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Departmental Calendar of Events: [David Bates January 25, 1989 Memo on Issues Packet containing
Transition Office Contacts (TOC) for various cabinet agencies] [2]

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CURRENT POLICY ISSUES

1. Overview:

The following issues have been identified by the senior HUD staff as currently most critical to the Department. Each major HUD division has also compiled its own indepth briefing book which is available from the Transition Office Contact Team. The appendices to this book contain profiles of the major offices summarized from the briefing books provided by the individual office.

2. Enterprise Zones

The majority of states have established enterprise zones. They are an outgrowth of federal legislation proposed several times in the early 1980's, but never passed, to establish 75 enterprise zones.

The zones were to have two incentives. First, a waiver of those federal regulations that are burdensome to business but not considered injurious to the public interest; and second, exemption from the capital gains tax along with special investment tax credits.

Legislation proposing tax relief would have been counterproductive to the administration's effort to achieve tax reform and, as a result, the enabling legislation, the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987 as amended by the McKinney Homeless Assistance Amendments Act of 1988, has no federal tax relief.

The bill authorizes the Secretary of HUD to designate selected areas, nominated jointly by States and localities, as Federal Enterprise Zones. Up to 100 zones may be designated, one-third of which must be in rural areas. To be eligible for Federal Enterprise Zone designation, a nominated area must be located in a UDAG-eligible jurisdiction and be of pervasive poverty, unemployment and general distress under criteria contained in the Act.

Applications from State and local governments must be accompanied by commitments to courses of action to reduce the various burdens borne by employers and/or employees in the area. The courses of action are intended to show actions to encourage enterprise, reduce government burdens in the zone, and involve local residents and groups. Included among the courses of action are, for example, reductions in tax rates, improvements or increases in public services, reducing government paperwork, involvement of public and private agencies in providing jobs and job training, giving preference to contracting minority businesses, and providing land through gift or below fair market sale.

When an area is designated as a Federal Enterprise Zone, the Secretary of HUD is authorized to waive or modify HUD regulations pertaining to any HUD program at the request of the State and local governments.

The final rule under the program was issued on December 2, 1988. The joint State-local government applications must be submitted by January 17, 1989. Review of the applications and their ranking according to statutory criteria is expected to take approximately one month. The Act directs that the Secretary shall make the selections following the rank order compiled under the criteria.

Within a month after the new administration is in office, the Secretary will be presented with the list of enterprise zones in rank order. The Secretary will have 24 months from January 1, 1989 in which to make the designations.

The HUD budget presented to the Congress in January for FY 1990 will contain no funding proposals in direct support of enterprise zone designations. The program involves coordination and expedited processing of existing programs.

The UDAG program, eligibility for which is one of the criteria under the enterprise zone program, is being terminated.

3. Homeownership for Low-Income Families

HUD has two initiatives underway that provide opportunities for homeownership for residents of public housing. One involves the sale of public housing units to tenant management corporations under the authority of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987. The second provides for direct sale of units to tenants.

On October 25, 1988 the Department signed an agreement under which ownership of the Kenilworth-Parkside public housing project will ultimately be transferred to the tenants of the project. HUD will provide \$6 million in rental assistance over the next several years while the project is operated as a low-income rental development before the project is converted to cooperative ownership. The District of Columbia government will sell the units to the tenant management group for \$1 and will take steps to replace the 464 units by renovating an equal number of vacant apartments in other city projects. Final details of the HUD-Kenilworth-District Government agreement will need to be completed during the next few months.

HUD has received a similar proposal from a tenant management group in St. Louis which provides for the transfer of public housing units in the Carr Square project to the corporation and ultimately to the tenants. Negotiations between the Department, the tenant group and the St. Louis Housing Authority are currently underway and will need to be resolved during the next few months.

Section 5(h) of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937 -- added in 1974 -- gives the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development the authority to grant permission to any public housing agency to sell units of its public housing stock directly to their current tenants.

The Public Housing Homeownership Demonstration has been designed and implemented to test various approaches to the sale of public housing units to their current low-income occupants. Several projects are nearing the

sale stage. Further Departmental action may be needed in certain cases to assure successful completion. In Denver, a ceremony was held on October 27 to officially turn over 44 public housing units to the tenants, although some legal issues concerning the partnership and financing arrangements remain to be resolved by the HUD General Counsel's office. In Paterson, New Jersey a legal aid group filed suit on October 19 against the Paterson Public Housing Authority and HUD to stop the sale of the Brooks-Sloat project to tenants. The sale is halted pending resolution of these issues. Sales of units are imminent in Nashville, Tennessee where going to closing awaits only the completion of rehabilitation. During 1989 it is forecasted that 1,000 units will be sold directly to the tenants.

4. Subsidized Housing

A continuing issue will be the appropriate level of funding for Subsidized Housing programs and the type of assistance to be provided. Subsidized Housing programs are designed to provide housing assistance to low income families and individuals who cannot afford rental housing at market rates. Although there are a number of different programs within Section 8 and Public and Indian Housing, emphasis in recent years has been placed on housing vouchers, which provide tenants more flexibility and freedom than some of the other forms of assistance.

In recent years, funding for Subsidized Housing has totaled between \$7 billion and \$10 billion annually, an amount which supports 80,000 to 90,000 additional units, depending on the program mix. However, a major financial issue, beginning in 1989, and continuing through the end of the century, is the funding of contracts to renew or extend subsidies. The cost of renewing existing contracts in 1990 is estimated at \$0.7 billion; this will increase to \$8.5 billion in 1991, \$7.4 billion in 1992, \$6.3 billion in 1993, and \$5.7 billion in 1994.

The cost of renewing existing contracts in future years may well have an impact on HUD's ability to fund additional incremental units from 1990 until the end of the century. The issue of how much additional support HUD can fund is a major one.

The approach which HUD will take to subsidized housing is also being determined by the Congress. In 1987, the Housing and Community Development Act was passed, requiring that private owners of federally subsidized projects must submit and have approved by HUD a plan of action before they would be permitted to pay off their mortgages (eligible to be terminated after 20 years as part of the original contract with the owners) and convert their projects to market rate housing. HUD has taken the view that the constitutionality of this provision is dubious, as it requires that an owner prove, among other things, that alternate affordable housing for the current tenants is available in the community. If any state deems this Act to be unconstitutional, then an absolute moratorium on prepayment will take effect for two years from the date of such ruling. These provisions have a two-year sunset and will expire at the end of 1989.

HUD is also required under the Act to offer owners who submit a plan of action incentives sufficient to induce the owner to retain the subsidized character of the project to the end of the mortgage term. The term

(normally 40 years and, hence, a typical extension would continue the restricted use for an additional 20 years). These incentives include offering 15 year Section 8 subsidy contracts to owners to continue the project's subsidized nature. This provision runs against the grain of HUD's policies under the Reagan Administration which have been to eliminate both new construction and project-based subsidies in favor of tenant-based housing vouchers. HUD has taken the position that only about 25 percent of this stock is in a strong enough market to have the ability to prepay and that housing vouchers should be provided to any tenants currently residing in a project which leaves the stock due to prepayment. Critics of this policy have argued that the number housing vouchers is already inadequate, on the amount requested annually by HUD (150,000) has consistently been reduced by 50,000. Also, such an approach would give a priority to individuals living in these units above those already on waiting lists for housing vouchers. Presumably, the markets in which projects would prepay are also the markets in which housing is already tight and in which affordable, decent low-cost housing is either unavailable or already extremely tight. Outside studies have claimed that it is less expensive to preserve the inventory of federally subsidized housing that has already been constructed than to provide housing vouchers. The reasons given are that the per unit cost of this housing is low because it was built some time ago.

HUD has been required to write regulations to implement the provisions of the 1987 Act and to offer incentives to owners. However, there have been no corresponding appropriations provided with which to fund incentives to owners.

In addition to the concerns with projects which may leave the subsidized inventory due to prepayment and conversion to market rate, another concern is the stock of federally subsidized and privately-owned projects which may leave the stock due to owners' defaulting on their FHA-insured mortgages and returning their project to HUD for property disposition. A major cause for this potential default is the expiration of Section 8 project-based assistance. Under a separate law passed by Congress, HUD is required to keep any stock returned to it as a result of such default available to low income residents. If the stock is sold under the Property Disposition Program, the new owner must maintain it for low income households and provide with project-based Section 8 subsidy.

With over 1.5 million units in HUD "project-based" assistance programs -- that is, where the subsidy stays with the project rather than the tenant -- the future of these projects has become a major Congressional issue due to two phenomena: 1) projects built in the late 1960's and early 1970's are now eligible to convert to private market housing without occupancy restrictions, and 2) rent subsidies attached to projects in the mid 1970's are beginning to expire.

The policy of the Reagan Administration has been to permit subsidies to expire and to allow owners to be relieved of occupancy restrictions to the extent feasible. Tenants eligible for further assistance in these projects would be aided by vouchers. Obviously, these policies are not being fully carried out given Congressional actions.

5. Cranston/D'Amato Reform Bill

Due, in part, to the looming problem of the potential loss of heretofore federally subsidized stock, as well as the lack of any new HUD-sponsored construction programs to provide additional units of low income housing, a number of proposals have been introduced by various members of Congress to address the issue. The most significant have been the organized effort on the Senate side to think through a new approach to housing for the future. Two main task forces were organized to conduct reports for the Senate (the National Housing Task Force, chaired by James Rouse and David Maxwell and the M.I.T. Study Group chaired by Professor Langley Keys) and another group, the National Low-Income Housing Preservation Commission chaired by Carla Hills and Henry Reuss made its report on the older, subsidized stock to both the House and Senate Housing Subcommittees.

Hearings were held in the House and Senate on the latter report and in the Senate on all three initiatives as well as on a broad range of reports prepared by the major housing constituency groups. The Senate staff has produced a series of concept papers which are currently being turned into legislation intended for introduction in January, or very early in the 101st Congress. The legislation is likely to contain the following provisions:

- (a) Establish a government-owned organization in HUD, called the Government National Home Corporation, to carry out a new housing opportunity partnership (HOP) program. The corporation would purchase non-amortizing investment certificates issued by public agencies to permit States and localities to fund housing strategies.
- (b) Permit the new HUD organization to guarantee securities backed by pools of mortgages on affordable rental housing.
- (c) Replace the Section 8 Certificate and Housing Voucher programs with a "rental credit" program. Assistance would go to States and localities, that could decide whether to provide project-based or tenant-based assistance. Tenants would pay no more than 30 percent of adjusted income. Fair market rent schedules could be developed at the local level for use instead of HUD FMRs.
- (d) Revise the Section 202 program (which now involves a direct HUD loan and Section 8 rental assistance). Provide instead for non-amortizing loans, forgivable in stages after 20 years, with an operating subsidy to cover the difference between tenant rents and operating costs.
- (e) Establish a separate assistance program for handicapped housing, also using forgivable, non-amortizing loans.
- (f) Give States and localities more discretion in determining how to allocate Federal homeless housing assistance.

- (g) Promote homeownership by easing FHA downpayment requirements and extending mortgage revenue bond authority. Permit use of IRA and Section 401(k) accounts for downpayments by first-time homebuyers.
- (h) Establish a new Office of Affordable Housing Preservation within HUD that would be responsible for identifying and protecting housing at risk of becoming unaffordable.

In summary, the new Secretary of HUD will have to develop a position regarding these proposals which is consistent with the campaign's focus. George Bush stated that in his Administration the federal government will support local initiatives to build more housing where housing availability is a real problem. He voiced support for first time homebuyers, to rental assistance for low income families, for assistance to aid first time homebuyers and vigorous enforcement of the new fair housing law. An approach to preserving the base of affordable housing will need to be developed.

6. The Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act (passed 7/22/87)

George Bush has made several campaign statements concerning homelessness including that immediate aid should include full funding of the McKinney Act as well as amending the Act to provide for block grants to local administrators which would replace the current approach which provides funding for categorical programs.

A history of appropriations for the McKinney Act follows:

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1990</u>
Congressional Authorization	\$443 (million)	\$616	\$634	\$676
Congressional Appropriation	\$490	\$455	\$455	To be determined
HUD Portion of Appropriation	\$255	\$ 72	\$171	To be determined

The categorical programs which HUD administers under the McKinney Act are as follows:

1. The Comprehensive Homeless Assistance Plan (CHAP) administered by the Office of Community Planning and Development.

Purpose: To require each governmental unit eligible for formula funding under the Emergency Shelter Grant program to develop an operational blue print as an aid in developing and implementing its programs for the homeless.

2. Emergency Shelter Grants Program (EGSP) administered by the Office of Community Planning and Development.

Purpose: To help improve the quality of emergency shelters; and to help meet the cost of operating such shelters and of providing essential social services to the homeless. The objective is to

provide access to safe, sanitary shelter, supportive services and other assistance. Activities eligible for funding with ESGP grants can also be assisted with Community Development Block Grant funds.

3. Supportive Housing Demonstration Program - Transitional Housing administered by the Office of Housing.

Purpose: To develop innovative approaches to providing housing and support services to help homeless persons make the transition to independent living.

4. Supportive Housing Demonstration Program - Permanent Housing for Handicapped Homeless Persons. Administered by the Office of Housing.

Purpose: To provide assistance in developing community-based long-term housing and supportive services for projects housing not more than eight handicapped homeless persons per project.

5. Supplemental Assistance for Facilities to Assist the Homeless. Administered by the Office of Policy Development and Research.

Purpose: To stimulate innovative community efforts to assist homeless families and individuals and, to the maximum extent feasible, to reintegrate them into the community by enabling them to become self-sufficient through appropriate support services.

6. Section 8 Assistance for Single Room Occupancy Dwellings. Administered by the Office of Housing.

Purpose: To provide rental assistance for single room housing units for occupancy by homeless individuals.

7. Identification and Use of Surplus Federal Buildings for Facilities to Assist the Homeless. Administered by the Office of Housing.

Purpose: To identify and determine the utility of underutilized federal buildings and other federal real property for facilities to assist the homeless.

8. Administrative and Staff Support for the Interagency Council on the Homeless. Administered by an Executive Director and located at HUD.

Purpose: The Council is composed of the heads of 10 Cabinet Departments, and five independent agencies and was established by the Act to review, monitor, evaluate and recommend improvements in Federal programs to assist the homeless; to collect and disseminate information relating to the homeless; to reduce duplication of effort among Federal agencies; to provide professional and technical assistance to States, local governments, and private or nonprofit organizations serving the homeless.

Both OMB and the Appropriations Committees have raised the issue of how "best" to provide assistance -- continued categorical funding or a block grant approach. The Bush position has been to support the block grant approach, coupled with full funding.

7. Modernization of Public and Indian Housing

A substantial number of public and Indian housing units do not meet housing standards, which, by law, require PHAs to maintain units in decent, safe, and sanitary condition. Consequently, many of these units are vacant, and boarded up, awaiting modernization.

In a major study of the public and Indian housing inventory, ABT Associates estimated that it could take as much as \$20 billion to fund both backlog and accrual modernization needs. HUD's response to the ABT Associates' study has been to point out that much of the cost cited would be upgrading rather than strictly rehabilitation and that the cost of strictly rehabilitation would be about \$10.7 billion, plus the annual accrual of new modernization needs, as the public housing inventory continues to age. The current policy is to fund modernization at \$2 billion each year. At this rate it will take about 10 years to complete funding of backlog and accrual needs (longer for the actual work to be performed). Budget pressures have been reducing the actual annual requests to \$1 billion.

The Housing Act of 1987 authorized the distribution of modernization funds on a formula grant basis. This gives PHAs more discretion in the use of funding than they had under the previous Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program and other previous modernization funding. The proposed formula would take into account the current condition of public housing (backlog) and future need for modernization (accrual). HUD has published a proposed regulation for the new comprehensive grant program, but is not authorized to implement the program until Congress enacts an allocation system.

