

Maine
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→ no

David Cousins
Lorri

South Thomaston, ME

#7 w/ Mrs. Lader +

Mrs. King

pool

report for Super bowl watch.

The Record Nobody Knows

Even without health care, Clinton's doing well domestically

BY JONATHAN ALTER

EVEN THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORTERS DON'T REALLY support him. The slice of the public that approves of his Haiti policy, for instance, largely credits Jimmy Carter for it. The press is hostile, the comedians merciless, the voters primed to turn November into a Democratic dung heap. Much of the abuse is justified: American foreign policy is a feckless mess, and its helmsman an amateur in the essential art of projecting strength.

But there's a slight problem with this ceaseless rap: in less than two years, Bill Clinton has already achieved more domestically than John F. Kennedy, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and George Bush combined. Although Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan often had their way with Congress, Congressional Quarterly says it's Clinton who has had the most legislative success of any president since Lyndon Johnson. Inhale that one.

Kennedy built the Peace Corps and cut taxes. Ford mostly vetoed. Carter turned education into a cabinet-level department and made adjustments in energy policy and civil service. Bush won a new Clean Air Act. Those are their highlights on the domestic side.

Clinton—with help from Hillary and Congress—bungled health-care reform, his biggest initiative. But he's right to assert that his domestic record is much stronger than the public knows. The standard for measuring results domestically should not be the coherence of the process but how actual lives are touched and changed. By that standard, he's doing well.

Let's stipulate that the relative strength of the economy is beyond Clinton's control, though he would certainly be blamed were it weak. Let's assume that he missed a historic chance to restrain entitlements and cut the budget deficit deeply, though he cut it more deeply than any of his hypocritical GOP predecessors (the deficit will go down three years in a row for the first time since the 1950s). Let's set aside NAFTA, though it provides real evidence that he's no old-style Democrat. Let's concede that by going slow on campaign-finance reform Clinton missed a chance to co-opt the Perot agenda, though a plan to crack down hard on lobbyists was poised for passage last week. Let's even agree that the huge crime bill won't accomplish much, though Clinton—the man repeatedly accused of having no core convictions—is the first president ever to stand up to the National Rifle Association.

Instead, cast a glance at what are known unfortunately as "second tier" issues. They don't get the media attention of health care or welfare reform (some form of Clinton's proposed two-year welfare limit, by the way, will almost certainly be approved in 1995). But less-noticed changes—like allowing American workers time off to care for sick relatives without being fired—also affect millions of people.

Last week a tiny news brief announced the passage of procure-

ment reform. The press says: ZZZZZZ... But this bill totally overhauls the way the government does business. The era of the \$500 hammer or toilet seat is over; now bureaucrats are authorized to go buy them without the asinine paperwork—a reform Americans have been demanding for years.

Clinton and his advisers have been almost comically out to lunch on the political dividends of "reinventing government." For a total of one week in 1993, he emphasized it. His numbers shot up, and he promptly dropped it. But despite much foot-dragging in Congress, Al Gore's project is already a big success. So far, more than 70,000 federal jobs have been eliminated (well en route to 252,000, at a projected savings of more than \$40 billion). By 1997, the federal work force will be smaller than at any time since Johnson. Yet nearly 78 percent of voters in a recent Washington Post poll thought Clinton had made "little or no progress" in this area.

Good bills: Journalists shouldn't gush. But guarding against gushing has often kept valid accomplishments from being fully reported. For instance, the rare stories on Clinton's national-service plan have featured mostly jibes that it is smaller than he promised. Fair enough. Clinton hyped it. But with 20,000 volunteers, Americorps is already bigger than the Peace Corps at its peak. By 1997, it will be six times

bigger than the Peace Corps. How many people know that? How many know that the strong new structure of the student-loan program saves money, eases debt pressure and allows students to choose low-paying community work the country needs? This will affect more than 2 million young Americans. But because these changes are uncontroversial, they are defined by the press as insignificant.

Consider the doubling of the Earned Income Tax Credit, a program whose name is so boring that few have bothered to figure out that it is the most important income transfer in a generation. Most of the blame here rests with the White House, which could never rename the thing or otherwise convey that the president is in the process of pulling 14 million more working poor families (mostly under \$20,000 a year) out of poverty. There's no incentive anymore to give up a low-income job to go on welfare—a huge change. Because it had bipartisan support and no new bureaucracy (it's done by the IRS), the EITC never became a political story and thus was barely defined as "news." But it's a hell of a lot more relevant to assessing Clinton's real record than, say, gays in the military.

A few good bills don't make a president. Clinton's thematics are weak, and themes—consistently applied, compellingly explained—are the sinews of presidential leadership. But the press has endlessly covered communication, character, tone, style, running shorts. Now how about a look at the record?



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

With Americorps: Bigger than the Peace Corps

The standard should be how the lives of Americans are touched and changed

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

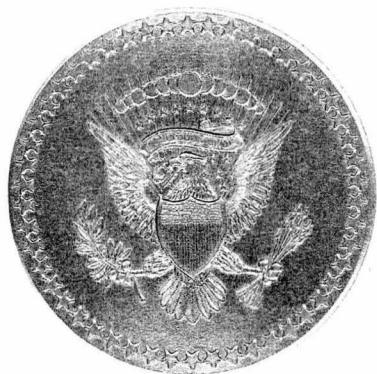
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The State of the Union

*Address to the
103rd Congress
Second Session*



President William J. Clinton

*January 25, 1994
Washington, D.C.*

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION FIRST-YEAR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

"Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America." (Inaugural Address)

SUMMARY

"Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world, and the urgent question of our age is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy. ... We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps." (Inaugural Address)

From day one, President Clinton and Vice President Gore have broken the gridlock that paralyzed Washington for years. Working effectively with Congress, they have laid a solid foundation for economic recovery and made a strong start on achieving the President's key priorities.

The President and Congress had a remarkable year. *Congressional Quarterly* found that legislation on which the President took a stand passed 88.6 percent of the time, the highest first-year success rate since President Eisenhower in 1953. Another found that the President won tough votes at an even higher rate -- over 90 percent, better than the record of President Johnson in 1965. Bi-partisan support was crucial to the passage of key legislation such as National Service, NAFTA, the Family and Medical Leave Act and flood relief. For only the second time in 60 years, there has been no Presidential veto. Below are some highlights:

- ✓ The Economic Package. Signed into law on August 10, 1993
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REBUILDING THE ECONOMY

"We have to ask everyone to contribute something to get the job done. But we're going to ask the most from those who got the most and gave the least during the past dozen years, those at the top of ladder. And we're going to do everything we can to protect people who are suffering the most from declining incomes and vanishing jobs, the middle class and the working poor. " (First Radio Address)

MORE JOBS

Jobs are being created at the fastest rate in 4 years. In the first year of the Clinton Administration, more than 1.6 million new private sector jobs have been created -- over half a million more than during the previous four years.

- o Unemployment dropped to 6.4 percent in December, 1993 -- a three-year low.
- o In the first year of the Clinton administration, the economy has generated 164,000 new payroll jobs per month -- four times the average pace over the previous four years.

HISTORIC DEFICIT REDUCTION

- o Passed the largest deficit-cutting plan in history -- more than \$500 billion over five years.
- o The deficit reduction package included \$255 billion in specific spending cuts and an unprecedented "hard freeze" -- a 12 % real reduction -- on all discretionary spending.

LOWER INTEREST RATES

American consumers are benefitting from low interest and mortgage rates that make it easier to buy a home and reduce the burden on those who already pay their mortgages.

- o Spurred by the deficit reduction plan, interest rates have fallen sharply. In the last year, 10 and 30-year rates have both dropped over a full percentage point. Thirty-year mortgage rates are down from 8.22% a year ago to 7.19% -- the lowest in more than 20 years.
- o As a result of these low rates, more than 5.4 million Americans have refinanced their homes in 1993 for a savings of \$10 billion just this year. A homeowner with a \$100,000 mortgage who refinances and saves 2 percentage points will save \$1,700 per year.
- o Housing starts climbed from 1.17 million last January to 1.43 million in November -- the highest level in over 3 years. Construction spending is up 10% over previous years and existing home sales are the highest in 14 years.
- o As a result of the low rates, business investment is surging. Over the past year, spending for producers' durable equipment has expanded at the fastest pace since 1984.

EXPANDING MARKETS FOR U.S. EXPORTS

- o Concluded the North American Free Trade Agreement and signed implementing legislation, ensuring that Americans will take a leadership role in the expanding global economy and opening markets that will create jobs

- o Negotiated a successful GATT that will lower trade barriers among over 170 nations, save American consumers billions of dollars, and create hundreds of thousands of jobs.
- o Instituted a tough, new trade policy that safeguards the environment and American workers.
- o Advanced the United States trade agenda in Asia by convening the first-ever summit of Asian-Pacific leaders (APEC) and agreeing with Japan on a framework for trade talks. Promoted G-7 growth policies at Tokyo summit.

