and use the fruits of that growth to raise living standards, solve longstanding problems, deal with new challenges, and make the most of new opportunities.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
FEBRUARY 6, 1990

THE ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

Taxes as a Share of GNP



Source: National Income Accounts

Cuomo's Budget Problems in New York Indicate State of the States Will Be Key Issue in '92 Race

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ALBANY, N.Y. — For weeks Gov. Mario Cuomo has been closeted with advisers, studying reports, considering his options, plotting his strategy. The subject isn't the presidential candidacy he's contemplating. It's the state budget gap he's trying to fill.

The state economic problems that are the subject of Mr. Cuomo's ruminations—and at the very least the pretext for his delay in deciding on a presidential run—are real. New York is facing a gap of nearly \$700 million in the current fiscal year, with a shortfall topping \$3.6 billion for the fiscal year to begin April 1—double the budget gap the state publicly acknowledged until this week.

Just months after several states concluded the bloodiest season of budget politics in history, governors and lawmakers are back at the drafting table, girding to do battle again. And whether or not Mr. Cuomo plunges into the presidential race, the state of the states is likely to be a major issue in next year's presidential campaign.

Many of the candidates already in the presidential race have seized upon the parlous state of state budgets as a metaphor for what has gone wrong in government. The argument: The problem in Carson City, Baton Rouge, Helena, Atlanta and Lansing—all state capitals where tax revenue fell in the first quarter of fiscal 1992 compared with the like period a year earlier—is really the problem of Washington.

"Cut spending, cut education, balance the budget—and by the way, do it all with less money from Washington," Democratic Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas complained in Manchester, N.H., this month. Former Democratic Gov. Jerry Brown of California added during a candidates' debate in Detroit last week: "States are suffering because the economy is suffering."

The political problems of state budgets come into sharpest relief here in Albany, where Mr. Cuomo faces the challenge of solving his own budget mess and where he's weighing the political value of making that very same mess an object lesson in presidential politics.

For it is clear now that if Mr. Cuomo

Where the Money Is

New state taxes imposed for fiscal 1992

	NEW TAXES (in millions)
Personal income	\$6,495
Sales and use	5,062
Corporate income	1,690
Motor fuel/motor vehicle excise	716
Health-care related	319
Alcoholic beverage	220
Cigarette and tobacco	217
Meals and rooms	31
Waste and environmental	28
Miscellaneous	1,439
TOTAL	\$16,217

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures

does enter the race, he'll couch his decision to seek higher office as the only way to solve the problems of states such as his. He'll almost certainly say the revenue shortfalls, skyrocketing medical costs and soft economy that are plaguing New York are all difficulties that can best be solved with new leadership in the White House.

Problems at Home

By the same token, if he decides against a presidential campaign, he'll argue that the problems at home are so great that he can't abandon them now for his own personal gain.

"Keep your eye on the state finances," says John Marino, New York's Democratic chairman and a close Cuomo adviser. "He has to feel better about things on the state level."

Right now the governor is engaged in negotiations to shape a multiyear budget agreement—precisely the sort of thing he criticized President Bush and the Democratic leadership for doing on the federal level last year. Such an agreement presumably would solve the problem and permit the governor to campaign for president unfettered by the sorts of annoying distractions that Michael Dukakis had to face on Beacon Hill in Boston only weeks before

the 1988 Democratic National Convention in Atlanta.

If Mr. Cuomo does patch together a budget solution and decides to press ahead with a campaign for the White House, the fiscal health of New York is sure to be a campaign issue. "The thing speaks for itself," says Richard Rosenbaum, a Republican national committeeman from New York. "The White House won't need to be told by me that the results have been abysmal. It borders on the catastrophic."

Revenue Estimates

But even in states where governors aren't contemplating presidential campaigns, contentious budget battles are beginning anew as states, already a quarter of the way through the fiscal year, aren't getting the revenue improvements they expected.

"These states are dealing with revenue estimates that all assumed an economic recovery would begin in July," says Marcia Howard, deputy director of the National Association of State Budget Officers. "There may have been a recovery, but we know for sure that state revenues don't reflect one."

That's already apparent in Maine, Colorado, Florida and Georgia. By year's end, as many as 30 states may face revenue shortfalls.

The problem is deepened because these states, which increased taxes by more than \$16 billion last year, the largest boost in history, thought they had weathered the storm. Just this week, for example, independent Gov. Lowell Weicker acknowledged that Connecticut faced a \$175 million shortfall despite enacting a wage tax only three months earlier.

More than a quarter of the states increased taxes last year by more than 5%

mostly through income and sales taxes. The National Conference of State Legislatures rates fiscal 1992 budgets as "extremely austere," and projects cost overruns in areas such as health care, judicial courts, crime fighting and education. General-fund reserves, an important criterion for state credit ratings, were the lowest ever recorded at the end of a fiscal year.

The principal cause of the states' problems right now is the weak economy, which is depressing state revenue collections and is giving Democratic presidential candidates other than Mr. Cuomo an opening for criticizing President Bush.

"If you have a recession, you have no tax revenues," says former Sen. Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts. "You lose thousands of jobs, and people who are not working are not paying taxes. You can't blame the governors when the bottom falls out of their revenue bases."

Little relief is in sight for Gov. Cuomo. This fall's economic report of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, for example, predicted that the region's recovery "will be slow with broad-based momentum picking up only in late 1992."

Preliminary Estimates

General-fund revenues in California were \$183 million below expectations last month, falling short by \$528 million, or nearly 5%, in the first four months of the fiscal year. Preliminary estimates from California's Commission on State Finance said there could be a \$3 billion gap in the current year.

All of this comes after California closed a \$14 billion budget gap this summer with a plan that included \$7 billion in new revenues, the biggest-ever state tax increase. The tax portion of the budget package has prevented this from being worse, says Elizabeth Hill, a nonpartisan California legislative analyst. "Unless the economy turns around suddenly, and we're not seeing those indications, this is going to be a difficult year."

It's hard all over. In Maine, GOP Gov. John McKernan, who thought he had sur-

vived the worst of the budget cutting, is at it again, slicing state programs and employees. In Vermont, Democratic Gov. Howard Dean, who took office in August after the death of GOP Gov. Richard Snelling, is worried about revenue projections. "We're not in the position to raise taxes again," he says, "so we'll have to cut spending."

A major contributor to the budget prob-

lems is health-care costs, a factor that, along with welfare, could add a couple of hundred million dollars to California's budget problem if health costs continue to accelerate for the rest of the fiscal year. Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska believes that factor may add momentum to the push for a national health-care plan. "Otherwise," he says, "the states are going to be constantly suffering."

Across the Country, Increased State Levies Hit Incomes Harder

By EARL C. GOTTSCHALK JR.

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

From Connecticut to California, state taxes are taking a bigger chunk of most taxpayers' income—and there isn't any relief in sight.

Hammered by recession and federal cutbacks, 34 states and the District of Columbia raised income, sales and use and corporate taxes by \$16.2 billion, or 5.4%, in this year's legislative sessions. It was the largest one-year percentage increase since 1971, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures.

Taxes on personal income account for \$6.5 billion of the increase, with 21 states raising personal income taxes by boosting rates, eliminating exemptions, imposing temporary surcharges or suspending previously enacted cuts. That doesn't include rises enacted earlier that took effect this year, such as New Jersey's 1990 law that doubled the levy on high-income earners to 7% from 3.5%.

Moreover, the outlook is for further increases in 1992. "There will be tremendous pressure to avoid raising state taxes again next year, since it's an election year and many states have had back-to-back tax increases," says Scott Mackey, a policy specialist at the state legislative group. But because revenue collections are falling short, many states will have to retain temporary tax increases and surcharges, they enacted this year, he says.