The major issue regarding modernization funding is what is the appropriate and obtainable annual funding to devote to modernization within the overall amount for subsidized housing. Additional funding would speed up the process, making units available for occupancy for low income tenants more quickly; reduced funding would extend the time required to complete modernization, but would free up funds for other forms of assistance or to reduce the deficit.

It should be emphasized that HUD views the objective of the public housing modernization program as the preservation of the "viable" stock of public housing. The Office of Public and Indian Housing (PIH) believes that approximately 70,000 units, or roughly five percent of the current inventory, are not viable -- that is, these units are too seriously deteriorated to be rehabilitated, or the units are vacant and there is not a sufficient demand in the local market for their rental -- and that such units should be demolished or permitted to pass out of the inventory of low-income public housing units.

It will be necessary for the Bush Administration and the new HUD Secretary to review the ABT study and current HUD programs and budget policies in this area, in order to determine if those policies should be pursued. In addition, there needs to be close coordination between operating subsidies to PHAs and modernization funds, and continued monitoring of PHAs, in order to insure that modernization funds do not go to PHAs which are incapable of operating their projects and of effectively implementing a modernization program. A combined "block grant" for operational support and/or modernization of units might be considered for those PHAs which meet appropriate management standards. Such an approach would require legislative action.

8. Abatement of Lead-Based Paint

In 1976, the Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act (LPPPA) required the Secretary of HUD to "establish procedures to eliminate as far as practicable the hazards of lead-based paint poisoning with respect to any existing housing. . . ." It targeted immediate hazards, particularly affecting children, in housing built before 1950, and gave HUD discretion to expand coverage.

The regulation implementing that law (24 CFR Part 35) defined as an "immediate hazard" "paint (which may contain lead) . . . which is cracking, scaling, chipping, peeling or loose." In *Ashton v. Pierce*, 716 F. 2d 56 (D.C. Cir. 1983), the Court of Appeals found that Congress intended the phrase "immediate hazard" not to be limited to paint in a defective condition, and directed HUD to do further rulemaking. Under the direction of a court-ordered deadline, in 1986 and 1987 HUD published three final rules covering intact paint on chewable surfaces in the Public Housing, FHA and CPD programs.

On three occasions since then Congress has sought to control the scope of lead-based abatement. The Housing and Community Development Act of 1987 (implemented by a June 6, 1988, final rule) expanded coverage to all surfaces in all HUD-associated buildings constructed before 1978. These standards will apply to FHA and CPD programs after completion of a 1989 HUD abatement study. Next, the 1989 HUD Appropriations Act directed HUD to spend no money to enforce the lead-based paint standards of HUD's June 6, 1988 regulation. Three billion dollars of HUD funds to modernize public housing were embargoed by this direction. A political compromise has allowed some money to be spent, but new guidelines are needed in early 1989. Finally, the McKinney Act Amendments provided that PHAs may use a chemical testing procedure to determine the presence of lead-based paint of .06 percent lead by weight, the standard for paint sold after 1978. This provision potentially establishes a test 200 times more severe than the current HUD regulatory test.

PHAs may well exercise this testing option to avoid liability for lead poisoning claims. This means almost every public housing unit constructed before 1978 would have to be abated. Encapsulation of walls and replacement of doors and windows would be required at a substantial cost to HUD modernization funds.

The budget implications on the public housing program are substantial (estimated to be \$1 billion just for public housing). In addition, if this standard is applied to other housing programs, there will be substantial impact either in increased budgets or program viability. Resolution of this problem will require analysis of potential liability and further Congressional action.

9. FHA Mortgage Insurance Fund

A major mission for HUD is providing Federal Housing Administration mortgage insurance programs that help families become homeowners and facilitate the construction and rehabilitation of rental units. The total insurance in force amounts to \$285 billion.

For the first time in 40 years, the FHA fund is experiencing annual operating losses caused by a high volume of claims. Net operating losses amounted to \$857.9 million in 1988, and are forecasted at approximately \$791 million in 1989.

Under the Multifamily Co-Insurance program, the lender shares the risk of insurance losses and shares in the premium income. Over 70 percent of FHA's new multifamily insurance is co-insured. Claims are expected to increase to \$267 million from \$58.9 million in 1988. This does not reflect the impact of the defaulted portfolio of DRG, Inc., a co-insurer, which could add up to another \$500 million in 1989.

Single Family claims are estimated at 95,000 units and \$5.5 billion in 1989. Single family claims reflect economic conditions prevailing in the "oil patch" States. The portfolio of acquired properties is growing as a result of claims and is currently estimated at about 72,000 units at the end of 1989.

Sales of acquired single family properties by HUD are at record levels and are expected to amount to about 82,000 units in 1989. HUD has been charged with undermining certain local markets with large auction sales and other special sales incentives.

Failures of lenders in the Mobile Home program has caused GNMA to take over several Mortgage-Backed Securities portfolios and to incur large losses in the disposition of acquired mobile homes. Efforts are underway to improve lender monitoring.

While the loss in 1988 and the forecasted loss in 1989 may be a short term phenomena, the fund should be observed closely to assure it is not the start of a negative trend. In addition, the President-elect's position, as well as the interest of the Congress in liberalizing credit policies in the form of minimal down payments to enhance home ownership opportunities for first time home buyers could pose additional risks to the insurance fund. The new Secretary may want to develop an early assessment of ways to minimize such risk.

10. Section 8 Rental Adjustments

Section 8 Rehabilitation and New Construction programs are implemented under Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1974. Under these programs, private developers own and construct or rehabilitate housing that they then rent to lower income tenants. The maximum rents charged by owners to tenants are restricted. The difference between 30 percent of a tenant's adjusted income and the rent being charged for the unit is paid to the owner by the Government. Section 8 rental payments for substantial rehabilitation and new construction are made to the owner for 20 to 40 years, depending upon the precise terms of the contract, and for 15 years in the case of moderate rehabilitation. The subsidies are property-based -- a tenant who moves from an assisted building no longer receives assistance.

Owners of Section 8 New Construction projects in Washington State challenged HUD's longstanding implementation of the Section 8 rent adjustment provisions of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, and corresponding clauses of the Housing Assistance Payment (HAP) contracts in Rainier View Associates v. United States of America.

These provisions state, in essence, that the Secretary may make rent adjustments based on fair market rents or a "reasonable formula" but, in either case, adjustments must not "result in material differences between the rents charged for assisted and comparable unassisted units." HUD elected the "formula" approach and established a two stage process: first, the rent adjustments are calculated according to a broad geographically based Automatic Annual Adjustment Factor (AAAF) formula; then separate assessments are made of rents actually charged in "comparable" unassisted projects in the same locality as the project in issue to determine whether the comparable rents are "materially different" from the rents produced by the AAAF formula. If they materially exceed those of comparable unassisted units, a rent adjustment is limited to that of comparable rents.

While the district court upheld HUD's construction of the statute, in 1988 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit reversed the decision. The circuit court held that the overall "comparability" limitation could not be used as an independent cap on the AAAF formula adjustment, but could only be effectuated to the extent comparability considerations had been incorporated into the formula itself. HUD has requested the Department of Justice to seek a Supreme Court review.

Whether or not the Department of Justice agrees to do so, HUD must consider whether to obtain relief from Congress. The Ninth Circuit decision will have substantial budget implications for HUD, subjecting the Department to an estimated \$130 million in retroactive and prospective rental payments for Section 8 new and substantial rehabilitation projects in the States covered by the Ninth Circuit alone. In addition, since all HAP contracts HUD uses nationwide are identical to those at issue here, unless reversed, the panel decision would stand as a damaging precedent potentially exposing HUD to an additional approximately \$370 million in liability for rental payments to the other Section 8 projects nationwide.

11. Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act (RESPA)

RESPA was enacted in 1974 to protect home buyers by requiring advance estimates of settlement costs, limiting the size of escrow accounts, and prohibiting referral fees and kickbacks.

It also prohibits a seller from requiring a buyer to use a particular title company, and prohibits splitting of a charge for a settlement service other than for actual services rendered (i.e., no payment of unearned fees).

The Housing and Urban-Rural Recovery Act of 1983, amended RESPA to establish rules when one company owned or controlled another. Since 1984, HUD has tried to publish a final rule implementing the 1983 amendments but met with Congressional or OMB opposition. The desirability of publishing a final rule was greatly increased when HUD lost its first criminal prosecution on appeal in the Sixth Circuit (United States v. Graham Mortgage Corp., 740 F. 2d 414 (6th Cir. 1984), a case that held that a mortgage loan was not a settlement service. This was a decision which could gut the major criminal and civil enforcement of the statute, had HUD accepted it. The Department of Justice urged HUD to clarify its regulation.

HUD published a proposed rule on May 16, 1988 which included the making of a mortgage loan within the definition of a settlement service but would allow voluntary payments to mortgage brokers or others. It also reaffirmed an informal 1986 legal opinion by former General Counsel John Knapp regarding Citicorp's Mortgage Power program. The Mortgage Power program was enormously successful (accounting for 70% of Citicorp's \$13 billion mortgage loan business in 1987), and enormously controversial. Competitors viewed the program's contractual tie-in of the real estate broker with the lender as creating an unfair advantage, perhaps violating RESPA.

The Department received over 2,600 public comments on the proposed rule during and after the official comment period. OGC has summarized these comments and is circulating discussion sections of a draft final rule. The Knapp opinion and the May 16, 1988 proposed rule have left the mortgage loan business in substantial disarray and a final rule setting forth HUD's legal position is needed soon.

12. The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988

Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 is designed to assure equal housing opportunities. It prohibits discrimination in housing based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988, which will become effective on March 12, 1989, expands the coverage of Title VIII to prohibit discrimination based on handicap and familial status and requires the Secretary to bring an administrative enforcement action where the Secretary determines, based on an investigation, that there is reasonable cause to believe that discrimination has occurred.

On November 7, 1988, HUD published a comprehensive proposed rule to implement the Amendments. The comment period ended December 7, 1988 and the

anticipated publication date for the final rule is mid-January 1989. However, if this date is not met, final regulations must be published by March 12, the statutory effective date.

The statute requires that the investigation and reasonable cause determination be made within 100 days of the filing of a complaint with the Department. This poses a significant challenge for HUD because investigations are not normally completed within 100 days.

The first reasonable cause determinations and the first hearings are expected to be of great interest to civil rights groups, housing providers as well as the general public. It will be important to implement the enforcement mechanism quickly and effectively following March 12, 1989 so there will be solid precedents demonstrating the Secretary's ability to obtain relief in appropriate cases.

HUD will require additional staff due to the substantial increase in the amount of work resulting from the Amendments. A reprogramming request has been submitted to the Appropriations Committees to transfer budget authority from other parts of the Department so that additional staff may be hired to begin implementation on March 12. A supplemental appropriation for further staffing will be necessary to fully implement the Amendments during FY 1989. The current estimate of the supplement is \$5,679,000.

13. Community Development Block Grant Program

Community Development Block Grants are of two types, first, grants awarded by entitlement, provided on a formula basis to metropolitan cities and urban counties, and second, non-entitlement grants to states and small cities (the 50 States and Puerto Rico are eligible to apply to distribute funds to non-entitlement units of government, generally, under 50,000 in population). Entitlement communities develop their own programs and funding priorities and are to consult with local residents before making final decisions. These funds are intended for a wide range of community development activities, directed toward neighborhood revitalization, economic development and improving community facilities and services.

Over the years, the level of Federal funding for CDBG has been reduced from an appropriation of \$3.8 billion in FY 1980 to approximately \$3 billion (including transfers from other HUD funds) in budget outlays in FY 1989 and approximately \$2.5 billion in budget authority in FY 1989. No appropriation was sought, or obtained, for Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG) in FY 1989 (a program funded at \$646 million in FY 1980), and funding for Rental Rehabilitation grants was reduced from \$300 million in FY 1985 to \$150 million in FY 1989.

Cities and urban areas have had to make significant changes to cope with these reductions, either by cutting programs or by shifting funds from other city activities. An argument has been made that CDBG funding should keep pace with inflationary trends and with deteriorating infrastructures, particularly in older cities.

While some have argued that CDBG should be phased out, with the funds used for more urgent priorities (the Heritage Foundation's Mandate for Leadership III notes that CDBG is " . . . inconsistent with the Federal government's proper role in economic development"), the program is apparently popular and works smoothly. However, it may be appropriate for a new Secretary to undertake a general review of CDBG to determine whether the program is currently meeting its legislative goals and is appropriately related to the strategic objectives and priorities of the Bush Administration. The Department has, over the years, proposed that other programs (for example, Section 312 rehabilitation loans) be shifted to CDBG and that other local activities, principally, housing construction, be considered "eligible" for CDBG funds. Such a change would permit those cities with particularly tight housing markets to undertake or promote an expansion of their housing stocks.

14. Block Grant Sanctions

On November 18, 1988, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia handed down a ruling in Kansas City v. HUD. This decision may have a sweeping impact on the manner in which HUD applies corrective sanctions in CDBG. The block grant legislation contains two separate remedial provisions. Section 104(d) authorizes the Secretary to make appropriate adjustments to future grants based upon his review of grantees' performance. Section 111 sets out remedies for substantial noncompliance with the provisions of Title I and requires HUD to offer the grantee a hearing before taking a sanction. For the 14 years of the program HUD has viewed Section 104(d) as a prospective sanction because of grantees' poor performance or noncompliance with program requirements and Section 111 as a retrospective sanction to recapture funds for substantial statutory violations. However, Section 111 has never been utilized.

The Court of Appeals' decision in Kansas City holds that Section 111 must be used in all cases involving substantial noncompliance. Even though the problem in Kansas City centered on a regulatory provision not contained in or mandated by the statute, the Court treated the case as one involving failure "to comply substantially with any provision of this Title." In addition, it did not articulate any particular function for Section 104(d).

Over the the past five years, the Department has only conditioned from 10 to 20 block grants a year. This represents a substantial reduction from the late 1970s when scores of conditions were imposed each year. Nevertheless, each such condition presents serious questions of timing and effectiveness in application. Because entitlement grantees are "entitled" to the next round of grants in the subsequent year, conditioning the next year's grant has been a timely, effective means for handling performance deficiencies. Resorting to the extensive and more time-consuming regulatory procedures for Section 111 will typically result in funding awards after HUD discovers statutory noncompliance or other performance deficiency but prior to its imposing sanctions. Within the next month HUD must advise the Department of Justice about seeking Supreme Court review of the decision.

Items for immediate consideration include (1) whether to follow the Court of Appeals' decision nationwide or only in the D.C. Circuit (the latter decision would undoubtedly spur more suits brought in the District of

Columbia); (2) continuation of current conditioning level; (3) regulation change to limit reach of Section 111 expressly to statutory noncompliance; and (4) conferring with Congress as to whether the Kansas City decision comports with its legislative intent.

- 9 -

--"Water rights belong to the states, not the Federal Government"

WETLANDS:

- Support of non-regulatory programs to encourage private, state and local action on wetlands
- Preservation of wetlands so there is no net loss, working with states to attain this goal.

There are a number of significant pending issues with which the Secretary-designee needs to be aware of immediately including:

Budgetary--The DOI's budget is micro-managed by the Congress and the Hill always authorizes higher budgets in most areas than the Department has requested.

Legislative--Cong. Courter's bill calling for a 10 year moratorium on OCS leasing; Senate Investigative Committee on Indian Affairs hearings on BIA fraud; California environmental issues; ANWR.

Regulatory and Rule-making actions--coal product value, oil and gas product value, royalty rate for underground coal.

Inspector General--There have been a number of significant audits and investigations by the Inspector General during 1988. (See Attachment H) Bribes and kickbacks, undocumented expenditures, unallowable contract costs, bid rigging, failure to collect fees and outright embezzlement are the most frequent areas of misconduct. Activities occurring under the Bureau of Indian Affairs were the most frequently investigated, but most of the other Bureaus had some significant audits and investigations.

