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**Series:** Baker, James A., III, Files  
**Subseries:** Public Correspondence Files

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NRN

FROM FAX: (215) 964-8688

FAX TRANSMITTAL

DATE: September 29, 1992

TO: James A. Baker, III  
Chief of Staff to the President

FROM: Walter H. Annenberg

NUMBER OF PAGES: 2 (including this page)

IF PROBLEM WITH TRANSMISSION, CALL: (215) 341-9396

MESSAGE:

The following item appeared on my Associated Press printer this morning and you may not as yet have caught up with this disclosure.

---

! POLITICAL NEWS !

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---

FORMER CAMPAIGN MANAGER SAYS PEROT TRIED TO KEEP HIM QUIET

---

(WASHINGTON) -- ROSS PEROT'S FORMER CAMPAIGN MANAGER SAYS THE TEXAS (B) BILLIONAIRE OFFERED HIM MONEY TO KEEP HIS MOUTH SHUT UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION.

ED ROLLINS TELLS C-B-S THAT WHEN HE QUIT THE CAMPAIGN, PEROT OFFERED TO PAY HIS SALARY THROUGH THE END OF THE YEAR IF HE WOULDN'T SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE.

OBVIOUSLY, THE VETERAN POLITICAL OPERATIVE DIDN'T ACCEPT. HE WROTE A COLUMN IN YESTERDAY'S 'NEW YORK TIMES' SAYING PEROT IS ON AN EGO TRIP -- THAT HE'S JUST TRYING TO GET ATTENTION. HE SAID PEROT DIDN'T HAVE THE COURAGE TO STAY IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE.

AP-NP-09-29-92 0902EDT<

9/7/92

Dear Mr Baker...  
If you ever had someone do a psychological  
profile on Mr Clinton, you would:

WEN

1. Have President Bush privately take a  
reputable, independent polygraph:

1. Have you ever advocated No Chi  
Mink should win the Viet Nam war?
2. Have you ever used cocaine?
3. Have you ever experimented with  
homo sexuality?

Q  
U  
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||

If someone the President would pass P<sup>c</sup>  
such an exam ...

2. Release results of challenge Mr. Whitore  
to take the same exam, same tester ...

3. If by some stroke of luck Mr. Whitore  
should pass, let him propose his  
own polygraph. But then it would  
be too late to affect the  
election ...

Let's go!

Run Pickle



MR JAMES BAKER  
CHIEF OF STAFF  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PERSONAL

THEN, ALL OVER THE UNITED STATES,  
PLACARDS APPEAR...

"TAKE THE TEST, DILL!"

copy

q/m: bmm called joan  
decairn → told her  
we had received original

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON file

Date Sept. 23, 1992

TO: Karen Jackson  
Hello - it's been years!

FROM: **JOAN C. DeCAIN**  
Director of Correspondence  
for Mrs. Bush  
2nd Floor East Wing, x7910  
Room 190 OEOB, 7733

- For Your Information
- For Your Action
- For Your Files
- As Requested
- For Your Comments and Suggestions
- Let's Discuss
- Please Return

The attached copy letter was given to Mrs. Bush in CT last week. I am forwarding in case the original has not reached your office.

GERSTEN & GERSTEN  
ATTORNEYS AT LAW  
234 PEARL STREET  
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06103-2182

TELEPHONE  
(203) 522-0173  
FAX  
(203) 247-0051

MAURICE R. GERSTEN  
AARON L. GERSTEN  
PHILIP K. MEISTER  
THOMAS D. JACOBS  
NEIL A. MCPHAIL  
KAREN S. GERSTEN

September 17, 1992

Honorable James A. Baker, III  
Chief of Staff to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

"Harmony Network '92"

Dear Mr. Baker:

I would like to have you consider a very simple idea which could be highly productive for the campaign in the final weeks, especially so in the closely contested areas.

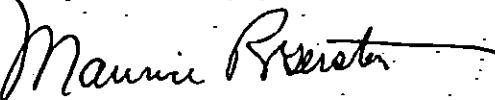
The President is very well known for his short, friendly personal letters. They are cherished. I know people who have them.

If people currently residing in the D.C. area were appointed - at least one from each state and several from a large state - to supervise careful and accurate names and addresses for a Presidential letter expressing his personal appreciation for past endeavors during his years of public service coupled with a call for participation in the campaign up to the very day of election, the impact could be powerful.

✓ The White House stationery would be impressive reaching perhaps a half million participating devotees. The individuals I have in mind can cover every conceivable group such as town committees, precinct workers, Republican organizations, womens clubs, mens clubs, state legislators, senators, registrars, elected officials, poll attendants and others, including corresponding retirees who may be in a position to help.

The impact of the letter will surely motivate the recipient and enrich the campaign in its last stages.

Very sincerely yours,



Maurice R. Gersten

MRG:egs

Enclosure

PHOTOCOPY  
GB HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

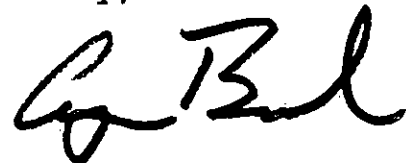
November 26, 1991

Dear Maurice:

Just a quick note to say that it was great to see you on the 20th and that I saw your letter with the copy of Dad's note. As always, I appreciate your thoughtfulness and your steadfast support.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George Bush".

Mr. Maurice R. Gersten  
234 Pearl Street  
Hartford, Connecticut 06103-2182

GERSTEN & GERSTEN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

234 PEARL STREET

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06103-2182

CORRESPONDENCE

~~Mrs~~ Barbara P. Bush

Monday 9/28/92

① F.2

NRN

DEAN WITTER REYNOLDS INC. 181 East Second Avenue, San Mateo, CA 94401  
Telephone 1 (800) 743-6550 Fax (415) 342-9823 Direct Line (415) 340-6556

SHELDON L. GERSH

Senior Vice President, Investments

TO —

JAMES BAKER III

you guys are missing the boat -  
Clinton is saying that he will raise taxes

Economics states - you don't raise taxes  
in an economic recession but rather  
lower taxes. This current recession  
is partly caused by the last tax  
increase passed by Congress. See

the link? What makes the Democrats  
think another tax hike will help the  
economy. The last one hurt the economy.

Remember - how we had <sup>Prosperity</sup> ~~Prosperity~~

in the 1980's because tax rates  
went down - not up. Why would  
the public go for another tax  
hike and vote for someone

DEAN WITTER REYNOLDS INC. 181 East Second Avenue, San Mateo, CA 94401  
Telephone 1 (800) 743-8550 Fax (415) 342-9825 Direct Line (415) 340-8558

To James Baker III

SHELDON L. GERSH  
Senior Vice President, Investments

Who has pledged he is for one?  
Why would the American Public  
want less spendable income?  
That doesn't help the Economy

Convey this to the American Public  
by Television + etc - in a way  
they understand - keep it simple

Sheldon Gersh

Vietnam War

NRN

Nan Pulsifer  
c/o Louise Johnson  
Box 16  
Spruce Head, Me 04859

James A. Baker III  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave  
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker,

We've not yet begun to fully recognise the meaning of the Vietnam War in our nation. Perhaps this is an opportunity. To have seen the Gulf War as a redemption of our ultimate role in Vietnam was a self-deception of appalling proportions. It was a superficial assuagement of a profound and painful confusion in the American people.


~~The issues underlying that war~~ need to be re-examined, analyzed without drama or judgement...a few significant numbers, perhaps - a certain cool clarity, justice for all concerned.

Then, let's take a look at the generation who went to war (or didn't) and those who sent them (or subsequently pardoned their exodus to Canada) and why.

Please, don't wave the flag which was so cruelly distorted in that war.

Thank you

Sincerely,

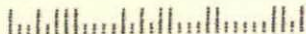
  
Nan Pulsifer

cc: Jim Lehrer, The MacNeil Lehrer News Hour  
9/17/92

Nan Pulsifer  
c/o Louise Johnson  
Box 16  
Spruce Head, Me 04859



James E. Baker III  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, D.C. 20500



Clinton Student Loan

NPN

Osborne Fremd  
818 Tete L'Ours Dr.  
Mandeville, LA 70448

Mr. James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

September 15, 1992

Dear Mr. Baker:

I am a retired executive from the chemical and oil industries. I have been active in Republican Party politics in Pennsylvania prior to moving to Mandeville, LA two years ago. I am very much interested in seeing President Bush reelected.

Of course, I know that Clinton graduated from Yale University and then won a Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford. Furthermore, everyone knows that Clinton came from a very modest background and while he had a scholarship at Yale, he must have had to take out a student loan from commercial or governmental sources. It would be very interesting to determine if he actually had a governmental student loan and when and if he ever repaid same.

I wish you every success in the promulgation of your plans in the reelection of President Bush.

Very truly yours,

*Osborne Fremd*

Osborne Fremd

818 Tete L'Ours Dr.  
Mandeville, LA 70448



Mr. James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.



Can  
we use  
S M G  
letters?

Barbara →

Yes - if appropriate

-- Thanks!

1931 King James Pkwy  
Suite 414  
Westlake, Ohio 44145

Dear Sir:

Concerning the "Family Leave" legislation I have a proposal that might be beneficial to the President in many other situations as well.

It is to return the legislation with a veto and in his message state that the legislation does not provide for those who lose their income, or for replacements for the companies who lose their employees.

If Congress answers that with a spending program, then <sup>they</sup> have to come up with the money for it without increasing the deficit.

This will show the President as a leader in economic affairs instead of being just another talker.

Sincerely,  
John L. Coughlin, II



JOHN T COUGHLIN  
SUITE 414  
1931 KING JAMES PKWY  
CLEVELAND OH 44145

MR. JAMES BAKER  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, DC

2/17

# Atlas International Aircraft Corporation

265 Meridian, Suite 6  
San Jose, California 95126, U.S.A.  
Phone (408) 977-1998

MRN



JAB-07

Sept. 24, 1992

Mr. James Baker III  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

Sir, the following is a short script for a TV commercial that I think would be very effective in the President's re-election campaign.

No doubt you've seen the TV shots of Bill Clinton playing the saxophone on the Arsenio Hall show, participating in group "sings" and doing other crowd pleasing thing to show, I suppose, that he's a regular guy.

The TV spots I envisage would begin with a few seconds of Clinton playing the saxophone on the Arsenio Hall show, singing along with groups, etc., then a mature sounding voice would say: "Yes, Bill is a fun guy. But the trouble with him is that he's only got one solution to all our problems; new or bigger government programs for each one.

"Well, there really is no free lunch. EVERY government program costs money, and that money doesn't grow on trees. Every penny for them will come from you, the taxpayer. Can you afford more taxes now? Do you need more government regulation in your life or business?"

"All over the world, from Sweden to Russia to Poland to Africa to India, China and Vietnam, to Mexico and Argentina, people are throwing out the all-intrusive, socialist governments that have brought them economic blight, poverty and ruin - the kind of Big Brother government that Bill Clinton wants to give you.

"Let's stay in the column of progress! This Nov., vote for President Bush - the candidate who will work for less, not more, taxes; a smaller, not larger, government; and the stimulation, through tax reductions, of the mighty economic engine that made this country the richest in history."

Best wishes,

Brent White, Pres.

*Brent White*

Copies to Margaret Tutwiler, Janet Mullins, Robert Zoellick, Dennis Ross

JAB-07

NRN

9/23/92

Dear Mr. Baker - Thought the  
attached might be of interest. Why  
not use it immediately?

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'R. Baker', written over a horizontal line.

## Tort Song Tragedy

The following editorial contains graphic political footage. Parental guidance is suggested.

The media barely noticed when the Senate killed a product-liability reform bill last week. But the story of how it died deserves to be told.

Our story begins the day after Labor Day, with reform supporters believing they have the votes to win. Senator Howell Heflin, a former Alabama trial lawyer, then declares in the Senate Democratic Caucus that "Jews, labor unions and trial lawyers" are the Democratic Party's three most important financial supporters. The Senators cannot afford to let the trial lawyers down by passing a bill they oppose, he tells his colleagues.

(Mr. Heflin tells us: "The weekly Democratic Party Caucus is closed to the press and Members are pledged to keep confidential discussions that take place there. . . . In no way did political contributions influence my vote." Of course not.)

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell agrees and proceeds to lead a filibuster that means the bill requires 60 votes to pass. Yet supporters still appear to have the votes, as several dissenting Democrats argue that a single, national standard for product liability would bring sanity to a runaway legal system. Joe Lieberman, a pro-growth Democrat from Connecticut, points out that Abbott Labs has dropped plans to test an anti-AIDS drug because of liability concerns. The gallery senses an upset victory.

Enter Goliath, a.k.a., Thomas "Tommy" Boggs, Beltway maestro for the Association of Trial Lawyers of America. Mr. Boggs is walking proof that Democrats and trial lawyers are joined at the hip. He is a partner in the same Beltway law firm as Democratic Party chairman Ron Brown — Patton, Boggs & Blow — and is known for his contacts and fund-raising. He is the son of the late Congressional powerhouse, Hale Boggs, and his sister is Cokie Roberts, the liberal ABC-TV commentator.

From 1987 to 1992, Mr. Boggs himself donated \$108,937 to a variety of Democratic candidates, according to Federal Election Commission records. (Beltway lawyering is lucrative.) More important, Mr. Boggs's dona-

tions usually trigger a cascade of other political giving from trial lawyers, their spouses and even children — a terrific way to end run the \$1,000 spending limit on individual donations. Mr. Boggs's wife, Barbara, has given \$34,900 to candidates, including \$1,000 each to such tort-reform opponents as Senators Howard Metzenbaum and Fritz Hollings.

So on the day of the Senate vote, Mr. Boggs strikes a powerful pose as he parks himself in a room just off the Senate floor. There he huddles with other anti-reformers who include such self-styled consumerists as Pamela Gilbert of Ralph Nader's coalition. (Ms. Gilbert refuses to disclose if trial lawyers finance her organization.) The Boggs anti-reform lobby is in touch with Senators and their aides.

The vote to end the filibuster commences and it's a cliffhanger. Tort Song Tommy and Senator Mitchell still need to turn one more vote. Mr. Mitchell is seen approaching Claiborne Pell, who declines, then John Glenn, who shakes his head no. The Majority Leader then talks to Nebraska's Bob Kerrey.

In a rare Senate procedural gambit, Mr. Kerrey agrees to "pair" his vote with an absent Senator, meaning it isn't formally recorded. Mr. Kerrey tells us he agreed to pair so the Senate could move beyond the contentious debate and "we could get something done this year." In any event, the gambit denies supporters the 60th vote they need to end the filibuster. The reform effort dies.

Reform supporters are nonetheless elated they came so close after years of not even being allowed a vote, and they vow to try again next year. But Mr. Boggs is working, too. The trial-lawyer network is pouring millions into Bill Clinton's campaign in the expectation that a President Clinton would obediently veto any product-liability reform.

As for the Senate, the trial-lawyers' number one target is Wisconsin Republican Bob Kasten, a product-liability reform leader. They're pouring contributions into his Democratic opponent, Russ Feingold. And some people still wonder why Americans are fed up with Washington.



MILDER, CT



Mr. James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM J. BUTLER, ESQ.  
1301 N. WESTERN AVE.  
# 306  
LAKE FOREST, IL. 60045

**UNITED FRONT FOR DEMOCRACY  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN BURMA**

*15113 Joshua Tree Road  
North Potomac, Maryland 20878  
Telephone: 301-279-9031  
Fax: 301-762-5768*

*Campana  
M2M  
persecutions*

The Honorable  
Mr James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington D.C. 20500

September 24, 1992

Dear Mr. Baker:

You will note from the above letter-head that I have been representing The United Front for Democracy and Human Rights in Burma since the SLORC took over the Burma Administration illegally and misruled Burma until today. Since you are, as the former Secretary of State, well-aware of the situation prevailing in present day Burma, I shall refrain from the current situation in Burma. As you will notice from the accompanying letter addressed to the resident of the United States, I am writing the letter as an individual US citizen, and not as the Chairman of the Unbited Front. Although the letter is formally addressed to the President, it is however meant for you and your staff. I know that you and your staff are extremely busy, and so, I conclude this letter with my best wishes for a very succesful campaign.

Yours sincerely

*U Bathaung*  
(U BA THAUNG)

U BA THAUNG  
15113 Joshua Tree Road  
North Potomac, Maryland 20878  
Telephone: 301-279-9031  
Fax: 301-762-5768

The Honorable  
President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington DC 20500

September 24, 1992

Dear Mr. President:

Having chosen freedom in this country, I became a United States citizen. It was the time when President John F Kennedy was the most prominent world leader. Then, I registered as a Democrat, but I have chosen to vote for President Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984, and for you, Mr. President, in 1988.

Knowing that you are fighting for re-election and, because of the prevailing economic conditions, there are predictions that it may turn out to be a very close election. I feel therefore that I should contribute my ideas to your re-election campaign. The ideas that I am going to state below might have been already incorporated or deliberated by your campaign staff - most able leaders such as your Chief of Staff and his colleagues. But, I feel however that it is my duty to contribute whatever I can, to your re-election campaign because I have great faith in your experiences and what you can accomplish during your second term when you do not have to worry about a re-election. And, this very fact should be, again and again, emphasized in your campaign speeches, saying that, as a second-term President, you will be only doing whatever is good for the country and the American people. You can even add that you will also be doing not only for this country, but also for the World. This is the first theme that came to my mind.

The second theme, I feel, Mr. President, should (despite what some people might be criticizing), be to re-state and stress your ideas of a New World Order and a Global

**Economy. You, Mr. President, and, your predecessor, President Reagan, are the two US Presidents, who can rightfully claim the undeniable credit for the tearing down of the Berlin Wall and the aftermath, the demise of Communism. Just as President Reagan was responsible for starting the process of rebuilding the US military strength and the saving of the Caribbean by going to the rescue of Grenada, you yourself have followed this process by accomplishing the rescue of such countries as Afghanistan, Panama and the Persian Gulf from notorious and ruthless military dictators. Some Americans may say that you care more about foreign policy and foreign aid. But, all knowledgeable people realize that, today, neither the United States, nor any other country in the world can stand by itself. That is true for the economy too. Right now, economies falter around the World. Not only the United States, but also, Europe, Japan and North America, three other major centers of the industrialized world are affected. Figures released by the IMF (International Monetary Fund) during the past two weeks show how poorly the global economy is performing. Unemployment in countries like France, Canada and Italy is at double-digit levels in 1992. The United States is comparatively much better off. That is not taking cover for the stalled American economy, but it is a clear indication why the recovery in this country has been slow. You, Mr. President have the experience - not to say of your experience as Permanent Representative to the United Nations, and as Ambassador to China - you already have 12 solid years' experience in dealing with foreign leaders and complex international affairs, as a Vice-President, and as a President.**

**Compared to you, Mr. Clinton, not only has he no track record, especially in international affairs, he has also no idea of how he would act to exert global political and economic leadership. Now, from the military point of view, there is no doubt that the United States is the only superpower left in the World. But, in the economic field, Japan and Germany happened to be two other superpowers or economic giants, who are now claiming permanent membership status in the United Nations Security Council, along with existing permanent members, China, Britain, France and Russia. That claim, I am sure, will have to be favorably decided in the near future. In your statement to the United Nations General Assembly on Monday, September 21, you have endorsed an expanded peace-keeping role for the United Nations as part of your vision for the post-Cold War New World Order. That not only shows your ability to deal quickly and decisively with international affairs such as peace-keeping and humanitarian activities, but also justifies your far-sighted actions to maintain the defence capability required of the United States to upkeep its military strength as a**

superpower. There is no doubt that Communism has fallen by the roadside. But, the dangers faced by the free nations of the World are not yet over. There is China, still very much Communist as well as a military giant, with formidable nuclear weapons and IBMs. The ex-Soviet Union countries also have a large number of nuclear weapons, and they have been selling some of them to China and Iran, and China has been turning around, selling such weapons to Syria, Iran and other countries. The democratic and economic reforms in the ex-Soviet Union countries are in a very elementary stage and it is therefore too early to say that the hard-line Communists in those countries are no longer a military threat. While we can say that the world is now comparatively safer than before, we must nevertheless prepare ourselves to safeguard our grandchildren from the dangers of a possible nuclear war, however remote possibility may be. But, if some of the new democracies failed in their continuing struggle to maintain their freedom and democracy combined with market economy, the dangers of a nuclear war are real. This is one area where you, Mr. President, has a definite edge over your opponent, and your policy to maintain the United States as a military superpower is realistic and you are on the right track.

To avoid going into great length, permit me to abridge the expression of my thoughts. As it appears to me, in the forthcoming elections, the most significant topics are:

<b>DOMESTIC</b> =====	<b>INTERNATIONAL</b> =====
1. THE ECONOMY (Side by side with)	DEFENCE, FREE TRADE AND GLOBAL ECONOMY
2. CRIME (Inter-related with)	DRUGS - Domestic & International Action
3. HEALTH (Elderly Care, AIDs etc.)	DOMESTIC / INTERNATIONAL ACTION
4. EDUCATION (International Link)	INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION
5. ENVIRONMENT (International Link)	INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

For the ECONOMY, I suggest that you should consider a proposal by you for the

creation of a National Economic Council (NEC) to serve the Presidency, parallel to and as important as the National Security Council (with the possibility of a bi-partisan membership to be appointed by the President). This was once advocated by Senator Richard G Lugar, and this proposal of a NEC will be a great election highlight and a sure vote-catching theme. This, I sincerely believe, will give a great impetus for a strong economy, and will encourage those who are now depressed by the current slow economic recovery. This should be in addition to other economic measures already undertaken by you for speedy economic recovery both within the United States, as well as an international measure preparing for a global economy. The latter is what you have already started in the form of a new free-trade agreement with Canada and Mexico, and the need for international co-operation that you have already outlined to the G-7 representatives who came to the IMF Conference.

I feel that I need not and should not add to what you and your economic experts have already done. However, I wish to suggest one significant point. That you, Mr. President, should be more specific in your proposal to cut taxes. As I have specialized in the tax area, I have a feeling that the majority of the voters especially the middle-income group, will be interested to know your concrete proposal how their heavy share of the income tax burden will be considerably lowered. Another aspect should be to compare the double-digit interest rates prevailing at the time President Reagan took over the administration from President Carter, and make specific mention about the Seven Fat Years as explained by The Wall Street Journal Editor Mr. Robert L. Bartley, the 1980 Pulitzer Prize-Winning Editorial Writer, and the author of "The Seven Fat Years (1983-1989)." Attached herewith is a copy of THE BUCK STOPS HERE, a forum appearing in MODERN MATURITY, an AARP publication of October-November, 1992, which I found to be very useful and interesting. Just like Mr. Bartley, I feel that, you, Mr. President, should be more forthright and candid with the mistake you made in departing from your pledge of "no new taxes" by accepting a budget deal with the Democratic Congress in the midst of The Gulf War preparations - at a time of national emergency posed by a Hitler-type military dictator menacing world peace. I agree with Mr. Bartley also that you should give up defending the compromises Congress forced upon you in your quest for lowering the budget deficit. It may be better to call for a new and different Congress that can work with you effectively for a New World Order and a Global Economy with the United States as an economic superpower, which will lead the world to a speedy recovery from the present worldwide depression. It may be relevant to say that what America needs now is not

a new, unqualified President, but a new and reformed Congress which can work together with an experienced President for turning the tide on economic and other problems that we are facing now. To emphasize your achievements as a President who has worked with other International leaders, I feel (as I watched recently the video tape of the Victory Parade) that the American people should be given another chance to witness the parade of victorious soldiers and a team of capable and proven leaders such as Secretaries Baker and Cheney, National Security Adviser Snowcroft, Chief of Armed Forces General Collins Powell, Gulf War Commander General Schwarzkopf, and a proud Commander-in-Chief, who led the United States to a resounding victory. Showing glimpses of the Victory Parade in the Campaign Ads will certainly impress the voters who will trust and vote for a proven leader.

I am not going to touch upon any details regarding other topics described above. But, I wish to emphasize that these topics should be dealt with, one by one with as much as possible detailed plans to be executed during your second term. Secretaries in your cabinet together with others who are directly involved in various fields should be used to educate the voters. I wish to conclude my letter by placing great emphasize the importance of the votes of "women," elderlies," and those representing millions of minorities, not only the Afro-Americans, but also, other minorities, such as the Hispanics, Asians, and even the native Indians. Leaders of these minorities should be approached by various staff members, not only by the Secretaries in charge of these affairs, but also by representatives of various ethnic minorities.

Yours sincerely

(U Ba Thaung)

# The buck

Modern Maturity provides a forum for two political spectrum. Here they speak



*'There is no hope for liberals if they seek only to imitate conservatives'*

*By John Kenneth Galbraith*



We are well advised every once in a while to step back from the public clamor of the time and assess the effects of the great social movements that truly shape our lives and our politics. They have little to do with political ideology and commitment in their usual shape or form. They go far beyond such trivial matters. I have particularly in mind the role of government as it is influenced, and indeed controlled, by forces that ultimately control commonplace political attitudes and advocacy.

The role of government is, in fact, shaped by the increasing urbanization, increasing living standards, increasing economic complexity, and increasing ethnic and racial admixture of modern life. In comparison, expressed political beliefs and preferences are insignificant. A politician can accommodate to the controlling social forces. He can seem to resist them, but in resistance he is only a minor force. I recur for a moment to personal history.

I was born and spent my early

years on a farm in southwestern Ontario, a hundred miles down the north shore of Lake Erie from Detroit. It was, as it remains, a spacious countryside with long, straight roads serving modestly prosperous farmsteads. The roads were important, for, along with the schools, they were the only serious intrusion of government on the community. In all my youth I never once saw a police officer in our neighborhood. A nearby village had a constable; he was thought to be without useful employment. The schools were taken somewhat seriously, but not by all. A certain undercurrent of feeling regarded them at most with doubt. A farmer, it was said, was best served by a strong back and a weak mind.

In the distant purlieu of Toronto and Ottawa laws were debated and adopted. We told ourselves that we should, in a general way, be informed about them, but we did not suppose that they had any noticeable effect on us. We were economically and socially sufficient; government, those roads and schools apart, was not necessary to our lives.

The different role of government as between that time and situation and the urban community of today is more than evident; it could not be more starkly so.

*The author is the Paul M. Warburg Professor of Economics Emeritus at Harvard University and author of The Culture of Contentment (Houghton Mifflin, 1992).*

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The era into which we were born ended on November 9, 1989. The breaching of the Berlin Wall drew down the curtain on a trying and bloody epoch: two world wars, the Great Depression and the Cold War, with regional wars and nuclear missiles constantly targeted on the cities of the world.

The Cold War victory was not merely a military and political milestone, but also a decisive battle in a contest of economic ideas. It was once possible to believe that central economic planning—epitomized by “scientific socialism”—produced faster economic growth. Nikita Khrushchev boasted, “We will bury you.” Before 1989 it was possible to believe that market economies and planned economies would “converge” into something resembling, say, Olof Palme’s Sweden.

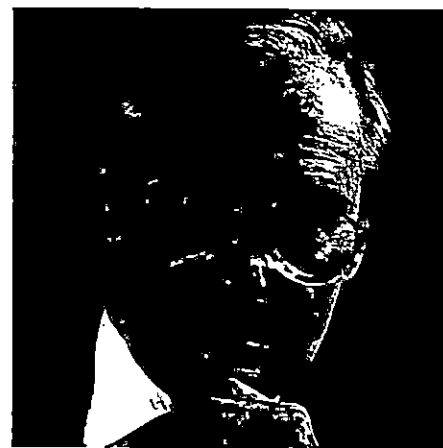
Instead, at Berlin Communism was buried. The Soviet empire is trying to converge into the capitalist mainstream. Swedish voters have turned out Palme’s long-dominant and ever-so-democratic Socialists. Even India

*The author is editor of The Wall Street Journal, 1980’s Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial writer, and author of The Seven Fat Years (The Free Press, 1992).*

has cast aside its socialist mentors. Successful “socialists,” such as Felipe González Márquez in Spain, follow policies that look like capitalism.

As Americans go to the polls in 1992 they would be wise to understand this historic sweep. As recently as 1982 it still seemed Communism might be the winning side. The Western world was sunk in the deepest economic contraction since the Great Depression, experiencing a bewildering “stagflation”—stagnant growth and double-digit inflation all at once. President Jimmy Carter had talked of “malaise” in the U.S., and across the Atlantic politicians addressed “Eurosclerosis.”