Most of the personal income tax increases enacted during recent legislative sessions were retroactive to last Jan. 1, 1991, meaning taxpayers will be seeing the full effect on this year's tax bill.

But increases in some states—such as Illinois's temporary increase to 3% from 2.5%—went into effect July 1. Still others go into effect Jan. 1, 1992.

Connecticut took center stage by enacting its first broad-based personal income tax, a flat-rate tax that will amount to 1.5% this year and 4.5% beginning Jan. 1. The new levy replaces

Continued From Page C1

a tax of as much as 14% on interest and dividends and 7% on capital gains.

"People are furious," says Patricia Burton, a tax specialist in Gales Ferry, Conn. A special session of the state's Legislature convened Monday to consider repealing the measure, but income-tax opponents apparently lack the votes needed to override a promised veto by Gov. Lowell Weicker.

Pennsylvania increased its personal income-tax rate to 3.1% (including a 0.3% surtax) through next June from a previous rate of 2.1%. "The chances are, however, these surtaxes never lapse," says Larry C. Rabun, a Philadelphia partner in Deloitte & Touche accountants.

New York state postponed a previously enacted tax cut that would have lowered its top income-tax rate to 7.7% from 7.875% and delayed an increase in the standard deduction. And Rhode Island increased its personal income-tax rate to 27.5% of federal tax liability from 22.96%.

Some states zeroed in on high-income individuals. California, for example, imposed new, temporary tax brackets on high-income earners. For 1991, there will be a 10% rate for single taxpayers with taxable income of more than \$100,000 and couples filing jointly with more than \$200,000. For taxpayers with taxable income in excess of \$200,000 (single) and \$400,000 (joint), the rate will be 11%. Previously, the top rate was 9.3%. California also increased the rate of its alternative minimum tax to 8.5% from 7%.

Maine imposed a temporary 10% surcharge for incomes of more than \$75,000 (married, filing jointly). North Carolina increased its rate to 7.75% from 7% for taxpayers with taxable income of more than \$100,000 (married, filing jointly) and more than \$60,000 (single).

In general, there are no special strategies for easing the state and local bites. But taxpayers in such states as Connecticut who face a higher income-tax rate next year might consider shifting income into 1991 if possible. For example, if you have an end-of-the-year bonus coming, it would make sense to receive it in December instead of January.

Connecticut residents could also save money by deferring any major capital gains until next year, when the capital gains tax is capped at 4.5%, says Kevin

Roach, a partner for personal financial planning at accountants Price Waterhouse in Morristown, N.J. This year the capital-gains tax consists of two-thirds of the old rate of 7% and one-third of the new rate of 4.5%, for a combined rate of 6.2%.

Also, it's important to remember the effects of state and local levies in reviewing your financial and investment plans. "With state taxes at record highs and pressures for increases to continue next year, the stakes are higher than ever before," says Mr. Roach.

For instance, high state and local taxes can raise the effective yield on Treasury securities, which are exempt from state and local income taxes. Tax-exempt municipal bonds from in-state issuers and same-state municipal-bond funds can also be more attractive for residents of high-tax states.

People who are really fed up could take drastic action and move. Alaska, Florida, Texas, Washington, Nevada, South Dakota and Wyoming, for example, have no personal income tax; two other states, New Hampshire and Tennessee, don't tax wages and salaries but do tax capital gains, dividends and interest.

But moving isn't really practical for most people. And besides, says Hal Hovey, editor of State Budget and Tax News, an Alexandria, Va., newsletter, needs for services for exploding populations are likely to cause Florida, Texas and Nevada to increase taxes on individuals as well as on corporations. The increases may not come through a personal income tax, but revenues can be raised by increasing sales and use taxes, Mr. Hovey says.

Retirees often do flee to low-tax states. But if they are California residents, they may find that the state pursues them to collect income tax on payouts of a pension earned in California.

Marvin Weisbrod, vice president of Triplecheck Income Tax Service Inc., a tax-preparation concern based in Burbank, Calif., says retired California teachers and state employees who moved to Nevada were taxed by California on their pension payouts even though they were no longer living in the state. Everyone with a pension earned while living in California is liable for the tax, but it's hard to find fleeing retirees unless they were state employees, Mr. Weisbrod says.

Survey of State Tax Rates and Collections

Rates for FY'92 Rise Sharply; Collections for FY'90 Break \$300 Billion

by Gregory S. Leong

Thirty states have enacted tax increases that will raise a total of \$17 billion in new revenue in FY1992, making FY'91 the biggest revenue-raising year in history at the state level. In addition to hiking tax rates, states increased taxes indirectly by broadening taxable bases, extending temporary hikes, and conforming to federal tax rates. They also enacted a host of "non-tax" revenue-raising measures, such as higher fees and accelerated collections, that will bring in approximately \$2.4 billion more in FY'92 revenue.

Gasoline and tobacco were the most popular targets as 23 states hiked the amounts they collect at the pump and 14 states raised

their cigarette excises. The bulk of the new revenue will not come from higher excise rates, however, but rather from higher sales taxes in six states, and higher personal income taxes in eight states.

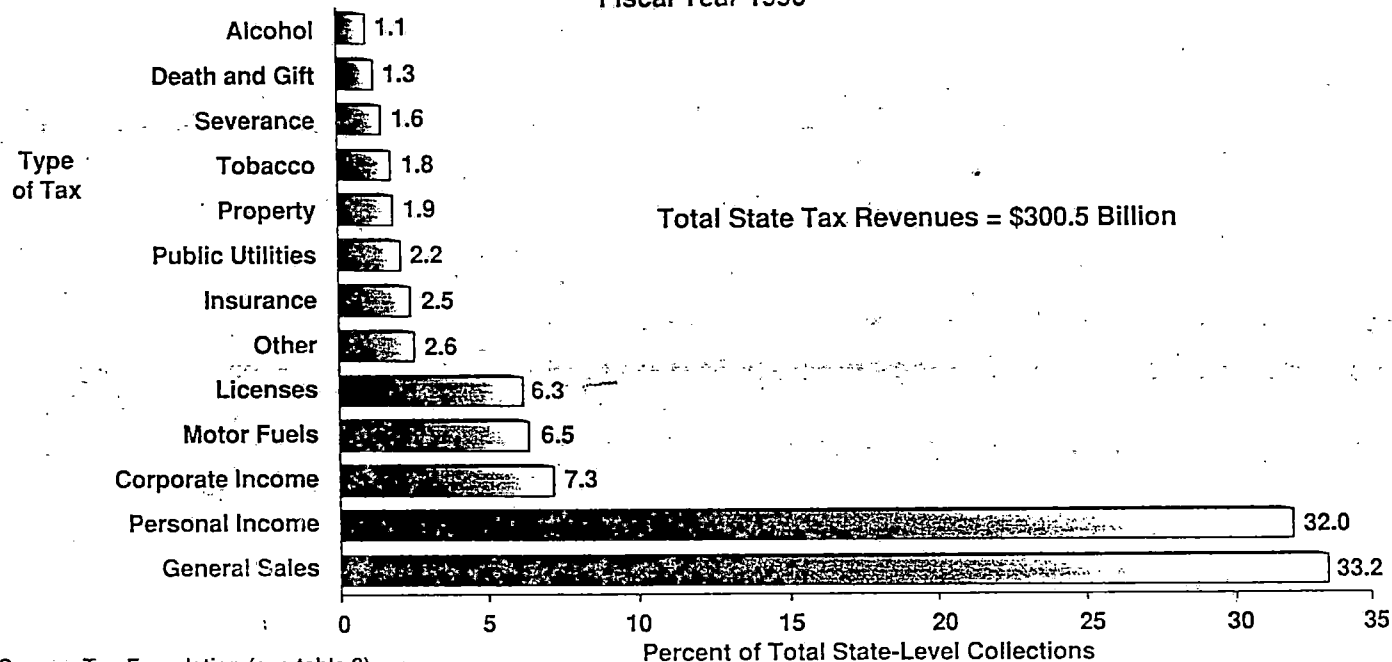
Individual Income Taxes

Connecticut was the only state to enact a new broad-based income tax this year. Lawmakers there repealed taxes on capital gains, dividends, and interest income, replacing them with a flat 4.5 percent income tax. All told, the state's FY'91 tax package is expected to net \$1 billion in new FY'92 revenues. With this new tax system, Connecticut joins six

Figure 1

Percentage Distribution of State Government Tax Collections by Source

Fiscal Year 1990



Source: Tax Foundation (see table 3).