HELPING SMALL BUSINESS

- o Made new tax cuts available to over 90% of small businesses. Increased expensing of investment and provided a new targeted capital gains cut for long-term investments in small businesses -- incentives that will create hundreds of thousands of jobs in the next five years.
- o Signed the Small Business Guaranteed Credit Enhancement Act of 1993, increasing the availability of SBA-guaranteed loans.
- o Initiated aggressive action to alleviate the credit crunch on small and medium-sized businesses through regulatory initiatives to reduce burdens on banks.

A GROWTH-ORIENTED HIGH-TECH POLICY

- o Developed a National Export Strategy, eliminating export controls on \$37 billion worth of American high-tech products that support high-wage American jobs.
- o Developed an action plan for the National Information Infrastructure and ordered the transfer of 200 MHz of spectrum to the private sector to jump-start new wireless technologies.
- o Shifted federal R&D priorities heavily toward civilian technology.
- o Provided incentives for private-sector research and development and new business formation by extending the R&D tax credit.

HELPING COMMUNITIES

- o Created nine Economic Empowerment Zones and 95 Enterprise Communities. The plan gives local communities the incentives and regulatory flexibility to work with the private sector in developing comprehensive economic development strategies.
- o Transmitted to Congress the Community Development Banking and Financial Institutions Act of 1993, which creates a \$382 million federal fund to subsidize the development of community development banks and institutions.
- o Introduced the Housing and Community Development Act of 1993, revamping rent policy for public housing tenants and making home ownership easier for low-income Americans.
- o Instituted the Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative, which implemented \$1.7 billion in specific defense conversion programs for 1993. The package includes funding for worker training and adjustment, investments in hard-hit communities, and the Technology Reinvestment Project to help small defense firms make the transition to commercial markets.

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SAFER STREETS

"We must pass a tough crime bill. I support an initiative to put 100,000 more police officers on the street -- to provide boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders, and more space for the hardened criminals in jail. And I support an initiative to do what we can to keep guns out of the hands of criminals." (Joint Session Address)

GUNS OFF THE STREET

- o President Clinton signed the Brady Bill on November 30, 1993 -- breaking seven years of gridlock. The Brady Bill requires a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns.
- o Banned imports of foreign assault pistols, such as the Uzi, and called for a ban on all assault weapons. The Senate crime bill includes the toughest assault weapons ban ever passed.
- o Tightened federal gun dealer licensing requirements by improving background checks on prospective dealers, requiring dealers to obtain more reliable identification from purchasers and scrutinizing multiple handgun sales reports. Proposed dramatically increasing the federal licensing fee for gun dealers to reduce the 284,000 gun dealers in the U.S. today.
- o Pushed for passage of a measure in the Senate crime bill which bans the possession of handguns by minors.

100,000 NEW POLICE OFFICERS

- o To make our streets safer, the crime bill passed by Congress adopts the President's plan to put 100,000 more police officers on the streets with heavy emphasis on community policing.
- o Signed the Police Hiring Supplement, which awards \$200 million to communities for community policing; federal grants were awarded to 74 cities in December.

SAFER SCHOOLS

- o Expanded funding for the SAFE Schools Initiative. The President proposed and the Senate passed strong new measures as part of the crime bill to make our nation's schools safer.

STOP DRUGS

- o Elevated the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy to Cabinet rank.
- o Signed an Executive Order strengthening the Office of Drug Policy's agency-wide jurisdiction over drug policy, including issues involving national security.
- o Included treatment for substance abuse as part of the comprehensive health benefits package in the Health Security Act.

MORE PRISONS AND BOOT CAMPS

- o The crime bill will fund the construction of new prisons to make sure that criminals stay behind bars and expand boot camps for young offenders.

HELPING FAMILIES

"...There is a lot more we need to do to help people trapped in welfare move to work and independence; to strengthen child support enforcement; to reward those who work 40 hours a week and have children at home with an increase in the earned income tax credit so we can really say we're rewarding work instead of dependence -- to immunize all the children of this country so more parents won't have to take advantage of family leave because their children will be well, and strong, and healthy." (Family and Medical Leave Act signing)

TAX CUTS FOR WORKING FAMILIES (EITC)

- o Expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit by \$21 billion over five years to reward work over welfare. This year, 14 million families will receive \$13 billion in benefits from the EITC. When fully implemented, more than 20 million households with incomes of \$27,000 or less will benefit.

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE

- o Signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, providing up to 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave for employees to care for family members. As a result, Americans will not have to face the difficult choice between caring for their families or keeping their jobs.

FAMILY SUPPORT

- o Funded the Family Preservation and Support Initiative to help prevent child abuse and help parents learn the skills and tools they need to raise their children

HEAD START

- o Increased funding for Head Start by \$550 million, allowing 100,000 additional children to participate in the program.

IMMUNIZATIONS

- o Signed a comprehensive Child Immunization Plan to provide vaccines, free of charge, to six million additional American children.

UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

- o Signed the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993, extending unemployment benefits for up to 26 weeks for victims of the recession and providing \$4 billion in emergency unemployment compensation to approximately 1.9 million unemployed American workers. Quick action on the unemployment benefits bill kept 250,000 to 300,000 unemployed Americans each week from falling through the safety net.

FOOD ASSISTANCE

- o Fully funded the special supplemental food program for Women, Infants and Children, increasing average participation by 300,000 families, and enacted key provisions of the Mickey Leland Act, broadening food stamp assistance for poor families with children.

EDUCATION AND SERVICE

"Americans of every generation face profound challenges in meeting the needs that have been neglected for too long in this country ... for those who answer the call and meet these challenges, I propose that our country honor your service with new opportunities for education." (Rutgers University Address)

AFFORDABLE EDUCATION

- o Signed the Student Loan Reform Act of 1993 making college more affordable to more students and saving taxpayer money through direct federal lending and income contingent loans. Eliminating the "middle man" will reduce the cost of loans saving \$3 billion over the next five years and \$2 billion each year thereafter.

NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

- o Signed into law the National Service Act that will enable 100,000 Americans to serve their communities and our country, and earn assistance in paying for higher education. The AmeriCorps participants will directly address the nation's critical needs in areas of education, human service, public safety and the environment.

BETTER SCHOOLS

- o Introduced the "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," a comprehensive national education reform program, and the "Improving America's Schools Act."
- o Signed an Executive Order on Historically Black Colleges and Universities mobilizing a federal effort to foster the development and success of these institutions and their graduates.

SUMMER JOBS

- o Signed the 1993 Summer Youth Employment and Training Program which provided 700,000 disadvantaged young people with a chance to do meaningful community work, gain labor market skills and earn money.

JOB TRAINING

- o Introduced the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, providing funding to states and communities to develop and implement training programs and establish national standards for such programs.

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE REFORM

"We must make this our most urgent priority, giving every American health security-- health care that can never be taken away, health care that is always there...Now, these, my fellow Americans, are the principles on which I think we should base our efforts: Security, simplicity, savings, choice, quality and responsibility." (Health Care Address)

HEALTH SECURITY

- o Introduced the Health Security Act of 1993, a comprehensive plan to reform the nation's health care system to guarantee every American comprehensive health benefits that can never be taken away. The solution is a system of guaranteed private insurance. It will guarantee every American health security, simplify our system by reducing paperwork and cracking down on fraud, achieve savings, protect and expand our choices of doctors and health plans, improve the quality of care and ask everyone to take responsibility.

RIGHT TO CHOOSE

- o Revoked the Reagan/Bush restrictions on abortion counseling ("the gag rule"), abortions in military hospitals, "Mexico City" policy and RU-486 imports.

IMPROVING MEDICAL RESEARCH

- o Signed the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, removing the federal ban on fetal-tissue transplants and research, establishing the Offices of Women's Health Research, Minority Health Research and Alternative Medicine, and consolidating the direction and the budget of AIDS research.

AIDS

- o Increased Ryan White Act funding for outpatient AIDS care by \$231 million to \$579 million for Fiscal Year 1994, and proposed a 20% increase in NIH spending for AIDS research.
- o Appointed first ever AIDS czar to focus on consolidating federal resources and funds to find a cure and address the issues of AIDS.