In seven short years the tide had completely reversed, by the most conservative policies in recent memory: a strong defense, of course, but backed by sound money, incentive-directed tax cuts and deregulation of markets. When President Ronald Reagan and Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker finally got their policies put fully into place in 1983, it proved the start of the longest peacetime economic expansion in memory. Over seven fat years the economy expanded by a third in inflation-adjusted terms, real disposable income per capita grew by nearly a fifth, and more than 18 million new



PETER DYRON

*‘The conservative economic agenda is far from exhausted by the success of the 1980s’*

*By Robert L. Bartley*

# Galbraith

In that removed farming community the young looked after the old, who, more than incidentally, had a tendency by today's standards to die rather young. Even Social Security, though it would have been very nice, was not as now absolutely essential.


Much of the modern role of government comes from the conflict and complexity of people living in close and sometimes tense association. Some comes from the broad improvement in living standards—more pollution and more trash to be carried away. Some follows from the ethnic and racial admixture and the resulting tension. In my rural Ontario there were only the Scotch (as we called ourselves) and the English.

Some government role comes from the uncertainty of modern industrial performance and the consequent unemployment and personal econom-

ic deprivation. Unemployment was unknown in that Ontario countryside; I never heard mention of it as a youth. Nor on our largely self-sufficient farms did we know much about recession. That was something suffered by people in the towns and cities.

Here are the overriding social forces of our time. They are so for liberals and conservatives alike. The only difference in attitude, speaking as a liberal, is this: We accept and respond to change. Conservatives, by their nature and faith, are hauled reluctantly abreast of the times. Some are said to come only kicking and screaming into the present.

In the end, it is the liberals who save the conservatives. It was old-age security, unemployment compensation, regulation of the work hours of women and children, tolerance of labor organization, welfare relief for the helpless poor, public housing and



stabilizing action on the business cycle that made modern, highly urbanized capitalism reasonably secure. Without these protective and mellowing steps it would not have survived. And the process of ensuring its survival continues. It will be the major issue in the election this autumn. The election will center on whether and how we accommodate to the times.

There is first—and here one has only a slight sense of novelty—the socially dangerous situation in our central cities. After Los Angeles that danger is beyond doubt. The only debate is over what should be done. Liberals, or those properly so called, accept that there must be strong, affirmative government action. Needed is employment opportunity—jobs and therewith escape from poverty. These private enterprise has not provided; neither oratory nor enterprise zones

# Bartley

Jobs were created. This was the basis for the historic victory of 1989.

Since the fat years ended we've been mired, depending on what dates are finally set, in a longish recession or a disappointing recovery. But the entrepreneurial growth of 1983–1990 did not end by accident; it was ground down by a series of policy initiatives.


In August 1989 Congress sought to “solve” the crisis in the Savings and Loan industry with something called the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act. FIRREA was directed at a real enough crisis, but its overreaction started a credit crunch drying up financing, especially for new businesses. A few months later Congress defeated the Bush Administration's attempt to cut the capital-gains tax, which had passed the Democratic House. In the end 51 Senators voted

against a filibuster Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell mounted to stop it. But Mitchell won, and today the U.S. has the sharpest tax on capital gains in the world.

The next year negotiations on a budget deal led President Bush to renounce his pledge of “no new taxes.” In the midst of Gulf War preparations, the President accepted a budget deal that increased taxes with recession already gathering.

Efforts to achieve cleaner air and help disabled Americans, also, imposed unnecessarily large regulatory costs on businesses and thus consumers. Our economy is sluggish today not because of the mistakes of the boom years, but because since 1989 national economic policy swung incentives to disincentives.

Yet somehow the years of prosperity are depicted as a “decade of greed.” America is seen as “declin-



ing” just as the Soviet Union collapsed. We have sunk into our current mood of pessimism. Our supposed predicament can be divided roughly into three general headings: the deficit, the distribution of incomes, and Japan. No society has ever been without problems. But by the standards of history, our economic problems scarcely seem overwhelming.

The deficit is a real problem, which in prudence needs to be dealt with over time. But it is not the keystone of economic policy. From as far back as 1952, federal government revenues have bounced within a band of 17 to 20 percent of Gross Domestic Product, by which we now measure the economy's production. In 1991 revenues stood at 18.7 percent while government outlays soared to 23.5 percent and promise to go higher under the impact of the recession and the S&L bailout. The problem is not

# Galbraith

nor even prayer can provide the necessary work. People must be employed building better housing, improving municipal services, improving the schools, providing better recreational facilities and mending our decayed infrastructure of roads, bridges, airports and much else. Only public intervention and initiative—and money—will get results. Similarly as regards medical care, education, drug rehabilitation and an adequate, well-trained and socially responsible police force.

None of this will be accomplished perfectly. Constant effort to improve the efficiency of public-sector services must also be prominent in the liberal program—we want a civil service deserving of our praise and pride. But the basic fact must be faced: In the poverty- and violence-ridden centers of our great cities little will be achieved except by govern-

ment action. Liberals want the peace and tranquillity there that conservatives will also enjoy; they do not relish the even higher costs of isolating these zones of violence, having the rest of the modern urban community erect private defenses to protect itself from the consequences of poverty, hopelessness and despair. They do not seek personal peace by escape to what for many is the barren serenity of the suburbs.

There are many other tasks that modern economic life imposes on the state and that the modern liberal accepts. The judgment here is essentially pragmatic.

Where the market economy works, it should be allowed to work; the market is a predominant fact in modern economic life. But where public action is inescapable or serviceably benign, it must be accepted.

One comes now to one of the

prime facts of our time. The pragmatic attitude of the modern liberal toward public function and expenditure involves a lower level of government outlay than the public functions that enjoy the most devout and assertive of conservative support. The latter are defense, the rescue of failed financial institutions and the costs of government budget policy.

Defense, even now that the Cold War has ended and the Soviet state itself has been dissolved, still receives the strongest conservative backing. The residue of anti-Communist paranoia, bureaucratic power, local political and economic interest, place conservatives in both the Executive and Legislative branches in solid support of large defense expenditure. Nor does any reliable conservative speak out against the S&L and bank bailouts. (As ever in the United States, socialism comes when failed

# Bartley

“irresponsible” tax cuts, but government spending.

Even at that, federal debt held by the public stood at 47.8 percent of GDP in 1991 compared with 113 percent in 1946 and a low of 24.5 percent in 1974. It will surely exceed 50 percent in 1992, but history shows this is not an unmanageable figure in a growing economy. And of course, some part of the money borrowed during the 1980s was spent protecting the future. If we borrowed 113 percent of Gross National Product to win World War II, what was it worth to leave our grandchildren free of the Cold War and its threat of a general nuclear exchange?

The critics of income distribution, mostly intellectuals whose ideas were left behind in the 1989 capitalist victory, have tried to persuade us that the American economy produces too many millionaires. The huge exagger-

ations finally got to be too much for some of the experts. The Urban Institute, a think tank usually regarded as in the liberal camp, put out a study complaining that the general public “has been led to believe the poor were literally getting poorer over the last decade or two, and that the incomes of the rich were skyrocketing. This is simply not true.”

The Urban Institute’s study focused on a sample of people in the lowest-income families in 1977, and measured their position in 1986. Those who had been in the bottom 20 percent in the first year increased their incomes by 77 percent, while those who started in the top 20 percent increased their incomes by only 5 percent. Central planning tends to keep people where they “belong”; a fluid market society lets them rise.

Meanwhile, Japan’s economic landscape is showing threatening fis-

ures with a revolving-door series of prime ministers and a chronic slump in stock prices. The Japanese citizenry is demanding a bigger share of the pie, recognizing for example that it lives in a Third World housing stock. Japanese stock prices have fallen by more than half since the beginning of 1990. Real estate prices have also imploded, particularly in Tokyo. These declines in asset values have undermined Japanese banks’ capital base, threatening a further downward spiral and certainly cutting off the cheap capital that fueled its myth.

For all the talk of Japan, the poor or the deficit, in short, there is little reason to abandon the policies that worked. The trick is to return to them. Where are we today, and what remains to be done?

Thanks to a conservative Federal Reserve Board, inflation remains generally under control; the Fed should



business executives deplane at Washington's National Airport or Dulles and seek government support. They are the true socialists in our time.) And past conservative budget policy has made interest payments on the national debt a dominant factor in total federal expenditure.

Taken together, the defense spending, the bailout costs and the interest charges far exceed the compassionate outlays liberals have urged on behalf of our cities or to mitigate the effects of our present and enduring recession. Let no one be in doubt: the truly big spenders in our time are the rock-bound conservatives. Liberals are a pale fiscal imitation by comparison. But we do not duck our responsibilities. This brings me to the matter of taxes.

Any action to improve the situation in our central cities, or more broadly the position of the poor, or to rescue

our educational system, or to extend unemployment compensation and take serious steps to provide job opportunities in recession, or to improve public health care, will cost money. Broadly speaking, those most in need of this help are those least able to pay for it through their taxes. It is those least in need of public action and support who are best able to pay—and who see themselves as most threatened by taxation. It is this community of the fortunate that has dominated American fiscal policy in the Reagan-Bush years; its forthright and quite plausible purpose was to reduce public support to the poor, reduce taxes on itself, and advance strongly those public functions, most notably defense, that served or seemed to serve its own interest.

A certain economic justification was contrived in support of this line of policy. In the modern economy, it

was held in the 1980s, the rich needed the incentive of greater return, the poor needed the spur of their own poverty. Only in the 1990s, with deep and durable recession in the economy and violence and the threat of violence in the cities, have these rationalizations sunk into some measure of disrepute.

The answer from liberals should be clear. That it does not accord with current political cliché should not keep it from being voiced. Some of our social costs can be paid for by the transfer of funds from the conservative-favored military establishment. There is a rewarding leverage here: What is relatively small expenditure for exotic weaponry or the SDI is large when transferred to social programs. The cost of a single Sea-Wolf submarine or B-2 bomber is large in meeting social needs in the Bronx, the devastated areas of Los Angeles



continue to concentrate on sound money. We can hope that as it stabilizes the value of the dollar it will also stabilize the world financial system, with stable exchange rates recognizing that the whole globe is now linked into one economy.

Similarly, we need to resist above all the temptation to believe we can cut ourselves off from the world through trade protection; as we learned with the Smoot-Hawley Tariff in the Great Depression, economic isolationism will only make us poorer.

To boost production and create jobs we need an incentive-targeted fiscal policy.

We certainly should not let marginal tax rates—the rate on an extra dollar of earnings—creep back toward their former 70 percent ceiling. Instead, we should police the tax code looking for exceedingly high rates, which can be removed without

hurting government revenues much.

To start with a small example relevant to many readers of this magazine, we could free the market by repealing the earnings test on Social Security recipients. This is nothing but a prohibitive tax on working after age 65. Its repeal would free those who want to work, and add production and the ensuing tax receipts.

The tax on capital gains works much the same way. This tax can now reach over 100 percent of real profit, since there is no adjustment for inflation while the asset was held. A reduction to world levels would be a big incentive for entrepreneurial ventures, would unlock capital now frozen in old investments, and would be unlikely to cost the government much in the way of revenues.

Under present circumstances, indeed, we should think about cutting taxes not only on capital gains, but on

other returns to capital—interest payments, for example. For in the changed conditions of the 1990s the economy will need a larger infusion of capital. In any event, we've already paid taxes on our savings once, when they were earned as income. Why should we tax them again if they're invested in the future rather than spent on the needs of the moment?

It would also aid investment, of course, if federal spending were reduced and the deficit shrunk. This requires a change in the culture of Washington, with Congressmen getting control first of their personal bank accounts, then of the discretionary parts of the federal budget.

Spending got out of control with the Congressionally dominated budget procedures of 1974, and reversing this will require more Executive authority and responsibility.

Once the government proves itself

# Galbraith

and other urban slums. Taking care of our poorest people is very cost-efficient compared with support to the military-industrial complex.

But there should be no doubt: Stable, civilized life in the modern highly urbanized economy does not come cheap. European countries have recognized this with, among other

things, resort to the value-added tax. To some extent our states, through sales taxes, have preempted this source of revenue.

Given, however, the fairly frivolous character of much of our consumer expenditure—that which can be forgone at the margin without pain—there are opportunities here.

There should, however, be no hesi-



tation whatever in restoring a greater measure of progressivity in the top brackets of the income tax. Reduction here was one of the more egregious acts of the Reagan years—as indeed some conservatives now recognize. It helped to concentrate an unparalleled share of personal income in the upper 10, and indeed in the upper 1 percent of the population. William Howard Taft, founding parent of the income tax and an impeccably committed Republican, must be turning sadly in his tomb.

At a minimum, the comfortably affluent should pay for a greater share of the bank bailouts, as, indeed, should the banks themselves. The rescue by the average middle-income citizen of the affluent bank depositor who has a thoughtfully dispersed collection of \$100,000 insured deposits carries charity much too far. (Needless to say, also, there must be regulation, high conservative doctrine to the contrary, to see that the S&L and banking scandals are not repeated.) There are, I readily concede, weak-minded liberals who seek political shelter at any mention of taxes, even taxes on the greatly rich.

Alas, there is no alternative; we must let them go.

There is no hope for liberals if they seek only to imitate conservatives, and no function either. Only by bringing those now without income and voice into the electoral process do we have any hope of winning. In the election this fall I'm far from certain that this effort will be made. A strong bid by the Democrats for the underclass—more generally for the half of the adult population that does not deem it worthwhile to vote—would frighten some traditional Democrats and even some mentally vulnerable liberals as well. Here is Mr. Bush's great advantage.

Much as he suffers from the continuing recession, oratory as a substitute for action, defective syntax and the presence of Mr. Quayle, he still has one thing going for him. That is

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# Bartley

Prudent on what it can control, it will be in a much better position to deal with the "mandated expenses" that loom so large in the federal budget. But in the "grand bargain" of raising taxes while cutting Social Security, Medicare benefits and government pensions, what I see is a grand excuse for doing nothing.

At the same time, however, the government cannot afford to assume more responsibility for medical care. Medicare precludes doctors from accepting more than price-control limits from anyone over 65, even those willing and able to pay; this forces medical institutions to shift costs to the working population. Trying to extend this already unsustainable system is a sure route to disaster in terms of the federal budget and, over time, health care for the elderly.

A conservative economic policy would look for deregulation to reduce drains on the economy. The most obvious today is a parasitic tort law system. Vice President Dan Quayle has aptly suggested that American legal jurisdictions adopt the world-standard rule that in lawsuits losers pay court costs. This would end the present big-stakes lottery and drastically reduce the costs of litigation, insurance and products generally.

To improve our economic performance, we need especially to improve our educational system, vital in an information-driven, globally linked economy. In recent years schools have subordinated educational goals to a vain pursuit of racial balance, to asbestos removal, to an egalitarian philosophy that forbids grouping students by ability level or even behavior. We've somehow arrived at a point where prayer in the schools is bad while condoms in the schools is good. There may be no solution short of vouchers to allow parents the freedom to pick among schools; the conservative idea of school choice is gathering steam around the nation.

At this point, of course, conservative economics tends to blend with

conservative social policy. Surely it would help the schools, and help our economic performance, if we could inculcate stronger family values, if only by being willing to talk about them in the face of ridicule, as Vice President Quayle also did.

Crime, similarly, is a huge drain on the economy. The most likely key to reducing it lies in reform of a juvenile

justice system that currently ensures that potential criminals are not disciplined until they reach an incorrigible age. In this and other ways the conservative agenda depends on the continued appointment of conservative judges and Supreme Court Justices.

The conservative economic agenda, in short, is far from exhausted by the success of the 1980s. There is

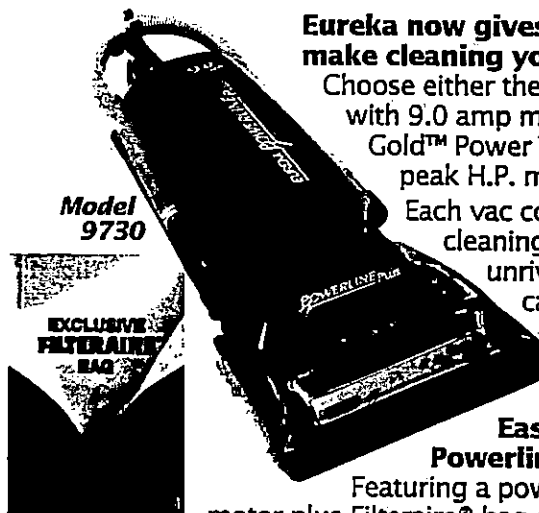


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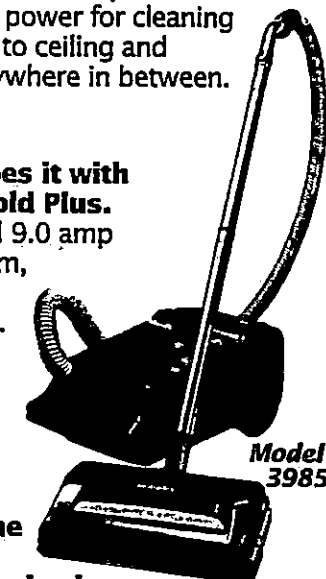
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## Galbraith

the rule laid down by President Harry Truman:

If the American people have to choose between a real conservative and an imitation conservative, they will always choose the real thing.


Governor Clinton has, indeed, come up with a substantial program—"Putting People First: A National Economic Strategy for America." It promises solid action against unemployment and recession, notably a substantial employment program centered around the repair of our decaying infrastructure and a strong plan for improving and increasing the low-income housing stock in the central cities. And it promises vigorous federal action to improve education, to widen educational opportunity and to extend and make access to good health care more generally available. His program is intelligently alert to the

terrible—and dangerous—situation in the central cities.

Mr. Clinton's proposal is, also, in the context of full fiscal responsibility. It would be paid for by higher taxes on the until-now greatly favored rich by well-planned shifts in spending from defense and, perhaps more dubiously, by cuts in other federal expenditure.

It is not a perfect program; I would move more aggressively to support state and local governments and their services. Here cuts in much-needed expenditure and the extensive and anguished discussion they have provoked have done much and continue to do much to make the recession both more painful and more severe.

Still, Mr. Clinton has taken a long step in the right direction. Mr. Bush at this writing has not proposed anything of similar need and good sense. Nor, we may be sure, will he. The



President operates broadly on the principle that God is a good Republican and will provide. Cutting the capital-gains tax and persuading Mr. Greenspan to lower interest rates a little more will make everything better. Never was hope more removed from reality. The reduction in the capital-gains tax would rejoice principally those who are rich in past gains on their securities. The economic effect would be negligible.

Movements in short-term rates of interest have been shown to have little effect on long-term borrowing costs. The market has discounted such action as an election ploy.

Mr. Bush is really out of step with the great social and economic changes that shape and, in the end, control the needed public action.

Mr. Clinton is not the perfect prospect but he is, nonetheless, distinctly the best one. ■

## Bartley

plenty of work left to do, and the modern conservatives have ideas.

Where in the 1992 campaign, though, do you find this agenda? None of the candidates is wholly satisfactory, though Vice President Quayle shows signs of hope.


President Bush displays an unfortunate habit of defending the compromises Congress has forced him into, but his Administration lies generally in the conservative tradition.

Governor Clinton has actually been relatively conservative compared with recent candidates from his party, supporting free trade, and avoiding the anti-business agenda sometimes advanced by Democratic-leaning labor unions. Still, a Clinton Administration economic policy would move, however slightly, toward planning and away from the market principles that won in 1989.

Yet voters should remember that in many ways the Congress matters even more than the Presidency. If we elect a new Congress attuned to the world's march toward free markets, it will pull any potential President in that direction.

Think of how the present Bush Administration would have looked with a different Congress.

Also voters should remember that no one President is likely to reform Washington overnight; for this we need an institutional change. Here another conservative reform idea, to limit Congressional terms to 12 years, is also gathering steam. At least until this year, when retirements proliferate in the wake of manifest voter dissatisfaction, election to Congress has seemed a lifetime appointment. More Congressional turnover would curb entrenched interests, return the government to the people, and produce a



Congress much more attuned to the battle of ideas.

That is a battle modern conservatives are more than willing to fight. With the fall of the Berlin Wall the day of the state is passing, the day of a global marketplace rising. With today's technological promise, we could forge a new *Belle Époque*.

In the face of today's historic challenge, American liberalism has developed cranky pessimism, sometimes covered with a campaign-time veneer of hope. Except for its military success in Iraq, the Bush Administration has been strangely passive. What the country needs, and what the historic moment demands, is a dose of the kind of can-do conservatism we forged in the dark hours of 1979–1982. What voters should be looking for in 1992 is most of all the old American optimism, the true American spirit. ■

*Re encl. Multi sugg.*

*NRN*

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September 15, 1992

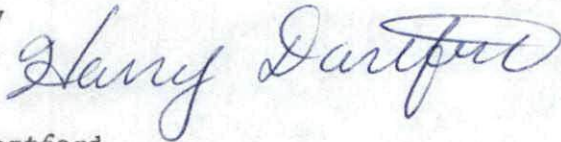
Chief-of-Staff Jim Baker  
WHITE HOUSE  
Washington, D.C. 20500-0001

Dear Mr. Baker

Attached is a copy of a letter which I have written and mailed to the Editors of The Christian Science Monitor in Boston.

Perhaps the contents of the letter may have some elements of interest to you in relation to the current campaign for the re-election of President Bush to the White House.

Sincerely



Harry Dartford

Encl: 3

Harry Dartford  
7050 Milwood Ave #28  
Canoga Park, California 91303  
September 15, 1992

"Readers Write"

The Editors  
The Christian Science Monitor  
One Norway Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02115

The end of the Cold War and the end of the hot war of World War II have many similarities, and many differences, that if understood, would be very constructive in helping the electorate find their way in and out of the maze of political rhetoric of 1992.

It is hard for those who have come into maturity after World War II to envision our nation in any other terms than total preparedness for war, since that is the way it has been during most of our life-times. Can you imagine then, our country in total unpreparedness, with an army of only 100,000 men? Newspapers and other media blasting armaments as the cause of war; and high school students writing essays in English and history classes denouncing armies and any preparedness.

It is no wonder then, that Hitler and Hirohito looked upon the United States as filled with powder-puffweaklings; and secretly conspired to invade and split our nation between them. Japan struck first at Pearl Harbor where they destroyed most of the ships in The U.S. Navy. What immediately followed that infamous incident was most astonishing. Teen-ages, drilled and drilled all their life in the evils of war, guns, and armies; flooded the offices of The U.S. Armed Forces Recruiting Offices across our country. What's additionally remarkable is, that the minimum draft age was the age of 20.

These teenage volunteers, many of whom disregarded their mother's plea to delay joining up until graduating from high school, were heard to vow vehemently without exception, "I will do whatever it takes to whip the Japs (or Huns) whatever it takes to do so, what ever the cost." (Huns was a popular name for the Germans).

And the costs were heartlessly enormous. It soon became common word-of-mouth knowledge throughout the Armed Forces in all theaters of the War, that those being sent to the Pacific against the Japs, were going on "a one-way trip to 'the meat-chopper'".

It was hell with its most horrendous ordeals. Young and old, white and black, rich and poor; all were re-measured to one common demoninator; the encounter with the Prince of Hell. And few were the survivors. Those who "gave their last full measure of devotion", along with the few who did survive, deserve our full measure of honor and gratitude.

President Bush, at age 17, was one of those teenage volunteers. He of his own free will chose to go on that "one-way trip to 'the meat-chopper'". He flew 58 combat missions in his Navy fighter-airplane in infernos of fierce battles against the enemy and kamikazi counter-attacks. He was one of the fortunate few that survived.

Any ivory-towered commentator and political cartoonist who characterizes such a man as this, as a whimp or "a powder-puffed rich boy out of touch with ordinary people",---ought to go take a look into the jaws of a meat-chopper;--- then, perhaps, they would reassess their skewed notions.

In recent months his opponents and distractors have attempted to characterize George Bush as a whimper, a sick person with bad health, one who has become incoherent in speech and memory, one who has no further gut or desire to be president;---an attempted character assassination with a beastly intinct of "if you can't beat him, kill him;"-----(mentally, that is).

In the face of all of this attempted character assassination by his opponents, who can fault George Bush for repeating his teen-age war-time vow in his 1992 campaign, "I'll do whatever it takes to whip 'em, and win."

The fall of communism in eastern Europe and Russia, and the accompanying end of the Cold War; left in the wake of the atmosphere a feeling remarkably similar to that feeling which ensued at the end of World War II.

However, there are two glaringly bright differences that stand out in connection with the end of these two Wars:

First: In the wake of World War II and its end; the absence of thousands of husbands, boyfriends, sons, brothers, friends, and neighbors who never returned home; plus thousands and thousands more who were maimed, blinded, without arms, legs, and other cruel handicaps who did return home.  
In contrast: In the wake of the end of the Cold War: not a single one of any of these casualties.

Second: The lackadaisical attitude about arms and preparedness for defence by our people at the out-break of World War II, with the result that it invited the Japanese and Germans to join together in an alliance to invade and divide the United States between them. This invasion scheme was at first delayed temporarily by the Battle of Britain of the Atlantic side; and by the Victory at Sea of the Battle of Midway on the Pacific side. The delay gave the mobilized unified citizens at home working 24 hours a day and 7 days a week enough breathing time to eventually build an arsenal so vast and mighty, that it supplied enough tanks, guns, ships, and airplanes in all theaters of war (Pacific, Britain, North Africa, Europe, and Russia): enabling all fronts to start pushing the enemy back and finally lead to their collapse.

In contrast: To the program of preparedness and readiness for any war in our life-time. And most notably after 1980 was the tough and steadfast modernization and build-up of capability by the Reagan presidency. This led to the collapse of communism without a single shot being fired.

Anyone who claims that all the events of the past few years that culminated in the freedom of eastern Europe, the tearing down of the Berlin wall, and the dramatic fall of communism in and of the Soviet Union;---were routine happenings and not due to any actions, first, of the Reagan presidency and next, of the Bush presidency,----such claims reaching the listener's ears:-- be very wary of distracting political rhetoric. Again, anyone who claims that all of the successful and brilliant foreign policy decisions and actions of both the Reagan presidency and the Bush presidency have nothing to do with domestic well-being and prosperity at home; should likewise be listened to very warily.

Have these disparaging detractors failed to learn anything from their predecessors: the failed "guns and butter" foreign policy of the Lyndon Johnson presidency? Also, the failed Middle East foreign policies of oil; of their predecessors in both the Lyndon Johnson presidency and the Jimmy Carter presidency? That these failed foreign policies unleashed a devastating double digit hyper-inflation across America, which in turn wrecked our electronic manufacturing business, and caused it to disappear to Japanese competition. And in addition, almost destroyed our automobile, machine tool, and steel making industries, also. And if that wasn't bad enough, this double digit hyper-inflation caused the price of housing to skyrocket so high that the ordinary wage earner in America is priced out of the market for home ownership,--the American dream out of his reach.

Note carefully, that before this devastating double digit hyper-inflation, no country on earth,--not even Japan,--could compete with the United States in electronic, automobiles, machine tools, steel making; because of the high productivity of the American worker and competitive low prices. Japan was still merely a third rate manufacturing and financial competitor in the world. But the double-digit hyper-inflation became a windfall for the Japanese; they adroitly moved quickly out-marketing all other foreign competitors and captured the lions share of the American market. With this sudden increase of high volume sales particularly in the automobile and electronics products, the Japanese accumulated large increases of capital surplus. This surplus capital was skillfully utilized to develop and capture a lions share of the market for many other products and industries. That is how it became today's number one superpower in manufacturing and financing. The outcome of the Johnson-Carter hyper double digit inflation.

If given the truthful facts, instead of the deflecting political rhetoric, Americans will realize and cope with the problems that present themselves with the large scale **that** occur when wars come to an end. This was true at the end of World War II. And it is true with the present dislocations at the end of the Cold War. However, there is a glaring difference between the end of World War II and the end of the Cold War in this regard; specifically, at the end of this Cold War:-- all of our fathers and mothers, boyfriends and girlfriends, brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors are without a single casualty safe at home, sound and intact, whole of body and mind, vigorous in health and spirit. This is one of the rich legacies of both the Reagan presidency, and the Bush presidency.