Gregory Leong is Director of Special Studies at the Tax Foundation.

Table 1
Major State Taxes and Rates
as of August 1, 1991

State	Corporate	Individual	General Sales and Use Tax	Gasoline Tax (per gallon)	Cigarette Tax (per pack of 20)	Property Tax
Alabama	5% (F)	2 to 5% (F)	4% (a)	11 cents	16.5 cents	X
Alaska	1 to 9.4	none	none	8	29	X
Arizona	9.3	3.8 to 7	5 (a)	18	18	X
Arkansas	1 to 6.5	1 to 7	4.5 (a)	18.5	22	X
California	9.3 (c)	1 to 11 (c)	6 (a,d)	15 (b)	35	X
Colorado	5 to 5.2 (d)	5 (c)	3 (a)	22	20	X
Connecticut	11.5 (f)	4.5 (g)	8 (d)	23 (b)	40 (b)	X
Delaware	8.7 (w)	3.2 to 7.7	none	19 (l)	24	
District of Columbia	10 (l)	6 to 9.5 (f)	6	18	30	X
Florida	5.5 (c)	none	6 (a)	4 (w)	33.9	X
Georgia	6% of taxable net income	1 to 6	4 (a)	7.5 + 3% of retail	12	X
Hawaii	4.4 to 6.4	2 to 10	4 (a)	24.8 to 32.5 (v)	40% of wholesale	
Idaho	8	2 to 8.2	5	22 (v)	18	X
Illinois	4.8 (h)	3 (h)	6.25 (a)	19 (d,w)	30	X
Indiana	3.4 (i)	3.4	5	15	15.5	X
Iowa	6 to 12 (F,j)	.4 to 9.98 (c,F)	4 (a)	20	36	
Kansas	4.5 (f)	3.65 to 5.15 (k)	4.25 (a)	17 (b)	24	X
Kentucky	4 to 8.25	2 to 6	6 (a)	15 (e)	3	X
Louisiana	4 to 8 (F)	2 to 6 (F)	4 (a)	20	20	X
Maine	3.5 to 8.93	2 to 8.5 (o)	6 (d)	19	37	X
Maryland	7	2 to 5	5	18.5	16	X
Massachusetts	9.5 (e,m)	6.25 (n)	5	21 (e)	26	X
Michigan	2.35	4.6	4	15	25	X
Minnesota	9.8 (c)	6 to 8.5	6.5 (a,d)	20.25	43	X
Mississippi	3 to 5	3 to 5	6	18 (d)	18	X
Missouri	5 to 6.5 (d,F)	1.5 to 6 (F)	4.225 (a,d)	11	13	X
Montana	6.75 (f,s)	2 to 11 (F)	none	20	18	X
Nebraska	5.58 to 7.81	2.37 to 6.92	5 (a)	23.71 (v)	27	X
Nevada	none	none	5.75 (a,b)	18	35	X
New Hampshire	8	5 (g)	none	18	25	X
New Jersey	9 (f,l)	2 to 7	7	10.5	40	X
New Mexico	4.8 to 7.6	1.8 to 8.5	5	16.2	15	X
New York	9 (c,d,e,f,u)	4 to 7.875 (d,p)	4 (a)	8	39	
North Carolina	7.75 (f)	6 to 7.75	4 (a)	22.6 (v)	5	X
North Dakota	3 to 10.5 (c,F)	2.67 to 12 (F,q)	5	17 (d)	29	X
Ohio	5.1 to 8.9	.743 to 6.9	5 (a)	21 (v)	18	X
Oklahoma	6	.5 to 7 (k,F)	4.5 (a)	16 (e)	23	
Oregon	6.6	5 to 9 (F)	none	20	28	
Pennsylvania	12.25	3.1 (d)	6 (a)	12	31	X
Rhode Island	9 (f)	27.5 % of modified Federal Income tax	7	26 (e)	37	X
South Carolina	5	2.5 to 7	5 (a)	16	7	X
South Dakota	none	none	4 (a)	18	23	
Tennessee	6 (g)	6 (g)	5.5 (a)	21 (w)	13	
Texas	none	none	6.25 (a)	20	41	
Utah	5	2.55 to 7.2 (F)	5 (a)	19 (w)	26.5	X
Vermont	5.5 to 8.25	28% of federal income tax liability (d,o)	5	15	18 (b)	X
Virginia	6	2 to 5.75	3.5 (a)	17.5	2.5	X
Washington	none	none	6.5 (a)	23 (l)	34 (d)	X
West Virginia	9.15	3 to 6.5 (c)	6	15.5	17	X
Wisconsin	7.9	4.9 to 6.93	5 (a)	22.5 (l)	30 (e)	X
Wyoming	none	none	3 (a)	9 (l)	12	X

(X) Indicates property tax levied.
 (F) Allows federal income tax as a deduction.
 (a) Local taxes are additional.
 (b) Future increases scheduled under current law. As of October 1, 1991, CT gas tax -25 cents, and cigarette tax - 45 cents.
 (c) Alternative minimum tax is imposed.
 (d) Future reductions scheduled under current law. CT sales tax drops to 6% October 1, 1991.
 (e) Alternative methods of calculation may be required.
 (f) Corporate surtax is imposed, CT - 20%, DC - 5%, KS - 2.25%, NJ - .375%, NY - 15%, NC - 4%, ME - 10%, MT - 5%. RI - 11%. CT surtax scheduled to decrease to 10% in 1992 and be eliminated in 1993.
 (g) In NH and TN, rates apply to income from dividends and interest. In CT, lower rates applied to

income from interest and dividends. Additional changes in deductions also added in 1991 for CT.
 (h) Additional 1.5-2.5% personal property replacement tax imposed.
 (i) A supplemental net income tax is imposed at 4.5%.
 (j) Franchise tax is 5% of taxable net income.
 (k) In KS and OK, higher rates may apply to taxpayers deducting federal income tax.
 (l) Tax rate is periodically adjusted administratively.
 (m) Excise tax is imposed equal to the greater of (a) \$2.60 (includes surtax) per \$1,000 of value of MA tangible property not taxed locally or net worth allocated to MA, plus 9.5% (includes surtax) of net income, or (b) \$400.
 (n) Tax of 12% on income derived from interest, dividends, and capital gains.
 (o) Income surtax imposed, ME - 5-15%, VT - 3-6%.
 (p) Qualified taxpayers may elect to pay alternative taxes.

at varying rates.
 (q) Election to be taxed on 14% of taxpayer's federal income tax liability.
 (r) Additional county transportation tax levied.
 (s) 7% rate for corporations using "water's edge" apportionment.
 (t) A 7.25 % corporation income tax is imposed on entire net income of foreign corporations not subject to the corporation business tax.
 (u) Small business taxpayers are subject to a lower rate.
 (v) Includes additional taxes or fees. Hawaii gas rates include county rates.
 (w) Additional tax or surcharge imposed.
 Sources: Compiled by Tax Foundation from survey of state revenue offices and data reported by Commerce Clearing House through July 1, 1991.

states which use a flat tax rate for all income.