RESTORING TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

"The confidence of the people who pay our bills ... in Washington is not high. We must restore it. We must begin again to make government work for ordinary taxpayers, not simply for organized interest groups." (Joint Session Address)

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

- o Conducted the National Performance Review, which includes more than 1200 recommendations to make government work better and cost less. NPR will trim the government's payroll by 252,000 jobs and streamline government operations. It will cut red tape, eliminate obsolete and duplicative regulations and end special privileges.

MOTOR VOTER BILL

- o Signed the National Voter Registration Act, making it easier for 70 million unregistered Americans to vote by allowing them to register when they get their driver's licenses.

OPENING THE RECORD ON HUMAN RADIATION EXPERIMENTS

- o Opened an investigation into Cold War-era government sponsored radiation experiments.

FEMA REORGANIZATION AND DISASTER RESPONSE

- o Turned FEMA into an effective, rapid-response organization for the benefit of victims of nearly 80 declared emergencies, including the Great Flood and the California fires.

REDUCING COSTS TO TAXPAYERS

- o Ordered a reduction in federal perks, removing taxpayer subsidies of executive dining rooms, limiting use of government aircraft and restricting uses of government vehicles.
- o Signed the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993, requiring agencies to develop strategic plans and performance measures to improve effectiveness and public accountability.
- o Reduced the White House staff by 25%.

AN ADMINISTRATION THAT LOOKS LIKE AMERICA

- o Appointed the most diverse Cabinet and Administration in history. The Cabinet is 29% African-American and 14% Hispanic; six women occupy cabinet-level posts.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND LOBBYING REFORM

- o Helped pass sweeping campaign finance reform bills in the House and Senate. Both bills aim to limit campaign spending, cut the influence of PAC's and the use of "soft money."
- o Signed an Executive Order imposing the strictest Administration ethics code in history -- forbidding senior appointees from lobbying for up to five years after leaving government.
- o Eliminated the tax deduction for lobbying expenses.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

'For too long we have been told that we have to choose between the economy and the environment; between our obligations to our own people and our responsibilities to the future and to the rest of the world; America can maintain our lead in the world economy by taking the lead to preserve the world environment.' (Earth Day Address)

CLIMATE CHANGE ACTION PLAN

- o Introduced an innovative and comprehensive Climate Change Action Plan that saves government and industry money, spurs economic growth, creates jobs, and addresses one of the most threatening environmental problems today: global warming.

FOREST MANAGEMENT PLAN

- o Developed a Forest Management Plan that finally broke the impasse on forest issues in the Pacific Northwest. Today federal agencies are working with those who live and work in the region to implement the plan and restore the region's economic and environmental health.

WETLANDS

- o Introduced a wetlands plan to protect these prolific ecosystems, which filter and cleanse water, and provide a buffer against flooding. The Administration's package reflects the vital need for effective protection and restoration of the nation's wetlands, and advocates much needed reforms to increase the fairness and flexibility of federal regulatory programs.

CREATING MARKETS FOR 'GREEN' GOODS

- o Signed executive orders -- to lead by example and use government purchasing power to stimulate markets for environmental products while saving taxpayers money. Executive orders cover the following:
 - Recycled paper and environmentally preferable goods for federal purchases;
 - Alternative-fuel vehicles for federal fleets;
 - Energy-efficient computers for all government uses;
 - Accelerated government phase-out of ozone-depleting chemicals;
 - Pollution Prevention -- federal facilities to cut toxic emissions 50% and report them under "Right to Know" laws.

BIODIVERSITY

- o The President signed the Biodiversity Convention -- reversing the previous Administration's stance. The Administration engaged industry and the environmental community to resolve their concerns, and the United States signed the treaty in June.

RE-AFFIRMING AMERICA'S GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

"With the Cold War over, many people ask whether the United States plans to retreat or remain active in the world; and if active, to what end...We cannot solve every problem, but we must and will serve as a fulcrum for change and a pivot point for peace." (United Nations General Assembly Address)

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, MARKET REFORM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- o Led international support for democracy and market reform in **Russia and other former Soviet states** through bilateral/multilateral aid and firm support for reformers. Created Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission to cooperate in space, energy, defense conversion and other areas. Secured repeal of many outdated Cold War laws.
- o Restored U.S. consensus on **China** policy for the first time since Tiananmen Square, setting the basis for dialogue to secure improved Chinese behavior on human rights, non-proliferation and trade.
- o Supported **South Africa's** transition from apartheid to democracy, including non-racial elections in April 1994, through diplomacy, aid and lifting of sanctions.
- o Promoted efforts to restore democracy and return President Aristide to **Haiti** through helping to negotiate the Governor's Island process; adopted tough international sanctions when the military in Haiti reneged on its commitments.
- o Proposed summit meeting of democratic leaders from this hemisphere for 1994.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

- o Reinvigorated the Middle East peace process, leading to historic White House signing between Israel and the PLO. Enlisted international support for process, including \$2 billion pledged at the Washington Conference.

COMMITMENT TO A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

- o Completed the "Bottom Up Review," the first comprehensive strategic review of defense needs for the post-Cold War world. The process provides a road-map to maintaining strong national security while identifying substantial defense savings.
- o Initiated the first review of nuclear posture since the end of the Cold War, including policy doctrine, force structure, operations and safety.

STRENGTHENING SECURITY TIES

- o Called for a NATO Summit in January 1994. At that summit, proposed and won approval by NATO and the East European nations of a "Partnership for Peace" to adapt the alliance to our new European security requirements by offering former Soviet republics and Central/East European nations closer ties to NATO.
- o Reaffirmed our commitment in East Asia and laid out a vision of future Asian security during visit to Tokyo, Seoul and DMZ

EFFORTS TO STOP WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

- o Through intense diplomatic efforts, convinced Belarus and Kazakhstan to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and become non-nuclear weapon states. With Ukraine and Russia, reached agreement on a comprehensive tri-lateral deal to rid Ukraine of more than 1800 warheads and 176 ICBM's today aimed at the United States.
- o Adopted a comprehensive non-proliferation and export control policy, and acted firmly to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction by North Korea, Iran, Iraq, China and others. Announced counter proliferation initiative to combat emerging missile, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons threats.
- o Suspended nuclear testing and began work with other governments to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban treaty by 1996. Obtained Senate approval for Open Skies Treaty and sent to Senate the Chemical Weapons Convention, which would ban an entire class of weapons of mass destruction.

COMBATting TERRORISM

- o Attacked **Iraqi** intelligence headquarters in response to Iraqi sponsored plot to assassinate President Bush; imposed new US/UN sanctions on **Libya** to press for those implicated in Pan Am 103 bombing to be brought to justice; adopted policy of "double containment" of **Iran and Iraq**.

RELIEVING HUMAN SUFFERING

- o Provided relief to **Bosnia** through longest humanitarian airlift in our history; promoted peace talks, enforced the "no-fly zone" and sanctions against Serbia, and secured NATO's firm commitment to air strikes if needed to ensure relief and prevent Sarajevo's strangulation.
- o Resisted calls for precipitous pull-out from **Somalia**, allowing Somalia the opportunity to prevent a return to the chaos which caused 350,000 deaths before our entry. Attacks on US/UN forces have declined and a commission of inquiry has been established to determine responsibility for attacks on U.N. forces.

STREAMLINING AND REFORM OF AID

- o Proposed the most comprehensive restructuring of foreign aid since the Kennedy Administration, leaving behind outdated Cold War outlook and promoting economic growth, democracy, peace, sustainable development and humanitarian relief. Committed to maintaining assistance at current levels to Israel and Egypt.

TOUGH STAND ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

- o Adopted new policies to combat illegal immigration through cooperation with foreign governments and new enforcement, while facilitating legal immigration.

POW/MIA'S

- o Aggressively pursued the fullest possible accounting of our **POW/MIA's** with Vietnam, including return of remains, release of documents, and cooperation on discrepancy cases, and with Laos. Sent two Presidential missions to Vietnam to pursue this matter.

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"We have to ask everyone to contribute something to get the job done. But we're going to ask the most from those who got the most and gave the least during the past dozen years, those at the top of ladder. And we're going to do everything we can to protect people who are suffering the most from declining incomes and vanishing jobs, the middle class and the working poor. " (First Radio Address)

MORE JOBS

Jobs are being created at the fastest rate in 4 years. In the first year of the Clinton Administration, more than 1.6 million new private sector jobs have been created -- over half a million more than during the previous four years.

- o Unemployment dropped to 6.4 percent in December, 1993 -- a three-year low.
- o In the first year of the Clinton administration, the economy has generated 164,000 new payroll jobs per month -- four times the average pace over the previous four years.

HISTORIC DEFICIT REDUCTION

- o Passed the largest deficit-cutting plan in history -- more than \$500 billion over five years.
- o The deficit reduction package included \$255 billion in specific spending cuts and an unprecedented "hard freeze" -- a 12 % real reduction -- on all discretionary spending.