Such a brilliant and wonderful outcome of the end of the Cold War, deserves and calls for a standing ovation and "a well done good and faithful servant", continue thou Mr. President Bush with four more years of service to our country in the White House.

Sincerely



Harry Dartford

Copies to:

President George Bush  
Chief-of-Staff Jim Baker



## OPINION

■ *The Democratic nominee and his party insist that government must do more — because there are still unmet needs. By this criterion, we will never stop until government spending is 100 percent of GNP.*

# Big Government, Children's Rights

**I**N domestic policy the biggest difference by far between George Bush and Bill Clinton and the parties they head involves the desired scope of government action. Spending by all levels of government has been climbing steadily, not just in absolute dollar terms but also as a percentage of GNP. It's now 40 percent.

Government's growth is evident, too, in areas where it doesn't tax and spend directly but rather imposes costs on the private sector — for example, mandating benefits employers must provide or imposing regulations that increase the cost of doing business.

What response does this progression call for? That's easily the most important domestic issue of our time.

The president and his party argue that ways must be found to stop the expansion of the state in order to maintain a sufficient sphere for individual choice and action. Though their leadership in promoting this result may be faulted, their underlying judgment is, I think, the right one.

The Democratic nominee and his party insist, however, that government must do more — because there are still unmet needs and persisting social problems. By this criterion, we will never stop until government spending is 100 percent of GNP.

In one sense, the present argument between Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton is only the latest manifestation of a very old partisan divide, one that goes back at least to the Great Depression. But in another sense the current split is strikingly different from that of Franklin Roosevelt's time.

Roosevelt called for a bigger role for the state at a time when, here in the United States, it was still very small, and the country faced problems which state action was

well suited to address. In contrast, the Democrats' present argument that government should do more comes after 60 years of steady, sweeping growth. And it comes at a time when the bloated, bureaucratic state is widely seen to be at least as problem-causing as problem-solving.

I am not reflexively condemning governmental action. The two political leaders in US history I most revere, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, were nationalists who used government expansively to, in Herbert Croly's words, "make the nation more a nation." But all of my work as a political scientist leaves me convinced that the continued, promiscuous growth of the state poses a monumental threat to the nation's health and vitality.

But the current Democratic leadership seems determined to extend government's reach wherever prevailing conditions are not perfect — which is, of course, everywhere.

Hillary Clinton plays a very active role in her husband's presidential campaign, and her record as a "children's rights" activist certainly merits close examination.

But much of the Republicans' assault on that record misses the point when it focuses on what she has said or written about the family as such. The problem isn't that she "wants children to be able to sue their parents," but that for her "children's rights" is an ingenious vehicle for dramatically extending government's reach.

In this regard, two articles that Hillary Clinton wrote in the 1970s, "Children Under the Law" (1973) and "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective" (1979), are instructive.

She argues that a great many interests which children have should be transformed — through court decisions and legislation — into legally enforceable rights. In the 1979 article, she acknowledged that "even among persons in the children's rights movement, there is a concern that extending rights to children against their parents is too difficult to control," and she states that "in all but the most extreme cases such questions should be resolved by the families...."

But what are those "extreme cases" demanding new forms of government action? They are, Mrs. Clinton writes: "Decisions

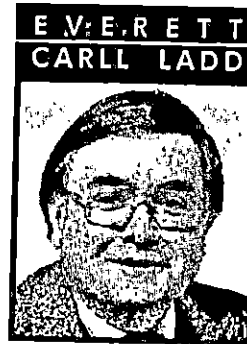
about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others where the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents."

There may be a few areas of family life that can't be swept under one of these categories — but not many where a determined lawyer wouldn't try.

Children couldn't themselves, in most cases, initiate action on behalf of the sweeping new legal rights Hillary Clinton argues should be established. So it would be necessary to set up new governmental bureaucracies to see that these rights are not violated and to investigate allegations that they have been.

Once again, then, we have a Democrat proposing something that is at its core a call for a major new expansion, direct and indirect, of the scope of government.

■ *Everett Carl Ladd is executive director of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut.*



# How Washington Can Create New Jobs

**F**LYING time from New York to Houston is only a little over three hours. Yet judged by the rhetoric from the Democratic and Republican conventions, the two cities could be on separate planets.

Jobs are the obvious, overriding issue in the election. For all the hoopla, however, the parties have not come to grips with the basic structural problems that caused the great American job machine to stall in the past three years.

Proposals to roll out the public-works pork barrel won't do the trick. Long-term job growth has been concentrated in services since World War II. It will remain there. Pouring money into a bankrupt system of public education would have little effect. Real outlays per pupil rose fourfold since the 1950s, but student performance deteriorated.

The United States added 18 million new workers in the 1980s. The service sector added 17.8 million jobs and the government 2 million, while jobs in mining, manufacturing, and construction dropped. Sadly, the job machine ground to virtual halt in 1990.

New business formation provided more than 80 percent of the new jobs in the private sector in the 1980s. For practical purposes, business start-ups have since stopped cold. Many factors account for this collapse. In no particular order of importance, these include:

■ A sharp increase in capital-gains tax rates in 1986. To no one's surprise, this cut deeply into the incentive for entrepreneurs to invest in risky new ventures. As Housing Secretary Jack Kemp says, employers are an essential ingredient of employment.

■ A massive long-term escalation in federal mandates for spending for health, safety, and environmental purposes. Such mandates add up to several hundred billion dollars in implicit federal taxes on corporate income. When effective corporate tax rates went up, rates of return fell. As a result, net investment plunged as a share of net national product.

H. ERICH HEINEMANN



■ A growing reluctance of the nation's bankers to lend money to people who need to borrow. In part, this is due to new, punitive federal banking regulations that threaten bank directors (and their families) with personal responsibility if loans go sour and the bank is impaired, even in the absence of personal culpability.

At the same time, regional disparities in employment have widened. The 10 largest states in population – including most of the nation's major cities – were hit especially hard by the recession. They have unemployment rates of 8.5 percent, a point over the national average. The big states gained 170,000 jobs thus far in the recovery. The 40 smaller states have an unemployment rate of 6.6 percent. Jobs in these states rose 830,000.

Politically, the 10 big states are crucial. California, Texas, New York, Florida, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, and North Carolina account for about 55 percent of the voting age population. Their electoral-vote total is just shy of that required to win the election.

The nation must address the limits to its growth. Federal health, safety, and environmental regulation is "absurdly inefficient," as Robert Crandall of the Brookings Institution has charged.

The principal result of this approach was a drop in profitability of US corporations over the last decade to levels far below the norm of the last half century.

Clearly the decline in profitability has undercut the incentive for business investment. The substandard level of investment has deprived US workers of the tools they need to maintain their standard of living. This is the root cause of the slow-motion syndrome in the US economy.

Many factors contribute to the national malaise. Slow growth – which saddles families at the bottom of the income scale with a disproportionate load – has played the critical role. By taxing investment rather than consumption to fund health, safety, and environmental regulation, the US has saddled its economy with an onerous burden. Unless the nation rids itself of these investment disincentives, stagnation will continue.

■ H. Erich Heinemann is chief economist of Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., investment bankers in New York.

# DARTFORD & ASSOCIATES

7050 Milwood Avenue - Suite 28 / Canoga Park, California 91303

Harry Dartford  
7050 Milwood Ave #28  
Canoga Park, California 91303



Chief-of-Staff James Baker  
WHITE HOUSE  
Washington D.C. 20500-0001



FILE

On the occasion of the establishment of the  
International Press Center & Club "Moscow"

*The Ambassador  
of the Russian Federation  
requests the pleasure of the company of  
Mr. James Baker III  
at a reception  
on Monday, October 6, 1992  
at 6:00pm o'clock  
at the Embassy*

*R.s.v.p.*

*Regrets only*

*628-7551*

*No answer*

*9/24*

*9/25*

*1125 Sixteenth Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036*

NRN

Sept 14, 1992

Dear Mr Baker:

I heard Mr Clinton on TV say something about having demonstrated against the Vietnam War while a student in England, and I also recall reading a "Reader's" letter in the American History magazine dealing with the demonstrations and the destruction the students caused. They smashed embassy windows, tore up ~~and~~ shrubs and plantings. The Mounted Police came to quell the riot, but the ~~rioters~~ rioters attacked so viciously they injured some of the horses so badly they had to be destroyed! Just wait until the animal lovers find that out!

Jaylene Clinton said he had led demonstrations, but I am not sure he said led!

I am sorry I don't recall the issue of American History magazine

but it was on the Readers  
comments page of AM HISTORY  
some months ago. You have no  
doubt some Numbler Jack who can  
find it. I am too old and crippled  
up now to scramble in the library.

When you get Mr Bush reelected  
and go back to running the State  
Department promise me that you  
will put <sup>out</sup> an order that embassy  
employees are not to bad mouth our  
government while waiting on the  
customers. I was humiliated in Madrid  
by a young man who did so. I was  
with a Mexican lady and another from  
Canada. The Canadian woman  
absolutely GLOATED. The young  
man was upset about the Vietnam  
war - said he had been there so  
perhaps that is an excuse. However  
most of us were taught "You  
don't bite the hand that feeds  
you."

You have a big job to  
do and you do it so well.

I know you work hard, are  
under a lot of strain and don't  
get much sleep. I wonder sometimes  
why you are willing to go through  
all this, but then I realize you  
do it because you love this  
Country, like a good loyal Southern  
man the Country can always count  
on.

Yours truly  
Laura Golson Butts

712 McElhannet St  
Jeffersonville In 47130



Mrs. William O. Butts  
712 Mechanic St  
Jeffersonville IN 47130



Mr James Baker  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.  
20000



● MAINTENANCE  
 ● LEASING  
 ● FINANCING  
 ● RENTALS



● COMMERCIAL  
 AND  
 ● INDUSTRIAL

FROM IDEAS TO MOVE IN, OR REMODEL TO NEW IDEAS

# BRUMMELL CONSTRUCTION

8435 S.E. 17th AVENUE  
 PORTLAND, OREGON 97202  
 Telephone: 233-4841

September 29, 1992

Economist Jensen  
 NBC News  
 New York, NY.

Your report of 9-28-92 is not a factual statement of fact on economic percentages.

1. The 7½ per cent growth you average is the Vietnam War Inflation, the 77-81 Inflation, all caused by war and the Nuclear build up to force the tear down of the Berlin Wall.

Your comparisons of peace since the Berlin Wall at 3½ per cent growth was blacked out.

2. What you are saying is that the American people want a War economy, not peace.

3. Bush is not an economist, but with assisted leadership he has brought peace to Russia and the Middle East at a 2.3 per cent growth.

4. To compare this in your percentages you have to go back to 1937, then it shows a positive 2.3 per cent growth since the Berlin Wall fell. Very good in peacetime.

Get your comparisons correct before mis-informing the American Public.

*Clyde V. Brummell*  
 Clyde V. Brummell

cc/ FAX-Jim Baker, White House, Wash. DC.

*L. & L. A. Mawson*

P. O. BOX 366151 • SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO 00936-6151

September 23, 1992

*NRN debate*

To: Hon. James A. Baker III

For:

DEBATE No. 1

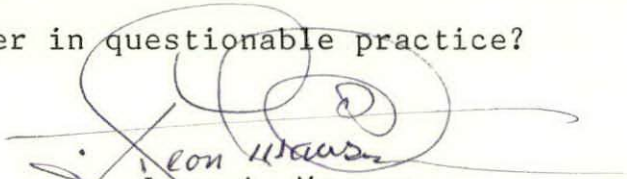
or

DEBATE No. 2

The President

Fellow Americans!

Can you risk placing your trust and hope for the future safety and welfare of our country, the preservation and life of our children, and World Peace, in the hands of an inexperienced fellowman, a draft evader when we are at war, and an indulger in questionable practice?

  
Leon A. Mawson  
Author  
"Persecuted and Prosecuted"

U.S. Government  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

NRN family values

September 19, 1992  
Anchorage, Alaska

Bohdan J. Szejner  
P.O. Box 101962  
Anchorage, AK 99510

The Honorable Secretary of State, James Baker

(907) 279-8708

Dear Mr. Baker:

As a concerned citizen, I have often given advice to national leaders, how to make this country better. Being poor, I cannot contribute much to the repayment of our national debt, but I strongly believe that ideas are often more important than money. Since you have been recently put in charge of convincing the American people that you care more about this country than the Democratic opposition, here is what you have to agree with, to convince me!

My comment today is about the family values, since I have just advised Sen. Ted Stevens on the debt.

Ever since this Nation was founded, the liberal-atheist elements - the so-called cultural elites - have been using the pretext of church and state separation, to search out and destroy the Biblical family models, which - as you know - rest on the two fundamental pillars: patriarchy and corporal punishment! Just think, generation after generation, what the churches taught about family values, the State identified and killed!


In recent decades, this onslaught on the traditional Judeo-Christian family model has been greatly intensified by the radical feminists and liberal lawyers who - like Hilary Clinton - fiercely oppose patriarchy and the commandment to combat foolishness and crime with the rod!

The most recent example of this trend is the decision of Allegheny County Juvenile Court Judge Eugene B. Strassburger III, who - besides forbidding the former Pittsburgh Steelers player Mel Blount to discipline his children as the church teaches - stated that "Apparently Blount didn't grow up under a system of no corporal punishment and it's difficult for him to adjust to that."

The house divided against itself cannot stand! Rather than conspiring to kill the traditional family model, the State should work with the Churches, hand in hand, to instill in the American people a sense of values and civility!

Only a quick return to the time-tested family values can save America from the liberal-feministic moral dissolution! Patriarchy and corporal punishment are those values! The rest is anarchy and social death!

Sincerely,

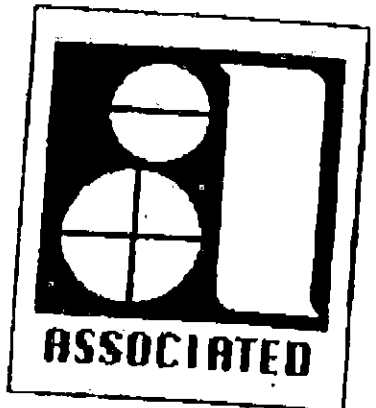
  
Bohdan Juan Szejner

# FAX Cover Sheet

**Associated Equipment Corp.**

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St. Louis Mo. 63115  
FAX# 1-314-385-3254  
TELEPHONE: 314/385-5178 (249)

*NRN  
ABZ replied*



Auto

ACE

ALCO

Date: 9/28/92

From: DON GRAVLIN

To: JIM BAKER

At: (202) 456-2461

Number of pages following: 2

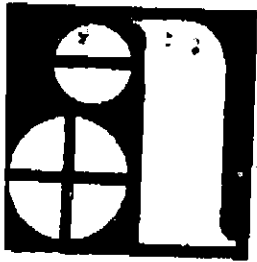
For your information only: \_\_\_\_\_

Quote: \_\_\_\_\_

Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**Notes:**

PER YOUR SECRETARY / TELEPHONE RECEPTIONIST  
SUGGESTION I AM FAXING YOU A COPY OF AN  
EARLIER FAX I HAD SENT TO BOB ZUELLICK.  
I TRULY BELIEVE THAT THE SUGGESTIONS I AM  
MAKING FOR YOUR CAMPAIGN WILL MEAN THE  
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WINNING AND LOSING  
THE ELECTION. I REALLY WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS  
THESE SUGGESTIONS AND OTHERS I HAVE WITH SOMEONE  
AT GREATER LENGTH. MY TELEPHONE No. IS  
(314) 385-5178 EXT. 249. GOOD LUCK!



**ASSOCIATED  
EQUIPMENT  
CORPORATION**

1043 Farlin Avenue St. Louis, Missouri 63115 (314) 385-5178 FAX# (314) 385-3254

September 22, 1992

Mr. Robert C. Zoellick  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Bob,

I have been trying to make a few suggestions regarding economic issues which I believe to be critical for President Bush to win re-election. The one issue I believe to be so critical that if not addressed the election will be lost! Unfortunately I do not have access to anyone who will listen to me.

I enjoyed your comments on the John McLaughlin show of Sunday September 20, 1992. From the depth of understanding you portrayed on economic issues, I feel certain that you will be receptive to my suggestions. Each of these issues must be addressed by George Bush himself in campaign speeches on a continuing basis.

1) U.S. Recession

Clinton and the general electorate attribute our recession to mismanagement by the administration. On the contrary--- after 40 years of the Cold War with heavy defense expenditures, a major recession would have taken place regardless of who was President. George Bush needs to point this out! Winning of the Cold War removed the threat from all our lives of nuclear holocaust but there was a price to pay. It caused a world-wide recession. Europe is affected (UK unemployment is 10%) as well as the entire world. I am surprised that the impact of changing from a war-time footing to a peace time economy did not have a more severe effect. If you subtract the unemployment caused by displacement in the defense industry and the military from the present 7.6%, we would be close to the core unemployment %. The defense industry enjoyed an above-average pay scale which partially explains the reduction in the present average hourly wage rate.

The last Democrat president coupled with a Democrat Congress produced:

13% inflation  
21% interest rate  
10% unemployment

2) Taxation of Small Business

This message is not getting through to your audience. Rather than Bush just saying that he doesn't want to add a tax to small business or over regulate them, he must explain why. The reason is that small business is responsible for the majority of jobs in the country. Clinton's plan "tax the rich" would fall chiefly on small business. I am a CFO of a small business and understand this.

## 3) Exports

Most voters are not aware that the #1 exporter in the world is good old USA (over \$400 billion). Foreign competition has forced us to improve our industries and we are now competitive in world trade. Our firms are now lean and mean. Compared to us Europe will not be competitive (60% union and heavy managerial layers). Approval of the NAFTA is essential for competition with the EC and the Pacific Rim.

## 4) Deficit

More dialogue must be devoted to this issue. It is uppermost in voters minds.

Bob I'm sure with your access to the President you can make him aware that if he doesn't explain the reason for the recession (Winning the Cold War), he will surely lose the election. California was heavily dependent on defense (now 10% unemployment).

I have many additional suggestions if anyone is interested. In addition to my position as CFO, I also teach part-time in the Graduate School of Business at St. Louis University and I have many thoughts regarding our economy. My telephone is:

Office (314) 385-5178 Extension 249  
Home (314) 532-7682

Sincerely,

  
Donald J. Gravlin  
Controller

DJG/rw

314-385-5178  
Ext. 249



DONALD J. GRAVLIN  
Controller

**ASSOCIATED EQUIPMENT CORPORATION**  
5043 Farlin Ave. St. Louis, MO 63115 Fax #314-985-3254



*9/17 per mdt, JMS approval*

September 16, 1992

**Schedule Proposal**

**To: James A. Baker, III**

**From: Robert Teeter**

*Cancelled per  
Karen Groomes  
9/17 8:30 PM*

**Request:** Leading economists supporting President's Agenda and signatories to the letter critical of the Clinton Economic Plan meet with the President afternoon of Monday, September 21 in New York following the UNGA speech.

**Purpose:** Focus media attention on the criticism of the Clinton Economic Plan by leading economists and present a positive assessment of the President's Economic Agenda focusing on the contrasting approaches of each Candidate.

**Background:** Nearly 100 leading economists have signed onto a statement critical of the Clinton Economic Plan. Note that not all of these economists are full supporters of the President's Agenda. They may disagree on some aspects of the Administration's economic policy, however, on one thing they all agree - the Clinton plan will result in economic disaster. A full page advertisement will appear on Monday 9/21 in USA Today with the full statement and names of the nearly 100 economists.

For the purpose of Monday's proposed meeting we will include economists that BOTH support the President's Agenda and are critical of the Clinton Plan.

The meeting will serve to undercut the view that Clinton's plan has wide support among trained economists and highlight the credibility and substance of the President's Agenda.

**Date and Time:** September 21, 1992, Monday Afternoon

**Duration:** 30 to 45 minutes

**Location:** New York - Meeting Room in the President's hotel.

**Participants:** President, Michael Boskin, John Taylor, former CEA member, and 6 to 12 leading economists

**Media:** Open for Photos, economists will have press availability after meeting with statement.



**KATHRYN S. SCOTT**  
11 Richard Street

Barrington, RI 02806

(401) 245-1225

3  
ATTORNEY FEES / REFORM

September 21, 1992

Mr. James Baker  
Mr. Charles Black  
Mr. Ron Kaufman:

NEN

Dear Sirs:

Thought the enclosed would be food for thought for your campaign.

The first, dealing with wooing the women voters...is almost with divine intent...as printed...for the BEST way to win as many women voters as possible is through DIVORCE reform.

If you fear losing male votes for bringing "it" out of the closet with the same courage as the Department of Consumer Affairs did in New York, such can be eased by also stating that the present systems, "ignore the needs of poor men; men of average incomes, often wind up paying comparatively more than rich men; and rich men wind up paying way, way too much for legal services; and ALL Americans wind up paying with their tax dollars, for very poor systems in dealing with family legal matters.etc..."

The second editorial, puts forth the name of the Clinton financial advisor...who happens to from R.I.... and who is so far off in left field that it isn't funny....may be something to bring out, that Clinton policies being formulated by a man who bankrupted a once major, going concern.

Again, I suggest you re-consider my "Gift of Peace" Family Law PLAN, for a starting base for changing how the RIGHTS of the American Family, in all of its forms, are being used and abused by our Nation's own legal system...which you are committed to reforming.

Also, such a plan, gives the Bush campaign more credibility in re "specific programs". Such a plan, also, has great possibilities for gaining an entire host of professional endorsements and so forth...in re protecting the rights, and the health of the American Family, in all of its variations...and also many endorsements from children's organizations and so forth...yet, you had better get going on this FAST!!!!!!

Sincerely,



# Bush wooing women voters

Tells N.J. audience jobs create equality better than mandates

The New York Times

BASKING RIDGE, N.J. — Facing a significant gap in support between men and women in the latest opinion poll, President Bush took his top female aides in tow, lined his speaker's dais end-to-end with women and cast himself yesterday as a feminist, free-market style.

Speaking to several hundred employees at AT&T corporate headquarters in central New Jersey, Mr. Bush argued that his economic programs offer women and families more equality and opportunity than the "government mandates" that he

## REPUBLICANS

said were favored by his opponent, Gov. Bill Clinton.

"The first order of business," he conceded early, "is to admit that there is still unfinished business" on the agenda of women's concerns.

"Women work as hard as men and still earn less, and that's not acceptable," he said. "And most working women do more than equal work on the job and at home, and that's not acceptable either. And many women are trying to do it all alone."

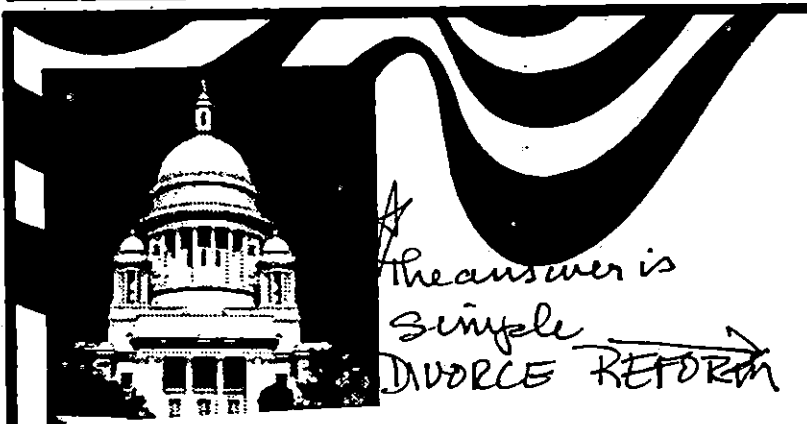
But Mr. Bush maintained that laws that mandate sexual equality or confer social benefits, like family leave in emergencies, were in fact counterproductive because they

cost businesses money, forced layoffs and slowed the economy. Better, he said, to help the economy create more jobs and to give women more opportunities to advance in those jobs.

If such an indirect argument seemed unlikely to appeal to women who feel shortchanged by the marketplace, one presidential aide brought along to brief reporters, Constance Horner, put it more succinctly. "It doesn't do a pregnant woman any good to take leave from her job if some other member of the family doesn't have a job because of it," she said.

The President's message was warmly applauded by the AT&T employees in this overwhelmingly Republican, upper-income region, but it was not clear how well it would be received in the working-class regions where Mr. Bush most needs women's votes.

A poll of 1,504 registered voters published yesterday by The Wall Street Journal and NBC News indicated that male voters are evenly split between Mr. Bush and Clinton. But among women, Mr. Bush trailed by 18 points, 54 percent to 36 percent. And among working women, the gap was cavernous: 58 percent to 34 percent.



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FROM

## ditorial

M. W. KELLY  
Chicago Tribune

Tall in the saddle

## A close shave for George Bush

**I** HEAR HILLARY CLINTON discussing how her work will dovetail with that of her husband's Cabinet. I see that the Little Rock smart set is already pricing Georgetown row houses. ("Eight hundred thousand dollars! For three bedrooms? Gosh!") And I think of 1988. All the important indicators point to a narrow, close-fought Republican victory in the 1992 presidential election.

Here's why:

● *Cherchez l'argent:* As always, economic issues will determine the course of the election. The big question in 1992 is not whether we are better off now than we were four years ago — we aren't — but whether we are likely to be better off four years from now.

The key issue is taxes. Although a *la carte* taxation is acceptable to some suburbanites — my city could raise my taxes to improve my children's school, for example — broader, tax schemes are anathema, as voters in California, Maryland, Massachusetts and everywhere else have shown. At the end of the day, who is more likely to raise your taxes — the Republicans or the Democrats?

The Democrats say, in effect: We couldn't mess up the economy any worse than it is already. Oh yeah? Perhaps Clinton economic guru Ira Magaziner will do for the United States what he did for now-bankrupt Wang Laboratories.

● *Mud sticks:* To some people more than others, wouldn't you agree, Bill?

Tuesday, Nov. 3? I'm washing my hair. The conventional wisdom is right. Voter turnout will be very, very low be-

## ALEX BEAM

cause the parties are working overtime just to persuade the faithful to show up at the polls, never mind about wooing marginals or first-time voters. It's a crying shame, because this is an important contest between two competing views of governance, giving the lie to the gloomsters who moan about the absence of real choice in mainstream party politics. Low turnout will favor the Republicans.

● *Am not! Are too!* If and when debates take place, they will not benefit Clinton. Bush will appear old, somewhat vague, but if Clinton hectors him too aggressively, he will lose points with elderly voters. Young people won't be watching. Jim Baker will make sure the network broadcasts air alongside some jiggly bilge on Fox Television.

Baker will also insist on a format guaranteeing that the "character" (i.e., adultery and draft) questions will be asked. These questions are winners for Bush because: A) he took his prep school degree straight to Navy flight school and B) he strenuously denies being unfaithful to his wife, while Clinton defends his "zone of privacy," i.e., his obvious guilt.

● *October surprise:* A punchy, pugnacious Dan Quayle will out-debate the sincere but verbose Al Gore.

● *October Non-Surprise:* Look for some serious presidential big-footing in either Yugoslavia or Iraq. Call it oppor-

tunism, call it responsible foreign-policy stewardship — or call it the lead story on the evening news. Foreign policy is the Tomahawk aimed at Clinton's Achilles' heel; he waxes wimpy while continually endorsing Bush's foreign adventures in the name of "bipartisanship," whatever that is. Earth to Bill: the 26 American citizens who remember Sen. Arthur Vandenberg also recall that he was a Republican.

● *Street fightin' men:* Clinton's slime-monger, James Carville, spent the summer mud-wrestling with embarrassing fax specialist Mary Matalin. It turns out that Ms. Matalin has a big brother who weighs 500 pounds and chews iron bars for breakfast. Mr. Carville, meet Mr. Baker.

● *Caveat City:* Health. One more spike on the EKG and it's 'bye, 'bye Bushie. He's no FDR; nobody wants an invalid as president. Much less Mr. Quayle.

● *Life is Unfair:* The Clinton strategists are right about one thing: People who meet the gritty, articulate and charismatic Arkansas governor in person are likely to vote for him. That's why the press swooned during the New Hampshire primary; he was the pick of the litter, paws down.

Unfortunately, most Americans will judge Clinton from a brief television glimpse, and will wonder, along with my liberally inclined mother: "Why can't he do something about his hair?"

Alex Beam is a columnist for The Boston Globe.