Seven other states raised individual income tax rates: Rhode Island and Vermont, which base their income taxes on federal tax liability, hiked their rates; California, Massachusetts, Nebraska, and North Carolina raised their marginal rates for top income earners; and Pennsylvania raised its flat rate from 2.1 to 3.1 percent.

Rates in three states, Kansas, Oklahoma, and South Carolina, dropped for FY'92. South Carolina, as a result of prior legislation, enacted the final phase of income tax reduction, lowering the bottom marginal rate from 3 to 2.5 percent. Alaska, Florida, Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming retain the distinction of being the only seven states which levy no individual income tax. Tennessee and New Hampshire exempt wages and salaries but tax income from interest and dividends.

Corporate Income Taxes

Six states — Arkansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania — raised corporate income tax rates for FY'92 while two states, Colorado and West Virginia, lowered them. Pennsylvania enacted the largest percentage increase, 44 percent, and consequently has the highest marginal corporate tax rate in the nation, 12.25 percent, slightly above Iowa's 12 percent. Iowa is followed by North Dakota (10.5 percent), and Minnesota (9.8 percent). (This ranking is based solely on marginal tax rates and does not take into account surtaxes or alternative minimum taxes, where imposed.) Five states continue to avoid corporate income taxes altogether: Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming.

Sales and Excise Taxes

Among the six states that increased their sales taxes for FY'92, California imposed the largest rate hike, from 4.75 to 6 percent. Connecticut, which had the highest sales tax in the nation last year, 8 percent, reduced its rate to 6 percent. As a result, New Jersey and Rhode Island now have the highest sales tax rates in the nation, 7 percent, followed by Minnesota and Washington, 6.5 percent. Five states — Alaska, Delaware, Montana, New Hampshire, and Oregon — do not impose a sales and use tax.

Twenty-three states enacted higher excises on motor fuels this year. California and Rhode Island enacted the largest increases, six cents per gallon. Hawaii added five cents per gallon and still imposes the highest gaso-

Table 2
Projected Fiscal 1992 State Level
Net Revenue Gains and Losses
Resulting from 1991 Enactments

State	Revenue (\$Millions)	Per Capita (a)
Alabama	\$172.0	\$42.57
Alaska	1.0	1.82
Arizona	9.1	2.48
Arkansas	264.7	112.60
California	6,568.0	220.70
Colorado	-	-
Connecticut	1,035.5	315.02
Delaware	94.5	141.86
Florida	51.1	3.95
Georgia	-	-
Hawaii	48.0	43.31
Idaho	12.7	12.61
Illinois	817.0	71.47
Indiana	42.7	7.70
Iowa	13.6	4.90
Kansas	-	-
Kentucky	-	-
Louisiana	315.0	74.65
Maine	266.0	216.63
Maryland	90.1	18.84
Massachusetts	-	-
Michigan	(10.0)	(1.08)
Minnesota	287.7	65.76
Mississippi	-	-
Missouri	-	-
Montana	(4.7)	(5.88)
Nebraska	17.3	10.96
Nevada	140.6	116.99
New Hampshire	61.7	55.62
New Jersey	(20.0)	(2.59)
New Mexico	27.1	17.89
New York	1,200.0	66.70
North Carolina	616.9	93.07
North Dakota	(0.1)	(0.16)
Ohio	122.1	11.26
Oklahoma	-	-
Oregon	92.6	32.58
Pennsylvania	3,302.0	277.91
Rhode Island	130.8	130.35
South Carolina	10.6	3.04
South Dakota	-	-
Tennessee	5.5	1.13
Texas	799.0	47.04
Utah	4.9	2.84
Vermont	90.1	160.10
Virginia	33.2	5.37
Washington	10.7	2.20
West Virginia	-	-
Wisconsin	284.7	58.20
Wyoming	-	-
District of Columbia	44.5	73.32
	\$17,048.2	-

(a) Based on latest available population data, June 1990.
Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, and Tax Foundation survey of revenue departments, legislative officials, and governors' offices.

line tax in the nation: the combined state-local tax ranges from 24.8 to 32.5 cents per gallon. Rhode Island (26 cents), Nebraska (23.71 cents), and Connecticut and Washington (23 cents) follow closely behind. Florida levies the lowest rate, 4 cents; but gasoline is also subject to a 6.9 percent general sales tax. Alaska and New York have the next lowest rates at 8 cents.

On cigarettes, the largest tax increases were enacted by Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia, which raised their rates 13 cents to 31 cents and 30 cents per pack respectively. Minnesota had been imposing the highest rate in the country—43 cents per pack—but fell to second on October 1, 1991, when Connecticut's increase to 45 cents took effect. (See table 1 for more details.)

Additional Tax Burden Per Capita

Five states — California (\$6.6 billion), Pennsylvania (\$3.3 billion), New York (\$1.2 billion), Connecticut (\$1 billion), and Texas (\$799 million) account for more than 75 percent of the net \$17 billion tax increase (see table 2). However, a per capita analysis gives a clearer picture of what these additional tax revenues mean to the average taxpayer.

While California's \$6.6 billion increase is by far the largest total tax hike, the heaviest additional per capita tax burden will fall on taxpayers in Connecticut. There, a one billion dollar tax hike translates to \$315.02 in addi-

tional taxes for every man, woman and child. Eight other state governments will extract over \$100 per capita in new state taxes in FY'92:

Pennsylvania	\$277.91	Delaware	\$141.86
California	\$220.70	Rhode Island	\$130.35
Maine	\$216.63	Nevada	\$116.99
Vermont	\$160.10	Arkansas	\$112.60

Meanwhile, four states bucked the revenue-raising trend by passing measures that will bring in less revenue in FY'92, but not very much less. Montana will spare its taxpayers \$5.88 per capita; New Jersey, \$2.59 per capita, Michigan, \$1.08 per capita, and North Dakota, 16 cents per capita in FY'92. In all the states which passed any kind of new revenue measures this year, the average additional tax burden will be \$62.84 per capita for FY'92.

Trends in State Tax Collections

This year's \$17 billion increase in FY'92 taxes, following on the heels of the \$9.5 billion increase in FY'91, has perpetuated the 1980s' trend of escalating state taxes.

Moreover, state tax collections grew at an average rate of 8.6 percent in the 1980s, outpacing inflation by more than 3 percentage points and personal income by 0.6 percentage points. During the decade, state tax collections rose 119 percent, from \$137.1 billion in 1980 to \$300.5 billion in 1990. Personal

Table 3
State Government Tax Collections By Type
Fiscal Years 1980-1990
(\$Billions)