LOWER INTEREST RATES

American consumers are benefitting from low interest and mortgage rates that make it easier to buy a home and reduce the burden on those who already pay their mortgages.

- o Spurred by the deficit reduction plan, interest rates have fallen sharply. In the last year, 10 and 30-year rates have both dropped over a full percentage point. Thirty-year mortgage rates are down from 8.22% a year ago to 7.19% -- the lowest in more than 20 years.
- o As a result of these low rates, more than 5.4 million Americans have refinanced their homes in 1993 for a savings of \$10 billion just this year. A homeowner with a \$100,000 mortgage who refinances and saves 2 percentage points will save \$1,700 per year.
- o Housing starts climbed from 1.17 million last January to 1.43 million in November -- the highest level in over 3 years. Construction spending is up 10% over previous years and existing home sales are the highest in 14 years.
- o As a result of the low rates, business investment is surging. Over the past year, spending for producers' durable equipment has expanded at the fastest pace since 1984.

EXPANDING MARKETS FOR U.S. EXPORTS

- o Concluded the North American Free Trade Agreement and signed implementing legislation, ensuring that Americans will take a leadership role in the expanding global economy and opening markets that will create jobs.

- o Negotiated a successful GATT that will lower trade barriers among over 170 nations, save American consumers billions of dollars, and create hundreds of thousands of jobs.
- o Instituted a tough, new trade policy that safeguards the environment and American workers.
- o Advanced the United States trade agenda in Asia by convening the first-ever summit of Asian-Pacific leaders (APEC) and agreeing with Japan on a framework for trade talks. Promoted G-7 growth policies at Tokyo summit.

HELPING SMALL BUSINESS

- o Made new tax cuts available to over 90% of small businesses. Increased expensing of investment and provided a new targeted capital gains cut for long-term investments in small businesses -- incentives that will create hundreds of thousands of jobs in the next five years.
- o Signed the Small Business Guaranteed Credit Enhancement Act of 1993, increasing the availability of SBA-guaranteed loans.
- o Initiated aggressive action to alleviate the credit crunch on small and medium-sized businesses through regulatory initiatives to reduce burdens on banks.

A GROWTH-ORIENTED HIGH-TECH POLICY

- o Developed a National Export Strategy, eliminating export controls on \$37 billion worth of American high-tech products that support high-wage American jobs.
- o Developed an action plan for the National Information Infrastructure and ordered the transfer of 200 MHz of spectrum to the private sector to jump-start new wireless technologies.
- o Shifted federal R&D priorities heavily toward civilian technology.
- o Provided incentives for private-sector research and development and new business formation by extending the R&D tax credit.

HELPING COMMUNITIES

- o Created nine Economic Empowerment Zones and 95 Enterprise Communities. The plan gives local communities the incentives and regulatory flexibility to work with the private sector in developing comprehensive economic development strategies.
- o Transmitted to Congress the Community Development Banking and Financial Institutions Act of 1993, which creates a \$382 million federal fund to subsidize the development of community development banks and institutions.
- o Introduced the Housing and Community Development Act of 1993, revamping rent policy for public housing tenants and making home ownership easier for low-income Americans.
- o Instituted the Defense Reinvestment and Conversion Initiative, which implemented \$1.7 billion in specific defense conversion programs for 1993. The package includes funding for worker training and adjustment, investments in hard-hit communities, and the Technology Reinvestment Project to help small defense firms make the transition to commercial markets.

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SAFER STREETS

"We must pass a tough crime bill. I support an initiative to put 100,000 more police officers on the street -- to provide boot camps for first-time non-violent offenders, and more space for the hardened criminals in jail. And I support an initiative to do what we can to keep guns out of the hands of criminals." (Joint Session Address)

GUNS OFF THE STREET

- o President Clinton signed the Brady Bill on November 30, 1993 -- breaking seven years of gridlock. The Brady Bill requires a five-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns.
- o Banned imports of foreign assault pistols, such as the Uzi, and called for a ban on all assault weapons. The Senate crime bill includes the toughest assault weapons ban ever passed.
- o Tightened federal gun dealer licensing requirements by improving background checks on prospective dealers, requiring dealers to obtain more reliable identification from purchasers and scrutinizing multiple handgun sales reports. Proposed dramatically increasing the federal licensing fee for gun dealers to reduce the 284,000 gun dealers in the U.S. today.
- o Pushed for passage of a measure in the Senate crime bill which bans the possession of handguns by minors.

100,000 NEW POLICE OFFICERS

- o To make our streets safer, the crime bill passed by Congress adopts the President's plan to put 100,000 more police officers on the streets with heavy emphasis on community policing.
- o Signed the Police Hiring Supplement, which awards \$200 million to communities for community policing; federal grants were awarded to 74 cities in December.

SAFER SCHOOLS

- o Expanded funding for the SAFE Schools Initiative. The President proposed and the Senate passed strong new measures as part of the crime bill to make our nation's schools safer.

STOP DRUGS

- o Elevated the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy to Cabinet rank.
- o Signed an Executive Order strengthening the Office of Drug Policy's agency-wide jurisdiction over drug policy, including issues involving national security.
- o Included treatment for substance abuse as part of the comprehensive health benefits package in the Health Security Act.

MORE PRISONS AND BOOT CAMPS

- o The crime bill will fund the construction of new prisons to make sure that criminals stay behind bars and expand boot camps for young offenders.

HELPING FAMILIES

"...There is a lot more we need to do to help people trapped in welfare move to work and independence; to strengthen child support enforcement; to reward those who work 40 hours a week and have children at home with an increase in the earned income tax credit so we can really say we're rewarding work instead of dependence -- to immunize all the children of this country so more parents won't have to take advantage of family leave because their children will be well, and strong, and healthy." (Family and Medical Leave Act signing)

TAX CUTS FOR WORKING FAMILIES (EITC)

- o Expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit by \$21 billion over five years to reward work over welfare. This year, 14 million families will receive \$13 billion in benefits from the EITC. When fully implemented, more than 20 million households with incomes of \$27,000 or less will benefit.

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE

- o Signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, providing up to 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave for employees to care for family members. As a result, Americans will not have to face the difficult choice between caring for their families or keeping their jobs.

FAMILY SUPPORT

- o Funded the Family Preservation and Support Initiative to help prevent child abuse and help parents learn the skills and tools they need to raise their children

HEAD START

- o Increased funding for Head Start by \$550 million, allowing 100,000 additional children to participate in the program.

IMMUNIZATIONS

- o Signed a comprehensive Child Immunization Plan to provide vaccines, free of charge, to six million additional American children.

UNEMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE

- o Signed the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1993, extending unemployment benefits for up to 26 weeks for victims of the recession and providing \$4 billion in emergency unemployment compensation to approximately 1.9 million unemployed American workers. Quick action on the unemployment benefits bill kept 250,000 to 300,000 unemployed Americans each week from falling through the safety net.

FOOD ASSISTANCE

- o Fully funded the special supplemental food program for Women, Infants and Children, increasing average participation by 300,000 families, and enacted key provisions of the Mickey Leland Act, broadening food stamp assistance for poor families with children.

EDUCATION AND SERVICE

"Americans of every generation face profound challenges in meeting the needs that have been neglected for too long in this country ... for those who answer the call and meet these challenges, I propose that our country honor your service with new opportunities for education." (Rutgers University Address)

AFFORDABLE EDUCATION

- o Signed the Student Loan Reform Act of 1993 making college more affordable to more students and saving taxpayer money through direct federal lending and income contingent loans. Eliminating the "middle man" will reduce the cost of loans saving \$3 billion over the next five years and \$2 billion each year thereafter.

NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

- o Signed into law the National Service Act that will enable 100,000 Americans to serve their communities and our country, and earn assistance in paying for higher education. The AmeriCorps participants will directly address the nation's critical needs in areas of education, human service, public safety and the environment.

BETTER SCHOOLS

- o Introduced the "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," a comprehensive national education reform program, and the "Improving America's Schools Act."
- o Signed an Executive Order on Historically Black Colleges and Universities mobilizing a federal effort to foster the development and success of these institutions and their graduates.

SUMMER JOBS

- o Signed the 1993 Summer Youth Employment and Training Program which provided 700,000 disadvantaged young people with a chance to do meaningful community work, gain labor market skills and earn money.

JOB TRAINING

- o Introduced the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, providing funding to states and communities to develop and implement training programs and establish national standards for such programs.