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NY TIMES FRIDAY 3/13/92

## Divorce Lawyers Criticized By Consumer Affairs Chief

By JAMES BARRON

Describing horror stories that make Arnie Becker, the sleazy divorce lawyer on television's "L.A. Law" look like a nice guy, the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs yesterday judged the state's divorce system guilty of being "an expensive and costly failure."

Mark Green, the Commissioner of Consumer Affairs, said the system often works against people whom it is supposed to protect, particularly women, because their husbands often control family finances. A result, Mr. Green said, is that the "divorce lawyer system either impoverishes women clients or prices them out of a divorce."

The report, which he said was based on 107 interviews with lawyers and judges, lambasted lawyers for foreclosing on clients' houses, garnisheeing their wages and attaching their Individual Retirement Accounts — all in the name of collecting fees.

Comparing other cases in the report to a with a movie that tried to poke fun at a bitterly contested divorce, Mr. Green said that "if not 'War of the Roses,' with its murderous end," too many divorce cases involved "at least a war of attrition," with one spouse trying to spend assets on lawyers' fees instead of splitting them in a settlement.

### Lawyers Not Thrilled

Word of Mr. Green's report had lawyers jumping to their feet and virtually shouting their objections.

Peter Bienstock, a Manhattan divorce lawyer who used to head the consumer frauds bureau in the State Attorney General's office, said the report "threatens to unfairly paint all matrimonial lawyers with a very broad brush."

"There are matrimonial lawyers who do engage in many of the practices that have been complained about," he said, "but it's a much more complicated problem" involving how to represent a woman who may be financially disadvantaged from the moment that the divorce papers are filed. He said a state law that lets courts award the disadvantaged spouse money for fees is not used often enough.

In a state that has had a no-fault divorce law for more than a decade, some lawyers said the fault actually lay not with the other spouse but with the other spouse's lawyer.

"Many, many women will come forward and say their lawyers were

wonderful," said Harriet Newman Cohen, another Manhattan divorce lawyer. "They might complain that fees got higher because of conduct on the part of the husband for stonewalling and not handing over material that was needed. But those women will say, 'It wasn't my lawyer; it was my husband's lawyer.'"

The chairwoman of the matrimonial lawyers committee of the City Bar Association, Sandra Jacobson, declined to discuss the report after saying, "I've already shouted at too many people about it." Ann Ormsby, a spokeswoman for the bar association, said the group would send it to "the appropriate committees for review" when a copy came in.

### Jurisdiction Questioned

Some lawyers questioned whether Mr. Green has jurisdiction over lawyers, who, unlike retailers, have court-supervised disciplinary committees and grievance procedures. Mr. Green said his authority for the

## Finding fault in a state with a no-fault divorce law.

yearlong study of divorce law came from a case in which the consumer agency took action against a Manhattan divorce lawyer for deceptive advertising, and won \$206,000 in fines. He said the agency could thus look into lawyers who engage in a "pattern of deceptive practices."

But Mr. Bienstock said: "They're not talking about false advertising here. There's no discussion of advertising practices" in the report.

The report describes a variety of lawyers' practices that Mr. Green said compounded tension at an emotionally vulnerable time. In one case that Mr. Green singled out for criticism, a lawyer pocketed a \$15,000 retainer, even though the couple reconciled within two weeks and Mr. Green said the lawyer had done virtually no work on the case.

Mr. Green said lawyers can get away with abuses because grievance committees were "secretive, underfunded and overwhelmed" with complaints. He said that in 1990 only 26 of 2,000 complaints filed against lawyers in Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island led to public sanctions.

# City Report Raps Divorce Lawyers

By Nina Bernstein

STAFF WRITER

New York — A controversial report on abuses by divorce lawyers, to be issued later this week by the city's Department of Consumer Affairs, is sending shock waves of anger through the matrimonial bar.

Though they haven't yet seen the report, based on a yearlong investigation of client complaints from fee-gouging to sexual coercion, leading divorce lawyers are accusing Consumer Affairs Commissioner Mark Green of overstepping his agency's authority and tarring the whole profession with the misdeeds of a few. But the women activists who enlisted Green's help last year hail the investigation as a breakthrough that should be followed by consumer agencies across the state.

"We feel we're well within our jurisdiction," said department spokeswoman Linda Sachs. She confirmed that results of the investigation will be released Thursday, but declined to discuss the findings.

A closed meeting last week at the New York City Bar Association turned into a shouting match when two representatives of the department tried to raise consumer concerns with about 30 divorce lawyers, according to several participants.

"The Consumer Affairs department, they're supposed to deal with meat and plumbers — they're not competent to deal with lawyers," said Hal Meyerson, a Manhattan divorce lawyer who, like many at the meeting, complained that bar associations were not consulted during the writing of the report.

To the Women's Coalition for Family Justice, the group that approached Green a year ago with personal horror stories of abuses by divorce lawyers, such reactions exemplify the arrogance and self-protectiveness of the legal community.

"If you investigate Gotti, do you invite all the members of the Mafia family to have input?" asked Monica Getz, a founder of the coalition, whose divorce from the late jazz musician Stan Getz took more than a decade to litigate and consumed more than \$1 million in legal fees.

The coalition, and a similar group on Long Island called Long Island Litigation Advocates for Women, cite case after case of women impoverished by legal fees in a divorce system that they say forces the spouse with less money — usually the wife — to choose between capitulation and economic ruin.

In one Manhattan case turned over to Green by the coalition, a prominent divorce lawyer took over from another attorney a woman's pending divorce without a written retainer agreement, saying he wouldn't charge her. He attempted to solicit \$10,000 from her husband — who reported the offer — for getting her to settle for less than she was due. When the woman resisted the settlement he proposed, the lawyer demanded immediate payment for his services: \$32,000 for less than six weeks of work. Then he dropped her case, according to the woman.

Virginia Lupoli, a Suffolk County attorney whose own divorce experience prompted her to found the Long Island group, said it is common for divorce lawyers to obtain liens on family homes, forcing foreclosure, to collect their fees. "A woman's fought for three, four, five years, the divorce is finally over, and she finds she still doesn't have the house because the lawyer takes it," Lupoli said.

Sanford Dranoff, past president of the American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers, defended the practice of taking a mortgage or a lien on a family home as security for legal fees.

He characterized the Green inquiry as a cheap shot that unfairly singled out divorce lawyers from better-paid practitioners and ignored statutes that leave the regulation of lawyers to the courts.

But records show that the appellate court's disciplinary committees dismiss 95 percent of all complaints against lawyers. And even when they do take action, critics say, it's often late and lax.

Critics say the underlying problem is the state's 1980 Equitable Property Distribution Law, which according to several studies has resulted in a dramatic decline in alimonies or maintenance awards without any corresponding increase in property awards. Meanwhile, many observers agree, the law has dramatically increased the amount and cost of litigation required to find, assess and divide marital assets.

"The lawyers began to realize that, in essence, they had a pipeline to the oil wells of middle-class accumulation," said Lillian Kozak, who lobbied against the 1980 law as an officer for the National Organization for Women. "Now we're at the point any little matrimonial attorney is making \$250 an hour. There are women reporting \$100,000 legal fees, and they are coming out with nothing . . ."



## The Steep Wages Of Divorce

**W**OMEN AND Divorce: Lawyers, Ethics, Fees and Fairness" issued last week from the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs.

Commissioner Mark Green was found Friday cheerfully enduring the outrage of his fellow lawyers at the impudence of his department's disclosure of the cheats that can await the already vulnerable wife and mother who shops unwary in the unregulated market of the matrimonial bar.

"They tell me," he said, "that we should focus on the abuses of butchers and television repairmen. Am I to take it that, if a lawyer cheats a consumer, he is above the law?"

Still, such appears to be the settled opinion of the chief judge of the Court of Appeals, whose response to Green's strictures was to ask, "Does Consumer Affairs now become the umbrella agency to govern all conduct within the legal and judicial field? I don't think it should."

The properest reply is that somebody should. By no means the least conspicuous element of the Consumer Affairs Department's report is how gently it has trespassed. This catalogue of transgressions beyond ethical precept condemns the sin and declines to name the sinner in every instance but one.

The exception is Joel R. Brandes, "former chairman of the Bar Association's Matrimonial Law Committee and co-author of a six-volume treatise" on his specialty. Brandes assumed a wife's brief for a \$15,000 retainer and then refused to return a dollar when the couple reconciled before he could bill more than four hours' work on her case. Last July a Nassau County Supreme Court Justice ordered Brandes to pay up and cease to claim a fee "grossly excessive and shocking to the court's conscience."

"Women in Divorce" seldom cites an offense without certifying the otherwise unidentified offender's professional repute. The standards requisite for earning this compliment are presumably embodied in Sanford Dranoff, president of the New York Chapter of the American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers.

Last year the American Academy made a pass at the purification of its skirts by drafting a set of ethical guidelines defined as "The Bounds of Advocacy." It fell to Dranoff to instruct his New York colleagues in their new creed.

The gospel of "The Bounds of Advocacy" according to Dranoff was, "You can't be kicked out of the Academy if you don't follow this." But then his concept of advocacy seems to run more to leaps than to bounds; and on Friday he was pressing to seize the house of his defeated client, the former Mrs. Stan Getz, for nonpayment of fees with more obvious ardor for her further undoing than he had ever displayed in her cause.

The traffickers in matrimonial litigation have found their richest rewards in the New York Equitable Distribution (EPD) law, whose original design was to ensure a fair share of the family property for the divorcing or divorced wife.

"Before July, 1980," EPD's effective date, "a contested divorce case would maybe add up to \$6,000 in total fees for both sides," Court Referee Steve Liebman told the Consumers Affairs researchers. "The exact same case today would run \$50,000 easily."

The chief judge of the Court of Appeals might not be quite so complacent if he took the trouble to read "Women in Divorce" far enough to be introduced to Dolores — of Staten Island, who has been waiting 15 years for a child maintenance award with arrears accrued at \$40,000. That total breaks down to less than \$45 a week in child support; and Dolores — has paid \$7,500 to matrimonial counsel, who long ago stopped trying to collect because his client was broke. The matrimonial bar seldom bills less than \$200 an hour; and any child at issue is lucky if his mother can enforce a court order for \$75 a week.

Divorce is all too often a profitless war over children. The rapacity observable among divorce lawyers is, in its final consequence, a highly profitable war upon children.

# Divorce Lawyers Often Shortchange, Overcharge Women Clients, Study Finds

By ELLEN JOAN POLLOCK

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Women are getting a raw deal from their divorce lawyers, according to a year-long study of the financial impact of divorce litigation.

The report, which is being sharply criticized by some divorce lawyers, concluded that women are often gouged for legal fees and "denied a fighting chance for their rightful share of marital assets." It also found that the high cost of litigation often prevents middle-class couples from going to court to resolve their disputes, leading to settlements that they may consider unsatisfactory.

Unlike many other investigations of the financial effects of divorce, the study, sponsored by New York City's Department of Consumer Affairs, focuses on the economic relationships between divorce lawyers and their clients. Academics and consumer advocates say the problems in New York—where the price of a contested divorce is typically \$50,000—are mirrored elsewhere in the country.

## 'Weakest Hand'

"The adversarial system makes money for lawyers and doesn't solve problems," says Leigh Hauter, field director for HALT, a legal advocacy group. "Divorce brings more people to HALT than almost anything."

Women are "dealt the weakest hand" by the divorce process, says Mark Green, New York City's consumer affairs commissioner. "It's a war of attrition where the loser is the one whose assets have been exhausted. Usually, that's the woman."

Single out for criticism in the report is the way divorce lawyers bill their clients. The lawyers "demand huge sums" on the eve of trial or a settlement, pressure clients into premature settlements if they fear the money will run out and pad their bills, according to the report.

But some of the "patterns of financial abuse" highlighted in the report are legal in some states or fall through the cracks of lawyers' ethical codes. And they are routinely used by lawyers who fear they won't be paid for their services.

Many divorce lawyers require clients to pay a non-refundable, up-front retainer. The report criticizes divorce lawyers for often refusing to return the money if they end up doing little or no work.

## Giving Up Security

It also attacks some divorce lawyers' practice of placing a lien or mortgage on a client's home to ensure that the legal fee is paid. Women are also manipulated into prematurely turning over other kinds of security on legal fees, according to the report. They sign over control of settlement awards—even before they are negotiated—and sign other documents that make it easier for lawyers to go to court to obtain legal fees.

The report also faults divorce lawyers for holding onto a client's case file and personal documents if fees haven't been paid. This so-called "retaining lien" often prevents clients mired in fee disputes from retaining a new lawyer.

nial bar. Kenneth Kemper, a New York divorce lawyer, says that the study "violates basic fairness" and that Mr. Green is trying to make "political hay."

Mr. Green says his office interviewed 107 lawyers, clients, judges and scholars for the study, and that its critics simply don't "like our conclusions."

In the report, the department of consumer affairs suggests solutions that would have to be approved by the appellate divisions of New York's state Supreme Court or courts in other states that regulate lawyers. The report recommends that lawyers be required to provide clients with written, itemized retainer agreements, and that the documents be filed with the state agency charged with court administration. It also recommends mandatory arbitration of fee disputes and prohibitions of "coercive tactics that force clients to waive their right to dispute the fee." Commissioner Green has also said he will issue his own consumer bill of rights for divorce clients.

And the report, as well as many divorce lawyers, points out that judges could make things easier for women by requiring their husbands to turn over money to pay their legal fees. Lynn Hecht Schafran, a lawyer for the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, says judges often fail to provide for any or adequate legal fees during the course of a case, though they are empowered to do so.

She adds that some good matrimonial lawyers "are just saying flatly that they won't represent women anymore."

Stephen Gillers, a professor at New York University School of Law who was interviewed by the researchers, says that too often divorce lawyers make unfair demands at points in the divorce process where the client "really has no option."

"Where I see the abuse," he continues, "is when requests are made for significant security at a particularly vulnerable time: on the way to the courthouse or when answering papers are due on a temporary support motion and for the first time the lawyer says, 'You're into me for \$15,000, and before I do these papers, I want your jewelry,' or your passport, or whatever."

Marsha B. Elser, president of the American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers, says her Chicago-based organization "recognizes the problems that women in general have in the legal system," but she argues that lawyers "have every right to be paid for the services they perform."

Some lawyers believe attorneys should be permitted to place a mortgage on a client's home or take other forms of security. "It may be the only way that a particular woman—or the disenfranchised party—can get effective representation," says Raoul Felder, a New York matrimonial lawyer, who nevertheless says he is uncomfortable with the practice.

"It's naive to say to lawyers that [they're] not entitled to a security interest in fees," says Donn C. Fullenweider, a Houston divorce lawyer. "It's the same as saying to a bank, you're not entitled to a security interest for your loan." Like other divorce lawyers, he says, "The majority of lawyers I know in the field are extremely responsible."

Some divorce lawyers, especially in New York, fault Commissioner Green for issuing the report without sufficient input from members of the organized matrimo-

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# **Consumers Digest**

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## **THE GREAT AMERICAN TAX FRAUD**

**15 YEARS OF A "TAX-CUT" SHELL GAME LEFT 90% OF AMERICANS PAYING MORE TAXES. IT'S TIME TO FIGHT BACK!**

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# THE GREAT AMERICAN TAX FRAUD

It's as if almost everyone in the nation was duped in a giant shell game—but the deceit was perpetrated by our elected legislators. Here's how you lost out over 15 years of tax "cuts," and the voting records—for and against—of your Representative and Senators. Keep them in mind on election day. **BY JOHN K. MANOS**

Imagine that a car salesman told you he would cut \$1,000 from the price of a car in order to make the sale. If after you signed the contract, you discovered your purchase price included not only the \$1,000 you thought you were going to save but an additional \$150, what would you call it? "Fraud" would be one of the milder epithets. But that's a not-too-greatly exaggerated analogy for what the federal government—your elected Senators and Representatives, plus the executive branch—did to the vast majority of taxpayers during 15 years of tax "cuts."

Since 1977-78, the federal tax code has been changed so radically that its structure is essentially reversed from what it was throughout the years of unprecedented prosperity following World War II. Social

Security has been "rescued" twice, each time boosting the payroll tax due from employers and wage earners; two supply-side tax cuts have been enacted; and the entire tax code underwent a massive restructuring in 1986. The technical details of the numerous tax-law revisions can get complicated, but the bottom line is simple: Nine of 10 American families are paying *more* than they would have if none of the changes had taken place, and the federal government would be collecting some \$76 billion more each year than it does now. Put another way, if *none* of the changes enacted over the past 15 years had taken place, the vast majority of Americans—those between the poorest fifth and the richest 5 percent—would be paying lower federal taxes than they now do. After 15 years of tax "cuts" and

"reforms," the inflation-adjusted take-home pay of the great middle of the U.S. economy is actually a little less than it was in 1977.

If you're in that middle (in the income range between the bottom 20 percent and the top 20 percent, meaning you earn between about \$20,000 to \$48,000 annually in 1992 dollars), the percentage of your income that is paid to the federal government has risen as a result of a decade and a half of tax "cuts." In constant 1992 dollars, the lowest-earning 40 percent of the country lost ground—they're earning *less* in 1992 than they were in 1977, both pre- and after-tax. In fact, the people at the bottom of the scale (the poorest 20 percent of the population) experienced a substantial decline in inflation-adjusted income since 1977. In the meantime, the wealthiest 1 percent—earning an average of \$675,900 in 1992—saw their inflation-adjusted pretax incomes rise by 115 percent over the same period. The aftertax incomes of those in the fortunate 1 percent enjoyed a 136 percent increase. Not coincidentally, by 1989 the top 1 percent ended up with a greater total net worth than everyone in the "bottom" 90 percent.

In *Who Will Tell The People* (Simon & Schuster, 1992), William Greider gives a good explanation of what taxes really mean: "Aside from sending people to war or to prison, government's ability to make people involuntarily give over their money is its strongest exercise of authority over private citizens and their institutions." On recent evidence, it's hard to think anything but that this authority is being abused.

**The Growth Of Inequality.** Of course, everyone has always complained about taxes—it's hard at times not to resent paying them. What's different about the recent tax-code changes is that the majority of Americans now consider the way they are taxed *unfair*. In the early post-World War II years, a Gallup Poll found that 85 percent of Americans considered the progressive tax code to be fair. In 1984, a *Wall Street Journal* survey discovered that 80 percent of the people thought the precise opposite. Why? Because the *progressive* taxation of the post-War years—based on the idea that those who earned the most would pay the highest tax rates—was scrapped in favor of

what is essentially a *regressive* tax code, in which the burden on the wealthiest Americans has been drastically reduced and the burden on everyone else increased. Simply stated, the overriding goal of the U.S. tax code was switched from achieving equity to increasing returns on capital.

Except for the very wealthiest Americans, *none* of the promised benefits of the tax-law changes materialized. Cutting the tax rates on the highest-earning individuals and corporations was sold to the public as a way to *increase* tax revenues (incredible as that may sound in retrospect): tax revenues promptly fell. The expected revenue increases were supposed to balance the federal budget and eliminate the national debt; deficits have been ever-larger, and the national debt has more than quadrupled, to \$4 trillion. The high-end tax cuts were promised to raise the level of investment in new plant and equipment in the United States: during the supply-side heyday, investment in industrial buildings and equipment *declined*.

In the process, the spoils of economic expansion, which had been shared out at

what was basically an equal rate (if at unequal levels) ever since the long post-WWII growth period began, were no longer distributed to all levels of the economy: A giant income shift occurred, with more money flowing to the top of the economic ladder. In simple terms, from about 1948 through the first oil shock in 1973, the rich got richer, but the poor got richer, too. Since 1978, only the rich have prospered as a group—*no one else has gained ground*.

In 1992, according to Washington, D.C.-based Citizens for Tax Justice (CTJ), the wealthiest 1 percent of the population will enjoy a total pretax income of \$678 billion; the next 4 percent will make an additional \$600 billion. Taken together, the pretax incomes of the top 20 percent of the population will total \$2.4 trillion, more than all the people in the remaining 80 percent combined.

In constant 1992 dollars, the inequity in income growth over the past 15 years is even more dramatic. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office calculates that the middle 20 percent—those who were earning an average of \$34,505 in 1977 (in

## SEVEN MAJOR TAX VOTES: THE HISTORY OF A 15-YEAR SHELL GAME

**A**s the article points out, the tax-code changes that raised your taxes were the result of bipartisan deceit—both sides of the Congressional aisle participated in the "tax-cut" bait-and-switch, and none of the major bills would have passed without substantial support from House Democrats. So a little history is in order. Here, without an excess of technical detail, is what the big changes were in the last decade and a half:

• **1977: Social Security amendments.** This is where your tax increase actually began, in the first Social Security "rescue" bill. Social Security was designed as a "pay as you go" program, but by 1977—in the face of rising inflation—it looked as though the system would be bankrupt. Set to begin in 1978, these amendments increased the wage base for Social Security payroll taxes. It also raised the tax rate for Social Security's Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Hospital Insurance (OASDHI) trust fund. In 1977, this was set at 5.85 percent (due from both employer and employee), and it was gradually raised to 6.05 percent in 1978, 6.13 in 1979 and 1980, 6.65 in 1981, 6.7 for the 1982-84 period, 7.05 in 1985, 7.15 in the 1986-89 period, and 7.65 after that. In other words, it was set to peak at 15.3 percent—the amount due from the employer and employee combined.

The stated plan was to create a supposedly sacrosanct Social Security surplus against the future needs of retirees, when demographic shifts would have caused too great a burden on the smaller expected work force. In fact (and as

was the case with the second Social Security "rescue" bill, in 1983), the money was/is used for ongoing federal programs. It does a great job of making the annual federal deficit a little smaller, but it does nothing to solve future retirees' potential dilemma.

• **1978: 1978 Revenue Act.** This was actually the turning point in the tax code, which may disappoint those who want to blame everything on Ronald Reagan. The 1978 Revenue Act was the first supply-side tax cut, enacted by a Democratic Congress over President Carter's bitter objections. William Greider calls it the most regressive tax bill since the 1920s (and it would be outdone in 1981). A declining national productivity rate was seen at the time as a consequence of the cost of capital, and this became the philosophical underpinning for shifting the goal of the U.S. tax code from achieving equity to enhancing returns on investment.

The top capital-gains rate was reduced from about 39 to 28 percent, and the top corporate tax rate dropped two percentage points, from 48 to 46 percent. It also placed the business investment tax credit at 10 percent, when it had been scheduled to drop to between 4 and 7 percent.

• **1981: Economic Recovery Tax Act.** President Reagan's big supply-side tax cut rectified the "mistakes" of the 1978 bill—it didn't go far enough, in the opinion of ERTA backers—greatly expanding corporate and real-estate tax breaks, especially depreciation write-offs. Companies were allowed to buy and sell tax credits, and the real-estate provisions in particu-

lar created many new tax-shelter opportunities. Most corporate income taxes were expected to be wiped out by ERTA, and, in fact, the act's provisions made it possible for profit-making companies to actually enjoy a *negative* rate of tax: Profits notwithstanding, some major corporations received millions from the Treasury. There were many individual rate cuts, as well. The top personal tax rate was reduced from 70 to 50 percent, and the top capital-gains rate fell to 20 percent. The top "marginal" rate of 70 percent on unearned income was abolished.

At the same time, nothing was done to offset the inflation-driven "bracket creep" that moved lower-income people into higher tax brackets, and the scheduled increases in the Social Security payroll tax that especially hit lower- and middle-income families were left unchanged.

This was presented as an across-the-board tax cut with the specific goal of assisting capital formation. The theory was that tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans and for corporations would lead to greater investment in plant and equipment, which would ultimately create a larger tax base and hence greater tax revenues. In other words, it was a repeat of Andrew Mellon's maxim from the 1920s: "The prosperity of the lower and middle classes depends upon the good fortune and light taxes of the rich."

• **1982: Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act.** This was the first reaction to the supply-side changes of the preceding year, and while it was packaged as a compromise, it was an effort to scale back some of the excesses of ERTA. It nar-

1992 dollars)—will earn \$31,970 in 1992, or 7 percent less than 15 years ago. After taxes, the expected decline is 8 percent, because of a higher effective tax rate for the group. One fifth down, people earning an average of \$20,090 in 1992 are 10 percent behind their 1977 incomes, both pre- and after-tax. At the bottom of the pyramid—the 20 percent of wage earners making an average of \$8,130 in 1992—the pretax decline was 13 percent. And prior to 1986—when the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act rate hikes on the poor were stopped—the lowest fifth of the population was losing ground at a faster pace. It wasn't until 1990 that the tax increases on the poor were actually rolled back.

At the same time, the tax-code revisions duly voted into law by your elected Senators and Representatives in 1977, 1978 and especially 1981 enabled the incomes of those in the top 1 percent to rise from \$314,500 apiece in 1977 to an average of \$675,900 in 1992 (using constant 1992 dollars). At the same time, the portion of the nation's total income going to the wealthiest 20 percent rose from 46.4 to 52.6 percent.

In the meantime, most recent proposals for combating the uncontrolled federal deficit involve "fair" taxation—excise taxes that supposedly are shared by everyone. In actual dollar terms that is true. But such taxes are naturally regressive—equal dollars become an ever larger percentage of lower incomes. The same is true of Social Security taxes because there's an income ceiling. If the same amount is taken from both a \$55,000 salary and a \$200,000 salary, who's giving the larger percentage of total pay? In fact, a family of four has to enjoy a salary of \$60,000 or more before federal income taxes are greater than the total amount (from employer and employee) due to Social Security. It can also be reasonably argued that Social Security taxes hold your pay at a lower level than it would otherwise be, since the employer matches your contribution. The employer thus has an incentive to reduce your salary by that amount, to compensate for the outlay. If you are afraid the Social Security coffers will be empty by the time you retire (not an unreasonable fear, since the "surpluses" of the past 15 years are used for off-budget spending), that's money

stolen from your future.

Even an across-the-board tax cut—which has never happened—is regressive, because it naturally delivers the greatest benefits to those who have the most. That's essentially why a flat tax, for all of its apparent equality, is actually unfair: As a percentage of total dollars earned each year, the burden of a single tax rate falls most heavily on those who are least able to pay it.

**Black Is White; "Cut" Means Increase.** But what is most galling for anyone earning between \$20,000 and about \$85,000 yearly is a simple fact: Despite all the claims about "across-the-board" tax cuts, your taxes aren't lower. Compared to 1977, all but the poorest and very richest (top 5 percent) Americans now pay a *higher* share of their incomes in overall federal taxes.

If you're earning about \$20,000 in 1992, your total federal taxes consume 1.2 percent more of your income now than in 1977. If you're earning around \$32,000, your total taxes are just under 1 percent more of your income each year. Anyone paid between about \$48,000 and \$85,000 in 1992 is giv-

## SEVEN MAJOR TAX VOTES: THE HISTORY OF A 15-YEAR SHELL GAME

rowed some corporate tax breaks (repealing the provision allowing the purchase and sale of excess tax credits), among other reforms. But it increased some excise taxes, and the gasoline tax was raised at the end of the year.

As Robert McIntyre, Director of Citizens for Tax Justice (CTJ) says, "Everything that's happened since 1981 has been in reaction to the 1981 bill," meaning that each of the tax-law compromises since then has been an effort to undo the big supply-side income shift. In this context, the 1982 act was the first of several attempts to restore equity to the tax code. McIntyre adds, "If the 1982 bill hadn't passed, there would have been no corporate income tax."

• **1983: The second Social Security "rescue."** This was the act that made a mockery of any notion of a low- or moderate-income tax cut, because it raised taxes by much more than the reduction of two years' earlier. In fact, in raising the payroll tax by \$200 billion, it was one of the largest tax increases in history. Yet it occurred without controversy, which couldn't be said of 1981's ERTA.

While it's hard to assign a "biggest sham" rating to any of these changes, this bill is certainly a top contender. That's because this huge tax increase was sold as insurance against the future needs of retirees, when in fact it's being looted to pay for current programs. Mindful of this reality, Senator Moynihan (D-N.Y.) suggested in 1990 that the regressive structure of Social Security be scaled back to previous levels. This unleashed a firestorm, and his proposal was killed.