Type of Tax	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989 (a)	1990	Percent Change 80-90	Percent Change 89-90
Total	\$137.1	\$149.8	\$162.6	\$171.5	\$196.9	\$215.9	\$228.1	\$246.5	\$264.1	\$284.4	\$300.5	119.3%	5.7%
General Sales	43.2	46.4	50.4	53.6	62.6	69.6	74.8	79.2	87.1	93.5	99.7	131.0	6.6
Personal Income	37.1	40.9	45.7	49.8	59.0	63.9	67.4	76.2	80.1	88.8	96.1	158.9	8.2
Corporate Income	13.3	14.1	14.0	13.2	15.5	17.6	18.4	20.5	21.6	23.9	21.8	63.6	-8.8
Motor Fuels	9.7	9.7	10.5	10.8	12.4	13.3	14.1	15.7	17.2	18.1	19.4	99.6	7.2
Licenses	8.7	9.5	10.1	10.7	12.0	13.8	14.9	15.9	17.0	17.7	18.8	116.3	6.2
Other	3.2	3.4	3.7	3.9	5.2	6.0	6.4	7.1	7.4	7.7	7.8	142.8	1.3
Insurance	3.1	3.3	3.5	3.9	4.1	4.5	5.5	6.3	6.9	7.4	7.4	137.7	0.0
Public Utilities	3.4	4.3	4.9	5.7	5.9	6.2	6.0	6.0	6.2	6.2	6.5	93.5	4.8
Property	2.9	2.9	3.1	3.3	3.9	4.0	4.4	4.7	5.0	5.3	5.8	100.5	9.4
Tobacco	3.7	3.9	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.4	4.5	4.6	4.8	5.1	5.5	47.1	7.8
Severance	4.2	6.4	7.8	7.4	7.2	7.2	6.1	4.0	4.3	4.1	4.7	11.7	14.6
Death and Gift	2.0	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.5	3.0	3.2	3.5	3.8	86.7	8.6
Alcohol	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.9	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.2	29.2	3.2

(a) 1989 figures revised.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; and Tax Foundation computations.

income taxes, insurance taxes, and sales taxes grew the fastest, jumping 159 percent, 138 percent, and 131 percent respectively.

FY'90 Collections Reach All-Time High

State tax revenues broke the \$300 billion mark for the first time in FY'90, rising 5.7 percent from their FY'89 level of \$284 billion, and providing 58 percent of total general revenue for the states. Severance tax, property tax, and death and gift tax grew the fastest, but most of the new funds were clearly due to persistent growth in collections from the mainstays of state government finance, personal income taxes and general sales taxes. They rose 8.2 percent and 6.6 percent respectively. Together these two tax sources accounted for more than 65 percent of the tax pie - \$99.7 billion from sales taxes and \$96.1 billion from personal income taxes. The third most pro-

digious revenue producer for state governments is corporate income taxes, which have been increasing rapidly and represented 7.3 percent of total collections in FY'90, or \$22 billion. The remainder of FY'90's revenue was garnered mostly from motor fuel taxes and licenses (see table 3 and figure 1).

Tax Burden Per Capita

Based on FY'90 tax collections, the average state tax burden per capita rose \$62, from \$1,148.52 in FY'89 to \$1,211.14 in FY'90. Alaskans pay the highest per capita taxes in the country, \$2,811.49 per resident. Hawaii (\$2,106.78), Delaware (\$1,695.59), and Connecticut (\$1,602.62) rank two-three-four in taxes per person. Taxpayers in New Hampshire (\$536.67), South Dakota (\$718.52), Texas (\$866.36), and Tennessee (\$870.38) will shoulder the lightest per capita state tax burdens (see table 4 and figure 2).

Figure 2
State Tax Collections Per Capita by State
 Fiscal Year 1990

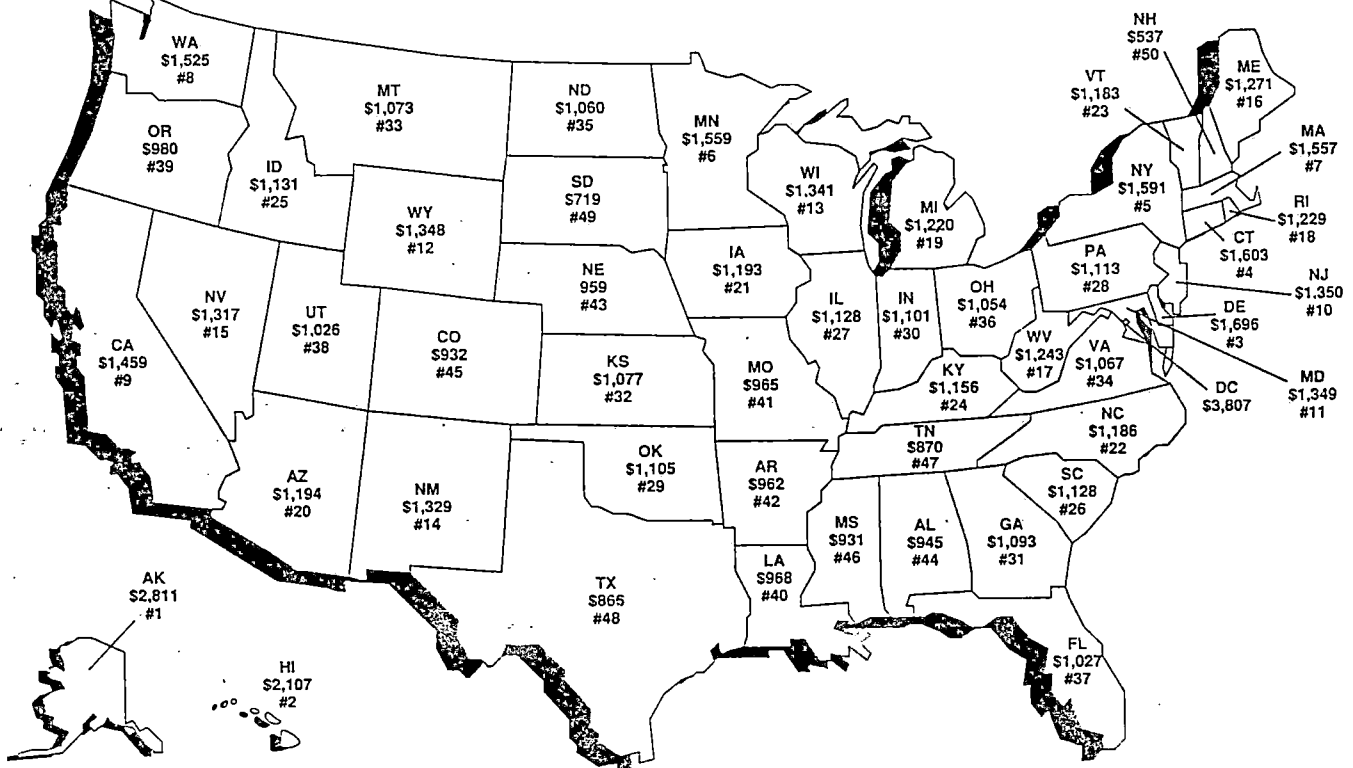


Table 4
Total State Level Tax Collections Per \$1,000 in Personal Income and Per Capita Tax Burden