(Other significant policy issues may be found in Attachment I)

Additional initial briefing materials can be found in this memorandum as follows:

Consolidated Agency Budget including brief synopsis of major budget issues (See Attachment J)

Key Congressional Committees and Contacts (See Attachment K)



POLICY ISSUES

- o PRESENTATION OF A COORDINATED ENERGY POLICY AT INTERIOR:
 - Consistent with Platform of the President-elect
- o ANWR:
 - Out-year Budget Implications
 - Energy Security
 - Lessons learned in Protecting the Environment
- o OCS:
 - California
 - Florida
 - Georges Bank
 - Congressman Courter 10 Year Moratorium
- o CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES:
 - DOI offers the most objective scientific analysis; must take a lead role in interagency process
- o CONTROVERSIAL REGULATIONS ON RESOURCES:
 - Coal Product Value
 - Oil and Gas Product Value
 - Royalty Rate for Underground Coal
- o LAND ACQUISITION/DESIGNATION ISSUES
 - Emphasis should be on stewardship of present holdings
- o AMERICAN HERITAGE TRUST LEGISLATION:
 - ALTERNATIVE: Could ANWR development plan instead create some receipts for park and wildlife O & M, including employee housing?
- o MINING IN THE PARKS:
 - Valid Existing Rights
- o SENATE INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS:
 - Focused on Commercial Development Management
 - Could be used to focus other BIA areas needing stronger oversight
- o CALIFORNIA ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES:
 - California Air Quality: Negotiated Rulemaking
 - California Desert Designations
 - California Condor
- o WATER POLICY:
 - To encourage freedom of transfers in anticipation of possible '89 drought
- o WETLANDS POLICY:
 - Federal subsidies worsen wetlands situation; alternatives to federal acquisition are available.
- o FIRE POLICY
- o HAZARDOUS WASTE MANAGEMENT
- o GROUND WATER POLICY AND PROGRAMS
- o RECREATION PLANS:
 - Parks, BLM and Reclamation

- o CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY OVER MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

INTERNATIONAL MATTERS

- o INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS
- o GLOBAL CLIMATE ISSUES
- o BOUNDARY ISSUES: Territorial Sea; Nation Boundary
- o WORLD-WIDE MAPPING RESPONSIBILITIES
- o WORLD RESOURCES
- o WORLD MAPPING
- o ACID RAIN

(M)

CALENDAR HIGHLIGHTS
(First Five Months)

January

- 6 - Regulatory program presented to the Secretary by PBA
- 9 - FY90 budget released; Secy's press conference
 - Begin random testing of TDPs
- 10 - Crater Lake Geothermal Report
- 16 - Submit legislative package on Leadville Mine Drainage Tunnel
- 19 - Spotted Owl injunction: pos. endangered species listing
- 20 - Final decision, transferring BuRec. Admin. Service Center to PBA
- 23-27 - FY90 Budget justifications to Congress
- 30 - Report on progress of management agreement on FDR Reservoir due to Congress
- 31 - Transfer of Navajo-Hopi Relocation Commission
 - Submit regulatory program to OMB
 - Strategic plan for Indian education due to Congress
- General - Continue work on Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
 - Decision on direction of coal leasing policy will be required sometime this spring
 - Policy determinations needed for 8 controversial OCS sales so that further steps can be taken
 - Antarctic Minerals Treaty will probably be signed and submitted to the Senate

February

- 2 - Release of draft EISs on mining in 3 Alaska parks
- 22 - House Appropriations Committee hearings start (FY90 budget)
- 24 - Annual Superfund Cleanup Report due to Congress
- 27 - Secy's meeting with PBA and U/S, Guidance on FY91 budget preparation

CALENDAR HIGHLIGHTS, continued
February, continued

- 28 - Submit semiannual agenda of rules scheduled for review and development to OMB
- Senate Appropriations Committee hearings start (FY90 budget)

General - National Fire Policy Review Task Force final report

March

- 1 - Senate Authorizing Committee hearings start (Energy and possibly Indian Affairs)
- 2 - House Authorizing Committee hearings start (Interior)
- 8 - Report on alternatives for Groundwater Clearinghouse due to Congress
- 15 - Begin random drug testing, TDPs nationwide
- 20-24 - North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference, Washington, D.C.
- 27 - Guidance to AS and Bureaus on FY91 budget
- 31 - Report on funds for deep scientific drilling program due to Congress
- Sho-Ban negotiated water rights agreement due in State Court
- Authorize acquisition for ACS-MARK II

General - Sale 118 (Central Gulf of Mexico)

- "Back Country Byways Program" announcement and implementation
- Complete draft national policy on smoke management

CALENDAR HIGHLIGHTS, continued

April

- 1 - Report on expanding coastal erosion studies due to Congress
- 3 - Decision on listing wild chimpanzees as endangered (approx. date)
- General - Note: Appropriations committee hearings continue all month
 - Draft EIS for Uncompahgre Valley Project, Colorado
 - Report on health effects of smoke on firefighters
 - EPA decision on reclamation of Atlas Asbestos Mine
 - OCS policy committee meeting
 - Final geothermal product value regulations

May

- 7 - American Archaeology Working Conference
- 14 - Royalty Management Advisory Committee meeting (sometime this week)
- 15 - Bureau budgets to Department
- General - Note: Appropriations Committees continue all month
 - Implement National Fire Policy Review Task Force recommendations
 - Asst. Secy decisions on FY91 budget
 - Announce strategy for implementation of "Recreation 2000: A Strategic Plan"

Regulations

The Department of Labor is one of the two largest regulatory agencies in government. In the next six months, many of these regulatory actions will either be completed or move another step along the way towards becoming final. Among the most important anticipated actions, many of which are already at OMB for review, are:

1. Safety and Health - OSHA plans many new regulatory issuances, the most important of which is for a group of new permissible exposure limits for over 400 substances. OSHA also wants to issue regulations on hazardous waste disposal for which there is a dispute of over state and local employees, proposals on bloodborne diseases (AIDS and hepatitis), medical and exposure monitoring, respirators, cadmium, methylenedianiline, construction regulations on trenching and excavations, and lockout/tagout devices.

MSHA also will issue regulations or proposals on radiation, air quality, diesel equipment and pattern of violations.
2. Employment and Training - DOL plans to issue new regulations to implement recent statutory enactments dealing with plant closing, trade adjustment assistance, retraining for trade affected workers, the McKinney Homeless Act, and jobs for those on welfare. Regulations are also planned for wage rates in agriculture for alien workers.
3. Employment Standards - DOL hopes to finalize regulations dealing with homeworkers, the use of helpers under the Davis-Bacon Acts, and newly mandated polygraph requirements. Other regulations which may have action in the next six months include those dealing with special hiring for disabled workers and child labor.
4. Pensions - Final or proposed regulations planned in the next few months include those dealing with loans to participants, prohibited transactions, fiduciary responsibility (FERSA), adequate consideration, participant directed individual accounts, and leveraged buyouts in employee stock option plans (ESOPs).

Contact

Michael E. Baroody, Assistant Secretary for Policy, 523-6181.

Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)
Permissible Exposure Limits (PEL) Project

Issue

OSHA is charged with the responsibility for regulating occupational exposure to hazardous substances. OSHA must select which chemicals should be regulated among the thousands used in industry and set exposure limits protective of workers over a working lifetime of exposure.

Background

In 1971, under a special provision in its law, OSHA adopted national consensus exposure limits for over 400 substances. Since 1971, OSHA has issued comprehensive standards (including such provisions as required exposure monitoring) for only 24 hazardous substances. The Administrative Conference, the General Accounting Office and others have been critical of the substance by substance rulemaking approach used by OSHA in the past. A new approach was needed to address both the large number of toxic substances not being regulated and the substances whose permissible exposure limits are outdated.

On June 7, 1988, OSHA published proposed exposure limits for 428 substances, including adjustments for 260 substances already regulated and new limits for 168 substances. The exposure limits were largely based on exposure limits assigned by the American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists and recommendations by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

Among the issues raised by interested parties were (1) the appropriate substances to include in the rulemaking, (2) industry coverage, (3) inclusion of provisions such as exposure and medical monitoring, (4) concern about specific exposure limits, (5) feasibility and cost problems, and (6) the appropriate method and time frame for compliance.

Status

OSHA's final rule has been approved by the Department's Policy Review Board and is expected to be sent to OMB by December 1. The Department expects publication in the Federal Register by the end of December.

Contact

John Pendergrass, Assistant Secretary for OSHA, 523-7162.

BLOODBORNE INFECTIOUS DISEASES

Issue

OSHA has determined that occupational exposure to blood and other body fluids may represent a serious health risk from infectious diseases such as the Hepatitis B virus (HBV) and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV-AIDS), and is taking steps to reduce this risk under Section 6(b)(5) of the OSH Act.

Background

OSHA has no standard that was specifically designed to control occupational exposure to these viruses, and has been trying to apply existing standards and the General Duty Clause to control this hazard. In addition, OSHA issued a set of voluntary guidelines designed to reduce occupational exposure to HBV, and has tried to enforce a 1987 DOL/HHS Joint Advisory Notice entitled "Protection Against Occupational Exposure to Hepatitis B Virus (HBV) and Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV)."

OSHA has received petitions from several labor organizations including AFSCME, SEIU, and NUHHE, urging the Agency to issue a standard. OSHA issued an ANPRM in 1987 and its proposal is based on the record including comments in response to the ANPRM.

The proposal represents OSHA's first attempt to regulate biological hazards in the workplace. As a result, some concern has been expressed by groups (e.g., hospitals, clinics, etc.) not usually regulated by the Agency. In order to mitigate any potential problems, OSHA has worked closely with the HHS in developing the standard. In fact, many of the proposed requirements are based on HHS voluntary guidelines.

State, county and municipal employees are not covered by OSHA regulations except in state plan states. Since many healthcare providers are employed by state and local governments, a significant number of workers may remain unprotected.

Finally, the quantification of risk may be an issue as is often the case for OSHA health standards, and the costs of compliance may be fairly high. OMB may raise questions in these two areas.

Status

OSHA expects to publish a notice of proposed rulemaking within the next couple of months.

Contact

John A. Pendergrass, Assistant Secretary for Occupational Safety and Health at 523-6104.

Hazardous Waste Operations and Emergency Response

Issues

The Superfund Amendments and Reauthorization Act of 1986 (SARA) became law on October 17, 1986. Under Title I of SARA, the Secretary was required to issue regulations to protect workers who cleanup hazardous waste sites within 60 days.

Background

The Department of Labor met its deadline and published an interim final rule on December 19, 1986. OSHA then published a proposed rule on August 10, 1987, and held a public hearing in October of that year. Although SARA required the Secretary to issue a final rule by October 17, 1987, OSHA could not meet that date because the public record did not close until December 1987. The final rule was submitted to OMB for review and approval on September 15, 1988.

OMB and OSHA have met at least twice on various provisions and issues in the final rule. OMB's major concern is on the worker protection provisions for emergency response workers (e.g., police and fire departments). OMB has argued that OSHA does not have the statutory authority under the OSH Act for covering State and local government workers. However, OSHA feels the final rule supports SARA, is compatible with the Congressional intent, and is supported by the public record.

Status

Final regulations will be issued upon approval by OMB.

Contact

John A. Pendergrass, Assistant Secretary for Occupational Safety and Health at 523-7162.

CALENDAR OF MAJOR CHALLENGES AND EVENTS

The following calendar identifies the major events and decisions affecting the Labor Department in the first half of 1989 (projected events for the second half of the year are not available). We have limited this calendar to those items which would truly "present challenges and opportunities for the Bush Administration." Where specific dates are available, we have included them. A number of events, however, are not that precise. These have been grouped under "First 100 Days" at the end of the calendar.

DECEMBER 1988

12/7 Issue new Worker Adjustment and Retraining
Notification Act (WARN) proposed regulations (WARN is
effective February 4).

JANUARY 1989

- o Publish final Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) regulations.
- o Transmit Job Training Partnership Act Advisory Committee interim report to Congress and the Administration.
- o BLS issues one of the most closely watched and widely reported set of statistics, its monthly Employment Situation, a news release which reports the unemployment rate and related employment and labor force statistics for the Nation. These data are among the earliest available indicators of current economic conditions; data for any month are usually released on the first Friday of the following month. The Commissioner of Labor Statistics personally briefs the Secretary of Labor on these data one-half hour prior to public release. Following public release, the Commissioner of Labor Statistics is requested to testify before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.
- o 1/4-1/6 A national conference of states will review the Canadian-American Demonstration project on a joint labor-management approach to mitigating the impact of worker dislocation.
- o Transmittal to Congress of revisions to ERISA Reporting and Disclosure Legislative Framework.
- o PBGC is involved in a number of significant pension issues which could spark significant public interest. These include both companies where jobs may be at stake (LTV, Eastern, Avtex, Sharon Steel, and Wheeling-Pitt) and companies where jobs are not involved (Navistar, Marshall and Illsley Bank). These are described in the attached background paper.

FEBRUARY 1989

- o 2/17 Issue final instruction for new Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance Act (EDWAA), including reporting requirements and performance standards. EDWAA is effective July 1, 1989.
- o 2/13-3/3 ILO Governing Body will elect a new Director General.
- o 2/7-3/8 The labor-management contract with AFGE Local 12 has a window period for each side to notify the other of intention to reopen.
- o 2/27 A trial is scheduled in New York on the suit by the Department of Justice against the Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters (for violating the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act).

MARCH 1989

- 2 -

APRIL 1989

- o Present Presidential awards for outstanding Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) programs.
- o BLS will begin issuing monthly import and export price data. (BLS has been producing quarterly indexes.) These data will be used by the Bureau of the Census to adjust the monthly international trade figures -- and trade deficit calculations -- for inflation.
- o Full Labor Advisory Committee meeting (to review trade policy issues).
- o Decisions on Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) worker rights petitions, including Israel.

FIRST 100 DAYS

- o OSHA will announce proposed rulemaking for (1) cadmium, (2) non-asbestiform tremolite and other minerals, (3) 1,3-Butadiene, (4) methylene chloride, (5) methods of compliance, and (6) respiratory protection. It will issue final rules for (1) underground construction, and (2) fall protection and ladders.
- o Publication of a GAO study entitled "Alternative Worker Protection Strategies," which includes recommendations on amending the OSH Act.
- o OSHA will conduct possible hearings on its notice of proposed rulemaking on bloodborne diseases (Hepatitis-B and AIDS).
- o MSHA will announce proposed rulemaking and final rules according to the attached schedule.
- o ESA will complete the Annual Report on Administration of the Black Lung Benefits Act During Calendar Year 1987, and the Annual Report on the Longshore and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act for FY 1987.
- o The House Education and Labor Committee may hold hearings on the Chairman's bill to separate OFCCP from ESA and create a new Assistant Secretary for Federal Contract Compliance.
- o The National Association of Governmental Labor Officials (NAGLO), the association of State Labor Commissioners/Directors, will hold its mid-winter conference.
- o BLS survey results on employer anti-drug programs are scheduled for release.
- o PWBA has been involved in a variety of activities relating to the use of pension assets in corporate activities. This has given rise to Congressional hearings in the past and may be expected to give rise to such hearings in the future.
- o The Women's Bureau has developed a number of initiatives relating to (1) work and family, and (2) education, training and worker flexibility. FY 1989 activities are described in the attached background paper.
- o Possible Senate hearing on ratification of ILO Convention No. 160, Labor Statistics (the third ILO convention submitted for advice and consent after a 35-year moratorium).

FIRST 100 DAYS (continued)

- o Plenary Meeting of Private Sector Trade Advisors (with involvement by Cabinet members.