Specifically, the 1983 rescue bill raised the wage base against which Social Security taxes are levied, and it accelerated the scheduled rate hikes—to 7.51 percent in the 1988-89 period, rather than 7.15 percent. At this point, *no one below the top 10 percent* was giving a smaller percentage of his or her paycheck to the federal government than in 1977. The bill also made taxable half of the benefits paid out to the wealthiest retirees.

• **1986: 1986 Tax Reform Act.** This was a gigantic restructuring of the tax code that had an interesting consequence among the wealthiest 1 percent of the country, according to CTJ's McIntyre: Half considered it the biggest tax cut they'd ever had, and the other half thought they'd taken it in the neck. The reason? The unhappy half were in tax shelters. The 1986 Tax Reform Act eliminated \$500 billion in shelters over a five-year period, repealing the investment tax credit and the capital-gains exclusion and cracking down on fake tax-shelter "losses." At the same time, the Act imposed an *alternative minimum tax* that made sure wealthy individuals and profitable companies would pay taxes.

The bill reduced personal tax rates to 15 and 28 percent, with a "bubble" of 33 percent for the "near-rich." For the half of the lucky individuals in the top 1 percent who were pleased, the drop to 28 percent was a substantial tax cut. The standard deduction and personal exemptions were increased, as was the earned-income tax credit for low-income working families. At the same time, the corporate tax rate was reduced to

34 percent from 46 percent.

The bottom line of the 1986 Tax Reform Act was this: Most families were given a small tax cut, and taxes were raised on those corporations and wealthy individuals who had been legally avoiding taxes since 1981. But the bill was specifically designed to do nothing about the federal deficit or national debt—it was touted as "revenue neutral," meaning no new money would be coming in. The public didn't buy it at the time—a Roper Poll found 77 percent of Americans believed the upper-income brackets were already paying too little—but it passed fairly easily.

• **1990: Deficit-Reduction Act.** This is the one President Bush says he regrets, calling it his biggest mistake. Simply, he agreed to raise taxes, contradicting his "Read my lips" campaign pledge. Of course, the reality is that total federal taxes for everyone but the richest Americans *had already been raised*, so President Bush is referring mainly to the increases that hit the wealthiest taxpayers. Gasoline, cigarette, alcohol and other excise taxes were raised, and a new top personal bracket was created between 31 and 32 percent, up from 28 percent. (The exception was capital gains, on which the top rate is 28.8 percent.) The individual minimum tax rate was raised from 21 to 24 percent, and the wage base for the 1.45 percent household-income portion of the Social Security payroll tax was increased from \$53,400 to \$125,000. Meanwhile, the earned-income tax credit for "working-poor" families was once again increased.

ing .2 percent more to the government now than in 1977. Thanks to the 1990 relief for the poor, the bottom 20 percent's taxes are half a percentage point lower than in 1977. For those in the 4 percentage points below the very top, the tax cut compared to 1977 rates is only 1.2 percent, but at least they received a cut. It's only in the top 1 percent that any truly meaningful tax cuts occurred—theirs fell 12.3 percent.

However, that 12.3 percent adds up to a lot of money. CTJ calculates it to be an average tax cut for everyone among the super-rich of \$83.457, which in turn adds up to a 30 percent reduction in what they would have owed in 1977 taxes. In fact, when CTJ compared 1992 tax revenues under 1977 law, adjusted for inflation, the overall tax break for the richest 1 percent of the population adds up to almost \$84 billion the Treasury won't collect in 1992. The other population segments that have actually seen tax cuts in the last 15 years—the poorest 20 percent and the 4 percent below the top—will respectively pay \$800 million and \$7 billion less than they would have under 1977 law, according to CTJ. The tax increases on everyone else produced a net revenue increase of \$16 billion. That means Congress and the executive branch raised

taxes on three of every four American families and managed to collect some \$76 billion less in federal taxes in the process (the \$92 billion in cuts for the fortunate few minus the extra \$16 billion from everyone else).

The impact of these selected (if huge) tax cuts on the federal deficit and the national debt is staggering. The federal budget has rarely been balanced by anyone (the last time was 1969), but every president prior to 1980 at least managed to make the total deficit consume a smaller percentage of the Gross National Product (GNP) during his tenure. Not so in recent years, and it's entirely a result of the reversal in the tax code. As a percentage of GNP, the federal deficit has doubled: In fiscal 1977-78, it was 2.8 percent of GNP; in fiscal 1992-93, it's 5.1 percent of GNP. CTJ calculates that the total cost of the supply-side tax cuts for the richest individuals and corporations explains the entire increase. Even though taxes on the middle classes were raised, there has still been an ever-larger revenue shortfall each year since the first supply-side cut. The total result is an additional trillion dollars in debt, according to CTJ. Because the shortages were covered by federal borrowing, and because the tax cuts have had a cumulative effect since 1978, CTJ estimates the 1992 cost in additional interest payments to be \$81 billion. Add that to the \$84 billion tax cut (in 1992) for the top bracket, and we have \$164 billion extra that needs to be borrowed in 1992. (CTJ published an excellent discussion of the consequences of the tax-law changes and their impact on the deficit and national debt. *Inequality & The Federal Deficit*. Contact Citizens for Tax Justice, 1311 L St., NW, Washington, DC 20005; 202/626-3780.)

**Paying More To Get Less.** Not only have the tax-code changes of the past 15 years increased your taxes—unless, as has been stressed enough, your income is in the top 5 or bottom 20 percent of the population—you're getting less back from the government. Since 1980, only three areas of government spending have seen increases (excluding Social Security): defense, the S&L fiasco, and interest on the national debt. Spending on everything else fell from 9.9 percent of GNP in 1980 to 7.4 percent—a drop of \$130 billion in 1990 dollars.

Midway through his aborted candidacy, H. Ross Perot noted that our trillions in national debt might be marginally acceptable if our bridges and roads had been improved with the money, if our streets were crime-free, if our schools were the best in the world. But since 1980, federal spending on justice and general government operations has fallen by 42 percent. Spending on

education and training has dropped by 40 percent. Spending on the environment and natural resources has fallen by 39 percent; on roads and transportation, spending fell 32 percent; on welfare and unemployment, it fell 21 percent.

In total, a typical family now receives an average of \$1,260 less in federal programs and services (again, excluding Social Security), even though their taxes have gone up. How could Congress ever have voted to allow such a degree of unfairness to become institutionalized?

It all started in 1977, with an increase in Social Security payroll taxes. Social Security taxes are by their nature regressive, since a middle manager currently earning about \$53,000 pays no less than the president of his company, who might be paid \$3 million. But the profound shift in the tax code—away from equity and toward capital formation, which naturally favors the rich—began in 1978.

Jimmy Carter was the last U.S. President to propose a progressive tax. In late 1977, he asked for higher capital-gains rates with lower individual rates. The Democratic Congress slaughtered the proposal on the floor of the House of Representatives. Even though many people these days want to blame the development of tax inequity on President Reagan alone (and to be sure, 1981's bill was inequitable by design), the huge income shift upward that began in 1978 was always bipartisan. The business tax cuts of 1981 were proposed by the Democratic leadership of the House; it was House Democrats who first proposed dropping the top tax rate (70 percent) on unearned income. William Greider points out that this last measure was absolutely contrary to the people's wishes—even the wealthy believe unearned income should be subject to a higher tax rate than earned income.

Our tax code is by nature "redistributionalist." When it was progressive, the basic idea was that the wealthiest would pay a greater share of their incomes to provide governmental programs and services that presumably benefit everyone. Thus, the money from the top of the economic pyramid was being redistributed downward in the form of governmental services.

Since 1978-1981, the underlying philosophy has been reversed—replaced by the belief that the greatest spoils of economic endeavor should remain in the hands of those with the greatest financial stake in their production. The idea, again, was that lower taxes on wealthy people and corporations would create an investment-led economic boom, and it was sold with the ridiculous claim that such tax breaks would

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reduce the federal deficit. In practice, nothing of the sort occurred.

**Voting Against The Middle.** Members of Congress and presidents have long campaigned against governmental incentive programs that have perverse effects or that make no rational economic sense. Most often, their complaints are about social programs. But these same politicians wholeheartedly endorsed creating nonsensical supply-side loopholes in the tax law that led to devastating economic distortions. With the stated goals of increasing savings and investment, the 1981 tax breaks for commercial construction (specifically, depreciation allowances) were so generous that a half-empty building could still make money. This, of course, set the stage for the real-estate bust of 1989-92. And, as if determined to make a bad bill worse, in 1982 Congress voted to let commercial banks and S&Ls invest in this crashpoot.

A study of the Congressional voting records on tax issues since 1977 is certainly revealing, particularly since so many of the people listed in our table are up for reelection this year. In fact, if space had allowed, a review of measures that *didn't* pass would be equally revealing, since bills attempting to reverse the shift in the tax burden from the wealthy to the less-fortunate were repeatedly defeated. We've concentrated here on the laws that affected your take-home pay, and their passage makes interest-

ing history (see the box on pages 68-69).

As you read it, some apparent contradictions immediately emerge. Some members of Congress who voted in favor of the first supply-side tax cut (1978) voted against the second in 1981. Those who believed the great supply-side experiment would work naturally voted in favor of each bill; perhaps some of those who changed stripes between the bills recognized that the 1981 bill went too far. As CTJ Director Robert McIntyre says, "There was no shortage of ideological debate over the 1981 act. There just weren't the votes [to defeat it]."

Just as interesting is what happened between 1981 and 1982. Throughout the process, various members showed absolute consistency, especially on the Republican side. The most consistent voters opposed each Social Security tax increase, voted in favor of each supply-side cut, and voted against each subsequent effort to limit the 1981 act's measures. But many in Congress voted in favor of both the 1981 and 1982 bills—meaning they helped pass the supply-side experiment and then immediately voted, in essence, to repeal parts of it. As you review the voting records, you'll see this occurring frequently among the Congressional Democrats.

There are three plausible explanations. First, the Congressional leaders (especially Democrats in the House) who worked to build the compromise bills that were voted into law would naturally add their votes in

favor—they helped create the laws. This is certainly the case with House Democrats such as Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.) and Richard Gephardt (Mo.). Second, many Representatives and Senators who voted in favor of the 1981 bill may have belatedly recognized that ERTA was essentially a giveaway to the rich with little or nothing for anyone else. And third, 1982 was an election year—everyone in the House had to face the voters in November.

Well, they have to face the voters again this year, along with a third of the Senate. As you check out the voting record of your Representative and Senators in the tables below, remember what really happened in the past 15 years, as opposed to what you were told would happen. You were promised a tax cut and the elimination of the federal deficit. What you got was a tax increase and a national debt so huge that literally no one knows how great a burden it will place on future generations. The consistent American expectation, that each generation would be able to bequeath a better life to the generation following it, has been replaced by an IOU. Who's going to pay it? Based on 15 years' evidence, and without a substantial change of heart (or change of membership) in Congress, the answer is already in: You, your children and your grandchildren will. ■

*John K. Manos is the Editor-in-Chief of CONSUMERS DIGEST magazine.*

## HOW DID YOUR ELECTED LEGISLATORS VOTE?

**B**ecause the only place the tax code is going to change is in Congress, you ought to know how your Senators and Representatives voted over the past 15 years. The tables on this and the following pages review the voting records of all the incumbent Senators and Representatives for the seven major tax bills covered in the accompanying article—every Representative listed is up for re-election, and each Senatorial candidate who is running in 1992 is marked by a bullet (●). The lists are organized alphabetically by state, with Representatives listed by district and Senators/Senate candidates in alphabetical order. Note that only Congressional candidates (and current Senators) who held national office during the relevant votes are included; two states have no applicable cases. Since many Senators and Senate candidates also served in the House of Representatives, the relevant House votes are listed for the individuals concerned (see the separate notes for the Senate voting records).

The dates listed for the votes are: 1977—first Social Security payroll-tax increase; 1978—1978

Revenue Act, the first supply-side tax cut; 1981—Economic Recovery Tax Act, the big supply-side change, with huge business/high-income tax cuts; 1982—Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Tax Act, the first attempt to scale back the excesses of the 1981 ERTA; 1983—second Social Security payroll-tax increase; 1986—tax reform Act, massive tax-code restructuring, lowered top taxes but closed shelter loopholes and made sure wealthy individuals and profitable companies would pay taxes; 1990—excise-tax increases, top-bracket tax increases, and Social Security wage-base rise.

The symbols used throughout the tables are as follows: Y = a "Yes" vote, "paired for," or "announced for;" N = a "No" vote, "paired against," or "announced against;" — = not in office; ? = was in office but did not vote or otherwise make a position known. The source for these voting records is *The Congressional Quarterly*.

### THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### Member/Party (District)

	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
<b>ALABAMA</b>							
Callahan/R (1)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	N
Browder/D (3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Brewitt/D (4)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Fliппа/D (5)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Erdreich/D (6)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y
<b>ALASKA</b>							
Young/R	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
<b>ARIZONA</b>							
Rhodes/R (1)	Y	?	Y	Y	—	—	N
Stump/R (3)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Kyl/R (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Kolbe/R (5)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	N

	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
<b>ARKANSAS</b>							
Robinson/R (2)	—	—	—	—	—	N	N
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>							
Bosco/D (1)	—	—	—	—	N	N	N
Harger/R (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Matsui/D (3)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Fazio/D (4)	—	—	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Pelosi/D (5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Miller/D (7)	Y	Y	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dellums/D (8)	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Stark/D (9)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Edwards/D (10)	Y	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lantos/D (11)	—	—	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Mineta/D (13)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Shumway/R (14)	—	—	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Condit/D (15)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Panetta/D (16)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Pashayan/R (17)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Lehman/D (18)	—	—	—	—	Y	N	Y
Thomas/R (20)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N	?
Galleghy/R (21)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Moorhead/R (22)	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
Beilenson/D (23)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Waxman/D (24)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Berman/D (26)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y
Dixon/D (28)	—	—	N	N	Y	N	Y
Hawkins/D (29)	Y	N	N	N	?	Y	Y
Martinez/D (30)	—	—	—	—	N	Y	Y
Dreier/R (33)	—	—	Y	N	N	N	N
Tarres/D (34)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y
Lewis/R (35)	—	—	Y	N	N	N	N
Brown/D (36)	Y	?	N	Y	N	Y	Y
McCandless/R (37)	—	—	—	—	Y	N	Y
Dorman/R (38)	—	—	—	—	Y	—	Y
Cox/R (40)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N

# CONGRESSIONAL TAX-VOTE RECORDS: 1977-1990

CALIFORNIA (Cont'd)	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Rohrabacher/R (42)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Packard/R (43)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	N
Bates/D (44)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y
Hunter/R (45)	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	N

COLORADO	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Schroeder/D (1)	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
Skaggs/D (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Brown/R (4)	—	—	Y	N	N	Y	N
Holley/R (5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Schaefer/R (6)	—	—	—	—	—	N	N

CONNECTICUT	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Kennelly/D (3)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y
Geidanson/D (2)	—	—	N	Y	N	N	Y
Manison/D (3)	—	—	—	—	N	Y	Y
Shays/R (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Rawland/R (5)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	?
Johnson/R (6)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	N

DELAWARE	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Carper/D*	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y

\*Left House to run for Governor in 1992

FLORIDA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Hutto/D (1)	—	—	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Grant/R (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
McCollum/R (5)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stearns/R (6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Gibbons/D (7)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Young/R (8)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	N
Bilantzikis/R (9)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	N
Welson/D (11)	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lewis/R (12)	—	—	—	—	Y	N	N
Goss/R (13)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N

FLORIDA (Cont'd)	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Johnston/D (14)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Show/R (15)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Ros-Lehtinen/R (18)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N

GEORGIA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Hatcher/D (2)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Ray/D (3)	—	—	—	—	Y	N	Y
Jones/D (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Lewis/D (5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Gingrich/R (6)	—	—	Y	N	N	Y	N
Darden/D (7)	—	—	—	—	—	N	Y
Rowland/D (8)	—	—	—	—	Y	N	Y

HAWAII	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Saiki/R (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Mink/D (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y

IDAHO	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Craig/R (1)	—	—	Y	N	?	N	N

ILLINOIS	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Lipinski/D (3)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Sangmeister/D (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Hyde/R (6)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Collins/D (7)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Rostenkowski/D (8)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Yares/D (9)	?	N	N	Y	?	Y	Y
Porter/R (10)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Crane/R (12)	N	?	?	N	N	N	N
Fawell/R (13)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Hastert/R (14)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Marrin/R (16)	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Evans/D (17)	—	—	—	—	N	Y	Y
Michel/R (18)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?
Durbin/D (20)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y

ILLINOIS (Cont'd)	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Castello/D (21)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Pashard/D (22)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y

INDIANA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Visclosky/D (1)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Sharp/D (2)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y
Hiler/R (3)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Long/D (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Sontz/D (5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Burton/R (6)	—	—	—	—	Y	N	N
Myers/R (7)	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
McCloskey/D (8)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y
Hamilton/D (9)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Jacobs/D (10)	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y

IOWA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Leach/R (1)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Touze/R (2)	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hagle/D (3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Smith/D (4)	?	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
Lightfoot/R (5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Grandy/R (6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N

KANSAS	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Roberts/R (1)	—	—	Y	Y	N	N	N
Slattery/D (2)	—	—	—	—	Y	Y	Y
Meyers/R (3)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	N
Glickman/D (4)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Whittaker/R (5)	—	—	Y	N	Y	N	N

KENTUCKY	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Watcher/D (2)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Mazzoli/D (3)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Bunning/R (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Rogers/R (5)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	N

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# CONGRESSIONAL TAX-VOTE RECORDS: 1977-1990

LOUISIANA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Livingston/R (1)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Boggs/D (2)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Touzin/D (3)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McCray/R (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Huckaby/D (5)	N	Y	Y	Y	?	Y	Y
Baker/R (6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Hayes/D (7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Holloway/R (8)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N

MAINE	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Brennan/D (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Snowe/R (2)	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	N

MARYLAND	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Dyson/D (1)	—	—	Y	N	Y	N	N
Bentley/R (2)	—	—	—	—	—	N	N
Carlin/D (3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
McMillen/D (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Hayes/D (5)	—	—	Y	N	N	N	Y
Mufson/D (7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Morales/R (8)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y

MASSACHUSETTS	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Neat/D (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Early/D (3)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Frank/D (4)	—	—	N	N	N	Y	Y
Atkins/D (5)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Navarro/D (6)	—	—	N	N	N	Y	Y
Warney/D (7)	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Kennedy/D (8)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Moakley/D (9)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Studds/D (10)	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y

MICHIGAN	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Canyers/D (1)	Y	N	N	Y	?	N	Y
Upton/R (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Henry/R (5)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	N
Corr/D (6)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Kildee/D (7)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Vander Jagt/R (9)	N	Y	?	Y	?	Y	N
Schwartz/R (10)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	N
Bonaire/D (12)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Crockett/D (13)	—	—	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Ford/D (15)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Dingell/D (16)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Levin/D (17)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y

MINNESOTA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Penny/D (1)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Frenzel/R (3)	N	?	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Yento/D (4)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sabo/D (5)	—	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sikorski/D (6)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Strangeland/R (7)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
Oberstar/D (8)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y

MISSISSIPPI	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Whitten/D (1)	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Espy/D (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Montgomery/D (3)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Parker/D (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Toyler/D (5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y

MISSOURI	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Clay/D (1)	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Suecnar/R (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Geophardt/D (3)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Skellton/D (4)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Wheat/D (5)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Coleman/R (6)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Hancock/R (7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Emerson/R (8)	—	—	Y	N	?	Y	N
Volkmer/D (9)	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y

MONTANA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Williams/D (1)	—	—	N	Y	N	N	N
Marienne/R (2)	N	?	Y	Y	?	N	N

NEBRASKA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Bereuter/R (1)	—	—	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Haugland/D (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Smith/R (3)	N	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	N

NEVADA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Billroy/D (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Vecanovich/R (2)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	N

NEW HAMPSHIRE	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Smith/R (1)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	N
Douglas/R (2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N

NEW JERSEY	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Hughes/D (2)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pallone/D (3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Smith/R (4)	—	—	Y	N	N	Y	N
Roukema/R (5)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Rinaldo/R (7)	—	—	Y	N	N	?	N
Torricelli/D (9)	—	—	—	—	—	N	Y
Payne/D (10)	—	—	—	—	—	—	?
Gallo/R (11)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Courter/R (12)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Soxton/R (13)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y

NEW MEXICO	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Schiff/R (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Skeen/R (2)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Richardson/D (3)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y

NEW YORK	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Hochbrueckner/D (1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Downey/D (2)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Flake/D (6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Ackerman/D (7)	—	—	—	—	—	N	N
Scheuer/D (8)	Y	?	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Manton/D (9)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Schumer/D (10)	—	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Towns/D (11)	—	—	—	—	—	N	Y
Owens/D (12)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Salazar/D (13)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Molinaro/R (14)	—	—	Y	N	N	N	Y
Green/R (15)	—	—	Y	?	Y	N	N
Rangel/D (16)	Y	Y	—	—	—	Y	Y
Weiss/D (17)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Serrano/D (18)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Engel/D (19)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Lewey/D (20)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Fish/R (21)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Gilman/R (22)	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
McHulley/D (23)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Solomon/R (24)	—	—	Y	N	N	Y	N
Boehmert/R (25)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Walsh/R (27)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Slaughter/D (30)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Paxon/R (31)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Lafalce/D (32)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Houghton/R (34)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N

NORTH CAROLINA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Valentini/D (2)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Lancaster/D (3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Price/D (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Neal/D (5)	Y	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
Coble/R (6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Rose/D (7)	N	Y	Y	N	?	Y	Y
Heiner/D (8)	?	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
McMillan/R (9)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Ballenger/R (10)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Clarke/D (11)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y

OHIO	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Gradison/R (2)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Hull/D (3)	—	—	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Oxley/R (4)	—	—	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Gillmor/R (5)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
DeWine/R (6)	—	—	—	—	—	N	Y
Lukens/R (7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Kaptur/D (8)	—	—	—	—	—	N	Y
McEwen/R (10)	—	—	Y	N	N	Y	N
Kosich/R (12)	—	—	—	—	—	Y	Y
Sawyer/D (14)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Regula/R (16)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Traficant/D (17)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Applegate/D (18)	Y	?	Y	N	?	N	N
Oakar/D (20)	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
Stokes/D (21)	Y	N	N	N	N	?	Y

OKLAHOMA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
B. Smith/R (2)	—	—	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Wyden/D (3)	—	—	N	N	Y	Y	Y
DeFazio/D (4)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
D. Smith/R (5)	—	—	—	—	N	N	N

PENNSYLVANIA	1977	1978	1981	1982	1983	1986	1990
Foglietta/D (11)	—	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Borski/R (3)	—	—	—	—	—	N	Y
Waldon/R (7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	N
Kostmayer/R (8)	—	—	—	—	—	N	Y
Shuster/R (9)	N	Y	Y	N	?	N	N
McDade/R (10)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kanjorski/D (11)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Y
Murtha/D (12)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Coyne/D (14)	—	—	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ritter/R (15)	—	—					



3

Economy

515 Linden Av  
Sistersville WV 26175  
304-652-7551

16 Sep 92

Mr James A Baker III  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Av  
Washington DC 20006

NRW

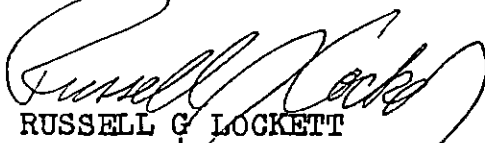
Dear Mr Baker

My wife asked me to prepare the enclosed letter to the president with a copy to you. She speaks from a lifetime vocation.

I want to share a word of my own. The Democrats have done with the issue of the economy to Mr Bush what Bush did to Mr Dukakis. with the issue of Willie Horton--twisted it all out of proportion. Perhaps Bush should have countered the Democrats and the media players immediately as Mr Clinton has done to Bush.

I am satisfied about the economy myself. There are times when the economy needs to be in low gear so it will not stall. What else would you expect of the world economy, after the collapse of Eastern Europe. Our economic readjustment is the price of victory without hot war. Economic readjustment must be in low gear after a world war. The truth of the matter is that Eastern Europe has it tough. But they have a good future, because we have a good future.

Sincerely

  
RUSSELL G. LOCKETT

515 Linden Av  
Sistersville WV 26175  
304-652-7551

16 Sep 92

Mr George Bush  
President of the United States  
1600 Pennsylvania Av  
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr President

I have seen your commercial, spelling out that we need medical reform and legal reform. You won my support for reelection. We cannot reform our medical system unless the legal system is reformed.

Please make clearer to people the link between medical reform and legal reform. We do not have prenatal and delivery services we need in West Virginia, because of the high cost of malpractice insurance.

I am a supervising RN in a county health department and see many of the people who must pay for the greed in the legal system. We ourselves pay for this greed too, because our taxes pay for the people who are unable to pay themselves.

The way you present yourself in this ad is so much better than what you did to Michael Dukakis. I voted against him because I did not think he would be a competent president. This time I shall vote for you.

Sincerely yours

*Dorothy H. Lockett*

DOROTHY H LOCKETT

PS My husband supports you because you handled Kuwait/Desert Storm well and the post Cold War very well. You were the president you claimed you would be. He is very impressed by Oliver North's witness of you meeting a roomful of armed men unarmed, (though he thinks Lt Col North came too close to treason in Irangate).

cy to James Baker

3  
General  
The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President, NRN

I am sure you do not remember me, but 15 or 16 years ago when you were RNC Chairman we spent the day together driving through the hills of West Virginia to visit the GOP Youth Camp at Cowan, W.V. My mother is Priscilla Humphreys, recently retired senior member of The RNC from West Virginia.

I am writing you this letter in an attempt to help your campaign. I am sure, due to the many desk tops and hands and handlers through which this letter must pass, you will probably not receive this letter. For that reason I am sending copies to as many people, who may have your ear, as I can think of.

Here is the truth. Quite frankly, your commercials are useless. They generate all the excitement of ads for computer systems, insurance conglomerates, or long-distance telephone companies. They are colorless and without life. I am afraid your people are allowing pollsters and the Clinton people to design your campaign. You are basing your ads on what you will do if re-elected. The Clinton people have successfully painted their candidate (with some biased assistance from the news media) as the candidate of and for the future. Your team, on the other hand, has been unable to do this due to a credibility problem you have with the public at the moment. They are only remembering the depletion of their bank accounts in the last four years, NOT the other historical world shaking events.

I am now going to tell you what your ads should be looking like. You MUST remind the public what has occurred during your tenure. Your ads MUST show these things:

1. The fall of The Berlin Wall
2. The breakup of The Eastern European Block
3. The mass migration of Eastern Europe from a bankrupt empire.
4. You with Gorbachev.
5. The breakup of The USSR
6. Your strong stand along with Mr. Yeltsin during the kidnapping of The Gorbachevs.
7. You with Mr. Yeltsin
8. The signing of nuclear treaties.
9. The fall of Daniel Ortega.
10. The invasion of Panama and the subsequent arrest of Noriega.
11. THE PERSIAN GULF WAR MUST BE PROFILED FROM BEGINNING TO END IN YOUR ADS.
12. A very desparate Castro. (This for Florida)

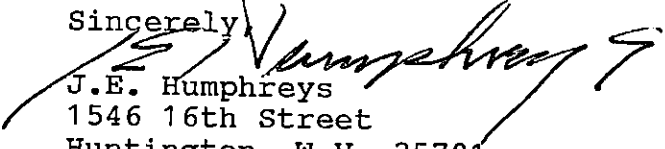
The mass media, especially television, is not covering you equitably or positively. The only way you have to use television to your advantage is to pay them for their time. They are NOT

going to help you get elected.

The public must be reminded of your accomplishments. They must be made to see that we are where we are today because of 12 years of out-spending the enemy. That the benefit of this over-spending was a freer world; and the downside was an economy that needs an injection. If you want to be re-elected you will set about making this change. At the moment due to the economy Americans do not feel very good about themselves or their country. They need someone to blame. That, of course, is you. There is nothing Americans need more than the feeling of pride in their accomplishments and abilities and in their country. Your television commercials must show them that they have every reason to lay legitimate claim to that feeling due to what you and they have accomplished together. They must be made to feel that the astounding events of the past four years are theirs to own. They must be made to see that their sacrifices were not in vain. If you can show them that their sacrifices (coupled with your leadership) have changed the world more dramatically, for the better, than any other peoples' in the history of the world, they WILL feel good about themselves...AND YOU. So your ads MUST show not just what you have done, but they MUST imply that these great accomplishments are THEIRS as well. As well they are.