Fiscal Year 1990

State	Per \$1000 of Income	Rank Per Capita	Per Capita (a)	Personal Income (b) (\$Millions)	Total Tax Revenue (\$Millions)
Total	\$64.87	-	\$1,211.14	\$4,632,380	\$300,488.6
Alabama	63.76	44	945.29	59,907	3,819.5
Alaska	129.20	1	2,811.49	11,969	1,546.4
Arizona	73.27	20	1,194.13	59,732	4,376.8
Arkansas	67.65	42	961.80	33,423	2,260.9
California	70.16	9	1,458.98	618,850	43,419.2
Colorado	49.57	45	931.71	61,916	3,069.4
Connecticut	63.20	4	1,602.62	83,355	5,268.0
Delaware	84.62	3	1,695.59	13,349	1,129.6
Florida	55.27	37	1,027.17	240,459	13,289.5
Georgia	64.49	31	1,092.62	109,765	7,078.2
Hawaii	104.02	2	2,106.78	22,446	2,334.8
Idaho	74.61	25	1,131.11	15,262	1,138.7
Illinois	55.55	27	1,127.72	232,071	12,890.5
Indiana	65.26	30	1,100.55	93,494	6,101.6
Iowa	69.17	21	1,193.15	47,897	3,313.1
Kansas	59.89	32	1,077.26	44,562	2,669.0
Kentucky	77.44	24	1,156.13	55,019	4,260.7
Louisiana	67.29	40	968.42	60,730	4,086.7
Maine	73.90	16	1,271.14	21,120	1,560.9
Maryland	61.70	11	1,348.99	104,543	6,450.1
Massachusetts	68.78	7	1,557.26	136,226	9,369.1
Michigan	66.52	19	1,220.34	170,534	11,343.4
Minnesota	83.21	6	1,558.65	81,948	6,819.3
Mississippi	73.11	46	931.08	32,770	2,395.9
Missouri	55.16	41	965.23	89,535	4,939.2
Montana	71.04	33	1,073.36	12,074	857.7
Nebraska	55.66	43	958.53	27,182	1,512.9
Nevada	67.85	15	1,317.39	23,335	1,583.3
New Hampshire	25.82	50	536.67	23,060	595.3
New Jersey	54.06	10	1,349.76	193,008	10,433.9
New Mexico	93.43	14	1,329.34	21,556	2,014.0
New York	72.38	5	1,590.54	395,336	28,614.6
North Carolina	73.23	22	1,186.48	107,403	7,864.7
North Dakota	69.48	35	1,059.97	9,745	677.1
Ohio	60.34	36	1,054.32	189,537	11,436.4
Oklahoma	71.57	29	1,105.31	48,581	3,476.9
Oregon	57.13	39	980.15	48,762	2,785.9
Pennsylvania	59.59	28	1,112.61	221,850	13,219.7
Rhode Island	65.23	18	1,229.05	18,906	1,233.3
South Carolina	74.73	26	1,128.40	52,646	3,934.4
South Dakota	45.27	49	718.52	11,047	500.1
Tennessee	55.09	47	870.38	77,052	4,245.0
Texas	51.70	48	866.36	284,678	14,716.5
Utah	72.87	38	1,026.20	24,263	1,768.0
Vermont	67.85	23	1,183.00	9,812	665.7
Virginia	54.02	34	1,066.77	122,178	6,600.5
Washington	80.88	8	1,525.29	91,774	7,423.1
West Virginia	90.44	17	1,243.25	24,655	2,229.7
Wisconsin	76.59	13	1,340.57	85,620	6,557.7
Wyoming	82.23	12	1,348.39	7,438	611.6
Exhibit: Dist. of Col.	157.43	-	3,806.74	14,675	2,310.3

(a) Population as of June 1990.

(b) Personal income is the sum of the State estimates. It omits the earnings of Federal civilian and military personnel stationed abroad and of U.S. residents employed abroad temporarily by private U.S. firms.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Bureau of Economic Analysis, and Tax Foundation computations.

Taxes Per \$1,000 of Personal Income

Taxpayers paid a national average of \$64.87 in state level taxes per \$1,000 of personal income earned. The average effective rate, therefore, of taxes per \$1,000 of personal income is 6.49 percent. Thirty-one states and the District of Columbia surpassed this national average rate. Alaska, second only to the District of Columbia, led the states with an effective rate of 12.9 percent, nearly double the national average. By comparison, taxpayers in New Hampshire paid 2.6 percent of their personal income in state taxes, only one-fifth of Alaska's rate. The ten states with the highest taxes as a percentage of personal income are:

Alaska	12.9	Minnesota	8.3
Hawaii	10.4	Wyoming	8.2
New Mexico	9.3	Washington	8.1
West Virginia	9.0	Kentucky	7.7
Delaware	8.5	Wisconsin	7.7

The lowest percentages are paid by taxpayers in:

New Hampshire	2.6	New Jersey	5.4
South Dakota	4.5	Tennessee	5.5
Colorado	5.0	Missouri	5.5
Texas	5.2	Florida	5.5
Virginia	5.4	Illinois	5.6

Outlook for State Taxpayers

While Americans are struggling to make ends meet in a recessionary economy, state legislatures have handed them a whopping \$17 billion tax hike. Despite the size of the increase, demands for more state-level funds are already being heard, as state governments try to simultaneously keep up with federal spending mandates and satisfy their own wish-lists for higher spending. This perpetuates a trend of the 1980s - higher taxes and higher spending at the state level. And with no robust recovery in sight, it is a trend which will cause an increasing amount of pain to state taxpayers.

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"Has modern philosophy from Rousseau to Rawls destroyed the foundations of the Founders' thought? The question may prove to be of supreme importance to mankind. In *Confronting the Constitution* it is faced by more than a dozen gifted theorists. ... There is nothing like it in the literature. It is a confrontation of confrontations. This is a feast of reason—a proper celebration of the Founding."

—Edward C. Banfield
Harvard University

"The 1980s were years in which other peoples responded to the power of the ideas that undergird the American polity. The book, arriving at the dawn of a new decade, will help enkindle similar understanding of American ideas among Americans.

—George F. Will,
syndicated columnist

"Splendid ruminations on the Constitution, both learned and pugnacious, through the lenses of great bodies of theory placed in contention with each other and their spirited authors. Instructive and fun."
—Aaron Wildavsky,
University of California, Berkeley

Allan Bloom is author of the bestselling *Closing of the American Mind: How Higher*

Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students. He has also translated Plato's *Republic* and Rousseau's *Emile*. Professor Bloom is co-director of the John M. Olin Center for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of Democracy and professor on the Committee on Social Thought and the College at the University of Chicago.

1991, 604 pages
Paper, ISBN 0-8447-3700-3 \$16.95
Cloth, ISBN 0-8447-3699-6 \$24.95

Foreign Policy and the Constitution

Edited by Robert A. Goldwin and Robert A. Licht

Where does the Constitution lodge the power to determine the foreign relations of the United States? Although the Constitution gives Congress, especially the Senate, a prominent foreign policy role, it has often seemed to conflict with the president's authority as commander in chief. Is it safer to have a powerful legislative restraint on the executive? Or does legislative meddling interfere with the decisiveness essential for a great power's diplomatic, military, and economic activities in the modern world? The seven essays ask not only what the solution might be but whether the problem is inherent in the very nature of the power to conduct foreign policy. The authors are Jack N. Rakove, Nathan Tarcov, Michael M. Uhlmann, Jacques J. Gorlin, Mark Blitz, Edmund S. Muskie, and Dick Cheney. Part of the AEI series "A Decade of Study of the Constitution."

1990, 147 pages
Paper, ISBN 0-8447-3722-4 \$15.50
Cloth, ISBN 0-8447-3721-6 \$29.25

NEW!

The Framers and Fundamental Rights

Edited by Robert A. Licht

Although the American idea of liberty is inconceivable apart from rights, the recent profusion of asserted rights—individual, social, economic—has caused deep divisions among us. In contrast to the clarity of the "self-evident" truths and "unalienable" rights of the Declaration of Independence, many rights debates bewilder citizens who lack the deep historical learning needed to place them in perspective.

In this volume, seven eminent authors—Benjamin Barber, Judith A. Best, Robert A. Goldwin, Lino A. Graglia, Thomas L. Pangle, Mark V. Tushnet, and Michael P. Zuckert—confront the question, What are the fundamental rights, and where are they in the Constitution? In clear and forceful language they relate current arguments to traditional ideas of republicanism and democracy and compare them with those that were the focus of our Revolution, Civil War, and suffrage and civil rights movements.