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE REFORM

"We must make this our most urgent priority, giving every American health security-- health care that can never be taken away, health care that is always there...Now, these, my fellow Americans, are the principles on which I think we should base our efforts: Security, simplicity, savings, choice, quality and responsibility." (Health Care Address)

HEALTH SECURITY

- o Introduced the Health Security Act of 1993, a comprehensive plan to reform the nation's health care system to guarantee every American comprehensive health benefits that can never be taken away. The solution is a system of guaranteed private insurance. It will guarantee every American health security, simplify our system by reducing paperwork and cracking down on fraud, achieve savings, protect and expand our choices of doctors and health plans, improve the quality of care and ask everyone to take responsibility.

RIGHT TO CHOOSE

- o Revoked the Reagan/Bush restrictions on abortion counseling ("the gag rule"), abortions in military hospitals, "Mexico City" policy and RU-486 imports.

IMPROVING MEDICAL RESEARCH

- o Signed the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, removing the federal ban on fetal-tissue transplants and research, establishing the Offices of Women's Health Research, Minority Health Research and Alternative Medicine, and consolidating the direction and the budget of AIDS research.

AIDS

- o Increased Ryan White Act funding for outpatient AIDS care by \$231 million to \$579 million for Fiscal Year 1994, and proposed a 20% increase in NIH spending for AIDS research.
- o Appointed first ever AIDS czar to focus on consolidating federal resources and funds to find a cure and address the issues of AIDS.

RESTORING TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

"The confidence of the people who pay our bills ... in Washington is not high. We must restore it. We must begin again to make government work for ordinary taxpayers, not simply for organized interest groups." (Joint Session Address)

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

- o Conducted the National Performance Review, which includes more than 1200 recommendations to make government work better and cost less. NPR will trim the government's payroll by 252,000 jobs and streamline government operations. It will cut red tape, eliminate obsolete and duplicative regulations and end special privileges.

MOTOR VOTER BILL

- o Signed the National Voter Registration Act, making it easier for 70 million unregistered Americans to vote by allowing them to register when they get their driver's licenses.

OPENING THE RECORD ON HUMAN RADIATION EXPERIMENTS

- o Opened an investigation into Cold War-era government sponsored radiation experiments.

FEMA REORGANIZATION AND DISASTER RESPONSE

- o Turned FEMA into an effective, rapid-response organization for the benefit of victims of nearly 80 declared emergencies, including the Great Flood and the California fires.

REDUCING COSTS TO TAXPAYERS

- o Ordered a reduction in federal perks, removing taxpayer subsidies of executive dining rooms, limiting use of government aircraft and restricting uses of government vehicles.
- o Signed the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993, requiring agencies to develop strategic plans and performance measures to improve effectiveness and public accountability.
- o Reduced the White House staff by 25%.

AN ADMINISTRATION THAT LOOKS LIKE AMERICA

- o Appointed the most diverse Cabinet and Administration in history. The Cabinet is 29% African-American and 14% Hispanic; six women occupy cabinet-level posts.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE AND LOBBYING REFORM

- o Helped pass sweeping campaign finance reform bills in the House and Senate. Both bills aim to limit campaign spending, cut the influence of PAC's and the use of "soft money."
- o Signed an Executive Order imposing the strictest Administration ethics code in history -- forbidding senior appointees from lobbying for up to five years after leaving government.
- o Eliminated the tax deduction for lobbying expenses.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

"For too long we have been told that we have to choose between the economy and the environment; between our obligations to our own people and our responsibilities to the future and to the rest of the world; ... America can maintain our lead in the world economy by taking the lead to preserve the world environment." (Earth Day Address)

CLIMATE CHANGE ACTION PLAN

- o Introduced an innovative and comprehensive Climate Change Action Plan that saves government and industry money, spurs economic growth, creates jobs, and addresses one of the most threatening environmental problems today: global warming.

FOREST MANAGEMENT PLAN

- o Developed a Forest Management Plan that finally broke the impasse on forest issues in the Pacific Northwest. Today federal agencies are working with those who live and work in the region to implement the plan and restore the region's economic and environmental health.

WETLANDS

- o Introduced a wetlands plan to protect these prolific ecosystems, which filter and cleanse water, and provide a buffer against flooding. The Administration's package reflects the vital need for effective protection and restoration of the nation's wetlands, and advocates much needed reforms to increase the fairness and flexibility of federal regulatory programs.

CREATING MARKETS FOR 'GREEN' GOODS

- o Signed executive orders -- to lead by example and use government purchasing power to stimulate markets for environmental products while saving taxpayers money. Executive orders cover the following:
 - Recycled paper and environmentally preferable goods for federal purchases;
 - Alternative-fuel vehicles for federal fleets;
 - Energy-efficient computers for all government uses;
 - Accelerated government phase-out of ozone-depleting chemicals;
 - Pollution Prevention -- federal facilities to cut toxic emissions 50% and report them under "Right to Know" laws.

BIODIVERSITY

- o The President signed the Biodiversity Convention -- reversing the previous Administration's stance. The Administration engaged industry and the environmental community to resolve their concerns, and the United States signed the treaty in June.

RE-AFFIRMING AMERICA'S GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

"With the Cold War over, many people ask whether the United States plans to retreat or remain active in the world; and if active, to what end...We cannot solve every problem, but we must and will serve as a fulcrum for change and a pivot point for peace." (United Nations General Assembly Address)

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY, MARKET REFORM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

- o Led international support for democracy and market reform in **Russia and other former Soviet states** through bilateral/multilateral aid and firm support for reformers. Created Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission to cooperate in space, energy, defense conversion and other areas. Secured repeal of many outdated Cold War laws.
- o Restored U.S. consensus on **China** policy for the first time since Tiananmen Square, setting the basis for dialogue to secure improved Chinese behavior on human rights, non-proliferation and trade.
- o Supported **South Africa's** transition from apartheid to democracy, including non-racial elections in April 1994, through diplomacy, aid and lifting of sanctions.
- o Promoted efforts to restore democracy and return President Aristide to **Haiti** through helping to negotiate the Governor's Island process; adopted tough international sanctions when the military in Haiti reneged on its commitments.
- o Proposed summit meeting of democratic leaders from this hemisphere for 1994.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE

- o Reinvigorated the Middle East peace process, leading to historic White House signing between Israel and the PLO. Enlisted international support for process, including \$2 billion pledged at the Washington Conference.

COMMITMENT TO A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

- o Completed the "Bottom Up Review," the first comprehensive strategic review of defense needs for the post-Cold War world. The process provides a road-map to maintaining strong national security while identifying substantial defense savings.
- o Initiated the first review of nuclear posture since the end of the Cold War, including policy doctrine, force structure, operations and safety.

STRENGTHENING SECURITY TIES

- o Called for a NATO Summit in January 1994. At that summit, proposed and won approval by NATO and the East European nations of a "Partnership for Peace" to adapt the alliance to our new European security requirements by offering former Soviet republics and Central/East European nations closer ties to NATO.
- o Reaffirmed our commitment in East Asia and laid out a vision of future Asian security during visit to Tokyo, Seoul and DMZ.

EFFORTS TO STOP WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

- o Through intense diplomatic efforts, convinced Belarus and Kazakhstan to accede to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and become non-nuclear weapon states. With Ukraine and Russia, reached agreement on a comprehensive tri-lateral deal to rid Ukraine of more than 1800 warheads and 176 ICBM's today aimed at the United States.
- o Adopted a comprehensive non-proliferation and export control policy, and acted firmly to combat the spread of weapons of mass destruction by North Korea, Iran, Iraq, China and others. Announced counter proliferation initiative to combat emerging missile, nuclear, biological and chemical weapons threats.
- o Suspended nuclear testing and began work with other governments to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban treaty by 1996. Obtained Senate approval for Open Skies Treaty and sent to Senate the Chemical Weapons Convention, which would ban an entire class of weapons of mass destruction.

COMBATting TERRORISM

- o Attacked **Iraqi** intelligence headquarters in response to Iraqi sponsored plot to assassinate President Bush; imposed new US/UN sanctions on **Libya** to press for those implicated in Pan Am 103 bombing to be brought to justice; adopted policy of "double containment" of **Iran and Iraq**.

RELIEVING HUMAN SUFFERING

- o Provided relief to **Bosnia** through longest humanitarian airlift in our history; promoted peace talks, enforced the "no-fly zone" and sanctions against Serbia, and secured NATO's firm commitment to air strikes if needed to ensure relief and prevent Sarajevo's strangulation.
- o Resisted calls for precipitous pull-out from **Somalia**, allowing Somalia the opportunity to prevent a return to the chaos which caused 350,000 deaths before our entry. Attacks on US/UN forces have declined and a commission of inquiry has been established to determine responsibility for attacks on U.N. forces.