The opposition must be going crazy wondering why you have not acted on your real record and not the limited economic agenda they have made the voter feel is the only issue. I assure you Mr. Clinton has no way to compete with this approach. What is he going to brag about accomplishing for Arkansas, the fact that it is at the bottom of nearly every list there is. At the moment his and your ads are focusing on the future and his future looks better to the voter based on the present condition of their bank accounts. The future is ethereal at best. You must paint the notion that your future plans are more likely to occur (have more likely substance) because of the track record of success you have already exhibited. That the TEAM that gets things done is not untested. It has a history of startling success over the entire world. And that it is now time to bring that TEAM home, to do here, what that TEAM has done everywhere else. And that TEAM has a name. It is not congress. It is not the senate. It is George Bush and the public. The concept of your campaign must be, "WE HAVE DONE IT BEFORE, AND WE CAN DO IT AGAIN, HERE. TOGETHER WE HAVE CHANGED THIS WORLD. NOW, TOGETHER, LET US CHANGE OUR WORLD. THE TEAM THAT WORKS... GEORGE BUSH AND YOU!"

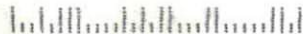
Sincerely,

  
J.E. Humphreys  
1546 16th Street  
Huntington, W.V. 25701  
1-304-522-2198

P.S. America out spent The USSR, and Americans sacrificed. America spent millions helping out the emerging democracies of the world, and Americans sacrificed. America has spent millions aiding all over the world when catastrophe has struck, and Americans have sacrificed. America has made allowances in the market place for our allies, and Americans have sacrificed. America went to war for another country, and Americans have sacrificed. Mr. President, it is time to bring that energy, those abilities and that money home, and IT IS TIME FOR AMERICANS TO STOP HAVING TO SACRIFICE. I would like to leave you with three words which I feel sum up the way Americans feel about their government leadership and their country..."Physician, heal thyself."

P.P.S. I am available for free consultation.

Mr. James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington D.C.  
20500



NRN

IPMWH1 WSH

1-000979S269 09/25/92

ICS IPMRNCZ CSP

2166445980 FRB TDRN AKRON OH 33 09-25 1132A EST

PMS JIM BAKER CHAIRMAN, DLR

BUSH QUAIL CAMPAIGN, DLR

WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON DC 20500

02 SEP 25 P12:34

IMPERATIVE BUSH RESPOND TO HARRY FIGGIE'S BOOK "BANKRUPTCY 1995". CAN NEGATE CLINTON/PEROT BY IMMEDIATE NATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL CALL TO ARMS. SUGGEST QUICK USE OF EXECUTIVE ORDERS/VETOS TO DEMONSTRATE STRENGTH, SERIOUSNESS, RESPONSIBILITY, ACCOUNTABILITY. AM LISTENING.

BILL ZIEGMAN

150 CLEMENT AVE

AKRON OH 44319

1133 EST

IPMWH1 WSH

MSU

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NRN

C. MERRITT WINSBY, CPA  
620 DC Hollow Circle  
Deerfield Beach, Florida 33442  
(305) 429-3590

FAX: (202) 456-2883

To: The Right Honorable George Herbert Bush  
President of the United States of America

To: The Right Honorable James A. Baker, III  
Chief of the White House Staff

Re: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Dear Sirs:

The importance of carrying out the Reagan-Bush foreign policy agenda is discussed, pointing out that the need for experienced personnel to help shape the New World Order. (1st par.)

Points out the need to convince the electorate that the assumption that the agenda has been completed is erroneous. Much remains to be accomplished and the Administrations that engineered the success to date are needed to finish the job. (1st par.)

The Democrats concede the success of the foreign policy agenda, but take the position it was accomplished at the expense of the domestic programs. (2nd par.)

Republicans must now convince the American electorate that the job is not completed and we should not sacrifice the experienced team responsible for the success, we should not abandon the program nor the leadership. (3rd par., sub. 1)

The economic malais is worldwide and shows the interdependence of the economies of nations who are involved in international commerce and trade. (3rd par. sub.)

Demonstrates the Bush Administration's strong adherence to the real environmental problems. Relates the technology advance fostered and funded by the United States called LIDAR.

Please don't fail to read about this technological break through and the cooperation between the Governments of the United States and Mexico and view the tape (3rd par., sub. 1c plus supporting detail - LIDAR Report and 3½ minute tape is part of a Federal Express package).

Discusses a new approach to portraying the Bush Administration's domestic program utilizing the artistic license of visualizing where the United States would be today if Congress has enacted the Bush program instead of the pigeon hole reaction. (3rd par., sub. 3b)

Points out a means of encouragement of venture capital by revising the IRC to allow the current deduction of capital losses (computed at the same rates applicable to capital gains). This could be called the "level playing field doctrine". (3rd par., sub 3c)

The letter of which this is a summary will be part of the Federal Express package to be mailed Monday.

Respectfully submitted,

*C. Merritt Winsby*

C. Merritt Winsby



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

March 6, 1991

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Mr. C. Merritt Winsby  
620 DC Hollows Circle  
Deerfield Beach, FL 33442

Dear Mr. Winsby:

On behalf of President Bush, I would like to thank you for your letter regarding the President's proposal to reduce the capital gains tax rate. Please accept my sincere apologies for the delay in responding, but a large volume of incoming mail at the White House and the Treasury Department has resulted in a substantial correspondence backlog.

We appreciate your taking the time to share with us your comments and suggestions concerning this matter. As you may know, the President continues to support a reduction in the capital gains rate. Unfortunately, negotiations at the 1990 budget summit were such that the President was not able to achieve all of his objectives.

Please be assured that your thoughts will be taken into account when this issue is again considered.

Thank you again for writing.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Roger Bolton".

Roger Bolton  
Assistant Secretary  
(Public Affairs and Public Liaison)

# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Capital Gains: Respite or Requiem?

President Bush has indicated he won't push for a capital gains tax cut next year. That would be a welcome advance for fiscal fairness, assuming he really means it. Better yet, he should drop the idea altogether.

Capital gains — the income to investors when they sell investments that have increased in value — are currently taxed at the same rate as ordinary income, mostly at 28 percent. Prior to the 1986 Tax Reform Act, the maximums were 20 percent for gains and 50 percent for ordinary income. The 30-point difference invited schemes to avoid the higher rate, and tax shelters flourished.

Elimination of this special treatment was the balance wheel of the reform package, and properly reflected the spirit of reform: tax equality for all forms of income.

Mr. Bush pledged in his 1988 election campaign that he would restore the preference. In backing off now, he appears to be yielding to the realities of politics and the budget, rather than economic sense.

The Democrats will have extraordinary strength in the newly elected House; only twice before has a President faced a larger opposition majority. Since his pledge was thwarted by the last Congress, he could hardly expect to do better in the new Congress that convenes in January. Moreover, under the rules of this year's budget agreement, he would have to propose an offset to the revenue that

would be lost if the capital gains tax were cut. The President's intentions won't finally be known until he presents his new budget in five weeks; the capital gains issue is still being pressed by some Administration diehards. But it's clear from Mr. Bush's own lips that he hasn't given up his "philosophical commitment" to the idea that a tax break for capital gains stimulates growth.

There is little evidence that it does what the President supposes. Rather, it channels investment into activities designated for the tax payoff, regardless of their economic merit, or it simply rewards cashing in old investments. Moreover, the biggest providers of investment capital for risky new ventures have been tax-free institutional investors, like pension funds and endowments.

There is abundant evidence, however, that a capital gains tax cut would favor the well-off. Of the 110 million individual income tax returns in 1988, fewer than 8 million reported capital gains, and three-quarters of the gains went to taxpayers whose income exceeded \$100,000. Over a longer span of years, middle-income taxpayers can benefit, too, of course — when they sell a house, or stock. But that's relatively infrequent for the average American, and little stimulus for the economy.

Even — or especially — in the face of a recession, a tax subsidy for the rich is without merit. This idea deserves a quiet burial.

C. MERRITT WINSBY, CPA  
620 DC Hollows Circle  
Deerfield Beach, Florida 33442  
(305) 429-3590

January 31, 1991

FAX #202-456-2883

The Right Honorable George Herbert Walker Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500-000

Dear Mr. President:

Some of the remarks that you made in your State of the Nation to the Congress and the American people in re the income tax treatment accorded to capital gain income and also related Economic Incentives prompts me to fax copies of the enclosed New York Times editorial dated December 25, 1990 and my letter to the Editor dated January 17, 1991 concerning related subjects. Before proceeding with the balance of this letter, please refer to these attachments.

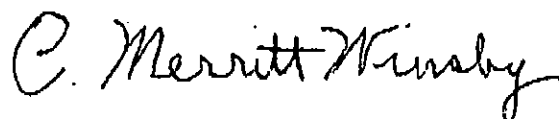
Although, I have favored an "incentive" capital gains income tax rate vis-a-vis ordinary income, my reasoning was predicated on my experience with the situation prevalent in the years that there were substantial differential between the income tax rates applicable to ordinary and capital gain income.

Therefore, I heartily endorse your proposal, "...asking the Congressional leaders and the Federal Reserve to cooperate with us in a study, led by Chairman Alan Greenspan, to sort out our technical differences so that we can avoid a return to unproductive partisan bickering."

The following additional comment seems relevant if my recommendations are to be given serious consideration. In order to avoid any pyramiding of past capital loss carryforwards, the old offset rules should apply to all capital losses sustained on or before December 31, 1990 and the recommended rules should apply to transactions subsequent thereto, i.e. effective January 1, 1991 or other effective date.

It is my earnest hope that the enclosed letter will be of help in creating a "level playing field" for the providers of investment capital including venture capital. Your proposed permanent research and development tax credit also seems to be constructive and timely.

Sincerely,



C. Merritt Winsby, CPA

FILE COPY

C. MERRITT WINSBY, CPA  
620 DC Hollows Circle  
Deerfield Beach, Florida 33442  
(305) 429-3590

January 17, 1991

NEW YORK TIMES  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York City, NY 10036

To the Editors:

Your editorial entitled, "Capital Gains: Respite or Requiem?" published December 25, 1990 stated the following:

"Elimination of this special treatment was the balance wheel of the tax reform package, and properly reflected the spirit of reform: tax equality for all forms of income. (underlining supplied)

In the preceding paragraph, "capital gains" were defined as "the income to investors when they sell investments that have increased in value..."

The underlined part of this statement is inaccurate. There is no tax equality in an Internal Revenue Code which taxes net capital gains and does not allow the taxpayer to deduct net capital losses incurred in a trade as business or in an activity engaged in with intent to make a profit. Instead, capital losses are offset against capital gain income and a token amount is deductible from ordinary taxable income of individuals. Carryforward of unused capital losses to future years is allowed, subject to similar limitations.

In order for the United States of America to be competitive in the present and emerging global economy, it must provide a level playing field for the providers of investment capital, more particularly venture capital. This can be accomplished by allowing current deductibility of the above-cited capital losses at tax rates applicable to capital gains.

The Times editorial further states, "Moreover, the biggest providers of investment capital for risky new ventures have been tax-free institutional investors, like pension funds and endowments."

The Times editorial cites this fact in support of their position apparently not recognizing its incongruity vis-a-vis their position and its obvious congruity to my recommendation. The fate of our future economy and international trade seems to rest in the hands of tax-free institutional investors, instead of the much larger capital funds markets maintained by taxable entities. It seems logical to conclude that to some extent this results from the provisions that capital losses are not currently deductible to taxable entities.

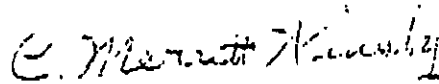
The whole point is, if it is true, reasonable and equitable that there should be "tax equality for all income," should not the Administration, the Congress (and The New York Times) analyze the situation and create an investment climate favorable to risk capital?

This study should measure the effect upon income tax revenues, implementation of Gramm-Rudman, but also upon America's position in a world economy. Many books and articles have been written concerning the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the policies it implements in promoting Japanese dominance in certain selected industries. Also to be considered is the activation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the fact that governmental agencies are actively engaged in formulating policies to both stimulate but also to protect the EEC's position in World Trade. The future represents opportunities and problems which must be anticipated, met and dealt with. The U.S. private sector should have the aid and assistance of the United States Government, its Departments and Agencies and vice versa. It should be a mutually advantageous team effort.

The United States must decide what its future approach to economic growth and the related topic of availability of venture, i.e. risk, capital investment funds. We must save our "Requiem" for the burial of the state of mind expressed in the last paragraph of the editorial: "Even—or especially—in the face of a recession, a tax subsidy for the rich is without merit. This idea deserves a quiet burial."

The only question I raise is this: When the intent is to "soak the rich" could an unintended result be to "rain on our own parade"?

Sincerely,



C. Merritt Winsby, CPA

General

NRN

Herbert A. Helstrom  
529 Leisure World  
Mesa, Arizona 85206

Dear Mr Baker,

9-22-92

I am a retired 76 year old male who has always been a Republican, but now I'm not so sure.

Far be it for me to tell the president how to plan his reelection strategy, but what I have seen so far does not convince me that Mr Bush should remain the president. Mr Clinton - NEVER. So maybe I'll just not vote for president.

---

I am so tired of Mr Bush's generalities and Mr Clinton's lies, <sup>OR NONANSWERS.</sup> Why don't you help Mr Bush get specific and really go after Mr Clinton?

Just in case you haven't seen them, here are 3 articles that I think will get the votes he hasn't gotten so far.

Or, he can remain "presidential", stay way above reality — and become another Jimmy Carter.

Sincerely,

Herbert Helstrom, Ph.D.

# Fair Comment

## We Don't Want Tantrums, We Just Want Answers

By Wesley Pruden

Once upon a time there was a Quaker farmer down in Arkansas who owned a spiteful Guernsey cow.

The cow gave abundant milk, rich in cream, and the farmer's babies were the fattest for miles around. But the cow had a very contrary nature. She teased the farmer every time he sat down to milk, swatting him across the face with her tail and occasionally kicking him in the shin.

The farmer gently scolded the cow, but it did no good. He treated her with patient kindness, and that did no good either. One day, just as he was finishing with the milking, the cow stepped into the bucket and spoiled the baby's milk.

"That does it, cow," the farmer said. "Thou knowest I am a Quaker, and cannot lose my temper. Thou knowest that when thee swat me across my face, I cannot even curse thee. When thee kicks over the bucket, I cannot slap thee. All this, cow, thou knowest, because thee knowest I am a kind and gentle Quaker.

"But what thou doesn't knowest, cow, is that I can sell thee to a Baptist, who will pick up a two-by-four and knockest the living hell out of thee."

There's a moral here for Bill Clinton. The home folks, who long ago started calling him "Slick Willie" because of his imaginative prevarications when pushed to explain something shameful, nevertheless declined to ask him for too much explanation in his races for governor, much in the way that a black sheep is often treated with generous and undeserved courtesy at a family reunion.

Despite what Mr. Slick might make you think, draft dodging is shameful to Arkansas folks, too, who take it as a point of pride that the men in the fam-

ily never have to be asked twice to put on the uniform when duty calls.

"The great old Third Arkansas," as Douglas Southall Freeman called it, was one of Robert E. Lee's favorite regiments, and it helped write the book on true grit at Bloody Lane. Arkansas men were decorated in disproportionate numbers in both world wars. An Arkansas Air National Guard fighter squadron, the rough-and-ready 154th, was one of the most decorated units in the Korean War. Courage, not cowardice, marked the Arkansas response when duty called its sons to Vietnam and to Desert Storm.

So how did Slick Willie get by with it?

The story was so sordid that his op-

ponents didn't have the heart to talk about it, knowing the home folks wouldn't have the stomach to hear about it. Dodging the draft is such shameful business that the home folks who knew figured that one day somebody would pick up a two-by-four and ask Mr. Slick outside to answer for it.

Running for governor and running for president of the United States are two entirely different things, as Mr. Slick and Miss Hillary are learning. Mr. Slick throws a tantrum when somebody brings up the subject of the Vietnam draft and how he repaid the generosity of his Arkansas draft board by organizing rallies abroad to libel the country whose military forces he now wants to lead as commander in chief.



# Fair Comment

He insists that he's answered the draft dodging questions already, and indeed he has, giving different answers every time he deigns to take questions. Mr. Slick imagines that draft dodging is barely a misdemeanor in his generation, and he may be right, but for a lot of the rest of us it's a felony not quite as serious as molesting children, but considerably worse than robbing banks.

Mr. Slick knows that, too. That's why he throws the tantrums. He understands that this is the question for which he has no answer, and no strategy beyond artful lies. Like a lot of men and women of his generation, he regards life as a cafeteria and imagines he's entitled to pick through his responsibilities until he finds one easy to honor, as if choosing between the lime Jell-O mold and the pear with grated cheese. That's why the newspapers and television networks, staffed by like-minded men and women of Mr. Slick's generation, insist there's no story here.

But unlike the Quaker's cow, Mr. Slick knows there are a few Baptists and others out there looking for a two-by-four. ●

*Wesley Pruden is editor-in-chief of the Washington Times.*

## What Did Marilyn Say That Was So Wrong?

By Suzanne Fields

Marilyn Quayle has become a lightning rod for the unfocused rage of certain feminists, and that's too bad.

Marilyn Quayle, as much as any prominent spouse of Major Candidate (if not of Major Dad), says what most of us — women and men — believe in our bones, affirm in our brains and feel in our hearts.

"Women's lives are different from men's lives," she told the Republican convention in Houston. "We make dif-



All Marilyn Quayle said was: "Women's lives are different from men's lives."

ferent sacrifices. And we get different rewards."

This home truth doesn't make women's lives easier, nor does it take sides in the debilitating debate between mothers with full-time careers and full-time mothers. Mrs. Quayle simply acknowledges the different starting points in adult life for women and men, an idea that is neither new nor news, nor should it be inflammatory.

Nevertheless, columnist Ellen Goodman accuses her of making a "hate speech." Columnist Anna Quindlen says she's responsible for "polarizing" women.

My own mail reflects similar judgments. "And the odious Marilyn Quayle, do you really think she's a better mother than Hillary Clinton?" asks a woman professor from Stanford, booting intellectual analysis to the wind. "Is she home with her children? Actually, I hope for their sake she isn't — what a witch."

What enraged many women was Marilyn Quayle's remark that most women do not wish to be liberated from their "essential natures as women." Translation: Women carry the babies, and that makes a difference in their fundamental perception of life's priorities.

Why does such a commonplace observation make some women want to dump the second lady into the Cuisinart? Marilyn Quayle herself offers an interpretation of the response that touches on part of the problem.

"My speech, if anyone cared to listen to it — totally — was a generational speech," she told television talkmeister Larry King. "It was about the fact that no one represents a single generation, that we all think differently."

Marilyn Quayle came of age when it was difficult for an educated professional woman to stay home with her children or to help her husband with his career rather than pursuing her own. If she did she could expect to be

called a traitor to the women's movement. Radical feminists attacked women who "dropped out" of the workplace to become full-time wives and mothers, accusing them of undercutting female autonomy and independence and giving ammunition to the male enemy.

Full-time mothers were put on the defensive. When asked what she did for a living, a woman of that era usually felt the need to qualify her maternal role: "I'm only a mother."

Two decades later, these mothers find cultural support and affirmation in the open debate over "family values," distorted though that debate often becomes. The balance has shifted.

Today many women who want to stay home with their children can't afford to, and many others who juggle work and home have developed a renewed appreciation for a life they no longer have the option to choose.

Women who pushed the idea that "self-fulfillment was available only in the workplace" are now on the defensive themselves.

"No one should say that a woman who works can't be a good wife or mother," says Mrs. Quayle. "At the same time, no one should criticize a woman who stays at home to raise her children."

A woman I know who is the mother of a 2-year-old girl and has just returned to work laments that the economy is not "mother-friendly."

She and her husband are beginning to improve their finances, but she doesn't want to sign away her earnings to the tax man: "The best thing government can do for me is to get far away from me."

The family values issue continues to touch a nerve, but it's a nerve rooted in a changed economy. Women, like men, will vote for the husbands of Marilyn and Barbara or of Tipper and Hillary depending on whom they think they can trust to make the economy more mother-friendly — and father-friendly.

"Most of us love being mothers or wives, which gives our lives a richness that few men or women get from professional accomplishment alone," says Marilyn Quayle.

Can anyone really argue with that? ●

*Suzanne Fields, a columnist for the Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.*

## The Key to Taiwan's Success Is in Its Self-Image as Poor

By Richard Grenier

Think poor. That's Taiwan's secret. Now, it's not easy to think poor in Taiwan. At least it wouldn't be easy for you or me. But the Taiwanese are good at it. They have a poor man's mentality even though they're rich as Croesus, which is why they're getting richer and richer. And where it will end nobody knows.

When Chiang Kai-shek retreated there with his Kuomintang in 1949, the little island the size of Holland (the government of which is called the Republic of China) had a per capita gross national product of less than \$200. It is now closing in on \$10,000, and its gold and foreign currency reserves surged again in July to reach \$88 billion, the largest in the world. This is higher even than in Japan, which has more than six times Taiwan's population.

For decade after decade, Taiwan has sustained an average annual growth rate of 8.8 percent. The unemployment rate is 2 percent. Home ownership is at 80 percent. In agriculture, 96 percent of workers own their land. In income distribution, of which they're very proud, the top 20 percent make only five times as much as the bottom 20 percent.

In less than four decades, life expectancy in Taiwan zoomed from 58 years to 74 years. Infant mortality is not only one-third lower than in the United States, it's lower than in Canada, Germany or Switzerland.

In Taiwan, for every telephone there are 2.8 people. In China — which has benefited from the very best in socialist planning — for every telephone there are 1,166 people.

And yet the Chinese of Taiwan still feel poor, as if it might all disappear if they make one mistake. Their frugality borders on the fanatic, their savings last year amounting to almost 30 percent of the GNP. The average two-income family saves 50 percent of its disposable income. President Bush will be encouraged to hear they have no capital gains tax.

They worry a lot. Once upon a time,

Taiwan, which lives on its exports, sold mostly umbrellas, running shoes and other such low-tech products. Now more than half the components of computers sold in the United States are made in Taiwan.

And still they're apprehensive about being at the "low end" of product lines. Why should Japan get all the credit? Especially when many of the products Americans think of as Japanese are actually made in Taiwan. Taiwan now craves status. It craves prestige.

How many people know that the microelectronic satellite telephone CNN's Peter Arnett had in Baghdad was a Taiwanese product? You see?

In Taipei they're determined to give Taiwan the image of Paris in fashion and perfume and of Japan in electronics. They haven't gotten there yet, of course, but given the distance they've

For decade after decade, Taiwan has sustained an average annual growth rate of 8.8 percent. The unemployment rate is 2 percent. Home ownership is at 80 percent. In agriculture, 96 percent of workers own their land. In income distribution, of which they're very proud, the top 20 percent make only five times as much as the bottom 20 percent.

traveled in a single generation, nothing would surprise me. But prestige or no prestige, Taiwan still talks poor.

I recently attended the opening ceremonies of a vast trade fair in Taipei, with contingents from 63 countries, overwhelmingly from the Third World. The Chinese of Taiwan are extremely

# Fair Comment

effective at talking Third World talk — much better than Americans. It's as if they're saying, "Look where we were only yesterday. You can do it, too." Chiefs of state from Africa and Latin America come rattling through Taipei every few days. But the celebrities the week of the trade fair were former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chai Ling, the pinup of Tiananmen Square.

Chai Ling, now a student at Princeton, is much honored in Taiwan for symbolic, anticommunist reasons, naturally. But Taiwan now has a democratic, open society, with a major opposition party, free press, freedom to demonstrate and a new round of elections coming up in December.

Her notion of democracy formed during the demonstration three years ago at Tiananmen Square, Chai Ling has been complaining in the Taipei press about how "frustrating" and "disappointing" she finds the conservative atmosphere at Princeton, with "no giant rallies or demonstrations."

And watching her interviews on Taiwanese television, one realizes the woman — all filled with revolutionary fire — is far too grand for Taiwan.

Think small, Chai Ling. Think poor. ●

*Richard Grenier is a columnist for the Washington Times.*

## By Backing Assad, Bush Fails Drug War

By Frank Gaffney Jr.

While President Bush talks about the encouraging progress in the war on drugs, a National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee assessment released recently points to a much bleaker picture. According to this report — issued on a Friday afternoon, presumably to minimize media coverage — the use of heroin in the United States has increased by nearly half over the past year, from an estimated 471,000 users in 1990 to an

estimated 700,000 or more in 1991.

In the past year alone, 2.9 million individuals reported using heroin at least once, an increase of 1 million since 1988. Moreover, the report acknowledges that these figures may be underestimated.

Ironically, one factor contributing to this increase can be laid at the president's doorstep: His courting of Syria's Hafez al-Assad. Determined to do nothing that might give offense to the Syrian dictator lest he prove less "cooperative" in the Middle East "peace process," the Bush administration has fixedly chosen to overlook the direct role being played by top Syrian officials in the international drug trade.

Such involvement is a matter of record. The State Department's *International Control Strategy Report* issued in March 1992 discloses that:

"Lebanese groups and families produce hashish and opium in the Syrian-occupied Bekaa Valley. U.S. government officials estimate that 34 metric tons of opium were produced on 3,400 hectares of cultivation in 1991 . . . a 6 percent increase over 1990 production. . . . In addition, estimated hashish production was 545 metric tons on 5,200 hectares of cultivation . . . a dramatic increase of more than 500 percent over 1990 estimates."

On Syria's direct role, the State Department goes on to note that:

"Syrian military and government officials stationed in Lebanon are reliably reported to facilitate drug production and trafficking there. . . . Syria is a transit country for illicit drugs and a suspected site for the refining of small amounts of heroin, Lebanese-produced hashish, and heroin destined for Europe and the United States. Asian morphine base and opium en route to processing labs in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon transit Syria."

Syria's role in the international drug business goes far beyond a few corrupt officials facilitating drug production and transshipment in Lebanon, however. It is a multibillion-dollar hard currency-earning operation. The contribution Syria is making to the U.S. illicit drug supply in particular is staggering. According to a Drug Enforcement Administration estimate, 20 percent of the heroin found in the United States is coming from Syria and Syrian-controlled Lebanon.

Washington has been less forthcoming, however, about what it knows



**Baker (left)** has maintained there is no evidence that Assad is aware of his aides' drug dealings, but it's a stretch.

about those in the Syrian government directly involved in running and overseeing the drug operation. Sources within the U.S. government have, nonetheless, confirmed to the Center for Security Policy that the CIA, DEA and Defense Intelligence Agency have identified top officials in Damascus who are among those responsible for Syria's contribution to the drug trade. One of the most important individuals involved is said to be none other than the brother of Assad, Vice President Rifaat Assad.

American intelligence and law enforcement officers believe Rifaat's role in the Syrian drug trade is substantial. At the very least, he is held responsible for the overall direction of many of the drug networks as well as mediating disputes among them. He is also known to own at least one opium processing lab, as well as some land involved in drug cultivation in the Bekaa Valley.

Other top Syrian officials involved in the drug trade are believed to include Defense Minister Mustafa Tlass, head of intelligence Ali Douba and Syria's intelligence chief in

# Fair Comment

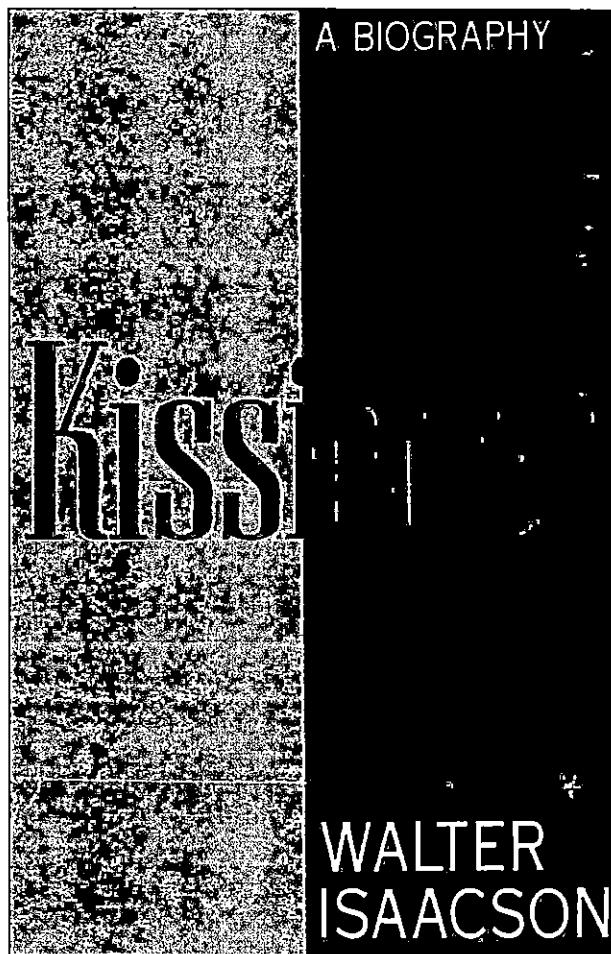
ing Nixon, he would be given a role in his administration. Afterward, Halperin asked Kissinger if it were true. Surprised by the question, Kissinger replied he hadn't really thought about it.