1991, 165 pages
Cloth, ISBN 0-8447-3788-7 \$19.95

The New American Political System Second Version

Edited by Anthony King

Everything is new in this eagerly awaited second version of AEI's all-time best seller, which brings coverage of the vital trends in American political life up to the present.

continued

"... a fascinating new book ... The dust jacket ... identifies author Robert Goldwin as having been a 'clarifier of ideas' for President Gerald Ford. After reading this brief, but thought-provoking, collection of essays, articles and speeches, I can believe the president was well-served. ... The leaders of the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and Latin America could learn much from Mr. Goldwin's theories about rights, constitutions and morality in foreign affairs."

—Washington Times

"Robert Goldwin is a great liberator from clichés. He combines a curious intellect, a life spent in government and academia, and an elegant mode of expression to make this an exciting book. It is also a useful book, in the sense that thoughtful persons will keep returning to it as a sound guide to thinking about all kinds of important questions in our lives as citizens, questions about the Constitution, human rights, higher education, and much more." —Allan Bloom, University of Chicago

"Robert Goldwin is identified as a 'conservative' scholar in most circles, but his conservatism is of the old school—identified with values, rather than causes. ... His book reflects the solid scholarship of a thoughtful professional. And equally important, Dr. Goldwin puts all this thoughtful stuff in a highly readable style." —Abner J. Mikva, U.S. circuit judge

1990, 194 pages
Cloth, ISBN 0-8447-3693-7 \$16.95

FORTHCOMING!

**Toward a More
Perfect Union**
The Writings of
Herbert J. Storing

Also of Interest

NEW!

After the People Vote A Guide to the Electoral College, Revised Edition

Edited by Walter Berns

What if no presidential candidate gets an electoral college majority? Or a presidential candidate dies before the November election? Or after the November election but before the electoral votes are cast? Or after the electoral votes are cast but before they are counted? Or before the winning candidate assumes office?

Questions like these have puzzled even constitutional scholars. This guide explains the workings of the electoral college, the process of presidential succession, and the interactions of the Constitution, federal and state statutes, and party and parliamentary rules. Invaluable not only to students enrolled in courses on the American political system but to the press and public as well.

In addition to the distinguished constitutional scholar Walter Berns, this edition includes essays by Norman J. Ornstein and Martin Diamond, Robert Goldwin, Michael Malbin, Thomas Mann, Howard Penniman, Austin Ranney, and Richard M. Scammon also collaborated.

About the first edition: "A basic manual on the process and an excellent source for any library or classroom." —Kliatt Young
Adult Paperback Club

1991, 100 pages
Paper, ISBN 0-8447-3802-6 \$ 8.50

NEW IN PAPERBACK!

Confronting the Constitution: The Challenge to Locke, Montesquieu, Jefferson, and Federalists from Utilitarianism, Historicism, Marxism, Freudianism, Pragmatism, Existentialism...

Edited by Allan Bloom

With the Communist nations a shambles everywhere, our Constitution may appear to have weathered the greatest challenge. Yet notions hostile to our principles pose no less serious threats. Ways of thinking that spring from the social sciences, for example, or from contemporary rights theories, constitute a direct assault on our traditions. This book addresses the question, Can our Constitution survive postconstitutional thought?

The seventeen essays in this volume examine first the precepts of the Founding Fathers and their mentors. Then the most significant postconstitutional ideas are outlined, together with analyses of how they harmonize with the Constitution and how they undermine it.

The authors include eminent American authorities on the Constitution and on the ideas antithetical to it. Index.

"This book is a brilliant discussion of the clash of ideas surrounding the meaning of American constitutionalism, a fitting tribute to the framers on the 200th anniversary of the founding of the American nation. Careful documentation and extensive index."

—Choice

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: _____

TO:

FROM: HELEN MOBLEY
Special Assistant to the Deputy
Office of Public Liaison
Room 128, OEOB, x7900

1 - Comptroller

Russell ~~W~~ Milnes - 2pm
Prime ~~Director~~ - Def. Dir. to Enviro
to Environ Res

3pm - manpower

Not specific to VA
has to be broad brush



THE OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-4000

Date 19 Nov 91

FAX COVER SHEET

ORCE MANAGEMENT
AND PERSONNEL

MILITARY MANPOWER AND PERSONNEL POLICY
(Officer and Enlisted Personnel Management)

TO: HELEN MOBLEY ; PHONE (202) 456-1647
WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

FROM: CPT JOE RAPONE ; (703) 614-3973/4092

MESSAGE:

COL DEUTSCH'S BIO, AS REQUESTED.

- CPT RAPONE

Page 1 of 2 pages (including this cover sheet)

(Sending FAX Number (703) 614-6058)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 13, 1991

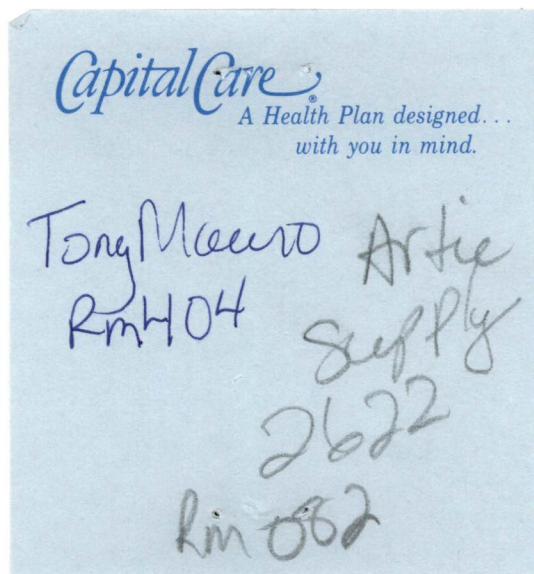
MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL BYERS

FROM: HELEN MOBLEY
SUBJ: REQUEST FOR SPEAKERS

As we discussed, I am putting together a briefing for business and community leaders from the Hampton Roads area of Virginia. The group of approximately 50, is specifically interested in hearing about the budget allocations for the Hampton Roads area as well as projected manpower ceilings and OM&N. The group has specifically requested Tom Baca, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Environment, to brief them.

We are planning the briefing for Thursday, November 21 from 1:00 pm to 4:00 pm in Room 474 of the Old Executive Office Building. For this particular type of briefing we would like each speaker to brief the group and take questions for a total of 50 minutes. We would probably have a short break between the second and third speakers.

Please call me if you have any questions at (202)456-7900. Thank you very much for your assistance.



IS: *Ken Hallinger*
H

FAX Transmission Date: 2 October 1991

From: Wagner for Delegate
Virginia Beach, VA

To: The White House
Washington, D.C.
Office of Public Liason

Please pass to: Ms Helen Mobley

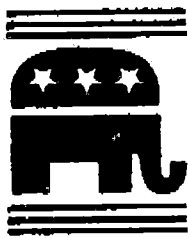
Number of Pages(Including this Page) 4

If all pages not received please call (804)490-7641

Number to be faxed to: (202)456-1647

Helen,
Thanks for all your help. I look
forward to your decision.

Thanks
T. Rand Wayne

**Frank****WAGNER****Republican...Delegate 21st District**

The White House
Office of Public Liaison
Washington, D.C.

1 October 1991

Dear Ms. Mobley,

As per your request, the following White House briefings are hereby requested:

The first briefing is requested on a date prior to the 5 November 1991 election (Preferably in the second half of October):

The second briefing is requested for after the 5 November election, with a decision on dates prior to 5 November for campaign purposes. (If briefing is approved, it is preferred that the dates be in mid November to allow as much time for planning and legislation drafting prior to the General Assembly convening.

FILIPINO-AMERICAN CITIZEN BRIEFING (Briefing one)

Background: Filipino-Americans make up 9% of my districts voting age population. They tend to exercise their right to vote and represent the most crucial swing block vote in the forthcoming elections. The Filipino-American community tends to be very well organized operating under various civic organizations, with overall co-ordination being performed by an umbrella organization.