STREAMLINING AND REFORM OF AID

- o Proposed the most comprehensive restructuring of foreign aid since the Kennedy Administration, leaving behind outdated Cold War outlook and promoting economic growth, democracy, peace, sustainable development and humanitarian relief. Committed to maintaining assistance at current levels to Israel and Egypt.

TOUGH STAND ON ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

- o Adopted new policies to combat illegal immigration through cooperation with foreign governments and new enforcement, while facilitating legal immigration.

POW/MIA'S

- o Aggressively pursued the fullest possible accounting of our **POW/MIA's** with Vietnam, including return of remains, release of documents, and cooperation on discrepancy cases, and with Laos. Sent two Presidential missions to Vietnam to pursue this matter

Clinton's legislative record ignored by press and public

By THOMAS E. PATTERSON

A recent ABC News poll found that 64% of Americans think Bill Clinton has accomplished little or nothing as President. A majority of Americans also believe he has done a poor job of handling the economy.

These perceptions are greatly at odds with reality. Clinton's presidency is the most ambitious since Lyndon Johnson's and has a substantial policy record, including a budget deficit reduction plan, NAFTA, the Family Leave Act and the crime bill. Moreover, 4 million new jobs have been added to the economy in the last 18 months, more than were added during the previous six years.

Clinton has a notable legislative record. In 1993, Congress backed Clinton on 88% of the bills on which he had taken a position, a level exceeded only twice in four decades: 1953, when Congress backed Eisenhower 89% of the time and 1965 when it supported 93% of Johnson's positions. In their top years, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Bush never reached even the 80% level. Reagan exceeded it once, but otherwise averaged less than 60%.

Although Clinton is said to be lax in keeping his commitments, he has kept or is actively pursuing roughly 80% of his campaign promises, a level that exceeds the 70% average of his five predecessors.

To understand why Clinton receives so little credit for what he has done, we need look no further than the relentless cynicism of the news media. Somewhere in the last decade or so, the press lost its capacity for active reporting. Jour-

ists today win by making others look bad. The press does not act alone. During the

stered the press' absurd claim that President Bush had no economic program. Even in the third quarter of 1992, when key indicators showed the economy was rebounding, more than 90% of news references to Bush's handling of the economy were negative in tone.

With Bush's defeat, Republicans got their chance to deliver the barbed one-liners that the press relishes. In conjunction with the media's appetite for scandal, the result has

been a presidency awash in bad press. Roughly 60% of the press' evaluative coverage of Clinton has been unfavorable.

Clinton's style works against him in his dealings with the press. Perhaps the most open of our Presidents, Clinton freely expresses his ideas and actively negotiates at every stage in the policy process. Although the press lauds openness in theory, it punishes it in practice. Any Clinton deviation from an earlier position, however preliminary or conditional, is jumped on as a retreat from principle.

The notion that Clinton is open to debate. On a number of occasions, he would have lost all his holding out for last year's

get fight was won by a single vote, as was the crucial procedural vote in the Senate on the crime bill. NAFTA was rescued from certain defeat by Clinton's deft bargaining. In domestic politics at least, the antithesis of compromise is not high-mindedness but stalemate, which characterized executive-legislative relations in the decade before Clinton took office. Clinton has yet to cast a veto. Bush vetoed 45 bills. Reagan struck down 78. Carter, the last Democratic President before Clinton, cast 31 vetoes. The press interprets Clinton's restraint as weakness. It may, in fact, signify a President committed to a process of constructive accommodation.

Journalists like The New York Times' Michael Kelly who suggest Clinton is unprincipled have no appreciation of the Southern reform politics that shaped his style. It is a politics where persistent give-and-take is the key to creating the fragile and, at times, improbable majorities that sometimes win out against powerful and deeply entrenched interests.

The scenario working itself out in Washington is remarkably similar. Instead of their lazy negativism, the media need to work out a more balanced appraisal of the Clinton presidency.

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If they're gonna do time, it should be for worst crime

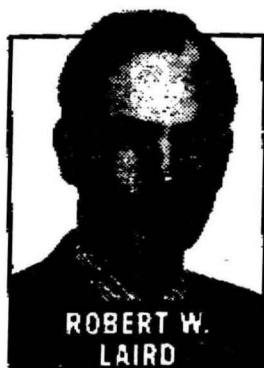
Those people down in Arkansas must be nuts, right? Look at the case of Kevin Elders, 28, son of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders. On July 28, 1993, Kevin sells one-eighth of an ounce of cocaine to an undercover cop. On Dec. 19, he is arrested. He pleads guilty, and finally this week he is sentenced. What does he get? Ten years. Ten years for a nonviolent first offense. Ten years for selling an amount so minute that if it were placed in your outstretched palm, you couldn't detect the weight. And that's the minimum — under Arkansas law, he could have gotten life.

There are, in fact, disturbing questions in the Kevin Elders case. Why, for example, did the cops wait five months before making the arrest? But as for the sentence — no, it is an Arkansas aberration. Harsh penalties for low-level offenders are common across the U.S. And nowhere is the practice of handing out punishment that does not fit the crime more notorious than right here in New York.

New York is saddled with two sets of that make a mockery of rational sentencing: ■ **Rockefeller drug laws.** Passed in 1973, the laws were based on the theory that harsh sentences would scare the druggies out of business. The idea would be laughable if the results were not so ruinous. Consider, as just one example, the elderly bodega owner Spanish Harlem whose role in the sale of 2 ounces of coke was, according to the prosecutor, "minimal," but who had to be sentenced, by law, to 15 years to life.

■ **Second Felony Offender Law.** This statute mandates that any repeat felon must serve prison time regardless of the crime. That forces judges into such acts of insanity sending a youngster with a drinking problem to prison for 1½ to 3 years for the terrible crime of stealing some crayons and (from an empty Rochester schoolhouse.

Now compare with of Edward Schnitker, who served a five years for stabbing a cab driver in — "He



ROBERT W. LAIRD

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RENEE LOLYA DAILY NEWS

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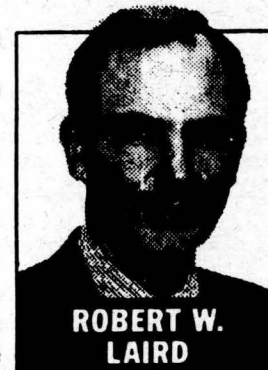
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Those people down in Arkansas must be nuts, right? Look at the case of Kevin Elders, 28, son of Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders. On July 29, 1993, Kevin sells one-eighth of an ounce of cocaine to an undercover cop. On Dec. 19, he is arrested. He pleads guilty, and finally this week he is sentenced. What does he get? Ten years. Ten years for a nonviolent first offense. Ten years for selling an amount so minute that if it were placed in your outstretched palm, you couldn't detect the weight. And that's the minimum — under Arkansas law, he could have gotten life.



ROBERT W. LAIRD

There are, in fact, disturbing questions in the Kevin Elders case. Why, for example, did the cops wait five months before making the arrest? But as for the sentence — no, it is not an Arkansas aberration. Harsh penalties for low-level offenders are common across the U.S. And nowhere is the practice of handing out punishment that does not fit the crime more notorious than right here in New York.

New York is saddled with two sets of laws that make a mockery of rational sentencing: ■ **Rockefeller drug laws.** Passed in 1973, the laws were based on the theory that harsh sentences would scare the druggies out of business. The idea would be laughable if the results were not so ruinous. Consider, as just one example, the elderly bodega owner from Spanish Harlem whose role in the sale of 2 ounces of coke was, according to the prosecutor, "minimal," but who had to be sentenced, by law, to 15 years to life.

■ **Second Felony Offender Law.** This statute mandates that any repeat felon must serve prison time regardless of the crime. That forces judges into such acts of insanity as sending a youngster with a drinking problem to prison for 1½ to 3 years for the terrible crime of stealing some crayons and erasers from an empty Rochester schoolhouse.

Now compare those cases with that of Edward Schnitker, who served a mere five

Now compare those cases with that of Edward Schnitker, who served a mere five

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HEADLINE: Clinton's first-year success best since Ike in '53

SOURCE: Congressional Quarterly

DATELINE: Washington, D.C.

BODY:

For all the talk of President Clinton's poor start and excessively ambitious agenda, he has the highest success rate in Congress of any first-year president since Dwight Eisenhower.

Although some of his toughest battles lie ahead, Clinton as of Sept. 14 had prevailed on 88.6 percent of the roll-call votes on which he had taken a position. That is second only to Eisenhower's success rate of 89 percent in 1953, the first year that Congressional Quarterly began analyzing recorded votes.

Clinton celebrated one of his victories Tuesday when he signed legislation creating AmeriCorps, a domestic Peace Corps initiative that allows students to perform community service in exchange for college tuition.