ADVANCE NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULEMAKING (ANPRM)

Accident and Injury Reporting
(Part 50)ANPRM: 11/88

Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM)

M/NM Explosives NPRM 11/88
 Pattern of Violations NPRM 11/88
 Rules of Practice of Petitions for Modification of Mandatory Safety Standards
(Part 44) NPRM 11/88
 Air Quality NPRM 11/88
 Diesel-Powered Equipment in Underground Coal Mines NPRM 12/88
 Underground Coal Electrical NPRM 1/89
 M/NM Electrical NPRM 1/89
 Mine Rescue Equipment Test and Inspection Records NPRM 4/89
 SCSR Inspection Records NPRM 4/89
 Refuse File and Impoundment Inspection Records NPRM 4/89
 Hazard Communication NPRM 6/89

Final Rules

M/NM Loading Hauling Dumping and Machinery and Equipment FINAL 8/25/88
 Underground Coal Explosives and Blasting FINAL 11/88
 Approval of Explosives and Sheathed Explosive Units FINAL 11/88
 M/NM Radiation FINAL 11/88
 Approval Criteria for Respiratory Protective Devices FINAL 12/88
 Coal Automatic Emergency-Parking Brakes for Rubber-Tired
 Self-Propelled Electric Face Equipment FINAL 2/89
 Coal Certification and Qualification of Persons FINAL 3/89
 Coal Automatic Warning Devices for Mobile Equipment FINAL 3/89
 Approval of Electric Mine Lamps FINAL 3/89
 Approval of Multishot Blasting Units FINAL 5/89
 Underground Coal Ventilation FINAL 6/89

WOMEN'S BUREAU
Summary of Major Issues

WORK AND FAMILY: Workers' ability to manage the responsibilities of work and family has become an economic issue. The conflicts workers experience in attempting to balance work and family obligations have implications for productivity, labor-management relations and the ability of firms to attract and retain workers in the tight labor markets projected for the near future. Employers have a stake in developing flexible management practices and family support policies that reduce conflicting priorities, and enable workers--especially women workers to participate more fully in the economy. In FY 1989, the Bureau will continue its advocacy of work and family as an economic issue by:

1. Conducting a series of regional projects that will provide information to help both workers and employers to address work and family issues. Examples are:

o A feasibility study of an on-or near-site child care center in the industrial park in the Mt. Olive, New Jersey Tax Free Trade Zone.

o A project to design and implement forums/workshops for managers from large and small firms to provide information on options available to help working parents manage child care and work/family responsibilities.

2. Development and expansion of the clearinghouse data base on dependent care, alternative work schedules and flexible benefits. The clearinghouse referral network will also be established in FY 1989.

3. Conduct an employment and training program for paid primary caregivers. The project will provide training for nurses' aides which incorporates defined advancement opportunities to licensed practical nurses and connects training program with efforts to increase employers' involvement in providing eldercare assistance.

4. Publish a Work and Family Resource Guide targeted to employers. The resource Guide will identify the various options employers have to assist their employees to balance their work and family responsibilities and resources available to implement these options. (FY 88 Funded Project)

5. Publish an employer and child care booklet for general distribution.

EDUCATION, TRAINING AND WORKER FLEXIBILITY. The job growth projected to occur between now and the year 2000 will take place in occupations requiring greater skill and flexibility on the part of workers. If women are to take advantage of the increased employment opportunities the economy will offer, they will need improved access to education and training as well as greater awareness of the impact of change on their roles. In addition, the need for increased skill and flexibility, more flexible and better benefits, will be reinforced by changes in the employer/employee relationship as contingent work force arrangements increase. To address these issues the Women's Bureau will:

1. Conduct a series of regional projects that will provide information on Workforce 2000 issues. Examples are:

- o A conference and follow-up work groups to document how female workers in clerical, health and service sectors are succeeding (or not) as contingent workers. The project will also examine how minorities and immigrants work in a culturally diverse workplace and identify best practices regarding supervisory training vis-a-vis the management of contingent workers.

- o Hold forums focusing on women's employment issues in the areas of workforce 2000, work and family and women and business.

- o A forum for women in hospital-based, entry-level occupations to review information on Workforce 2000 and examine occupational trends and the importance of worker flexibility. This project will design and conduct a 24 hour, non-credit curriculum for 20 women in entry level positions and will provide career choice assessment, including an individual career development action plan.

2. Conduct research to identify new and emerging issues arising out of the current labor force status of women.

3. Hold a conference to convene tradeswomen and organizations representing tradeswomen to exchange information and develop strategies to facilitate women's entry into skilled trades.

4. Co-sponsor an international research conference comparing women contingent workers in service industries in seven countries.



Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation

2020 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006-1806

Office of the Executive Director

November 14, 1988

MEMORANDUM TO TRANSITION OFFICE AT DOL

FROM: Kathleen P. Utgoff *Ku*
Executive Director

SUBJECT: Key Issues in Next Six Months

1. Company specific actions where it may be alleged that jobs may be at stake.

✓ LTV. PBGC and LTV are battling over disposition of pension plans underfunded by \$2.4 billion. There will be a hearing before the Court of Appeals in January. Settlement negotiations with LTV are ongoing. Significant Congressional interest (Wright, Bentsen, Pickle, Metzenbaum, Frost and former Senator Laxalt, who is working for LTV.)

Eastern. Company's request for a waiver of pension contribution being considered by the IRS and PBGC in a highly charged environment.

Avtex. Company in Front Royal that makes critical space shuttle material. Significant press recently. Firm has environment and worker safety problem. Company has applied to terminate pension plans that are underfunded by approximately \$20 million.

Sharon Steel. We are trying to work out some way to continue the pension plan for this bankrupt company that employs 2000 people in Farrell, Pa. (some Congressional interest).

Wheeling-Pitt. Pension plan terminated (underfunding roughly 1/2 billion dollars). Close to settlement of claims in bankruptcy but may get into dispute over new pension arrangement (intense Congressional interest).

2. Other Company Specific Actions where jobs are not involved.

Navistar. Court will rule on November 16 on PBGC's \$140 million suit against Navistar for terminated pensions of former subsidiary (Wisconsin Steel) which is no longer operating (high level Congressional interest).

Marshall and Illsley Bank. In mid-November PBGC will file suit against this Milwaukee Bank for fiduciary violations (some Congressional interest).

3. Upcoming Legislation

Likely - Some legislation to deal with companies ability to recover "excess assets" from pension plans and/or the use of pension assets in mergers and acquisitions.

Uncertain. Legislation to cover "pension losers" who lost benefits before passage of ERISA.

4. Other Issues

Supreme Court (Tilley vs. Meade). PBGC will file an amicus brief requesting Supreme Court hearing on rights of plan participants in pension plan terminations that involve excess assets. (PBGC will support employer side.)

Working Retirement. PBGC is being forced by a suit involving former LTV employees to develop and implement a policy on whether we will pay retirement benefits to employees who continue to work in same job (sometimes with a different owner) where retirement benefits earned (important policy call with Congressional interest).

Major Law Suit. When ERISA was passed in 1974, many pension plans terminated. Some plans were not amended to comply with ERISA before they were terminated. Since the PBGC pays benefits under the terms of the pension plan, some people lost benefits that would have been paid had the plan been amended. We are being sued to go back and provide these benefits. A loss would mean an enormous financial and administrative burden. (Current case: PAGE vs. PBGC).

II RELEVANT POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

During the 1988 Presidential Campaign, President-Elect George Bush stated that he would preserve the integrity of the veterans benefits system. To this end, he established two goals:

- o Develop a health care policy that assures all citizens, veterans and non-veterans, access to appropriate health care and social services in their advanced years.
- o Improve the ability of the VA to provide appropriate quality care to aging veterans.

Specific commitments by the President-Elect are detailed in Attachment 2.

III SIGNIFICANT PENDING ISSUES

LEGISLATIVE ISSUES

VETERANS AFFAIRS ACT

- o Elevates current Veterans Administration to Cabinet level status.
- o Creates 13 senior executive positions subject to Presidential approval and Senate confirmation.
- o Effective March 15, "six month window" for reorganizing Central Office (Attachment 3A)

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE U.S. COURT OF VETERANS APPEALS

- o Effective September 1, 1989
- o Court to be composed of 3-7 judges appointed by the President with Senate confirmation
- o Exclusive jurisdiction to hear appeals on denial of benefit from the Board of Veterans Appeals. (Attachment 3B)

COLA LEGISLATION

- o Veterans' and survivors' pensions for non-service connected disabilities and deaths are by law subject to COLA adjustments using a formula tied to CPI.
- o VA Compensation and DIC program benefits are not subject to automatic COLA increases; increases enacted only through affirmative acts of Congress.
- o Corrective legislation was submitted and tabled in the 100th Congress.
- o Plan in place to re-submit in the 101st. (Attachment 3C)

MANAGEMENT ISSUES

BUDGET

- o DMS Anticipates FY 89 Shortfall of \$400-600M
 - Separate Congressional hearing held in September 1988 on this issue.
 - Key issue with veterans service organizations
 - Will be major issue in FY 90 budget (Attachment 3D)
- o Solvency of the Loan Guaranty Program
 - Loan Guaranty Revolving Fund (LGRF) established in 1962 to fund all operations except administrative costs.
 - Congressional appropriations to fund LGRF deficits totalled \$100M in FY 87 and \$1.1 Billion in FY 88.
 - FY 89 anticipated deficit of \$658M. (Attachments 3E & 3F)
- o Supply Fund Cash / Inventories
 - Recent IG audit suggested classifying inventory as cash and using that resource to reduce total cash obligations by \$100M
 - OMB exemption required to use inventory as a resource.
 - Office of Acquisition and Materiel Management suggests exemption would lead to forced transfer of \$100M to Treasury and severely impact Supply Fund.
 - Entire matter in abeyance pending further study. (Attachment 3G)
- o FY 90 Budget Hearings begin February 1989

DEBT COLLECTION

- o Approximately \$2.4 billion is owed VA in outstanding debt; \$1.87 Billion is in Loan Guaranty program.
- o Debt collection results average \$19M per year FY 86 - 88. (Attachment 3H)

ADP MODERNIZATION (DVB)

- o 12 long term and 13 short term projects
- o Estimated \$44M annual savings upon completion
- o First four long term projects scheduled for completion through FY 89. Only three will be completed due to inadequate funding in FY 88 and 89. (Attachments 3I & 3J)

MANAGEMENT ISSUES (con't)

VA/DOD HEALTH RESOURCE SHARING

- o PL 97-174 (1982) mandates VA/DOD sharing of health care facilities.
- o Through FY 88, 136 VA Medical Centers executed 2,000 sharing agreements with 165 military facilities; VA provides:receives resources on an 8:1 ratio.
- o Six joint venture hospital construction projects in various stages of development.
- o Annual joint report to Congress required.
(Attachments 3K & 3L)

EXCESSIVE CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT

- o Congressional interest in Facilities Program
 - OMB has approved VA's system for prioritizing construction projects
 - System is compromised when disregarded.
(Attachment 3M)
- o Congress mandated FTEE requirements for DVB in FY 88.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

- o US District Court of Appeals held VA Administrator has exclusive discretionary authority to prescribe regulations concerning conditions of employment of DMS medical professionals. (Colorado Nurses case)
- o Per this decision VA options are:
 - maintain current policy
 - refuse to negotiate working conditions with the unions per the decision
 - negotiate on a case-by-case basis.
(Attachment 3N)

DRUG-FREE WORKPLACE

- o Executive Order 9/86 directed testing of Federal employees and applicants.
- o VA currently enjoined from random testing, accident and unsafe practice investigation testing, and testing based on reasonable suspicion of off-duty usage.
- o VA not enjoined from applicant testing
- o Administrator/Secretary has discretion to implement applicant testing and testing based on reasonable suspicion of on-duty usage.
(Attachment 30)

SERVICE DELIVERY ISSUES

DISABILITY RATING SYSTEM

- o "VA is required by law to update the rating schedule periodically to reflect medical advances in the treatment of disabilities and diseases." (GAO /OCG-89-14TR)
- o "Since 1978, 4 of the 14 ratings schedule sections have been updated, but 10 have not. The entire rating schedule has not been comprehensively updated since 1945." (Ibid)
- o Strong concern to VA service organizations
- o VA working on a phased revision.
(Attachment 3P)

AGENT ORANGE

- o VA currently treats veterans suffering from illnesses attributed to Agent Orange.
- o Veterans suffering from Agent Orange related illnesses have not been ruled eligible for Compensation and DIC benefits.
- o Continued pressure from veterans service organizations and Congress to include Agent Orange for compensatory benefits.
(Attachment 3Q)

AIDS

- o VA provides care for approximately 7% of all AIDS cases in the US.
- o As of 11/30/88, 5,449 reported cases; projected caseload: 27,000 by 1993.
- o Patient care cost is a high concern; estimates range from \$25,603 - \$34,199 per patient.
- o Internal concern: high cost of care will detract from quality of care provided to non-AIDS patients.
(Attachment 3R)

POST TRAUMATIC STRESS DISORDER (PTSD)

- o Initial readjustment counseling estimated to be accomplished by 1984.
- o Complexity and severity require further professional efforts.
- o Professional staffs now required.
- o Additional funding of \$5M authorized; further funds may be required.
(Attachment 3S)

SERVICE DELIVERY ISSUES

HOMELESS VETERANS

- o An estimated 30-50% of homeless are thought to be veterans.
 - o PL 100-6 provided funding for community-based psychiatric residential treatment for chronically mentally ill veterans.
 - o VA has created half-way houses, etc. for treatment under PL 100-6.
 - o McKinney Act required VA to identify underutilized Federal buildings for homeless use.
 - o National Coalition for the Homeless filed suit against VA, GSA and other Federal agencies claiming non-compliance with section 501 of the McKinney Act which requires reporting of underutilized buildings.
 - Court held VA met its obligation under section 501.
 - Court held VA Loan Guaranty-backed residential properties excluded from section 501 reporting.
- (Attachments 3T & 3U)

AGING VETERAN POPULATION

- o By year 2000, 2/3 of all men over age 65 will be veterans.
 - o 50% increase in all programs needed by 2000.
 - o Required care will shift to more long-term care, hospice care, adult day care, and acute care.
- (Attachment 3V)

VA SECURITY FORCE: SCREENING, TRAINING, AND EQUIPMENT

- o Recent incidents define:
 - inadequate pre-employment screening; convicted felons hired for physical and plant security
 - insufficient training for new employees; especially those assigned to high crime areas
 - inadequate equipping / arming of personnel especially in high crime areas
 - o Extensive press coverage and pressure from veterans' service organizations for improvements in all areas including arming of guards
 - o VA is taking steps to correct screening and training.
 - o Arming issue under study
- (Attachment 3W)

MOONLIGHTING RESTRICTIONS

- o Title 38 prohibits Registered Nurses (RN's) from supplementing income with other employment.
 - o This restriction impacts VA's ability to recruit and retain qualified personnel.
 - o VA submitted to OMB initiative to reverse this restriction
- (Attachment 3X)

IV BUDGET AND MAJOR BUDGET ISSUES

Total Budget Authority:

FY 1988	FY 1989	\$ Change
\$29,431,970	\$29,770,773	\$338,803

Major Budget Issues: Compensation and Pensions, Readjustment Benefits, Loan Guaranty, Medical Care, Medical and Prosthetic Research, General Operating Expenses and Construction.

See Attachment 4 for budget breakout by major programs and brief synopsis of these issues.

V KEY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND CONTACTS

Senators

Cranston (D)	Veterans Affairs Committee
Murkowski (R)	Veterans Affairs Committee
Mikulski (D)	Appropriations Committee
Garn (R)	Appropriations Committee

Representatives

Montgomery (D)	Committee on Veterans Affairs
Stomp (R)	Committee on Veterans Affairs
Traxler (D)	Appropriations Committee
Green (R)	Appropriations Committee

See Attachment 5 for detailed listing of Congressional Leadership, their staffs, addresses, and phone numbers.