If a briefing can be arranged, not only leaders from the Hampton Roads area will be invited, but is my intent to invite leaders from across the country, with special emphasis on California, Florida, Indiana, Northern Virginia and Ohio. Several leaders from out-of-state have indicated their desire to attend and arrange for co-ordination of travel plans/invitations for additional leaders. Some will have direct family ties or personal friendships with Defense Secretary Ramos and other political leaders within the Philippine government.

The following issues are upper-most on the minds of Filipino-American citizens.

Defense & Diplomatic Relationships - Given current actions by the Philippine Senate regarding base closing, what will be the future of American/Filipino diplomatic and defense relations in the future. (Request State and Defense Department briefer)

American Citizenship - Recent legislation has been passed to make it easier for Filipinos serving in the U.S. Navy to gain U.S. citizenship. Request briefing on new legislation, along with details for application and approval procedures. Many U. S. citizens of Filipino decent have blood relatives who have experienced significant delays (Many in excess of a decade) for

Wagner for Deleгат (Page 2)

being approved for immigration to the United States. Request information and/or details regarding delays experienced and measures to speed application processing.
(Request Bureau of Immigration & Naturalization briefing)

Business Opportunities - Filipino-American citizens are a hard working important segment of the American economy and many are small business owners. Due primarily to lack of information and language barriers many of these firms have not taken advantage of various government programs designed to assist these firms in growth.
(Request brief by Small Business Administration)

Proposed itinerary (2 Day)

Day 1	
Noon	Arrival Hotel check-in Sight seeing
Evening	Reception at Republic of the Philippines Embassy (Tentative)
Day 2	
	Legislative Breakfast (Breakfast Meeting with various State senators & congressmen)
	Executive/White House briefing (Diplomatic and Defense Issues.)
	Lunch at Hotel - Guest either SBA or Immigration
	Briefing at Hotel - SBA or Immigration
	Sightseeing and Shopping
	Celebration Dinner at Hotel.

Estimated guests - 100 Thursday/Friday event would be preferred.

HAMPTON ROADS DEFENSE BRIEFING (Briefing 2)

Background: The Hampton Roads economy is perhaps the most dependent economy in the country on the defense dollar. World events and fiscal necessities have presented a rather bleak future for those that depend on defense as a cornerstone of their economy.

Following November's election, but prior to the session of the General Assembly opening in January it is imperative to understand the full consequences of both approved and planned defense ceilings and/or cutbacks.

A cornerstone of my campaign has been the need to recognize the potential impact to our local economy and develop logical plans to diversify the business base in Hampton Roads. (See forwarded news article)

If elected, I will move rapidly to build a bi-partisan coalition of conservative Democrats, Republicans and various community and business leaders to develop such a coordinated business plan and

Extended Page 2.2
business leaders to develop such a document
see that it is included in the forthcoming state budget debates.

Wagner for Delegate (Page 2)

*Michael Byers
703
677-2577*

*Manpower
Budget
Environ*

No speculation

*Defense
Plans*

Wagner for Delegate (Page 3)

The key to implementing such a plan is to insure these leaders are properly briefed on Pentagon/Defense Department plans for the remainder of this decade and beyond, and how they relate to Defense Department spending/Navy manning levels/Civilian DoD employment levels in the Hampton Roads area. A solid briefing from DoD will allow community leaders to fully understand the potential impact and gauge the scope of economic changes necessary to maintain a stable economy in this region.

An important new potential area for economic expansion is the environmental engineering field. Given that various Federal facilities have some major environmental problems, and that it is apparent that significant funds may be available for moving research from the labs into practical application, the Hampton Roads area would be ideally situated to receive these funds. Operating under the umbrella of The Research Triangle for Environmental Engineering, these Federal seed funds would be used directly on resolving and cleaning up real Federal government environmental problems. Necessarily, the Chesapeake Bay would be impacted in a very positive manner. However, the third and perhaps most important impact, would be to enhance an all ready budding new industry in this area, that has direct non-Government market implications with potential export implications.

*50-min
Thurs
Nov. 21
9-12*

Therefore, a morning/afternoon meeting is envisioned. Morning briefings would be conducted by DoD planners with emphasis on force numbers, homeporting, projected manpower forecasts for Hampton Roads, and projected OM&N funding levels. Include forecasts for new construction carriers and submarines, status of homeporting, projected manpower ceilings for Norfolk Naval Shipyard, as well as other DoD government activities in the area. This information is absolutely vital if local leaders are to make educated decisions on how to stimulate and maintain sound economic conditions in Hampton Roads.

It is requested that the afternoon briefings be conducted by representatives of the DoD environmental divisions, EPA, Department of Energy and Resolution Trust Agency specifically designed to inform guests of the opportunities available in the environmental engineering field, with an emphasis on moving technology from the lab into practical field application.

I apologize for the length of this letter, but I wanted to insure that I provided as much information as possible regarding the requested briefings. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me at your convenience.

Thanks for all your support.

Sincerely

Frank W Wagner
Frank W. Wagner

*opportunities
in Enviro.*

*Dr. Ernestine's
at
At. Sec. release*

**Executive Office of the President
CONFERENCE ROOM RESERVATION REQUEST**

NAME OF INDIVIDUAL HOSTING/ATTENDING EVENT: <i>Helen Mobley</i>		EXTENSION: <i>7900</i>
OFFICE/AGENCY: <i>Public Liaison</i>		DATE OF MEETING: <i>Nov. 21</i>
STAFF PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR CLEARANCE: <i>H. Mobley</i>		HOURS: From: <i>1pm</i> To: <i>4pm</i>
TYPE OF EVENT: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Meeting <input type="checkbox"/> Reception Other _____		Official: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Private: _____
PURPOSE OF MEETING: Meeting <i>Virginia Legislators Issue Briefing</i>		
NUMBER OF ATTENDEES: <i>100</i>	IN ATTENDANCE: <input type="checkbox"/> President <input type="checkbox"/> First Lady <input type="checkbox"/> Vice President	
ROOM(S) REQUESTED: <input type="checkbox"/> 22 OEOB <input type="checkbox"/> 274 OEOB <input type="checkbox"/> 450 OEOB <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 474 OEOB <input type="checkbox"/> 476 OEOB <input type="checkbox"/> Roosevelt Room West Wing Other _____		
GSA REQUIREMENTS: <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES (fill out TYPE OF SERVICE below)		
TYPE OF SERVICE:)		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Elevator Service <input type="checkbox"/> #4 <input type="checkbox"/> #6 <input type="checkbox"/> #7 Time Reserved <i>12:00-1:00</i> Floors Reserved <i>1-4</i>		SPECIAL ROOM ARRANGEMENTS (See reverse side for options) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Theatre: Number of Chairs <i>100</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Reception: Number of Table(s) _____ 6ft _____ 8ft _____ 10ft <input type="checkbox"/> Conference: Number of Table(s) _____ 6ft _____ 8ft _____ 10ft Number of Chairs _____ <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other <i>Need Easel</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Podium <input type="checkbox"/> Coat Rack <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Flags		
WHITE HOUSE STAFF MESS REQUIRED: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> YES Estimated Cost \$ _____ Funding to be Provided by: _____ Counsel's Approval: _____		
REMARKS:		
OFFICIAL USE ONLY		
DATE OF REQUEST:	APPROVED BY:	

**RETURN TO: White House Administrative Office
Room 1, OEOB; 48 hours prior to event.**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL BYERS

FROM: HELEN MOBLEY
SUBJ: REQUEST FOR SPEAKERS

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