Clinton's success in Congress is all the more remarkable considering his weak approval ratings in public opinion polls; although he has rebounded slightly from a month ago, he remains at or below 50 percent approval in the September surveys. Members of Congress are usually highly sensitive to poll ratings and quick to defy a president who is unpopular with the voters. But Democrats, who control both chambers, apparently see their own destiny linked with Clinton's. So they are standing by him - at least for now.

Thomas Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution in Washington, called that phenomenon "shared party stakes." On the whole, he said, Clinton "has gotten too little credit for some of his victories." "The coverage of this presidency is way too negative," Mann said. "Much too much has been made of his missteps."

The highest success rate of the past 40 years was rolled up by President Lyndon Johnson, who scored 93 percent in 1965, his second year (but first full one) in office.

All three presidents - Clinton and Johnson, both Democrats, and Eisenhower, a Republican - had the advantage of a Congress controlled by members of their own party.

Ronald Reagan, who took office with a Democratic House and Republican Senate, scored a remarkable 82.4 percent in 1981, his first year as president. But his success rate dropped steadily thereafter, bottoming out at 43.5

percent in 1987, the seventh year of his two-term presidency.

Democrat Jimmy Carter, the last president to work with a Congress controlled entirely by members of his own party, had a 75.4 percent success rate during his first year in office.

Clinton's major loss in Congress this year was his economic stimulus package, which was killed by a Republican filibuster in the Senate. Another defeat - of his attempt to liberalize the rules against gays in the military - occurred in the Senate Armed Services Committee, without a direct roll-call vote on the floor. It is thus not reflected in the CQ vote study.

On the other hand, first-year presidents usually see their success scores inflated by numerous Senate confirmation votes on Cabinet and sub-Cabinet appointments. Because Clinton has been so slow in filling his administration, there have been far fewer confirmation votes than usual - just seven so far.

Clinton could face some difficult tests during the remainder of this year, including anticipated House floor votes on the North American Free Trade Agreement and campaign finance. But Democratic leaders in both chambers are likely to postpone the most contentious issues until the very end of the session.

Yesterday, more than 1,000 people, most involved in area community service programs, gathered on the South Lawn of the White House to watch Clinton sign his name with the pen used by Roosevelt to create the Civilian Conservation Corps and another pen used by Kennedy to create the Peace Corps 32 years ago today.

A watered-down version of the plan he initially sought, AmeriCorps will give as many as 100,000 youths tuition money, modest stipends, health insurance and child care in exchange for community service.

The first programs could be up and running by the middle of next year.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

ECONOMY

Signed the Economic Package, 8/10/93
4.1 million new jobs in the first 18 months
Largest deficit-cutting plan in history -- nearly
\$700 billion over five years
Cut spending by \$255 billion
Three consecutive years of deficit reduction
New tax cuts for 90% of small businesses

EDUCATION

Signed Student Loan Reform Act
Signed National Service Act
Signed Goals 2000: Educate America Act
Signed School-to-Work Act
Increased Head Start funding by \$550 million
Introduced the Reemployment Act

CRIME

Passed tough \$30b. Crime Bill in the House
Signed the Brady Bill
Passed Assault Weapons Ban in both Houses
Signed the Police Hiring Supplement
Expanded SAFE Schools Initiative funding

HEALTH CARE

Introduced the Health Care Security Act
Signed the Family and Medical Leave Act
Signed Child Immunization Plan
Revoked Reagan/Bush restrictions on abortion

FREE TRADE

Signed NAFTA into law
Negotiated a successful GATT Agreement
Developed National Export Strategy
Reinstituted Super 301 to eliminate barriers
Opened Japan's cellular, construct., apple mkts
Convened the first-ever APEC summit

POLITICAL REFORM

Passed Campaign Finance bill in both Houses
Passed Lobbying Disclosure Bill in both
Houses
Signed the Motor-Voter act
Eliminated tax deduction for lobbying

COMMUNITY & ECON DEVELOPMENT

Introduced Welfare Reform package
Expanded EITC by \$21 billion over 5 years
Created nine Economic Empowerment Zones
and 95 Enterprise Communities.
Passed Community Development Bank Bill
Introduced Housing & Comm. Devel. Act
Instituted Defense Reinvest. & Conversion
Initiative

\$9.5b aid for California earthquake relief

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

Conducted a National Performance Review
On track to cut Federal Workforce by
272,000 -- lowest level in 30 years
Signed Govt. Performance & Results Act
Most diverse cabinet and admin. in history
Signed Federal Workforce Restructuring Act
Eliminated 284 federal advisory committees
Review of human radiation experiments

ENVIRONMENT

Introduced Climate Change Action Plan
Developed Forest Management Plan
Signed environmental executive orders to
ensure a "green" federal government
Signed the Biodiversity Convention
Issued Exec. Order on environmental justice

FOREIGN POLICY/NATIONAL

SECURITY

Strong support for reform in Russia & fmr. SU
Established a NATO Partnership for Peace
Trilateral accord on Ukraine's denuclearization
Took tough stand on North Korea
Supported S. Africa's transition to democracy
Reinvigorated the Middle East peace process
Strong efforts to restore democracy in Haiti
Bottom Up Review of national security needs
Massive & effective response in Rwanda
Comprehensive restructuring of Foreign Aid

8/24/94

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Ben A. Franklin, Editor

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UNDER ATTACK

The President Has Made Important Progress—But We're Not Shown Much of It

Putting aside, for the moment, Whitewater and Paula Jones—the alleged peccadilloes that the polls keep showing most Americans *do* put aside—the media carnival greeting Americans each day with a grimy gala of partisan grievances, amplified now by the piety of the Christian right, has drowned out the accomplishments of the Clinton Presidency. Lest we forget, there are some.

I should say that I voted for Clinton and probably will again. As another sinner, I have not lost confidence in him. Here is an applicable passage from the book *Heroes of My Time*, by a celebrated editor, the late Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times*, who was a hero of mine:

"I harbor deep distrust of obvious heroes. I have seen too many raised to pedestals, only to expose their feet of clay. I have not found many statesmen, national leaders, or colleagues who do not have their weak points. That is natural. I expect people to be human, and if they display nothing but virtue my instinct warns that something must be wrong."

Bob Woodward's highly critical new book, *The Agenda*, psychoanalyzes a Clinton White House described as in chaos. Yet, according to James Fallows, the Washington editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, even Woodward includes "many illustrations" of the President's "intelligence, his resilience, his energy, his deftness at every political operation from backroom arm-twisting to speech-making on TV, and his determination to make the most of his years in office."

And Anthony Lewis, the widely read *New York Times* columnist, says "President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton deserve credit—much more than they have been getting—for moving reform this far."

Yet in their competing reach for hot copy on human frailties, television and the major newspapers—which have the space to do the job of informing us in detail—are not succeeding at telling us, or explaining, or reminding us, of the intelligent things that Clinton does. It may not be the long list that he, and we, have wished. But it is so overlooked and forgotten that it needs a periodic review.

THE ECONOMY—Clinton's first important and typically

hairbreadth victory came last August. A 218-to-216 vote in the House—and with Vice President Al Gore's tie-breaking help, a vote of 51-to-50 in the Senate—cleared an economic plan that raises taxes on the wealthy and applies billions in added revenue to reducing the national debt. This self-disciplining five-year plan severely limits the scope of Clinton's own dream of a variety of "incentive investments" in social programs. And because Senate Republicans filibustered many of the more modest reforms he tried to get, the result has been a major reduction in the national debt.

That's good. Thanks to stronger than expected economic growth, the national debt—which Republicans like to demonize as a Clinton "tax-and-spend" disaster but which is mostly a legacy of the Reagan years—is being reduced faster than Clinton himself predicted.

According to Leon Panetta, the President's former budget chief, who is now the White House chief of staff, the national debt will be \$220 billion this year instead of the \$235 billion Clinton predicted in February. Increased tax revenue

from economic improvement means not only a lower interest burden on a smaller annual debt but also less new borrowing by the government.

A recent issue of *Business Week* says that because government numbers-crunchers don't keep up with non-governmental data, government statisticians have been reporting a rise in the price of "new technology" communication equipment—telephones, computers and their accessories—when there actually has been a 35 percent price decline.

This reduction in the cost of doing business has been steep enough over the last year, according to *Business Week*, to cause "serious errors" in two of the government's main measures of the overall economy. The rise in private investment in new equipment is higher than officially reported—and that means jobs. And the rise in the inflation rate is far lower than the government has been reporting. Inflation is "down to only 1.6 percent a year, the lowest level since 1963," the magazine says. Even as officially reported, inflation is running at the lowest level since the 1960s—2.8 percent, versus a postwar average of 3.6 percent.