VI KEY PUBLIC INTEREST GROUPS AND CONTACTS

- o Veterans Service Organizations: includes American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Paralyzed Veterans of America. Complete list on Attachment 6A.
- o Intergovernmental Groups: includes National Governors Association, American Legislative Council, National Association of State Directors of Veterans Affairs. Complete list on Attachment 6B.

VII ACTIVITIES CALENDAR THROUGH DECEMBER 1989

Key 1989 activities:

- 01/09 - Brief the Veterans Service Organizations and Congressional Staffs on FY 90 Budget.
- 01/21 - Secretary of Veterans Affairs Appointed.
- 03/15 - Effective date of Department of Veterans Affairs Act.
- 09/01 - Effective date of Court of Veterans Appeals Act.

Complete calendar on Attachment 7.

ATTACHMENT 7

1989 VETERANS AFFAIRS ACTIVITIES CALENDAR

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>
01/03	101st Congress convenes / Swearing-in of new Members
01/04	101st Congress recesses
01/09	Briefing on FY 1990 Budget to Veterans' Service Organizations and Congressional Staffs
01/13	Dedication of the Ponce Outpatient Clinic, VAMC / San Juan
01/21	1st Secretary of Veterans Affairs Appointed
01/23	Approximate date for 101st Congress to reconvene
01/23-02/15	Approximate dates for confirmation hearings
02/15	Approximate date for Congressional Committee hearings on FY 1990 Budget
02/10-14	Disabled American Veterans Mid-Winter Conference / Washington, DC
02/14	National Salute to Hospitalized Veterans
02/26-28	National Governors Association National Assn of State Directors of Veterans Affairs Mid-Winter Conference(s) / Washington, DC
03/03-07	Veterans of Foreign Wars Mid-Winter Conference / Washington, DC
03/12-15	National Assn of State Veterans Home Administrators Mid-Winter Conference / Washington, DC
03/15	Effective Date of Department of Veterans Affairs Act
03/15	Approximate Date for Information Systems Planning Conference
04/15	Approximate Transfer Date for Arizona Veterans Cemetery
05/30	Memorial Day Ceremony / Arlington National Cemetery
06/13-18	National Wheelchair Games / Long Beach, CA
07/16-20	American Legislative Exchange Council Annual Conference / Monterey, CA

Activities Calendar p.2

Date	Event
07/20-23	Non-Commissioned Officers Assn. National Convention / Orlando, FL
07/29-08/03	Disabled American Veterans National Convention / Las Vegas, NV
07/30-08/01	National Governors Association National Convention / Chicago, IL
08/89	National Assn of State Directors of Veterans Affairs Annual Conference / Oklahoma City, OK
08/06-11	National Conference of State Legislatures Annual Conference / Tulsa, OK
08/08-12	American G.I. Forum National Convention / Omaha, NE
08/12-19	AMVETS National Convention / Grand Rapids, MI
08/14-19	Paralyzed Veterans of America National Convention / Portland, OR
08/18-25	Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention / Las Vegas, NV
09/89	National Assn of Veterans Home Administrators Annual Conference / Oregon
09/01	Legislative Program due to OMB
09/01/89	Effective Date of Court of Veterans Appeals Act
09/01-07	American Legion National Convention / Baltimore, MD
09/15	Central Office reorganizations exempted from report-and-wait requirements of Title 38 U.S.Code 210(b)(2) if accomplished prior to this date.
09/15	Deadline for submitting to Congress proposed legislation containing technical and conforming amendments to title 38 United States Code and to all other "provisions of law".
11/11	Veterans Day Ceremony / Arlington National Cemetery
12/31	Termination of Chapter 34 Education Program

submitted 12/22/88

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 25, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL CABINET AFFAIRS STAFF

FROM: DAVID Q. BATES *DQB*

SUBJECT: BUSH TARGETS AND PROPOSALS PACKET

Attached please find a list of proposals and commitments made by President Bush throughout the campaign. It might be helpful for you to read and familiarize yourself with these statements.

Enclosure

CAMPAIGN PROPOSALS AND COMMITMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TARGETS SET BY GEORGE BUSH

PRIORITIES

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ARMS CONTROL	JOB
BUDGET DEFICIT	JUSTICE DEPARTMENT
CHILD CARE	LEGAL
CIVIL RIGHTS	MIDDLE EAST
CUBA	NATIONAL SECURITY
CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT	NICARAGUA
DEFENSE	PORNOGRAPHY
DISABLED AMERICANS	PRESIDENTIAL STYLE
DRUGS	PRISON SYSTEM
DEATH PENALTY	SAVINGS PLAN
ECONOMY	SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
EDUCATION	SDI
ENERGY	SOCIAL SECURITY
ENVIRONMENT	SOUTH AFRICA
ETHICS	SOVIET UNION
FUTURE CABINET	TAXES
GUN CONTROL	TERRORISM
HEALTH	TRADE
HOMELESS	VETERANS
HOUSING	YES
HUMAN RIGHTS	

TARGETS SET BY GEORGE BUSH

"If I'm remembered for anything, it would be this: a complete and total ban on chemical weapons. Their destruction forever." (Toledo, OH, 10/21/88)

PRIORITIES

Top Priority:

Budget Deficit

First Priorities:

- o Win Passage of Clean Air Legislation
- o Build Upon the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement By Aggressively Negotiating Elimination of Tariffs and Barriers Around the World
- o Have the V.A. at the Cabinet Table

A Top Priority

- o The War On Drugs

High Priorities:

- o Verifiable Elimination of Chemical and Biological Weapons
- o Competitive Strategies Initiative
- o Protection of the Environment and Conservation & Wise Management of Our Natural Resources

Priorities:

- o Work with Congress to Eliminate Unnecessary Military Bases
- o A Way to Peace Between Israel and Her Neighbors

A Big Concern

Long Term Care

Top Agricultural Priority:

Expand Farm Markets -- Foreign and Domestic

A Top Priority in War On Crime & Drugs:

Prison Space

A Fundamental Priority of American Foreign Policy:

Contain the Spread of Nuclear Weapons

Top of Agenda for Attorney General:

Protection of Civil Rights

Priorities For The First 100 Days:

- o Get the deficit down through the flexible freeze. Will require tough negotiations with Congress.
- o On the peace agenda, move forward in discussions with foreign leaders.
- o Consult with the Secretary of Defense regarding nuclear and strategic forces and how to modernize them.

Then move "laser-like" on specific issues with the Cabinet:

- o Consult with Education Secretary to push with "Invest in Our Kids" program.
- o Tackle environmental issues like acid rain.

Good Morning America (CBS)
November 4, 1988

TIMELINE

On Day One:

Name Negotiators to Represent the Executive Branch in
Decisive Deficit Negotiations with Congress

Immediately:

Request the Congress to Amend the 1958 Space Act to Provide
a New Structure for Leadership

One of First Acts as President:

- o Sit Down with Congress and Negotiate a Plan to Cut the Federal Deficit
- o Convene an Early NATO Summit

In First Year:

Convene a Global Conference on the Environment

In First Term:

Determine Exact Architecture of SDI

SUMMITS PROPOSED

Agriculture Summit

"As President, I would call for an economic summit devoted to agriculture." (Shenandoah, IA, 10/23/87)

Bush said he would urge the leaders of the free world to focus solely on agriculture at the economic summit scheduled for France in 1989. (Kansas City Star, 11/13/87)

"Next year, I will urge that the summit focus on agriculture." (Kingsbury, CN, 9/14/88)

Drug Summit

"As President, I will seek a summit meeting of all the countries in this hemisphere to discuss the threat of drugs and the steps we can take together to combat it." (Hartford, CN, 3/24/88)

Environment Summit

"I have pledged in my first year in office, I will convene a global conference on the environment, at the White House, to address global warming, acid rain, and the full range of challenges before us." (San Diego, CA, 10/14/88)

NATO Summit

"I will propose, as one of my first acts as President, to convene an early NATO summit." (Dearborn, MI, 10/19/88)

Objectives:

- o Adoption of an agreed-upon strategy for conventional arms control in Europe.
- o Make sure that our forces and those of our allies are being procured efficiently and deployed effectively.
- o An agreement on a common diplomacy toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
- o Establish a new priority in our public diplomacy."

U.S.-Soviet Summit

Bush pledged to seek an early summit with Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev to "engage in a serious and direct examination of where we are," without expecting "any grand breakthrough." (Washington Post, 11/2/88)

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture Summit

"As President, I would call for an economic summit devoted to agriculture."

Shenandoah, Iowa
October 23, 1987 (Speech)

Bush said he would urge the leaders of the free world to focus solely on agriculture at the economic summit scheduled for France in 1989.

Kansas City Star
November 13, 1987

"Next year, I will urge that the summit focus on agriculture."

Kingsbury, Connecticut
September 14, 1988 (Speech)

Grain Standards

"In a Bush administration we will modernize our grain standards and export procedures. We will ensure that the quality of our grain is at least as good as that sold by other nations at the same price. We will make certain that our foreign customers receive grain of the quality they pay for."

Shenandoah, Iowa
October 23, 1987 (Speech)

Farm Subsidies

Bush promised to protect farm industries, such as Idaho's sugar beet farmers, from unfair subsidized competition.

(AP)
May 5, 1988

Expansion of Farm Markets

"The top agriculture priority of my Administration will be to expand our farm markets -- both domestic and foreign. We need to regain markets that were lost because of the Carter grain embargo, and we need to take back markets that have been lost through unfair foreign competition."

Washington D.C.
July 11, 1988 (Speech)

AGRICULTURE

Grain Embargoes

"I will not go back to the way the Democrats did it and use food as a political weapon and throw a grain embargo on the farmers in this country."

Winston-Salem, N.C.
September 25, 1988 (Debate)

Farm Exports

"My administration will help farmers export more, not force them to produce less."

Kingsbury, Connecticut
September 14, 1988 (Speech)

"I will oppose any attempt to create a Fortress Europe that would close the doors to our products."

Kingsbury, Connecticut
September 14, 1988 (Speech)

"A Bush administration will work to knock down barriers that keep American goods and services out."

Kingsbury, Connecticut
September 14, 1988 (Speech)

ARMS CONTROL

Building on the INF Treaty

"Building upon the INF Treaty, we must seek to reduce long-range arsenals by 50%, reduce conventional forces and eliminate chemical weapons."

USA Today

January 25, 1988

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

"I will strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency to improve its ability to monitor safeguards."

Toledo, Ohio

October 21, 1988 (Speech)

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty/IAEA

"I will work and secure universal adherence to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and to strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency."

Chicago, Illinois

August 2, 1988 (Speech)

Modernization of Weapons

"Reduce offensive weapons through arms control in a way that stabilizes the balance. But keep the balance, keep deterrence working to prevent war by modernizing our weapons."

Chicago, Illinois

August 22, 1988 (Speech)

Strategic and Conventional Arms Reduction

"We'll seek a further reduction of strategic weapons. Working with our allies, we'll seek a balance of conventional arms in Europe. A balance based on asymmetrical Soviet reductions in tanks and artillery....Conventional arms reduction will be a high priority for me."

Fulton, Missouri

October 18, 1988 (Speech)

"I plan to negotiate strategic arms reductions with the Soviets. And I plan to put priority on eliminating Soviet superiority in conventional forces. But I will not do what my opponent has suggested--get rid of the MX, the Midgetman, the B-1 bomber and two carrier battle groups. I will not make such unilateral cuts in our defense."

Chicago, Illinois

August 22, 1988 (Speech)

ARMS CONTROL

Chemical Weapons

"One of my highest priorities as President will be to deal with this terrible scourge (chemical weapons)."

[Six elements of a program to enforce existing curbs on the acquisition and use of poison gas and bacteriological warfare]:

1. "We will call upon all nations to join us.
2. We need to create a more formal 'suppliers' group to control the transfer of chemical technology and weapons.
3. We must develop the means for intrusive verification.
4. I will propose that the missile technology control regime (MTCR) that we set up in 1987 with our allies be made binding, not simply voluntary.
5. I will put a senior official in charge of overseeing our policies on missile and chemical weapon proliferation.
6. While doing all we can to stop or control missile and chemical proliferation, we must also work with our friends to develop a defense against this threat."

"And if I'm elected President, if I'm remembered for anything, it would be this: a complete and total ban on chemical weapons. Their destruction forever."

Toledo, Ohio

October 21, 1988 (Speech)

BUDGET DEFICIT

Flexible Freeze

"I've proposed a flexible freeze, under which total government spending can increase, but only at the rate of inflation. Social Security, which is a solemn bond between the generations, and interest payments would be exempt."

Chicago, Illinois
September 13, 1988 (Speech)

Deficit Reduction

"I would be the president dedicated to holding the line on taxes and containing the growth of spending. That is how we're going to get the deficit down."

Concord Monitor
October 12, 1987

In response to a question on the deficit, Bush said he would "send up budgets that meet the Gramm-Rudman targets -- I'm going to say, instead of spending \$20 billion on clean water, let's make it \$6 [billion]. I'm strongly for an improved highway program; instead of 80 [billion] it should be 20 [billion]. And go right down the line program by program."

Des Moines Register
October 18, 1987

Bush would "cut waste and lower priority programs," close some military bases and limit highway spending.

Washington Post
June 2, 1988

Government Reform

"We should: Get Congress to change our procurement laws to combine all of them into one single government-wide procurement statute. The more complicated our system, the more spread out it is in different laws, the more wide open it is to fraud, abuse, and just plain old waste."

"Move to a multi-year budgeting process. If ever there was an argument for planning ahead, it is in national defense. America's security shouldn't have to get on the Congressional budget roller coaster every year. The ride should be smooth and steady. I will work to make this change."

"And we must cut the bureaucracy and I don't mean cutting the guys who repair the ships and fix the planes. I mean eliminating unnecessary layers of Senior and Middle management that just make for more paperwork and not more security."

Chicago, Illinois
August 22, 1988 (Speech)

BUDGET DEFICIT

Top Priority

Bush said the federal budget deficit would be his top priority. :
"The nagging problem is Congress' deficit."

(AP)

January 1, 1988

"One of my first acts as President will be to sit down with the
leaders of Congress and negotiate a plan to cut this federal
deficit."

Waterbury, Connecticut

October 24, 1988 (Speech)

On Day One

"On day one of the Bush Presidency I am going to name
negotiators to represent the executive branch in decisive deficit
negotiations with the Congress."

Chicago, Illinois

March 10, 1988 (Speech)

CHILD CARE

"I would encourage employer sponsored child care, flexible work schedules and benefit plans which allow workers to choose the benefits they need."

(UPI)

July 24, 1988

COSTS AND FEATURES OF THE BUSH FOUR POINT PLAN ON CHILD CARE

The specific features of the Bush four-point program for child care are as follows:

1) CHILDREN'S TAX CREDIT

Cost: \$1.5 billion

George Bush proposed creation of the "Children's Tax Credit, " a new refundable tax credit of up to \$1,000 per child under age four, to recognize the increased costs of families with children. Implementation would be tied to the earned income tax credit. The tax credit would phase out as income rises, but would be available to all families at equivalent income levels.

2) REFUNDABLE DEPENDENT CARE TAX CREDIT

Cost \$400 million

George Bush proposed to maintain the existing dependent care tax credit, and to take an additional important step to make it refundable. Too many low income families go without the assistance we have made available to upper income families because they do not earn enough to pay taxes. A family could take the greater credit, the Children's Tax Credits or the refundable dependent care credit.

3) CHILD CARE FOR EMPLOYEES

Cost \$50 million

George Bush would initiate more employer sponsored day care, starting with the federal government as a model. He would see that every federal agency provided assistance to government employees.