Duplicity is the Kissinger style. Isaacson's account of how he wormed his way into the political big time in 1968 is hilarious. Originally a Nelson Rockefeller man, he sucked up to the Nixon camp by offering inside information about the progress of the Vietnam talks in Paris. Nixon was suspicious at first, but was then reassured: "One factor," he wrote without irony, "that had most convinced me of Kissinger's credibility was the length to which he went to protect his secrecy."

At the same time, however, he offered the Hubert Humphrey camp Rockefeller's anti-Nixon files. Both sides took this in good part. Humphrey said that, if elected, he too would have used Kissinger as national security adviser.

But Kissinger's two-faced approach was also counterproductive. He has a habit of praising a book to its author and attacking it to its victims — goodness knows how many verdicts he'll deliver on this one. Many people take anything Kissinger says to them, especially if flattering, with grave suspicion. They use him, even admire him, because they have learned to discount him as a moral human being and regard him primarily as a brilliant instrument. That, of course, was exactly the attitude everyone, from Napoleon to the British, adopted toward Talleyrand.

However, there is a more important reason why Kissinger has a claim to be considered a great man. He had a consistent view of the world, a weltanschauung, and a systematic idea of how that view ought to be promoted. Most diplomats have neither and proceed on an ad hoc basis. Kissinger was a child refugee, the victim of a man who wanted to change the world order, and this left him with lifelong feelings of insecurity and a belief that a stable, familiar, predictable system of order, even if unsatisfactory, was preferable to the



risks and uncertainties of major change.

This view was reinforced when, as a young graduate, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on the efforts of Metternich and Co. to re-create the system of European order after Napoleon, who foreshadowed Adolf Hitler in many ways, had tried to destroy it — a work later published as *A World Restored*.

Kissinger's realpolitik was thus the most genuine thing about him, based on real feelings and strongly held opinions. He argued that to seek peace was foolish since the moment it is seen to be your primary objective you are at the mercy of the most ruthless member of the international community. The object, rather, should be "stability based on an equilibrium of forces."

The search for order ruled out victory, too. Operating during the very difficult years of the 1970s, when a still confident and apparently strong Russia was upholding the Brezhnev Doctrine and the United States was first bogged down in Vietnam, then emas-

culated by Watergate, Kissinger strove hard and on the whole successfully to reduce the Cold War to a set of rules and predictable reactions that everyone knew and abided by. He was dealt a weak hand, much weaker, of course, under Gerald Ford than under Nixon, and he played his cards, including China, for all they were worth.

However, as Isaacson shows, this made him a formidable diplomatic strategist but not necessarily a great American secretary of state. He "lacked an instinctive feel for American values and mores"; he did not put honor before successful intrigue or idealism before national interests.

Moreover, he did not have the quintessentially American belief that the outcome is never in doubt for the righteous and that a good cause will ultimately triumph, the belief of a George Washington, an Andrew Jackson, an Abraham Lincoln, a Woodrow Wilson and, not least, a Ronald Reagan. Kissinger, therefore, never played for victory and would have

thought it dangerous to do so.

This made him, then, an out-of-date figure by the mid-1980s, when the communist system began to slither toward ruin. I do not say that Kissinger would not have exploited this opportunity, perhaps more skillfully than his successors. But the idea of one side actually winning rather went against his view of the world, which was kept in place and peaceful precisely because the forces were in balance and observed the laws of geopolitical antagonism. Kissinger's views of the 1990s are as worth listening to as ever, but he was a man ideally suited to a certain age — the last phase of the Cold War — and that age has gone.

Nevertheless, Kissinger survives, in great style. His permanent sense of insecurity, the result of his childhood dislocation and his continuing strangeness in an American (though not in a New York or Washington) environment, requires that he always travel by private jet, with a car on the runway, surrounded by aides and bodyguards,

with top-level meetings everywhere, imperious, last-minute changes of schedule and an air of excitement from dawn to midnight.

Most sensible men find this way of life almost unbearable even if they are secretary of state; but it is essential for Kissinger's well-being — his conviction that he actually exists — even when he is a private citizen. By prodigies of effort, he has re-created the razzmatazz on a permanent basis. He is the secretary of state in exile, the pretender to Foggy Bottom, the world's spare foreign minister. This makes him, for my taste, an engaging figure, and Isaacson has portrayed him, both as reality and illusion, with readable zest. •

*Paul Johnson's latest book is The Birth of the Modern: World Society, 1815-1830.*

## It Is Time to Discuss Foreign Policy

By Samuel Francis

Talk up family values, the absence of God from the Democratic platform, *Murphy Brown* and the alleged resemblance between Woody Allen and Hillary Clinton all you want, but President Bush still limps behind his opponent in the polls. Ever so gradually it seems to be dawning on the crack-jacks who run the Bush-Quayle campaign that The Plan ain't working. Maybe they should talk about something else.

One such something might be foreign policy, in which Bush has a claim to real credentials and Bill Clinton no claim to any. In his address to the Republican National Convention, the president did in fact mention his foreign policy record, but there's one little something he hasn't made much of yet. Maybe he should.

Some weeks ago, back before the great Republican family barbecue in Houston, Clinton chose to unbosom himself on foreign affairs and to enlighten the world as to what he would

do about the Balkans. You probably remember the Balkans. A few weeks ago, the United States and much of the civilized world were muttering about military intervention to stop the Serbian slaughter of Bosnians. Clinton, never one to pass up a chance to mutter along with the pack, advised that the United States should go to war.

First, the Democratic nominee called for emergency action by the United Nations, but, as reports of death camps and "ethnic cleansing" sprouted in the media, his humanitarian juices began to bubble. By early August, Clinton was chirping for air strikes against the Serbs "for humanitarian reasons." Not a few of his surrogates in Congress also pumped for intervention or U.N. action with U.S. support.

But not long afterward, the top brass in the Pentagon went up to Capitol Hill and patiently explained to the military geniuses who plot grand strategy from the House gymnasium that getting involved in the Balkan war might not be the swiftest idea to come out of the congressional steam room. It might take 400,000 troops, and our forces would be targets of guerrilla warfare. There was no clear national interest served by our involvement; there was no clear objective and no clear means of attaining any objective.

The testimony from the high brass, coupled with similar reflections from European leaders, seems to have persuaded the armchair MacArthurs among us to button their faces for a change. In the past few weeks, they have been mercifully silent about going to war to save Sarajevo, and the issue is now taking a nap.

Bush, for his part, has said he doesn't believe we should get involved, and he's right, for all the reasons adduced by the generals. But Clinton, though he too seems to have shut up about starting a war, is on record as favoring U.S. bombing strikes.

So the question is this: Why, given this clear and important difference in policy between the two candidates, hasn't Bush made much of an issue

of it in the campaign?

Back when the Lee of Little Rock was planning his air strikes, Bush did register his reluctance to go to war and said he would "not make one decision

based on American politics." Since then, he's been devoting himself pretty much to — well — American politics. And none too effectively either.

Far be it from me to tell the president how to plan his reelection strategy, but it would appear that the differences in Balkan policy between

**Far be it from me to tell the president how to plan his reelection strategy, but it would appear that the differences in Balkan policy between Bush and Clinton are worth dwelling upon.**

Bush and Clinton are worth dwelling upon. They offer a perfectly legitimate, far more substantial and politically advantageous issue with which Bush could launch air strikes against his Democratic opponent.

The issue in fact opens up a whole buffet of goodies from the traditional Republican kitchen: Democrats start wars; Republicans finish them. Democrats gave us World War I as a crusade for democracy; Presidents Kennedy and Johnson gave us Vietnam and didn't have the guts or the smarts to win it. Now Clinton would give us another Vietnam in the Balkans. He'll be another Jimmy Carter, and, while we're on the subject of Carter, how about two of Clinton's top advisers, Warren Christopher and Tony Lake, both of whom were heavies in the Carter State Department?

In short, what you have in the policy split over the Balkans is the seed from which an entire campaign branch on foreign policy could blossom, a serious and substantive debate over issues crucial to the American people and the role their nation should play in the post-Cold War era.

Maybe it wouldn't lift Bush's boats in the opinion polls after all, and maybe that's why he hasn't floated it. But maybe presidential campaigns ought to be about more than what works in the polls, and maybe, if the president doesn't understand that, that's why he shouldn't remain the president. •

*Samuel Francis, a columnist for the Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.*

**American  
Financial**



**CORPORATION**

ONE EAST FOURTH STREET · CINCINNATI, OHIO 45202 · (513) 579-2121

September 17, 1992

CARL H. LINDNER  
CHAIRMAN

The Honorable James A. Baker  
Chief of Staff and  
Senior Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

Our company has held interests in the broadcasting business since the late 1970s. In 1987, American Financial made a major commitment to the industry through the purchase of most of the assets of Taft Broadcasting Company, which we now call Great American Broadcasting Company. Great American owns six television stations, eleven FM, and six AM radio stations in larger markets throughout the country.

In the highly regulated telecommunications sector, almost any change in government regulation is certain to have an enormous impact on the way we do business. Even regulatory changes intended to affect only telephone companies or cable operators have become critical to radio and television broadcasters' ability to compete.

I want to share with you my concern that, as technology advances, these three totally separate businesses (broadcasting, cable, and telephone) are being drawn closer together and are competing with each other, but the Administration may be unaware of the effect these changes would have on broadcasting.

For example, local broadcasters need to be able to control the terms and conditions by which others retransmit our radio and television signals. The Administration has said, through the Justice and Commerce Departments, that it supports this concept of "retransmission consent." But it is widely believed on Capitol Hill that the President will veto S.12, the Cable Bill that would implement retransmission consent -- because of rate regulation and program access provisions which seem "too" regulatory. We think this bill should be supported by the President because it would help restore balance (and competition) between the cable and broadcast industries; it is also supported by a large coalition of consumer organizations.

9/21- cf left word  
JAB ref'd call  
9/23/85- NICK CAUO  
will call  
Mr. Lindner.  
FILE

Page Two  
September 17, 1992


Another area of concern for us is the Administration's well-intended desire to see restrictions removed from local phone companies in the types of businesses they may enter. If done without limit, the phone companies could quickly and effectively expand into the sale of advertising and television programming.

I want to stress here that we are not representing or promoting this position on behalf of the major national networks but rather for the hundreds of small and medium-sized local market operators whose entrepreneurial efforts are responsible for creating this country's broadcasting industry.

It is my hope that as the Administration considers these and other specific policy positions that shape competitive relationships in the telecommunications infrastructure, you will keep in mind the effect on broadcasters. Local television and radio stations provide tremendous value to every home in the country, free of charge. The broadcasting business does not need to be artificially propped up, but we do want the opportunity to compete fairly.

I appreciate your interest in our views.

Sincerely,



Carl H. Lindner

LARRY PRESSLER  
SOUTH DAKOTA

*copy*

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4101

NO BAKER RESPONSE  
COMMITTEES: *NEEDED*  
FOREIGN RELATIONS  
COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND  
TRANSPORTATION  
SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON AGING  
SMALL BUSINESS

September 24, 1992

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

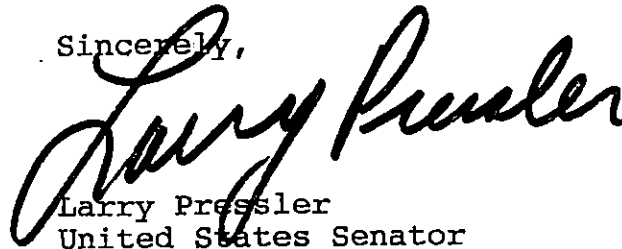
Following are my recommendations of individuals to serve on the South Dakota Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) Committee for 1993. These prominent South Dakotans would do an outstanding job serving you in administering farm programs in South Dakota.

1. Mr. Milton Lakness  
Rural Route 1, Box 36A  
Hazel, South Dakota 57242  
605-783-3556
2. Mr. Ron Reed  
Rural Route 1, Box 60  
Oldham, South Dakota 57051  
605-482-8538
3. Mrs. James (Joan) Lyon  
Meadow  
South Dakota 57644  
605-788-2220
4. Mrs. Irving (Arlene) Wessel  
Rural Route 4, Box 253  
Huron, South Dakota 57350  
605-352-5485
5. Mr. Mark Quam  
Rural Route 1, Box 222A  
Elk Point, South Dakota 57025  
605-356-3312

These are highly qualified individuals who would do a fine job serving your Administration. Please notify me in advance of any public announcement regarding these appointments. I want to avoid any possibility of embarrassing these fine people.

Thank you for considering this request, Mr. President. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

  
Larry Pressler  
United States Senator

LP/dhg

cc: The Honorable Ed Madigan  
The Honorable James Baker  
Mr. Nick Calio  
The Honorable Robert Dole  
Ms. Sally I. Buikema

BILL GOODLING  
19TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

TOLL FREE DISTRICT NUMBER:  
800-632-1811

RANKING MINORITY:  
COMMITTEE ON  
EDUCATION AND LABOR

COMMITTEE ON  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS



Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

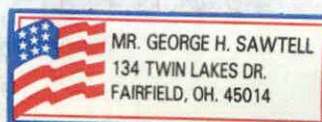
LNRN  
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DISTRICT OFFICES:  
FEDERAL BUILDING  
200 SOUTH GEORGE STREET  
YORK, PA 17405-9999  
CHAMBER BUILDING  
212 NORTH HANOVER STREET  
CARLISLE, PA 17013-2423  
140 BALTIMORE STREET  
ROOM 210  
GETTYSBURG, PA 17325-2311  
2020 YALE AVENUE  
CAMP HILL, PA 17011-5456  
44 FREDERICK STREET  
HANOVER, PA 17331-3598

Jim -  
A theme the Pres. should  
push.

Buy American !!!  
Have Barbara meet with  
the garment workers.

Bill

819726



Sept 17 '92

JAB-07A

The White House

Attention Jim Baker - Chief of Staff

Dear Mr. Baker

NRN

Your "going away" speech a few weeks ago to State Dept people really impressed me. You made a real difference in our International well being! I ~~was~~ convinced you could do the same for <sup>our</sup> domestic health.

But How? That's the question -- and time's so critical. You're the one with power to take action now on the National scene -- BILL CLINTON can only talk and make promises. YOU AND PRESIDENT BUSH CAN TAKE MEANINGFUL ACTION NOW, and he for sure is -- by Presidential edict he's making the Federal deficit worse each time he shows up and gives somebody another few billions! I ~~am~~ and a lot of other Republicans, who consider the deficit our Country's major problem -- it will weaken the U.S. more than any enemy ever could -- sort of CRINGE each time Pres. Bush makes another give-away billions speech!?

OUR PLEA -- DO SOMETHING dramatic now -- before NOV. to demonstrate that you can, and have, reduced expenditures.

FOR EXAMPLE -- BUSH's offer last week to cut executive office expenditures by 30% IF Congress would do the same -- a weak, NO GUTS pitch -- more promises -- maybe -- if -- PHOOEY

I'm sure that neither you nor the President think that cutting expenditures in a real substantial, meaningful way on the National scene is going to be easy, but we've got to start somewhere. Why don't you and the President start it now. You'll win more votes by some real gutsy action now, that Clinton can not possibly match... my suggestion

- PRESIDENT BUSH should, with your help, reduce the expenses of the Executive Branch of Gov't now - IMMEDIATELY BY SPECIFIC ACTIONS - not promises - that reduce expenditures by 30%.

- you and the whole White House should bring pressure to bear on every Republican member of Congress to do the same -- reduce their expenditures by 30% now - IMMEDIATELY BY SPECIFIC ACTIONS - not promises.

- after having done this, you can then challenge the Democratic members of Congress to do the same.

WHY NOT TRY IT

Sincerely George H Sawtell (75YR. OLD RETIRED)

COPIES TO: JAMES Baker - White House  
JOHN Glenn - Senate  
JOHN Bochner - House



Sept. 15, 1992

To Richard N. Bond  
Chairman Republican National Committee (RNC)

This letter is in response to your Sept. 11 '92 letter requesting a contribution. (Certified mail - COST OVER \$1.39!) I have never given any substantial contributions to the RNC, and in recent years on a fixed retirement income, I have had to say no to most of your requests for funds.

I have to say no again to your Sept 11 '92 request. However, my reason is more basic than the money. I just do not feel that the difference between a Republican or a Democrat in the White House depends upon a \$679,700 fund -- to launch a massive nationwide campaign to expose Bill Clinton's real agenda --.

President Bush has to convince the voters that he can solve this country's most serious problems better than Bill Clinton -- and ask the voters to give him a mandate to carry out his programs.

- I wish President had said (last week):
- that he was taking action to reduce his executive office's total expenditures by 30% IMMEDIATELY.
  - and, that he was requesting each Republican in Congress to reduce his/her expenditures by 30% IMMEDIATELY,
  - and -- that he was challenging every Democrat in Congress to reduce his/her expenditures by 30% IMMEDIATELY.

Doing that would show real "leadership" by President Bush vs saying he'd reduce his expenditures by 30% if Congress would do likewise.

Sincerely  
George H. Sawtell

9/17/92  
TO VIM BAKER - I wrote this but am not sending it - Bond can not. - you can do something - Bond can not. - GHS

G.H. SAWTELL  
134 TWIN LAKES DR.  
FAIRFIELD, OH., 45014

THE WHITE HOUSE  
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AV.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

SEP 21 1992



RETURN RECEIPT  
REQUESTED

ATTENTION

JIM BAKER  
CHIEF OF STAFF

Fold at line over top of envelope to the  
right of the return address

CERTIFIED

P 360 907 994

MAIL

3

TAXES/ECONOMY  
NRN

146 Mountainside Road  
Mendham NJ 07945-1717  
Aug. 31, 1992

Mr. James A Baker, 3d., Chief of President's Staff  
White House  
Washington, DC, 20500

P.S. Material for the campaign.

Dear Mr. Baker,

During 1982 the U.S. experienced a depression that was slightly smaller than the present one. The earlier one was caused by the failure of Reagan's reduced taxes that was suppose to provide inside supply funds to stimulate the 1981 economy, thereby decreasing the annual deficit. Instead, the wealthy recipients of these funds, used them for outside supply funds for themselves, by manufacturing trade name U.S. products overseas; and purchasing of companies that were failing because of the depression

The 1980 deficit was increased by 10 to 15 billion dollars, to cover the Social Security benefits paid. To prevent this from continuing, the Social Security taxes were increased by 170 billion, and the benefits decreased three years latter. During 1989, it was first publicized that surplus Social Security funds were used to buy treasurer securities to decrease the annual deficits. It is probable that they were also using these funds, between 1983 and 1988, for the same purpose, considering the amount of Social Security funds that were being collected. It is plausible then that the following economy improvement was due to these virtual taxes.

The 1992 anticipated deficit, quoting Bush & assuming zero non-budget expenses, is about 400 billion. Bush's plan for decreasing the taxes of the wealthy in 1993 will increase this deficit still more. This seems to be a repeat of Reagan's tax decrease in 1982. which was ineffective in improving his economy. Bush intends to cancel sufficient federal projects to compensate for this loss, This will increase more jobs loss, and the deficit.

It is apparent then, that another sources of taxable funds are required to improve the present economy. Since the middle class S.S. taxes cannot be increased again, per Reagan, the only method to obtain funds is to remove the wealthy's Social Security entitlements that are not necessary for their well-being, since they own 57 % of the wealth of the nation. If this is not sufficient, then the large amounts of disposal funds provided for the working wealthy, by Congress's approved loop holes, should be further taxed. Similar taxes will be applied, if Clinton is elected.

It seems reasonable then that they should pay more taxes, to deter the ever increasing of the unemployed, and the increasing annual deficit. After all they have more wealth to lose than the majority of the citizens, from an anticipated increasing deficit, more so, if Bush is re-elected. The present rate of job losses per month, suggests the loss of 2.5 million more jobs by the inauguration date of the new President in 1993, courtesy of Bush.

*Will Hewitt*  
Will Hewitt  
201-543-4944

Deficit2

146 Mountainside Road  
Mendham, NJ 07945-1717  
Sept. 22, 1992

Mr. James A Baker, 3d., Chief of President's Staff  
White House  
Washington, DC, 20500

P.S. Material for the campaign.

Dear Mr. Baker,

All Americans want to know how to improve the economy. The poor economy is the result of Bush's good fellow free trade with Europe. Instead, only equal trade will be able to support a satisfactory world economy! To prove this point, it is obvious that the unbalanced trade balance between the U.S. and the other producing countries in Europe & Asia has gradually prevented the American public from buying as many foreign products as they desire. This is caused by the continually increasing unemployment in the U.S., that also accentuates their poor economy, as well.

If Bush is reelected, it is certain that the downward trend of the U.S. economy will continue, because of his desire to increase free trade with the rest of the world. It is more probable that Democrat Clinton will be able to compromise with a Democratic Congress, more so than Republican Bush.

Unless these overseas countries let up on the U.S. by not taking advantage of free trade, as in the past, the downward trend of the U.S. economy will continue. To improve the U.S. economy, it is necessary that they purchase enough U.S. products to maintain a balanced trade. Since this is very improbable, the only recourse is to force them to comply, by placing a luxury tax on all trade above an equal trade, with all foreign countries, including Mexico. Since this tax will not apply to all imports from a particular country, it is not a tariff!

This tax will be applied mainly to encourage them to buy American, thereby avoiding it, and at the same time improve the U.S. economy. This will accomplish *what the President anticipates MAY occur from the Mexican treaty*. If the President is elected, and accepts fair trade, we will cry more about the future economy, than we already are.

*Will Hewitt*

Will Hewitt  
201-543-4944

Economy

146 Mountainside Road  
Mendham, NJ 07945-1717  
Sept. 15, 1992

Mr. James A Baker, 3d., Chief of President' Staff  
White House  
Washington, DC, 20500

P.S. Material for the campaign.

Dear Mr. Baker,

The President and Congress should provide the structural materials necessary to provide a small private economical rainproof home for the citizens of Homestead, Florida, to temporarily replace their homes that were destroyed by Hurricane Andrew. It is proposed that their size should be limited to 24' by 24' 7", so that the component parts are readily available. The sides would be made with connectable modular wall units, with 2"x4" studs on 16" centers, and 4'x8', 3/4" painted exterior panel like outside plywood. Some of them would contain a door or a window. Initially, these modules would not have insulation or inside walls.

These modules would be attached to old concrete slabs, or new footings, with embedded 1/2 ft. long, 1/2" diameter bolts. The two sides 24 feet apart would be tied together with 2"x6'" ceiling beams; and inclined 16' roof beams, on 16" centers, supported by a center 2'x8' center beam. Double headed nails would hold the 4'x8', 3/4" plywood to the roof beams, to simplify taking them apart.

Flashing cement would be used in the roof crest, where the plywood was not continuous, and then a tarring roof coating would be applied to the plywood. Since these units would presumably be temporary, it is anticipated that they will not have to meet strict building codes. Additional niceties, like electricity, air conditioners, cooking stoves, and room partitions etc. will be added, when funds are available & the homes pass the codes, while waiting for the complete replacing structure. There are additional metal details that will be necessary for tying the component parts together for them to withstand hurricanes.

Those individuals without insurance could work together, if military or government paid carpenters are not available. The elderly would require help, in any case. After the insured individual's new homes are completed, these temporary ones could be used as garages , or taken apart & stored for use when future new angry weather occurs, or as temporary class rooms, and by migrant workers!

Homestead

*Will Hewitt*

Will Hewitt  
201-543-4944

146 Mountainside Road  
Mendham, NJ 07945-1717  
March 3, 1992

Mr. James A Baker, 3d., Chief of President's Staff  
White House  
Washington, DC, 20500

P.S. Material for the campaign.

Dear Mr. Baker,

*The continued desire of Reagan and Bush to limit the FED discount rate has gradually increased the buying power of the total debt, Consequently, the cost of the essentials for living, and the maintenance of the country became greater. Therefore, the annual deficit followed suit, continually becoming larger, and in turn, reducing the sales of most manufactured products. This led to the decrease of the personnel required for these companies, thereby increasing the annual increase of the unemployed appreciably.*

The only way to compensate for this problem is to increase cash flow through out the country, There are a number of steps that could be taken:

Transfer a majority of the military in Europe back home for fighting the Drug War, and disposal of toxic wastes. Some of them should also be transferred to the Army Engineering Corps. for repairing roads & bridges. They could also be used to prevent the influx of 3,000 immigrants *daily from Mexico*. Finally, their presence in the U.S. would increase cash flow in the U.S. to stimulate the economy & decrease our trade balances.

Apply a surcharge on the excess of trade with all countries above any balance in their favor and/or require a LUXURY tax to be added to the cost of any foreign car purchased in the U.S. This tax could be either a national one and/or the doubling of the customary state sales tax. *Excess imports indicates loss of U.S. jobs. Therefore the need for a LUXURY tax.*

Request all companies located in the U.S. considering restructuring their company to improve their efficiency, to decrease the length of their work day, to thereby distribute the effect of the depression more evenly between all of their workers, rather than completely destroying the pursuit of happiness of a small percentage of their employees.

Modify the unemployment law to permit the recipients of the weekly payments, to only lose one half of any salaries earned weekly. This would permit them to take a number of part time jobs. Similarly, the same provision could be applied to welfare families having men living at home. This modification would decrease their need for taking illegal jobs, and in the long run, reduce the expenditures of these funds, per family.

Use some of the recent social security surplus funds for loans for the involuntary retired unemployed to cover their mortgage payments, and health insurance premiums, at the same interest rate being paid by the 1991 purchase of U.S. securities with 60 billion dollars of social securities surplus funds. After all the unemployed have contributed to these social security funds. *It is anticipated that they will pay back these loans to social security long before the government does, unless the U.S. government improves the economy by using the enclosed proposals.*

Increase income taxes on the wealthy to provide a comparable amount to the social security surplus funds presently being used like a non-budget tax to cover non-budget deficits! This proposal was based on the fact that the 50 million middle class American citizens, and the wealthy 12 million are paying approximately the same amount of income taxes.

Larger taxes should also be paid by the elite and U.S. companies not presently paying any income taxes. There are also a number of trademark companies with overseas separately incorporated factories, who charge their home-based headquarters the U.S. selling price to avoid taxable profits!

Take advantage of the low discount interest rate by redeeming the high interest debt securities, and replacing them with low interest ones.

*Unless these steps are taken, unemployment will continue to rise, and in turn, Bush may be skidoed by his 23 vetoes; and his interest in foreign affairs, similarly to Churchill's behavior prior to the end of WW2. Several months ago John J. Farmer published an article about these similarities.*

*Will Hewitt*

Will Hewitt  
201-543-4944

NRN

92 SEP 28 A10:28

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MR JAMES A BAKER III  
THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. (20500)

SUGGEST YOU USE PICTURE. POSTER OF CLINTON  
FOR TV -BEARD LONG HAIR SWEAT SHIRT  
LABEL CLINTON AT OXFORD- THAT'S ALL.  
WE CANT LET A RETREAD HIPPIE CLOBBER US.  
GOOD LUCK TO PRESIDENT -REGARDS TO WEIMANS  
MARGARET VIRKKUNEN  
HELSINKI

9/28 - letter to JAS  
sent to B-Q '92  
for #65  
response



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1992

Arthur Zaks, M. D.  
45 Mayflower Drive  
Tenafly, New Jersey 07670

Dear Dr. Zaks:

Thank you for your letter of September 17 and  
your kind words.