Unemployment is coming down, too. Non-farm jobs rose

The Idealist's Enigma Is Centuries Old

"It must be considered that there is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful of success, nor dangerous to handle, than to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies . . . and only lukewarm defenders."

—A favorite Clinton quote, from Machiavelli's *The Prince*

by 379,000 in June for a total of just over 1 million new jobs in the second quarter of the year. The total gain was 1.7 million new jobs in the first half of the year. Jobs are growing at the fastest rate since 1987, and the average non-farm wage, while down a few cents, was \$11.08 an hour in June. In manufacturing, wages were higher. The unemployment rate has remained at a low 6 percent.

The finding that the economy is even stronger than the government's official report is a discovery that, *Business Week* adds, has "implications for the current administration that appear positive." It needs them. A different and more blatant kind of disinformation and distortion is becoming the language of the 1994 election campaign.

Clinton's narrowly passed five-year economic plan kept some of his social reform innovations intact—important both to disadvantaged Americans and to the prospect of a second Clinton term. They are important to Clinton because, as *Business Week* says, the Brookings Institution economists have statistically confirmed that "over the last half-century voters have rewarded the incumbent party for expanding social regulation."

Foremost among incumbent Presidents rewarded by re-election—rewarded three times, in fact—was Franklin D. Roosevelt. Yet, as Clinton is now, FDR was passionately despised by a noisy minority that included some well-to-do Democrats. And similarly today, among middle- and upper-income voters there may be political negatives for Clinton in pressing for social reforms.

In his recent book *A Journey Through Economic Time*, Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith wonders whether some groups with powerful political influence really prefer social reform through government investment in economic recovery, or whether they may actually view recession as advantageous to them.

Those who are bullish on recession are unlikely to say so publicly, but Galbraith notes that a recession is "not deeply felt or feared" either by corporate tycoons insulated by wealth or by retirees on pensions and Social Security (who may actually benefit from a recession's lowered cost of living). These groups, says Galbraith, may prefer economic stagnation to Clinton's proposals for costly government corrections.

The "corrections" have been fewer than Clinton planned and would have liked and, indeed, fewer than some of his liberal critics, without joining the right-wing denunciation, have allowed him. *The Nation* recently called the President "merely a mushy centrist."

At this writing—and probably at your reading—we do not yet know the outcome of the most important Clinton initiatives—a health care program and welfare reform. But the prominence the media have given the long health care debate—for the most part not well explained—and media preoccupation with sensationalism have obscured the judgment of some scholars that no President since Eisenhower has had such a productive first year in office as Clinton.

The national fixation on a punitive crime bill may be a misplaced priority, but the House and Senate have passed a \$30 billion crime statute that will recruit 100,000 new police as well as adding a "safe schools initiative" to combat juvenile crime, a new drug treatment program and some limited provision for "three strikes and you're out" lifetime prison terms.

By narrow votes, we also have the Brady Law, an initial effort to keep guns from criminals, and the first automatic-assault-weapons ban. There has been an increase in the funding of the Head Start program, which provides opportunities for poor urban pre-schoolers. There is now a National Service Corps for teenagers, a Goals 2000—Educate America Act to improve public schools and an improved student loan program for college tuition. A limited Clinton program of "empowerment zones" will give, as a start, economic development funds to 65 run-down urban areas and 35 impoverished rural communities.

Forgotten by now are passage of the President's Family and Medical Leave program, the still administratively troubled child immunization program, and the so-called Motor Voter Law, designed to broaden and encourage voter registration.

INVISIBLE PROGRESS—Among the least-known successes are the reforms pushed through Congress by one of Clinton's most productive and least-noticed Cabinet members, Secretary of Education Richard Riley, the former governor of South Carolina.

You may have barely heard of Riley, but according to the well-regarded *National Journal*, a governmental affairs magazine not seen much outside Washington, by determination and through the wide respect he has in Congress, Riley has won bipartisan support for "a remarkable array of reform legislation" and is "selling his ideas for revitalizing the nation's schools to state and local school administrators."

Using the presidential executive order, which does not require Congressional consent, Clinton has begun "reinventing government" by reforming the bureaucracy and making major personnel cuts. He has accelerated the worldwide nuclear weapons non-proliferation effort and is extending the U.S. nuclear weapons testing moratorium to September 1995, and almost certainly beyond. He has appointed a special White House committee to review previously undisclosed

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government radiation experiments conducted on unknowing Americans.

Clinton rescinded the executive order "gag rule" of the Bush Administration which barred Federally supported social work agencies from referring women to abortion clinics. He authorized the Environmental Protection Agency to repeal a Bush concession to polluting industries that allowed them higher emission levels.

And he won Congressional approval of NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Act—so far with few of the predicted baleful effects on jobs here at home. He has ended the trade embargo against Vietnam—but mistakenly not tried to lift the embargo against Cuba.

Y'ALL COME—Asked if he thinks an ultraconservative takeover of the GOP is under way, Senator Bob Dole (R-KS), the Republican floor leader, who wants his party's presidential nomination in 1996, says, "Let's not read anybody out of the Republican Party." This in spite of the recent warning from the Republicans' reformed former right-wing guru, Barry Goldwater, that "the radical right has nearly ruined our party."

As Rush Limbaugh demonstrates daily, not all the right-wing agitprop comes from evangelicals. One of the most radical proposals of the self-styled patriots is a call for vague changes in "the system." "We are hearing the infant voice of a movement that is disgusted with the kind of President the system continues to serve up," says Michael Harrison, a talk show host and editor of a magazine called *Talkers*.

In an Op-Ed piece in the *New York Times*, Harrison wrote that this "movement" is inspired by Americans who have "had it with welfare fraud and the invasion of illegal immigration eating up tax dollars. It is fed up with the coddling of criminals, the distorted justice system, the lockstep sameness of the sellout media and the dumbing of America's children. It is no longer intimidated by the intolerance of political correctness."

Dole, who is supporting Oliver North's nominally Republican but radically right Senate campaign in Virginia, tries to deny the ultraconservative raid on his own party by denouncing the Democrats' finger pointing at it as elitist bigotry. But to refute those who deny right-wing religiosity's invasion of the Republican Party there is *marketplace* evidence—the kind that conservatives say they believe in.

It turns out that Harper-Collins, publisher of former Vice President Dan Quayle's recent book *Standing Firm*, is also marketing it through its *religious book* subsidiary, called Zondervan. According to the *New York Times* Sunday book review, this "copublishing" of Quayle's dose of "family values" evangelism is designed to help the publisher "penetrate the Christian book market in which Oliver North's 'Under Fire,' the 1991 book of the Virginia Republicans' recently anointed candidate for the United States Senate, did so well." Book burners become book buyers.

THE O.J. CONGRESS SHOW—Preoccupied with Republican charges of presidential "flip-flops" on such complex foreign-policy crises as those in Bosnia and Haiti, the press has avoided any comprehensive review of the accomplishments of the Clinton domestic program. This summer's non-stop TV extravaganza, the O.J. Simpson courtroom

proceedings in Los Angeles, inspired the thoughtful *Washington Post* columnist E.J. Dionne Jr. to suggest that Americans could benefit from the same kind of all-day, blow-by-blow coverage of Washington.

They certainly don't get anything comparable now, so it's not surprising that the country doesn't know, or doesn't remember, what the President has accomplished, much less what is in the Clinton health plan or any of the dozen or so competing proposals.

C-Span, the indiscriminating TV monitor of the House and Senate, supported as a public service by the cable-TV industry, focuses its unfiltered, non-analytic eye on the often tedious and baffling legislative process. By contrast, on the network news, Dionne notes, "the emphasis is usually on whether the White House is 'succeeding' or, more likely, is 'in disarray' and on learned discourse over how Bob Dole will or will not rally Republicans against the president's health plan." It is all speculation on process, not explanation of content or consequences.

Columnist Dionne calls the assumption behind television news programs exactly the opposite of what was assumed in the O.J. Simpson TV coverage—that viewers are capable of understanding details and following legal commentators' arguments based on the evidence presented, most of which they had just seen.

Vice President Gore says the country's "willingness to believe the worst" of its institutions is a product of the world's unsettling transformation from the military-industrial age of the Cold War, compounded by a press that feeds "voraciously on the failures of government."

Niccolò Machiavelli, the 15th-century Italian politician whom Clinton likes to quote, is often cited as an emblem of crafty manipulation. But his patriotism and love of liberty are unquestioned by historians. Machiavelli would probably say that we, with Clinton, live at a time when political morality is becoming nearly nonexistent and when success and power justify any means by which they are attained.

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