4) MORE CHOICES, BETTER INFORMATION

A. EXPAND HEAD START

Cost \$240 million

George Bush proposed to expand the Head Start program, an extremely successful early childhood program. He would begin immediately to phase in funding so that all eligible four year-olds could enroll in Head Start.

CHILD CARE

B. NEW PROGRAMS Cost \$10 million

The Vice President also proposed additional resources to address specifically the needs of all working parents for a broader range of choices and higher quality child care. Many states and localities are addressing the needs of pre-school and after school care, improving the quality and availability of care, but many more must catch up.

July 1988 (Fact Sheet)

CIVIL RIGHTS

Bush promised a "positive civil rights agenda," "increased funding" for minority businesses and Head Start programs, support for "affirmative action," "full participation of all Americans in our economy and in our government," and by implication, a prominent Cabinet post for blacks.

Christian Science Monitor
July 28, 1988

Equal Opportunity

"As President I will use the full power of my office to ensure equality of opportunity for all Americans."

Cedar Rapids, Iowa
October 13, 1987

Business/OMBE

"A Bush Administration will help build the bridge of capitalism and entrepreneurship to the Black community. I want to help more Black Americans and other minorities experience the pride and dignity of ownership, of building something in the private sector."

The Vice President promised to "restore and reinvigorate" the Commerce Department's Office of Minority Business Enterprise.

Wall Street Journal
March 24, 1988

Education/Job Training

"I will support increased assistance to Black education and job training programs."

Washington, D.C.
April 15, 1988 (Speech)

Civil Rights Agenda/Attorney General

"I will have a positive civil rights agenda. I guarantee you, I will be personally involved in protecting the civil rights of all Americans. This effort will be at the top of the agenda of my attorney general, and he or she will be directly accountable to me for results."

Washington, D.C.
July 12, 1988 (Speech)

Minorities in a Bush Administration

"Minority men and women of excellence" will be full-scale partners in my Administration."

Bush also promised to "restore and reinvigorate" [the Commerce Department's minority business development program].

Washington Times
July 13, 1988

CUBA

"I can guarantee you, there will be no such accommodations made
(with Castro's corrupt, communist government)."

White House Briefing

June 13, 1988

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Gang Unit/Mandatory Sentencing/Drug Testing

"I am proposing, among other initiatives:

- o Creation of a new Gang Unit within the Criminal Division of the Justice Department;
- o New mandatory sentences for illegal gang activity;
- o Finally,...we should make sure that no one makes bail, is given probation, gets out on parole -- or stays out on parole -- unless they can pass a drug test."

Ft. Worth, Texas

October 6, 1988 (Speech)

Mandatory Sentencing

"It's time to put the career criminals out of business with mandatory minimum sentences without parole."

Ft. Worth, Texas

October 6, 1988 (Speech)

"I support mandatory sentencing."

Xenia, Ohio

October 7, 1988 (Speech)

Increased Assistance to Local Law Enforcement

"Part Five is increasing technical and financial assistance to local law enforcement."

Ft. Worth, Texas

October 6, 1988 (Speech)

Prison Budget

"I have proposed doubling the current prison budget over the next four years; converting certain unneeded military bases into state and federal prisons, and helping to finance the construction of more prisons with the confiscated assets of the drug traffickers and racketeers."

Ft. Worth, Texas

October 6, 1988 (Speech)

"I've proposed a sharp increase in our Federal budget for building new prison cells."

Trenton, N.J.

October 10, 1988 (Speech)

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Rehabilitation

"Separate the first-time offender from the career criminal and remove youth offenders from drug facilities....Also, expand drug treatment programs, teach inmates to read, along with basic job skills."

Ft. Worth, Texas
October 6, 1988 (Speech)

Five-Part Crime Program

"I think that most Americans would agree that it is time for a return to common sense about crime. Yesterday, I spelled out what I called a five-part common sense program on crime that includes:

-- A new focus on busting the street gangs that are turning our city streets into battle zones;

-- Certainty of sentencing, so that criminals know that if they commit a felony crime, they'll do time; along with tough judges who will prosecute to the full extent of the law;

-- New efforts at rehabilitating first-time offenders, while doubling the federal budget for prison construction so we can keep the hardened convicts out of our communities;

-- Target career criminals and put them out of business with mandatory minimum sentences without parole;

-- And last, but not least, the recognition that some hardened murderers are beyond rehabilitation. I believe that some crimes are so terrible and so heinous that the criminal should pay the ultimate sanction -- they deserve the death penalty."

Xenia, OH
October 7, 1988 (Speech)

Creation of Anti-Crime Office

"We need an anti-crime office in the Department of Justice."
Trenton, N.J.
October 10, 1988 (Speech)

White Collar Crime

"We will throw the book at insider traders and other white collar criminals."

Seattle, WA
October 11, 1988 (Speech)

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

White Collar Crime

"I believe we should increase the penalties and sentences...for insider trading. And we should penalize those firms who fail to maintain systems to prevent insider trading.

Seattle, WA

October 11, 1988 (Speech)

Victims' Rights

"I would like to strengthen the rights of victims and I have some ideas for how we can do that. Here are just a few:

Re-authorization of Victims of Crime Act

First, I would call upon Congress to re-authorize -- as soon as possible -- the Victims of Crime Act. That bill, enacted under our Administration, allows victims to be compensated from the penalties charged to criminals. They have that right, and it should not be jeopardized.

Right to be Informed

Second, I believe that victims should have the statutory right to be informed of, be present, and be heard at every critical stage of the criminal justice process. This was recommended by the President's Task Force on Victims of Crime -- it's time to spell it out in our laws.

Full Restitution

Third, victims should have the right to full restitution -- and they shouldn't have to go back to court to get it if the financial circumstances of a convict change. And in that same vein, although the federal government -- unlike most states -- devotes all criminal fine money to victims, I believe we should consider raising the fees charged defendants upon conviction -- so that more money can be channeled to victims.

Officers Killed in the Line of Duty

Fourth, we should increase the payment to the families of public safety officers who are killed in the line of duty. Our police put their lives on the line every day -- this is the least we can do.

Victim and Witness Protection Act

Finally, I'm going to meet with our U.S. Attorneys and look closely to make sure they're doing everything possible to give victims and witnesses a fully fair shake under the Victim and Witness Protection Act.

In short, I'm going to bring an attitude to the White House that has more sympathy for the victims of crime than for the criminals."

Trenton, N.J.

October 10, 1988 (Speech)

CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

Prison Space

[Prison space] will be a top priority in his war on crime and drugs."

UPI

June 26, 1988

DEFENSE

"As for me, I will defend this great land, I will lead it, and I will help it spread the light of freedom. And I will never apologize for America."

Seattle, Washington
October 16, 1987 (Speech)

Peace Through Strength

"And I promise you that as President I will do everything necessary to ensure that our defenses remain strong."

Washington D.C.
June 17, 1988 (Press
Conference)

Chemical and Biological Weapons

"We must also find a way to verifiably eliminate chemical and biological weapons. I put such a proposal on the table in Geneva in 1984, and it would be a top priority of a Bush Administration."

Decorah, Iowa
November 6, 1987 (Speech)

SDI

"I am committed to deployment of SDI, as soon as feasible, and will determine the exact architecture of the system in my first term, as the technologies are tested and proven. I will not leave America defenseless against ballistic missiles."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988

Unnecessary Military Bases

"A priority of mine will be to work with Congress to eliminate such (unnecessary military) bases."

(UPI)
June 26, 1988

Weapons Systems

"We cannot afford a President who opposes every step we are taking to keep our defenses at the technological edge, who opposes:

the MX,
the Midgetman,
testing of nuclear weapons,
flight testing of ballistic missiles,
testing of anti-satellite weapons,
the building of a strategic defense..."

Albuquerque, N.M.
May 12, 1988 (Speech)

DEFENSE

Modernization/Reduction of Strategic Arsenal

"My policy will be continued modernization as we pursue a verifiable and stabilizing agreement to reduce each strategic arsenal by 50%, mindful that a reduction in arsenal must also mean a reduction in danger."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988 (Speech)

Modernization

"I will work to revitalize the missile technology control regime."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988 (Speech)

Ballistic Missiles

"I will put one senior official in charge of the ballistic missiles problem and give him the responsibility to integrate the intelligence, military, technical, diplomatic and economic resources needed to respond."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988 (Speech)

Scowcroft Commission

"I'll work with Congress to phase in the Scowcroft Commission plan."

Denver, Colorado (Speech)
October 17, 1988

Competitive Strategies Initiative

"[The Competitive Strategies Initiative] we'll make that a high priority in my administration."

Houston, Texas
September 22, 1988 (Speech)

"[Competitive strategies], coordinated with the already existing NATO plans, will help to give us extra punch from our conventional forces."

Denver, Colorado
October 17, 1988 (Speech)

Navy

"We're not going back to a one-ocean Navy for a three-ocean commitment!"

Denver, Colorado
October 17, 1988 (Speech)

DEFENSE

Procurement

"We should work with Congress to change our complex procurement laws...we should move to a two-year budget cycle and multi-year funding for major weapons systems."

Denver, Colorado
October 17, 1988 (Speech)

Nuclear Weapons/IAEA

"A fundamental priority of American foreign policy must be to contain the spread of nuclear weapons...for it appears quite clear that we stand a greater risk that such weapons will be used in a regional conflict or in a terrorist attack than in a standoff between the superpowers.

As President, I will push for more progress in this area, more support for the International Atomic Energy Agency, with a more visible Presidential interest in containing this threat in every way possible."

Washington, D.C.
April 15, 1988 (Speech)

DISABLED AMERICANS

"I pledge that my administration will do away with 'Hire the Handicapped Week' and replace it with federal legislation that gives people with disabilities the same protection in private employment that is now enjoyed by women and minorities."

Horizons

July/August, 1988

"I want to do everything I can as President to bring disabled citizens into the economic mainstream."

Waterbury, Connecticut

October 24, 1988 (Speech)

DRUGS

Drug Summit

"As President, I will seek a summit meeting of all the countries in this hemisphere to discuss the threat of drugs and the steps we can take together to combat it."

Hartford, Connecticut
March 24, 1988 (Speech)

Bargaining with Drug Dealers

"I won't bargain with terrorists and I won't bargain with drug dealers either, whether they are on U.S. or foreign soil."

(AP)
May 5, 1988

VP as Drug Czar

"I will ask the Vice President to head a cabinet level council of war to pull the effort together, to develop and coordinate a national strategy to make sure it's carried out."

(AP)
May 5, 1988

"If I'm elected, I will put my Vice President in charge of every aspect of federal drug policy."

Los Angeles, California
May 18, 1988 (Speech)

International Strike Force

Bush said that, if elected, he would urge other nations to join in establishing "an international strike force to hit back, quick and hard and often, at foreign drug operations."

(AP)
May 26, 1988

War Against Drugs

"This is a war that everyone must fight together -- parents, coaches, journalists, screenwriters. As President, I will honor no exemptions from this draft ... I intend to fight this war and win it, and to end it."

Hackensack, New Jersey
May 26, 1988 (Speech)

Stronger Penalties

"As President, I will insist on stronger penalties for drug offenses."

Salt Lake City, Utah
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 15, 1988

DRUGS

Stronger Penalties

"I'm for tough penalties for those who poison our kids with drugs. For major traffickers, for those who commit drug-related murders, the penalty should be death."

Hackensack, New Jersey
May 26, 1988 (Speech)

"Drug-Free" Companies

Bush said he would require companies receiving federal contracts to adopt "drug-free" programs for their workers.

Washington Post
May 27, 1988

Zero-Tolerance

"The new 'zero tolerance' policy -- the one that's led to the seizure of cars and planes and yachts -- is important not because it will stop the flow of drugs into this country, but because it sends the right message: If you're using drugs, you're abusing your country... 'Zero tolerance' should be the policy of every state in the Union."

Hackensack, New Jersey
May 26, 1988 (Speech)

"I agree with the policy of zero tolerance. If you make the case that somebody purposefully seizes a vehicle that has nothing to do with drugs and sells it, no I don't agree with that. But I agree with this policy of zero tolerance, and if we're going to have a war, we better send the signals that we're serious about the war. And if some yacht owner is inconvenienced, too damn bad."

Press Conference
June 15, 1988

"'Zero tolerance' should be the policy of every state and, more importantly, the attitude of every person in the country."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 8, 1988 (Speech)

Prison Space

[Prison space] will be a top priority in his war on crime and drugs."

UPI
June 26, 1988

DRUGS

Tougher Enforcement, Prevention, Interdiction and Leadership

"In Hackensack, New Jersey, I detailed my approach to combatting the problem of drugs, one that combines tougher enforcement, prevention, interdiction, and perhaps the most important ingredient of all--leadership."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 8, 1988 (Speech)

Death Penalty

"I'm the one who says a drug dealer who is responsible for the death of a policeman should be subject to capital punishment."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 18, 1988 (Speech)

"I've made a commitment to safer neighborhoods-one that includes the ultimate weapon to fight crime; for kingpins, or for those who kill police officers, that means the death penalty. And that's why I've pledged to get drugs out of our schools and dealers off our streets once and for all."

Portland, Oregon
August 23, 1988 (Speech)

Tougher Sentencing/Use of Military and Coast Guard

"I've proposed tougher sentences for pushers, including the death penalty for kingpins who deal drugs. I've proposed further involving the military in the drug eradication effort abroad, and beefing up the Coast Guard's ability to patrol our waters."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 8, 1988 (Speech)

Tougher Sentencing

"We're going to teach our children to say no, and we're going to teach the dealers that if they say 'yes' the penalty will be swift, sure and severe."

Cleveland, Ohio
August 20, 1988 (Speech)

Coast Guard

"I support increasing the ability of the Coast Guard to patrol our waters (to find illegal dumpers and) to stop the flow of illegal drugs into this country."

Belmar Beach, N.J.
September 2, 1988 (Speech)

DEATH PENALTY

"Should society be allowed to impose the death penalty on those who commit crimes of extraordinary cruelty and violence? My opponent says no--but I say yes."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 18, 1988 (Speech)

"I believe that we can make America safe if we're tough with criminals; if we reclaim our streets with more cops and firm sentences; and if criminals know that for the worst crimes--like killing a police officer or dealing huge amounts of drugs--they'll face the death penalty."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 18, 1988 (Speech)

ECONOMY

R&D Tax Credit/Employee Ownership/SBA

"Make permanent the research and development tax credit, encourage employee stock ownership plans and employee ownership ideas; reinvigorate the Small Business Administration."

Bensalem, Pennsylvania
September 19, 1988 (Speech)

Taxes

"No new taxes."

Union City, N.J.
September 12, 1988

Third World Debt

"I support the Baker plan."

Debate
September 25, 1988

Job Creation

"Jobs for those who want them in all 50 states. That is my mission as President."

Waterbury, Connecticut
October 24, 1988 (Speech)

Enterprise Zones

"I will ask the Congress to join me in creating enterprise zones."

Waterbury, Connecticut
October 24, 1988 (Speech)

Capital Gains Tax

"I will push for a cut in the capital gains tax."

Waterbury, Connecticut
October 24, 1988 (Speech)

"A Bush administration will seek to cut the capital gains tax from 28 to 15 percent"

Columbus, Ohio
October 25, 1988 (Speech)

Disabled

"I want to do everything I can as President to bring disabled citizens into the economic mainstream."

Waterbury, Connecticut
October 24, 1988 (Speech)

ECONOMY

Foreign Trade

"A Bush administration will conduct a thorough review of anti-competitive laws and regulations and work with Congress to rewrite them."

Columbus, Ohio
October 25, 1988 (Speech)

EDUCATION

Bully Pulpit

Bush said that he would use the White House as a "a bully pulpit" to encourage excellence in elementary and secondary schools.

Quad City Times
November 21, 1987

Disadvantaged Students/Choice in Schools

Bush would provide federal grants averaging \$100,000 for those schools "that primarily serve disadvantaged students."