I've passed your letter to Secretary Baker, who  
I'm sure will see to it that your suggestions are  
given careful consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill", followed by a horizontal line.

William Kristol  
Chief of Staff

cc: Jim BAKER

ARTHUR ZAKS, M. D.  
45 MAYFLOWER DRIVE  
TENAFLY, NEW JERSEY 07670  
—  
(201) 569-7925

September 17, 1992

William Crystal  
Chief of Staff  
Office of the Vice President  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Crystal:

I saw you on television and was impressed with your astuteness. I consider myself a maiven on certain political and economic matters and therefore wrote the enclosed letter to Mr. Baker.

I am concerned that any unsolicited letter, however worthy, will not be read by Mr. Baker. Would you take the trouble to read it, and if it has any merit, forward it to Mr. Baker's attention?

Thank you for your time. I remain,

Very truly yours,



Arthur Zaks, M.D.

ARTHUR ZAKS, M. D.  
45 MAYFLOWER DRIVE  
TENAFLY, NEW JERSEY 07670  
—  
(201) 569-7925

September 17, 1992

James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Baker:

I imagine you must receive a multitude of letters giving you advice about the campaign. I hope this letter will percolate upward through your staff and that you will have a chance to read it.

You do not know who I am, but I have an uncanny ability for understanding political dynamics. As of the writing of this letter, the President has not expressed the ideas that will enable him to win the election. I have taken the liberty of delineating some of the points he must make to overtake Clinton.

1. The President must point out that it is not important if Clinton raised taxes 128 times or 108 times. The issue is what is Clinton's attitude toward raising taxes.

2. To carry New Jersey, the President must point out on his next visit that Gov. Florio and Gov. Clinton are quite similar. Both have never worked in the private sector. Florio instituted an enormous tax increase after victory to pay off his political I.O.U.s. Clinton will do the same for the entire country. Florio destroyed the New Jersey economy. Clinton will do the same for the country. This is all the President has to do to carry New Jersey. Florio is universally hated in New Jersey.

3. Marlin Fitzwater must not clarify what the President said. It makes the President look confused and ambivalent, and most of all it makes the Republicans look defensive.

James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
Page two

4. The President must remind the people that the maximum tax rate was increased to 31% to reduce the deficit. No such result occurred. The economy was slowed and deficits increased. The same will occur when Clinton plays with the tax rates.

5. Mr. Bush must remind the country that all schemes to "tax the rich" end up with a big tax increase on the middle class. Programs once put in motion consume much more than anticipated and the necessary revenue cannot be raised from the rich - there isn't enough money there.

6. The President has not gotten proper mileage out of the House banking scandal. Its true meaning has never been explained to the American people. Everyone is constrained by his income. The House overcame this basic tenant of life by writing checks for more than they had - without consequence. They had arrogantly abused government power to overcome constraint that all people live with.

7. The House has not passed measures to help the American economy, because they want the country to suffer. It is the Democrats only chance of winning the presidency.

8. The President must point out that this is the usual campaign of conservatism v. liberalism. This time there is a slick attempt by the Democrats to disguise their philosophy.

9. He must point out that Democrats do not understand the word "family values." It is the internalizing of those values that make civilization work. It is not giving condoms to children or the establishment of another federal bureaucracy.

10. The Democrats address the racial problem with anger and multi-culturalism. This will Balkanize the country and leave Afro-Americans unprepared for competition in the job market. The Democratic approach is symbolized by Jesse Jackson and Al Sharpton (this latter name must be mentioned when the President is in New York). The Republican philosophy is exemplified by Clarence Thomas and Colin Powell.

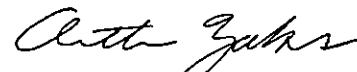
James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
Page three

11. The Democrats would destroy the integrity of the Supreme Court by the imposition of a litmus test on one issue. The Republicans chose conservative justices who expressed various views as indicated by the Pennsylvania case. No one can predict the issues the court will face over the next 20 years. We must not sacrifice the integrity of the court over any one immediate issue.

This is a sampling of ideas, I hope it is helpful. There is no need for a substantive response, but it would be nice to know if this letter reached you.

I remain,

Very truly yours,



Arthur Zaks, M.D.

P.S. In New York State, all the president has to do is explain that Clinton will do for the country what Cuomo has done for the state - high taxes, economic decline, pandering to criminals, condoms in schools and racial strife.

Mr Richard Jordan  
235 Adams St 14F ~~Med. Salomon~~  
Brooklyn NY  
11201-2819



James Baker  
Chief of Staff  
Bush Quayle Campaign Director  
White House  
1600 PENNSYLVANIA Ave NW  
Washington DC

057 092392

Mr Richard Jordan  
235 Adams St 14F ~~Madison~~ Solomon  
Brooklyn NY  
11201-2819

NRN

9-19-92

DEAR MR BAKER,

Hate is not a Family  
Value. The Republican party  
should do more to protect GAY  
AND Lesbian CIVIL rights.

Richard Jordan



NRN

# ~~COMMITTEE TO ELECT CARL L. KLEIN~~ REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS - 3RD DISTRICT

1990

9600 South Major Avenue  
Oak Lawn, Illinois 60453  
(708) 423-8700

September 22, 1992

CHAIRMAN  
Jeff Layhe  
Worth Township Committeeman

POLITICAL ADVISER  
Harold Rainville  
Former Executive Assistant  
To U.S. Senator  
Everett McKinley Dirksen

ECONOMIC ADVISER  
Arthur Laffer, Ph.D.  
Professor of Economics

ENVIRONMENTAL ADVISER  
Hon. Walter Hickel  
Former Secretary of Interior

COMMITTEEMEN  
13 - Edmund F. Kucharski  
14 - Michael Bradley  
15 - Tom McAvoy  
18 - James E. Dvorak  
19 - James J. Tierney  
23 - Michael Caccitolo  
Bremen - Chester Stranczek  
Calumet - Columbus (Chris) Disabato  
Stickney - Robert M. Graf  
Thornton - J. Michael Peck  
Worth - Jeff Layhe

MEMBERS  
Charles J. Meloun  
Anton J. Bejcek  
Mildred Rada  
Doris Wallace  
Karl V. Landgrebe  
Anthony A. Jara  
Richard Lloyd  
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Edmund J Kucharski  
Ruth Whetham  
William Korn  
William Keener  
Walter K. Kiltz  
James Hartley  
Karen E. Smith  
Carl L. Klein Jr.  
George Galligani  
Terence Ciechna  
William A. McCann  
Lee Roy T. Erickson  
Kathleen Spencer  
Chrissie Lange  
John Pauly

Honorable James A. Baker III  
Chief of Staff and Senior Counselor  
to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Baker:

The undersigned has received your letter of September 14, 1992 and thanks you for same. I have ordered a copy of the Agenda.

I do not believe, based on my own knowledge and experience and that of my fellow Republicans, citizens and voters, that any agenda or plan will result in a Bush (Republican) victory. Only action taken now, in the same decisive manner as Desert Storm was taken in the military action, on the economic front will help.

There must be a tax cut bill now - there must be a distinctive cut in the bureaucracies now. A promise of future tax cuts and future reduction is not flying and will not fly. The electorate reply is: Why was this not done earlier?

And please put the capital gains tax matter to rest. I agree that it is needed, but the public looks at it as a rich man's play.

Lastly, I agree with my friends in Washington, including members of your cabinet, that Vice President Quayle is an intelligent, knowledgeable man, but the



**~~COMMITTEE TO ELECT~~ CARL L. KLEIN  
 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS - 3RD DISTRICT**

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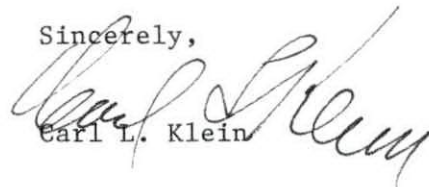
Honorable James A. Baker III  
 September 22, 1992

Page 2

media has destroyed his image. I see no way in which that image can be restored to the general voting public.

Let us move quickly, solidly and substantially now or we will have a second Jimmy Carter in the White House.

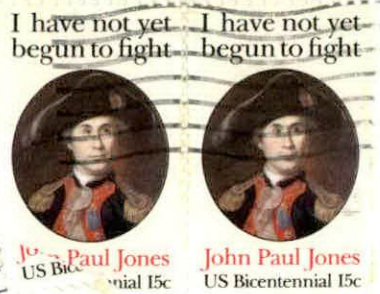
Sincerely,



Carl L. Klein

CLK/ms

Law Office Of  
Carl L. Klein, Ltd.  
9600 S. Major Avenue  
Oak Lawn, Illinois 60453



Hon James A Baker III  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, DC

212) 570-6528

JEREMIAH MILBANK  
60 EAST 42ND STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10165

212  
682-6710-101

Claudia  
Green

9/23 - bmm call -  
no answer

9/29 - bmm called  
no answer

9/29 - left word for C Green

September 14, 1992

9/29 → called → spoke  
to Claudia Green in  
Mrs. Milbank's ofc →  
thanked for letter  
NRN.

Honorable James A. Baker, III  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Jim:

The results that you and your new team brought into the campaign last week were truly remarkable and exhilarating to some of us old-time Republicans. I congratulate you for your effort which I hope will be sustained and developed by the President over the next four years.

I would like to suggest one thought which may well not be the first time it has been suggested but I still think it is a good one. Since the President is the effective leader of the free world including that part which was previously behind the Iron Curtain, there is no question that today we are living in one world, a fact which the Democratic Party leadership fails to recognize. I think all of us can remember that the world-wide depression in the 30's originated with the collapse of world trade and higher taxes first in Europe but also in the U. S., again facts that the Democrats fail to remember.

If the President, following the French plebiscite on September 20th on the EEC, whichever way it may turn out, were to propose that he will invite world leaders to create with him a permanent ongoing world economic council for developing economic growth, trade relations, new enterprise and job development, recognizing that the economic health of the world is important to the economic growth of the U. S. and vice versa, I think this would demonstrate his leadership in a fundamental way that could not possibly be duplicated by a Clinton-led administration, and would create a tremendous public relations gain for him at this crucial time.

Jim, I do wish you great success. If we can win this time, it will be one of the most exciting and dramatic turnarounds in American political history, and for the greater good of us and the entire world.

With great respect.

Sincerely,

Jimmy

JM:cg



THE BROCK GROUP, LTD.

9/29 - CJ called Sharon in  
his office -  
- appreciated  
per JAS,  
passing to  
Janet Mullins -fyi  
since he's  
already sent  
to Fekete.  
WILLIAM E. BROCK  
JAMES W. FRIERSON  
RICHARD L. MCELHENY  
OTTO J. REICH  
DENNIS E. WHITFIELD  
PAUL J. FEKETE  
STEPHEN R. HOLMES  
JOHNATHAN S. MILLER  
International Trade and Investment Strategies

September 25, 1992

The Honorable James Baker  
Chief of Staff and Senior Counselor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Jim,

I have appended some results from a study just completed by the Congressional Campaign Committee. All of it is fascinating, but I ask your special attention to the highlighted questions and responses. These results are important, not only to our candidates for the Congress, but to the President as well.

In 1980, we tested institutional spots which urged voters to "Vote Republican...for a Change." Our initial test was run on local television in Congressman Lud Ashley's district over a two week period with two hundred and eighty gross rating points. At the outset, he was favored for re-election by a sixty-four margin. After two weeks, with a relatively modest program, the numbers were reversed to forty-sixty. There are many people who believe those institutional ads, which we pursued on a national basis subsequently, were a significant factor in the election not simply of a Republican Senate for the first time in twenty-six years, but of thirty-two additional house members, several hundred state legislators, and even the President.

The numbers in the attached poll indicate a greater willingness to receive this message today than we had in 1980. Of more importance to you, people are receptive to the message that our problems stem substantially more from an out-of-control Democratically run Congress than from the White House. Despite some pretty good shots during the convention, we have yet to establish this as a coherent, consistent, central theme of our national effort.

America is going to vote for change this year. The only remaining question is how they define change. If they define it as applying solely to the White House, we are in desperate trouble, and so is America. If America is off on the wrong track now, electing Clinton to join with this Congress will only accelerate the speed, not change the direction. That is the message this nation very much needs to understand and heed.

Bob Michel has asked me to put together an institutional ad campaign that would develop this issue for congressional and legislative seats, and we must raise some money to do so. I think it is irrational for us to contemplate such a program unless it is done in close consultation and cooperation with you. Further, if you were sending a similar message, we would have a thematic approach in which each segment of our party would be operating in mutually complementary fashion with the rest. Put more directly, if a portion of this effort were incorporated in Victory '92, a new synergy might advantage all candidates, especially the President.

I am sensitive to the problems you face, and understand the magnitude of your task. I do not want to add to the burden, but perhaps we can talk about this as a somewhat different approach. If you would like to explore the matter, let me know. I would welcome the opportunity to help if I can.

Very truly yours,



William E. Brock

WEB/jal

cc: Robert Teeter

Enclosure



NRCC NATIONAL SURVEY  
FIELD DATES: 10 - 13 SEPT 1992  
\*\* WEIGHTED DATA \*\*

4. Thinking specifically about *your own Congressman*? ... Do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the job your own Congressman is doing in solving the problems facing this country as well as your area?

[WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:]

Would that be *strongly* (APPROVE / DISAPPROVE) or only *somewhat* (APPROVE / DISAPPROVE) ?

STRONGLY APPROVE	17%
SOMEWHAT APPROVE	32
SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	18
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	17
DONT KNOW	16

---

5. And has *your own Congressman* performed his or her job well enough to deserve re-election ... or do you think it is time to give some one new a chance?

RE-ELECT [GO TO Q. 6 ]	37%
SOME ONE NEW [ASK Q. 5A ]	50
DONT KNOW [ASK Q. 5A ]	14

[ASK ONLY IF "SOME ONE NEW" or "DONT KNOW" in Q. 5 ]

- 5A. Would you still favor a New Person for Congress if you learned he or she would re-elect the same team of leaders who have been running Congress the past few years?

	STILL FAVOR	23%
	NOT FAVOR NEW PERSON	59
[DO NOT READ]	DEPENDS ON CANDIDATES	4
	DONT KNOW	14

---

6. And thinking about the 1992 elections for U.S. Congress ... if the election were held today and you had to decide, would you vote for [ROTATE:] THE REPUBLICAN candidate ... or ... the DEMOCRAT Candidate ... from your district?

[IF UNDECIDED, ASK:]

Which candidate do you lean toward?	REPUBLICAN	36%
	LEAN REPUBLICAN	4
	UNDECIDED	15
	LEAN DEMOCRAT	3
	DEMOCRAT	43

29. Who do you think is more responsible for what is NOT getting done in Washington: [ROTATE:] PRESIDENT BUSH ... or ... THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS ?

	PRESIDENT BUSH[GO TO Q. 31]	31%
	DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS	43
	[ASK Q. 30]	
[DO NOT READ]	BOTH EQUALLY [ASK Q. 30]	18
	NEITHER [GO TO Q. 31]	1
	DONT KNOW [GO TO Q. 31]	6

[BASE = 503]

[ASK ONLY IF "DEMS" OR "BOTH" IN Q. 29]

30. And which of the following would you say is the main reason the Democrats in Congress can not get anything done?
- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| A) | THE DEMOCRATS ARE INDEBTED TO THE SPECIAL INTERESTS IN WASHINGTON D.C.                      | 20% |
| B) | THE DEMOCRATS ARE TOO BUSY PLAYING POLITICS   | 27  |
| C) | THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS ARE TOO LIBERAL AND OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE REAL NEEDS OF MOST AMERICANS | 28  |
|    | [DO NOT READ]   |     |
| D) | REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT  | *   |
| E) | ALL OF THE ABOVE  | 16  |
| F) | NONE  | 4   |
| G) | DONT KNOW   | 4   |

31. In general, do you APPROVE or DISAPPROVE of the job Congress is doing, in solving the problems facing this country?

[WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:]

Would that be *strongly* (APPROVE / DISAPPROVE) or only *somewhat* (APPROVE / DISAPPROVE) ?

[GO TO Q. 33 ]	STRONGLY APPROVE	2%
	SOMEWHAT APPROVE	15
[ASK Q. 32A/B]	SOMEWHAT DISAPPROVE	24
	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	53
	DONT KNOW	5

[ASK ONLY IF "DISAPPROVE OF CONGRESS" or "DONT KNOW" in Q 31]

[SPLIT SAMPLE Q 32A/B ]

32A. And who do you think is more responsible for the way Congress works [ROTATE:]  
THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS ... or ... THE REPUBLICANS IN  
CONGRESS ?

[BASE = 336]	DEMS IN CONGRESS	54%
	GOP IN CONGRESS	17
[DO NOT READ]	BOTH EQUALLY	16
	NEITHER	3
	GOP PRESIDENT	--
	DONT KNOW	11

+++++

[BASE = 332]

32B. And who do you believe is mostly responsible for the poor performance of  
Congress?

[ROTATE:]

A)	THE DEMOCRAT MAJORITY	24%
B)	THE CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEES	6
C)	THE REPUBLICAN MINORITY	6
D)	THE LEADERS IN CONGRESS -- LIKE THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE AND MAJORITY LEADER	28

[DO NOT READ]

E)	INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS	1
F)	ALL CONGRESS	15
G)	PRESIDENT	1
G)	DONT KNOW	20

How important is it to you personally that we \_\_\_\_\_ ? Would you say ...VERY IMPORTANT ... SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT ... NOT VERY IMPORTANT ...or NOT AT ALL IMORTANT?

[SPLIT SAMPLE Q. 33A/B/C]

33A. Change the way things work in Congress?

[BASE = 277]

VERY IMPORTANT	72%
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	21
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	5
NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	2
DONT KNOW	*

33B. Change the leaders who run the Congress?

VERY IMPORTANT	62%
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	26
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	5
NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	4
DONT KNOW	3

33C. Elect more regular citizens to Congress instead of professional politicians?

VERY IMPORTANT	52%
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	33
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	9
NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	3
DONT KNOW	4

34. Can you tell me which party -- REPUBLICANS or DEMOCRATS -- controls the House of Representatives in Washington?

DEMOCRATS	63%
REPUBLICANS	14
OTHER	1
DONT KNOW	22

---

[ASK ONLY IF "DEMOCRAT" or "DONT KNOW" IN Q. 34]

As you may know, the Democrats control the House of Representatives with 268 seats, and the Republicans have 166 seats. With that 100 seat majority, the Democrats have passed some laws and programs while defeating others.

I'm going to read you several actions taken recently by the Democrats in Congress. For each, please tell me if that would make you *more likely* to vote for a DEMOCRAT or REPUBLICAN in the elections for Congress this fall.

[WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:]

Would that be MUCH more likely or only SOMEWHAT more likely ?

[SPLIT SAMPLE Qs 41, 42, 43- & 44, 45, 46 ]

41. The Democrats defeated the **Balanced Budget Amendment** to the Constitution that would prevent Congress from spending more than they take in.

[BASE = 342]

MUCH MORE GOP	40%
SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	14
SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	13
MUCH MORE DEM	17
NO DIFFERENCE	10
DONT KNOW	5

42. The Democrats defeated several new laws that would close loopholes that allow frivolous criminal appeals and would apply the Death Penalty to drug kingpins and more violent criminals.

[DO NOT READ]

MUCH MORE GOP	35%
SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	16
SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	17
MUCH MORE DEM	17
NO DIFFERENCE	10
DONT KNOW	5

43. Since the Democrats have controlled Congress, **federal taxes and spending** have skyrocketed.

[DO NOT READ]

MUCH MORE GOP	48%
SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	16
SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	8
MUCH MORE DEM	8
NO DIFFERENCE	13
DONT KNOW	6

[BASE = 344]

44. The Democrats opposed President Bush's economic program and failed to pass their own economic proposal.

[DO NOT READ]	MUCH MORE GOP	26%
	SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	24
	SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	16
	MUCH MORE DEM	15
	NO DIFFERENCE	10
	DONT KNOW	8

45. The Democrats defeated a proposal to use unspent taxes from specific programs to pay off the deficit. Instead, the Democrats used the unspent taxes to fund other projects.

[DO NOT READ]	MUCH MORE GOP	33%
	SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	21
	SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	13
	MUCH MORE DEM	15
	NO DIFFERENCE	12
	DONT KNOW	8

46. Congress currently exempts itself from some tough laws -- like anti-discrimination laws. The Democrats in Congress defeated a proposal to apply all the laws that Congress passes to Members of Congress themselves.

[DO NOT READ]	MUCH MORE GOP	37%
	SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	20
	SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	11
	MUCH MORE DEM	13
	NO DIFFERENCE	12
	DONT KNOW	7

Now I'm going to read you one more statement about the Congress under a Democrat majority. For each, please tell me if knowing that information would make you more likely to vote for a DEMOCRAT or REPUBLICAN in the upcoming election for Congress.

[WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:]

Would that be MUCH more likely or only SOMEWHAT more likely ?

[SPLIT SAMPLE: 47A/B/C; BASE=269 EACH]

47A. The Democrats have controlled Congress for 38 straight years.

[BASE = 267]	MUCH MORE GOP	34%
	SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	13
	SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	15
	MUCH MORE DEM	18
	NO DIFFERENCE	18
	DONT KNOW	2

47B. The Democrats been in charge of the House Bank where Congressmen bounced checks ... and the House Post Office where staff people they hired have been selling cocaine and stealing stamps and cash.

[BASE = 268]	MUCH MORE GOP	44%
	SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	12
	SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	5
	MUCH MORE DEM	8
	NO DIFFERENCE	22
	DONT KNOW	8

47C. The Democrats control every committee in Congress.

[BASE = 265]	MUCH MORE GOP	36%
	SOMEWHAT MORE GOP	15
	SOMEWHAT MORE DEM	14
	MUCH MORE DEM	15
	NO DIFFERENCE	12
	DONT KNOW	6

Now I'm going to read you several statements. For each, please tell me if you AGREE or DISAGREE?

[WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN ASK:]

Would that be *strongly* (AGREE / DISAGREE) or only *somewhat* (AGREE / DISAGREE)?

[SPLIT SAMPLE Qs 48A/B ]

48A. Thirty-eight years of one party controlling Congress is too long ... regardless of which party is in charge.

[BASE = 400]	STRONGLY AGREE	51%
	SOMEWHAT AGREE	16
	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	11
	STRONGLY DISAGREE	17
	DONT KNOW	6

48B. If the Democrats in control of Congress can not even manage their *own house bank*, then they can not be trusted to balance the federal budget or build a stronger economy.

[BASE = 400]	STRONGLY AGREE	40%
	SOMEWHAT AGREE	19
	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	18
	STRONGLY DISAGREE	16
	DONT KNOW	6

---

58. Suppose the election for U.S. Congress were held today and you had to decide. Which of the following statements best describes your feelings about voting in that election?

[ROTATE:]

- |               |  |     |
|---------------|--|-----|
| A)            | You will definitely vote for your current Congressman.   | 15% |
| B)            | You will give your current Congressman the benefit of the doubt before deciding who to vote for.           | 18  |
| C)            | You will give the challenger to your Congressman the benefit of the doubt before deciding who to vote for. | 21  |
| D)            | If the challenger to your Congressman is credible, you will definitely vote for him or her.                | 37  |
| [DO NOT READ] |  |     |
| E)            | DONT KNOW  | 10  |
- 

59. Now, thinking specifically about the candidate who is challenging your current Congressman ... from what you know about that person so far would you say that person is ...

- |               |                     |     |
|---------------|---------------------|-----|
|               | VERY CREDIBLE       | 12% |
|               | SOMEWHAT CREDIBLE   | 46  |
|               | NOT VERY CREDIBLE   | 5   |
|               | NOT AT ALL CREDIBLE | 3   |
| [DO NOT READ] | DONT KNOW           | 34  |
-

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 26, 1991

Dear Maurice:

Just a quick note to say that it was great to see you on the 20th and that I saw your letter with the copy of Dad's note. As always, I appreciate your thoughtfulness and your steadfast support.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "George Bush". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "G" and "B".

Mr. Maurice R. Gersten  
234 Pearl Street  
Hartford, Connecticut 06103-2182

NRN

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

To: James Barker III  
Time: 14:34:43  
Pages (including cover): 3

From: Hunter L. Jordan  
Date: 9/25/92

To Mr. James Baker the III the White house chief of staff  
From Ernest English Jr. and Ernest E English JR. Enterprise.

Ernest E. English, J.R.  
1 201\_342-7230

September 25, 1992

To James Barker the III, White House chief of staff.

I have a corporation in New Jersey dealing with transportation, I am a black Millionaire.

I made my money during the Reagan and Bush years.

Mr. Bush I have a Great Ideal for your campaign that will make you a winner.

Mr. Barker I like to meet with you and Mr. Bush this weekend or Monday.

The President, needs an ace card this time around, and the ace card are Jobs, .

Ernest E. English, J.R., Enterprises will provide them to the White House and to the people of

our nation. the 3, different companies that we are talking about.

I will just mention the set up of the companies so you can understand, then when,

we meet you will be put to the full picture. the first company is called Ernest English, Kitchen International.

It will need 300,000 deliver people nation wide beginning Oct 7 1992 this company will deliver cook meals,

to your home, the only thing you have to do is phone in your order.

The phone contract will be awarded to 7, different companies.

Meaning the people who will answer the phones.

We will use T.V. and radio newspaper ads to get the word out about our products.

Here are the companies that will be contracting from our company.

on this project 1. Dobbs House. 2. Sky chief. 3. Caterair International. 7. other supporting companies.

Ernest English Jr. Trucking corp. there are 3,500, brookers that are looking for truck, drivers that have their own trucks. the truck brookers handle the large companies shipping in our nation. The brookers need 7 Million drivers nation wide the brookers will handle drivers on a daily bases. Transpersonle which is own by Manpower Inc has 700 offices nation wide and they will get the drivers for our company. Our company will lease the trucks these are the companies that will handle the trucks. Hertz, penske, Ryder system. Amtralease, these companies will by trucks from manufactures and lease them, to our company these companies will fuel our trucks and maintain them nation wide.

This will make the stock market raise, and all of the meeting can be held at the White house, to show the nation Mr Bush is on his mark, on domestic policy.

The Aqua shuttle is a great system that I working with for the last 7 years.

It is a mass transportation system that takes you any where in the world this . The aqua shuttle is a, domestic/ international system which runs at 7,000 miles per hour 3,000 world cities .

we will take 7 years to built it at the max this will create jobs for all who want to

40. million jobs now the major will be given to each major city to be filled.

If you will meet with me I will tell you more about the Aqua shuttle on the materials it, is made out of. with my company we will need funding from any one bank or government.

with my company on the boardwalk of Atlantic city N.J. which is worth about 500 million, price waterhouse has said this to me on K st in Was. D.C.

But there is a major problem with the power brookers in south jersey the Perskie family and the Gornley family have made a deal with my Ex partner W. Stuart McGinnis of, Pleastville N.J. 176 Doughty Road were he keeps my cars that run on the boardwalk

he has taken the from and the court system will help me because the two families that I mention have will, there power against me. even the Ex gov of the state Tom Kane will do any thing that will hurt the to families in south jersey .the State used a man who is connected to the tom Kane via lawery called, David Parker of N.J. the two families that

I have mention have Judge Greenberg superior court of New Jersey county of Atlantic, criminal court house 5909 main street mays landing N.J. 08330 609 625/7000

The judge is in the pocket of the families that I have mention in this letter, and the, and the Attorney general David Broody 25 market st. cn085 Trenton N.J. 08625 and the lieing public defender office, is controlled this families I have mention his name is John W. Bjorklund asst. Deputy public defender 201, south main street cape, may court House N.J. this men have keep putting the bench warrant on

me this is the second time this has happen to me in this case and mr Broody is saying that I have contated his office and that I will agree to do 7 years in the State prison , this is a lie I Ernest E English , Jr. did not call any one on this case.

I pray that Jesus will bless this letter let you see that I am telling the ture story and have the F B I check out the main witness in this story Mr Semore Altar of A C. and the same lawery David Parker and the city has this ban on my bussines with a president Excutive order I will be . in bussins this weekend thse must includ my cars . W. Stuart McGinnis has taken 1 million dollars, from me back and the court is so controlled nothing as happen so I want my cars back .

I can tell lots more once we meet GOD BLESS E> E> E>