He would also "take steps to encourage choice within the public schools."

(AP)
June 14, 1988

Federal Education Spending

Bush would be willing to increase federal education spending.

Washington Post
June 15, 1988

College Savings Bonds

Bush would put an income limit on his proposal for college savings bonds on which the interest would be tax free. He would begin phasing out tax benefits for those with annual income of \$60,000 and would eliminate the benefits for those over \$80,000.

Washington Post
June 15, 1988

Head Start/Chapter I/Merit Schools

"In my first budget, I will ask that funding for Head Start be increased sharply. We should also provide more assistance to the disadvantaged with better targeting of federal education funds through Chapter I. We can reach more than 80 percent of the black children in this country by targeting just 4 percent of the school districts. I have also proposed a "merit schools" program that would provide \$500 million a year to reward significant improvement by schools that primarily serve disadvantaged students."

Washington D.C.
July 12, 1988 (Speech)

EDUCATION

Head Start

"I am committed to building the Head Start Program to a level where all eligible 4-year-olds attend class."

Albuquerque, N.M.

July 24, 1988 (Speech)

Pledge of Allegiance

"Should public school teachers be required to lead our children in the pledge of allegiance? My opponent says no--but I say yes."

New Orleans, Louisiana

August 18, 1988 (Speech)

Prayer in School

"Should our children have the right to say a voluntary prayer, or even observe a moment of silence in schools? My opponent says no--but I say yes."

New Orleans, Louisiana

August 18, 1988 (Speech)

Head Start/College Savings Bonds/Excellence in Schools

"The idea that every child in America should get an education--that is second to none. I have made proposals in this area; expand Head Start, reward excellence in schools, set up college savings bonds to help parents save for college. If America is to compete in the 21st century, we'll need the best schools in the world. And that's why I'll be the Education President."

Huntington, Indiana

August 19, 1988 (Speech)

Power to the Parents

"We are going to have education that gives the parents power--not the social planners, not the governments, but the parents."

Huntington, Indiana

August 19, 1988 (Speech)

College Savings Bonds

"So if elected, I look forward to signing a college savings bond plan into law."

Waterbury, Connecticut

October 24, 1988 (Speech)

EDUCATION

Education Curriculum

"I will urge states and school boards to focus on science and math education from elementary grades to graduate school."

Columbus, Ohio

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

"I will call a conference of the nation's governors to discuss the most urgent problems facing our schools...improving math and science education...I will encourage states to adopt Alternate Certification for Teachers, ACT."

Columbus, Ohio

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

ENERGY

Coal

One step Bush said he'd take would be to spend \$2.5 billion on clean-coal technology and push it hard. "Not set the standards, not drive the industrial Midwest to its knees, but use the best technology you can to find an answer."

(AP)

December 23, 1987

Oil Dependence

"I...released a comprehensive plan for making America less dependent on foreign oil. We must both stimulate our domestic oil industry and build a multi-source energy base."

New Orleans, Louisiana

August 8, 1988 (Speech)

Off-Shore Drilling

Bush said he would oppose an outright ban on drilling off the California coast, but that he would support drilling only with environmental and aesthetic controls.

New York Daily News

May 5, 1988

"Before going forward with new lease sales, we must first be assured that the national treasure of the California coastline will not be harmed."

New York Times

June 6, 1988

Oil Incentives/Energy Policy

"I am one who is very worried about the national energy policy of this country," Bush said. "You ask for change, there is going to be a different energy policy under a Bush Administration with more incentive to find more domestic oil and gas."

San Diego Union

May 13, 1988

Alternative Fuels

"If I'm elected President, I will press for greater alternative fuels."

Fairfield, Iowa

October 23, 1987 (Speech)

ENERGY

National Energy Statement

"First, we should fully decontrol natural gas and seek more competitive transportation of gas. Gas decontrol alone will save the average consumer household \$25 to \$40 a year.

Second, I propose a system of tax incentives, particularly aimed at the small independent oil producer, including:

- * Tax incentives for returning non-producing, temporarily abandoned stripper wells to production.
- * A 10% tax credit for oil and gas exploration -- up to \$10 million of costs, 5% thereafter -- creditable to the alternative minimum tax.
- * Clarification of the R & D tax credit to include enhanced recovery techniques.
- * Repeal of the Transfer Rule prohibiting independent producers from using certain tax provisions on acquired properties.
- * Elimination of the Windfall Profits Tax. (Eliminated September 1988).

Third, I propose increasing the fill rate of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve particularly from new production resulting from the above incentives. I will press our allies to maintain comparable strategic reserves. After all, it's their security as well as our own that we're protecting with our Reserve and our naval escorts of Persian Gulf oil shipments.

Fourth, greater use of coal, using the clean coal technology this administration supports, will also help replace imported oil. We can export more coal by promoting long term contracts with U.S. suppliers and through a tough negotiating stance with our partners who subsidize their domestic coal production.

Fifth, I will personally emphasize the importance of conservation and new technologies as means for reducing oil imports."

Houston Chronicle
July 24, 1988

ENVIRONMENT

Environment Summit

"I will convene a global conference of the environment in the White House. We will talk about saving our oceans, acid rain, and preventing the loss of tropical forests."

Erie Metropark

August 31, 1988 (Speech)

"I'm for a global conference on the environment, here in the United States, so that all nations can work together in solving problems like global warming, acid rain, ocean pollution, and deforestation."

Boston Harbor

September 1, 1988 (Speech)

"I have pledged in my first year in office, I will convene a global conference on the environment, at the White House, to address global warming, acid rain, and the full range of challenges before us."

San Diego, Calif.

October 14, 1988 (Speech)

Clean-Coal Technology

One step Bush said he'd take would be to spend \$2.5 billion on clean-coal technology and push it hard, but at the same time "not drive the industrial Midwest to its knees, but use the best technology you can to find an answer."

(AP)

December 23, 1987

"I support our \$5 billion program to develop new clean-coal technology and other pollution control incentives. We should pursue the initiatives that have emerged from our dialogue with Canada, and if they do not produce results, establish specific emission reduction goals that promise steady progress toward cleaner air."

Seattle, WA

May 16, 1988 (Speech)

Water Rights

Bush said he will tell the federal bureaucracy that his policy is that "water belongs to the states, not the federal government."

(AP)

May 5-6, 1988

ENVIRONMENT

Off-Shore Drilling

Bush said he would oppose an outright ban on drilling off the California coast, but that he would support drilling only with environmental and aesthetic controls."

New York Daily News

May 5, 1988

"I do believe that development of our most promising oil and gas reserves is called for, because continued domestic production of oil and gas is essential to the national security of the United States."

San Diego, Calif.

October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"At the same time, I oppose drilling in those environmentally sensitive areas where the risk of damage is too great. I have said that I would delay any drilling under Lease Sale 91 in northern California pending resolution of these environmental concerns."

San Diego, Calif.

October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"We should take a very close look at those environmentally sensitive areas which would be available for development under Lease Sale 95 here in Southern California before proceeding with that sale."

San Diego, Calif.

October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"I will not allow California's golden shores, its most precious treasure, to be put at risk."

San Diego, Calif.

October 14, 1988 (Speech)

Protection/Conservation

"The protection of the environment and the conservation and wise management of our natural resources...must have a high priority on our national agenda."

Seattle, WA

May 16, 1988 (Speech)

Agenda

"I will put the very best people we can find to work on our environmental agenda."

Seattle, WA

May 16, 1988 (Speech)

ENVIRONMENT

Enforcement of Environmental Laws

"A Bush Administration will enforce environmental laws aggressively, putting the responsibility for cleanup where it belongs -- on those who caused the problem in the first place."

Seattle, WA

May 16, 1988 (Speech)

"As President, I will insist that in the future federal agencies meet or exceed environmental standards."

Seattle, WA

May 16, 1988 (Speech)

Acid Rain

Bush would "move from research to action on elementary acid rain" by promoting technological innovation and economic incentives.

Orlando Sentinel

June 19, 1988

"I'm for taking action to curb the damage done by acid rain. The time for study alone is over. I would agree to a program of emissions reductions on a specific timetable.

Boston Harbor

September 1, 1988 (Speech)

Clean Up Environment

"I want to clean up our environment--our soil, our air, our rivers, lakes and oceans....We're going to stop dumping in our lakes and oceans--and we're going to track down and prosecute those who dump with such callous disregard for public health. If we have to bring in the FBI, let's bring in the FBI."

Cleveland, Ohio

August 20, 1988 (Speech)

Greenhouse Effect

"Those who think we're powerless to do anything about the greenhouse effect are forgetting about the White House effect. As President, I intend to do something about it."

Los Angeles Times

September 1, 1988

ENVIRONMENT

Toxic Waste

"I'm for an aggressive, no-nonsense approach to cleaning up toxic waste dumps. I'm for strengthening enforcement action against dumpers and streamlining the bureaucracy that sometimes slows down our clean-up efforts.

Boston Harbor
September 1, 1988

"I plan to attack the toxic waste menace with every enforcement tool at my disposal."

Erie Metropark
August 31, 1988 (Speech)

Ocean Dumping

"I'm for a ban on the ocean dumping of sewage sludge after 1991, and a strong effort to track disposal of medical waste.

Boston Harbor
September 1, 1988 (Speech)

"We should work with the states to track the disposal of medical wastes, in order to prevent them from washing up on our beaches. And when someone is caught dumping such wastes illegally, we should throw the book at them."

San Diego, Calif.
October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"I favor beefing up the Coast Guard, and, if need be, calling in the FBI, to help track down and crack down on those who dump illegally."

San Diego, Calif.
October 14, 1988 (Speech)

Parks, Land Use

"I will pay special attention to the condition and management of our parks. I will look for ways to expand them."

Erie Metropark
August 31, 1988 (Speech)

"I want America to increase opportunities provided by the great outdoors. And in that task, I will pay special attention to the condition and management of our parks. I will look for ways to expand them, to link our cities with greenways along abandoned railways tracks, and refresh them with urban parks.

Erie Metropark, Michigan
August 31, 1988 (Speech)

ENVIRONMENT

Parks, Land Use

"I'd like to be known as a President who strengthened our park system and passed it on to the next generation of Americans in better shape than we found it."

San Diego, Calif.
October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"If I am elected President, I will undertake a program to strengthen and preserve our parks. I'll call it America the Beautiful."

San Diego, Calif.
October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"I believe we should create "green ways", using such areas as abandoned railroad corridors, to connect parks in different parts of the country...we should continue the Land and Water Conservation Fund (which funds the acquisition of new parklands and wildlife refuges)...we can reconstitute it as a National Endowment of the Environment, and using a portion of our non-renewable oil and gas revenues, allow it to continue to give Americans the chance to enjoy our land and water resources."

San Diego, Calif.
October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"We should take the greatest care to enhance the protect those (urban) parks...I would pursue such acquisitions (Santa Monica Mountains Recreation Area park) near urban centers."

San Diego, Calif.
October 14, 1988 (Speech)

"I'd like to see legions of our young people volunteer to keep our parks in shape..."

San Diego, Calif.
October 14, 1988 (Speech)
(Also under "YES")

Environmental Policy

"I would start by integrating environmental considerations into all policy decisions--from foreign to farm to economic policy; from the education of our children to the research and development of our scientists. And I would immediately begin to address some of the major challenges that confront us."

Erie Metropark, Michigan
August 31, 1988 (Speech)

ENVIRONMENT

Coast Guard/Illegal Dumping

"I'm for beefing up the Coast Guard's ability to stop illegal dumping of waste at sea, and for calling in the FBI if need be, to help track down those who dump illegally.

Boston Harbor

September 1, 1988 (Speech)

"I would strengthen the Coast Guard....I support increasing the ability of the Coast Guard to patrol our waters, to find illegal dumpers, and to stop the flow of illegal drugs into this country."

New Jersey Rally

September 2, 1988 (Speech)

Wetlands

"I'm for working to preserve our wetlands, resources which are of tremendous value as a wildlife habitat, as a flood control device and as a natural filter for clean air."

Boston Harbor

September 1, 1988 (Speech)

"I support a policy of 'no net loss' of wetlands through mitigating the affects of development, preserving wetlands where possible, and creating new wetlands."

Erie Metropark

August 31, 1988 (Speech)

Emissions Reductions

"As President, I will ask for a program to cut millions of tons of sulfur dioxide emissions by the year 2000, and to significantly reduce nitrogen oxide emissions as well. I will work out the exact amounts and the exact methodology with the Congress. But we must have a clear commitment to emissions reduction, on a clear timetable."

Erie Metropark, Michigan

August 31, 1988 (Speech)

Conservation

"Conservation will be a priority of my administration. Another, frankly, is nuclear power--although a precondition of its continued use is safe operation of plants and safe disposal of nuclear waste."

Erie Metropark, Michigan

August 31, 1988 (Speech)

ENVIRONMENT

Clean Air

"If I am sworn in as your President, one of my first priorities will be to win passage of clean air legislation...one that will provide for reductions in those substances that contribute to acid rain."

San Diego, Calif.

October 14, 1988 (Speech)

ETHICS

White House Ethics Office

Mr. Bush said he would create a White House ethics office to write a new code of ethical behavior and study the problem.

Washington Times

March 11, 1988

His intention would not be to "frustrate" the current office of Government Ethics but rather "simply to complement" its staff.

(UPI)

July 27, 1988

"A permanent ethics office will be established in each department and major agency of government, headed by senior agency officials, with a small, permanent staff dedicated solely to implementing and monitoring compliance with the ethics program."

Washington, D.C.

July 26, 1988 (Speech)

"I will have an ethical office in the White House that will be under the President's personal concern."

Debate

October 13, 1988

Ethics Standard

"Nobody in a Bush Administration will come to Washington to profit, but they will come to serve."

New York Times

January 26, 1988

Bush has called for a high standard of ethics in government, saying he was "tired of being embarrassed" by conflicts of interest and other ethical problems.

Washington Times

April 10, 1988

"In my administration, the code of conduct will be clear and uniform. It will reflect common sense. Nothing will be overly technical. What is intuitively right -- what your conscience tells you -- will invariably be the written rule."

Washington, D.C.

July 26, 1988

ETHICS

Ethics Standard

Vice President Bush, fighting to distance himself from questions about the Reagan Administration's adherence to rules of ethical behavior, promised Tuesday to appoint a special counselor responsible for ethics and said his Administration would send an "unmistakable" message that public employees must be held to "an exacting code of conduct."

"The test for appointment to office in the Bush Administration...will be unquestioned character, integrity, talent, and yes, dedication to public service," he said.

"To exempt Congress from any of these rules, as does current-of-interest law, is to establish a double standard that breeds suspicion, breeds cynicism, and in my judgement breeds abuse," he said. "No one, no institution, no body of government should be above the law. That is not the American way."

Los Angeles Times

July 22, 1988

First: It has been an article of faith in my family since my early childhood that public service is the highest calling.

Second: In fairness to the people who often make real sacrifices to serve the government, who may leave professions, jobs and hometowns to join my administration, the high standards of conduct to which they will be held accountable must be expressed in unambiguous terms, with clear, concise, and simple definitions, eliminating needless restrictions. We must not discourage good people from serving their country.

Third: The sanctions imposed by law for breach of the standards of conduct must be fair and proportionate. Today, there is little or no room under conflicts law for the exercise of discretion and the fashioning of measured responses.

To put it in high relief, one is either charged with a felony or nothing at all. This is plainly unacceptable. The threshold for judging ethical conduct in government is not, should not, and will not be whether an appointee has committed a criminal offense, but whether that individual has exercised honest, unbiased judgement and scrupulously avoided any appearance of impropriety or conflict of interest.

Fourth: However we elect to define the rules, they must be equitably applied to all who enjoy the privilege of public service -- including Congress. To exempt Congress from any of these rules, as does certain conflict of interest law, is to establish a double standard that breeds suspicion, cynicism, and abuse. No one, no institution, no body of government should be above the law. That is not the American way.

Washington, D.C.

July 26, 1988 (Speech)

ETHICS

Ethics Standard

"I will not tolerate lawlessness in the Pentagon, in the streets, or in Congress."

(AP)

June 17, 1988

Special Ethics Counselor

Bush promised to appoint a special counselor responsible for ethics and said his Administration would send an "unmistakable message" that public employees must be held to "an exacting code of conduct."

Los Angeles Times

July 22, 1988

"I will establish an office at the highest level of government -- that of Senior Counselor to the President, whose first responsibility will be ethics."

Washington, D.C.

July 26, 1988 (Speech)

Conflict of Interest Law

"If elected, I will...propose a sweeping restatement of federal conflict of interest law. The changes I will propose include the following:

Differences in Gravity

First, federal conflict of interest laws will be amended to recognize differences in the gravity of the conduct under review.

Blind Trusts

Second, all blind trusts will be managed by institutions, not individuals.

Amendment of Current Law

Third, current law does not adequately address the misuse of office before departure from government in order to feather a future nest in the private sector, nor does it adequately prohibit the use of confidential information by ex-government employees and their new employer. The law will be amended to deal with these two situations.

Extension to Congressional Senior Staff

Fourth, statutory prohibitions against acting on matters of a personal financial interest will be extended to members of senior staff of Congress.

Revolving Door

Fifth, the statutory bar on the "revolving door" -- that is, the absolute bar on lobbying an agency or department of government in which an employee worked for a period of one year -- will be extended similarly to members of senior staff of Congress.

Washington, D.C.

FUTURE CABINET

Bush said he intended to "have a new Cabinet" if elected.

(AP)

April 1, 1988

"I'm not saying that nobody holding a job today will hold a job when I'm elected. But many people who have executive appointments will not be there even if they're doing a great job."

Orange County Register

May 6, 1988

"My Cabinet will be composed of the very best men and women -- one of whom, finally, will be Hispanic American."

Dallas, Texas

July 6, 1988 (Speech)

"That's one of the first things I'll do as President. In a Bush Administration, we'll have the V.A. at the Cabinet table."

Louisville, Kentucky

September 7, 1988 (Speech)

GUN CONTROL

"Should free men and women have the right to own a gun to protect their home? My opponent says no--but I say yes."

New Orleans, Louisiana

August 18, 1988 (Speech)

Bush said he opposes [the waiting period the Brady Amendment would have required] but favors "the states having the right to do that."

Washington Post

October 9, 1988

HEALTH

Veterans

"I would work to build a health care policy for older veterans that could serve as a model for all Americans."

Chicago, Illinois

August 22, 1988 (Speech)

Abortion

"Is it right to believe in the sanctity of life and protect the lives of innocent children? My opponent says no--but I say yes."

New Orleans, Louisiana

August 18, 1988 (Speech)

"I want to encourage adoptions instead of abortions."

Longview, Texas

August 26, 1988 (Speech)

Medicare

While the Vice President acknowledged that trying to establish separate ceilings in each of these categories may lead to confusion, he pledged that, as President, he would move to simplify implementation of these important benefits, and the Medicare program as a whole.

George Bush Statement

June 9, 1988

Medicaid

"What I will do is permit people to buy into Medicaid. I believe that's the answer."

Winston-Salem, N.C.

September 25, 1988 (Debate)

Health Care Access Plan

- o Coverage for pregnant women and infants, up to one year.
- o Incentives to cover children of poor families.
- o Medicaid buy-in for low-income adults.
- o State risk pools for individuals with serious pre-existing conditions.

Fact Sheet

September 22, 1988

HEALTH

Health Care System

"I am committed to ensuring that our country has an effective health care system and, as President, I will continue the federal government's vital role in providing care for the truly needy."

Scripps Howard News Service
May 30, 1988

Hunger

"Government can also clear away obstacles and make it easier for parents and children to succeed -- by funding the WIC feeding program so that mothers and their infants don't suffer from malnutrition."

Orange City, Iowa
November 19, 1987 (Speech)

HOMELESS

"I want to see the McKinney Act fully funded."

Winston-Salem, N.C.

September 25, 1988 (Debate)

"So it's going to take innovative responses using the cities, using the states and the federal money that we have been able to provide which is \$400 million. There's a little --I'll tell you there is one hopeful thing that's kind of an emergency thing but in the defense bill there's some provision that these excess facilities, some of the barracks that aren't fully utilized can be used to help the homeless."

Dallas, Texas

February 19, 1988

HOUSING

"As President, I also will seek decent, affordable housing for all Americans ... I will work toward policies to enable every American to have the opportunity to own or manage their own home, to have a piece of the American dream."

Washington, D.C.

July 12, 1988 (Speech)

HUMAN RIGHTS

"This issue of human rights...will be a cornerstone of my foreign policy in dealing with the Soviets."

Decorah, Iowa

November 6, 1987 (Speech)

"We want to follow up on signs of a more constructive Soviet behavior...in Asia, and Africa. We want to bring about more constructive Soviet behavior in Central America and the Middle East...must be accompanied by more concrete steps toward Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accords on human rights."

Dearborn, Michigan

October 19, 1988 (Speech)

INTELLIGENCE

Bush said he would "strengthen the intelligence community in this country and not weaken it because we live in a very tough world."

Florence Morning News
October 31, 1987

JOBS

Job Creation

"I've got a program for creating even more jobs--especially in the areas that need them most. Start with urban and rural enterprise zones. Cut the capital gains tax rate to help small businesses get started. Slash the deficit with a flexible freeze on spending and a line-item veto for the President. And stop regulating business to death."

Portland, Oregon
August 23, 1988 (Speech)

"I want to make sure that every man or woman in America who wants a job can get a job."

Cleveland, Ohio
August 20, 1988 (Speech)

Women

Mr. Bush said our society must "ensure" that women can get their jobs back after pregnancy or caring for a seriously ill child.

Washington Times
September 27, 1988

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Judicial Appointments

"I will appoint judges that will interpret the Constitution, not legislate from the bench. I will appoint judges who don't reserve all their sympathy for criminals -- who understand that victims have rights too."

Atlanta, Georgia
July 8, 1988 (Speech)

Federal Sentencing Guidelines

"We must insist on judicial acceptance on the new federal sentencing guidelines that mandate consistent, tougher penalties. We can't allow the work of the U.S. sentencing commission to be thwarted by judges who give criminals little more than a slap on the wrist. If judges won't adopt these guidelines, we should enact them expressively into law."

Erie, Pennsylvania
August 9, 1988 (Speech)

"We should also set stricter limits on federal judicial intervention in completed state criminal cases."

Erie, Pennsylvania
August 9, 1988 (Speech)

Office of Special Investigations

"A Bush Administration will continue to give full budgetary and political support to the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations."

Los Angeles, CA
October 27, 1988 (Speech)

LEGAL

Tort Reform

"We should expand the use of binding arbitration and other means to encourage early resolution of disputes."

Bensalem, Pennsylvania
September 19, 1988

"We should restore fault as the standard required for somebody to get damages."

Bensalem, Pennsylvania
September 19, 1988

"And we should eliminate the so-called 'deep pocket' syndrome, wherein a company barely involved can be forced to pay 100 percent of a plaintiff's claim."

Bensalem, Pennsylvania
September 19, 1988

MIDDLE EAST

"We will always have a presence."

Valley News
November 11, 1987

"In the Middle East ... I would try to build on the Camp David accords and the Reagan initiative of 1982."

Argus Leader
February 12, 1988

Jerusalem

Bush ... disagreed with Dukakis on the matter of recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital. "That should be negotiated," the Vice President said.

Interview with Wolf Blitzer
July 1988

Israel

"We shall never falter or waver in our support."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"And this is my pledge: the American-Israeli strategic partnership is going to be even stronger tomorrow!"

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"No threat, no stone thrown, is strong enough to divide. No wedge will be driven between us."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"Peace will be achieved through direct negotiations by the parties...but we shall not be party to a proceeding by the U.N. or any other international group to deny Israel's legitimacy or to force her to accept a bad deal."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"The Palestinians must be involved at every step in the negotiations -- there will be no peace without them."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

MIDDLE EAST

"I pledge to you here and now that we're going to find a way to peace, we're going to keep at it, it's going to be a priority for me as President."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"As for the PLO, I will insist that it accept U.N. Resolution 242, recognize Israel's existence, abandon terrorism, and change its covenant calling for Israel's destruction, before we have any discussions with that organization. I will insist not only because we have made a promise to Israel, but because it is the right thing to do."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"My administration would not support the creation of any Palestinian entity that would jeopardize Israel's security."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"In a Bush administration we're not going to relax our vigilance on threats to the United States or to Israel."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"I condemn anti-Semitism now and I will always condemn it!"

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"My determination to eradicate bigotry, my dedication to spreading prosperity, my determination to spread the peace, to energize the peace process in the Middle East, so that Israel and her neighbors can fulfill at last the vision of turning swords into plowshares."

Baltimore, Maryland
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

NATIONAL SECURITY

"We are going to continue having a clear and understandable foreign policy--one that doesn't confuse our friends and inspire our enemies."

Huntington, Indiana
August 19, 1988 (Speech)

Deployment of Troops

"In the past 200 years we have sent US troops overseas more than 200 times without a declaration of war -- each time to protect our national interests and national security. Should the need arise, any President should do so again -- without hesitation. I would."

Washington, D.C.
November 4, 1987

NICARAGUA

"In a place called Nicaragua, we will help the Contras win democracy. This doctrine of democracy must thunder on."

Plainview Texas
October 12, 1987 (Speech)

When asked if he would continue providing aid to Contras if elected President, Bush said he wanted to keep pressure on the Marxist Sandinista government to move toward free elections.

(AP)
January 27, 1988

On Reagan's Contra-aid proposal: "I am not giving up on that proposal."

Chicago Tribune
February 5, 1988

"You can't have a peace that ends up with a base in Central America." To prevent that, Bush said that he would love to see military aid in the wings.

Denver Post
March 26, 1988

"I will also support those around the world struggling for their freedom. I will support the Nicaraguan freedom fighters who are battling to bring democracy to their country and prevent Nicaragua from becoming a permanent Soviet base camp on the American mainland."

Corpus Christi, Texas
August 4, 1988 (Speech)

Vice President George Bush said he would as president ask Congress to resume military aid to the Nicaraguan resistance if there is no progress in the Central American peace process.

Washington Times
October 20, 1988

PORNOGRAPHY

"We will vigorously enforce constitutional laws to control obscene materials which degrade everyone, particularly women, and depict exploitation of children."

Biblical Scoreboard
December 1, 1987

PRESIDENTIAL STYLE

Bush said he would be a "hands on" chief executive who would also be delegating "when necessary."

"I would be somewhere between Reagan and Carter in my management style."

Christian Science Monitor
November 10, 1987

"We will integrate every available and suitable policy instrument into a multifaceted approach. That means using negotiations intelligence, economic strength and aid, public diplomacy, and yes, military power."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988 (Speech)

"I accept your nomination for President. I mean to run hard, to fight hard, to stand on the issues--and I mean to win."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 18, 1988 (Speech)

PRISON SYSTEM

Rehabilitation

"Rehabilitation is important too, and we can do more in this area....We should put special emphasis on literacy training, to give inmates a better shot at a regular job when they're released."

Erie, Pennsylvania
August 9, 1988 (Speech)

More \$

"We need more money for prosecutors and more money for prisons, at both the state and federal levels."

Erie, Pennsylvania
August 9, 1988 (Speech)

Military Bases

"According to some estimates, we are spending as much as \$5 billion a year on military bases that we don't need any more. Where needed, those should be converted to prison facilities for use by the state."

Erie, Pennsylvania
August 9, 1988 (Speech)

Bush says more prison space could be made available by closing unneeded military bases and converting them to minimum security facilities or using the money saved for building prisons. Bush told a meeting of the national executive board of the Fraternal Order of Police on Sunday that will be a top priority in his war on crime and drugs if he is elected president.

(UPI)
June 26, 1988

Prison Budget

"I have proposed doubling the current prison budget over the next four years."

Ft. Worth, Texas
October 6, 1988 (Speech)

SAVINGS PLAN

"I propose that we create a new individual savings account, or ISA, in which interest would accumulate tax-free if the funds were committed for at least five years."

Columbus, Ohio
September 27, 1988 (Speech)

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Isotope Reactor

Bush promised to support the Special Isotope Reactor proposed for the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory.

(AP)

May 5, 1988

Creation of National Space Council, Chaired by VP

"In order to develop a comprehensive strategy for space, as President I will create a National Space Council, chaired by the Vice President and composed of the heads of such departments as Commerce, Defense, State, and Transportation in addition to NASA."

Huntsville, Alabama

October 29, 1987 (Speech)

Amend 1958 Space Act/President as Chairman of National Aeronautical and Space Council

"If elected, I will immediately request the Congress to amend the 1958 Space Act to provide a new structure for leadership. I propose that as President, I will serve as Chairman of a restructured National Aeronautical and Space Council."

San Diego, California

May 13, 1988 (Speech)

Space Station

"The space station is very important to us," Bush said. "Obviously the thing is to get the space shuttle flying, and that will happen. Then we can move to the space station."

(UPI)

June 28, 1988

Science Advisor

"I will upgrade the President's science advisor to Assistant to the President and make him an active member of the Economic Policy Council and our national security planning processes."

Columbus, Ohio

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

"I will create a President's Council of Science and Technology Advisors."

Columbus, Ohio

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Space Program

"These are four specific aspects of my program:

- The federal government should get out of the business of being a freight service for routine commercial payloads. I want to encourage the development of -- not compete with -- private commercial space development.
- I will create a National Space Council chaired by the Vice President and composed of the Secretaries of Commerce, Defense, State and Transportation as well as the Administrator of NASA.
- I support construction of a replacement space shuttle and a heavy lift launch capability that will provide us with flexible, reliable access to space, and I've strongly supported the development of a space station.
- I support "Mission to the Planet Earth" -- which is a project designed to establish platforms in space to observe climatic changes on earth. The information gained through this project will be of great value to farmers, fishermen, weathermen, scientists, all of us."

1988 Issue Statement

"I am fully and utterly committed to the U.S. space program. I am fully and utterly committed to the peaceful exploration of near and far space."

Redding, Calif.

October 3, 1988 (Speech)

"I believe that the one thing we must do now...is develop a new and comprehensive strategy for space. As President, I intend to create a National Space Council, to be chaired by the Vice President and composed of the heads of the Defense Department, State Department, Transportation, Commerce, and NASA."

Redding, Calif.

October 3, 1988 (Speech)

R&D Tax Credit

"I will continue our strong support of federal investments in basic research, and I will make the Research and Development Tax Credit permanent."

Columbus, Ohio

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Research and Development

"I will seek government R&D authorizations for five years and appropriations for two years at a time..."

Columbus, Ohio

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

Labs and Business Cooperation

"I will enhance the commercialization of new technologies by encouraging cooperation between laboratories and business."

Columbus, OH

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

Foreign Research

"A Bush Administration will vigorously move to protect intellectual property in the world marketplace and see that American companies have just as much access to foreign research projects as foreign companies have to ours."

Columbus, Ohio

October 25, 1988 (Speech)

S.D.I

"My policy will be to develop a viable strategic defense system, an outgrowth of the S.D.I. research program, to protect our people from ballistic missile attack."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988 (Speech)

"I am committed to deployment of S.D.I., as soon as possible, and will determine the exact architecture in my first term as the technologies are tested and proven. As President I will not leave America defenseless against ballistic missile attack."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988 (Speech)

SOCIAL SECURITY

"We're going to keep the social security system trust fund sound, and out of reach of the big spenders. To America's elderly I say, 'Once again you have the security that is your right -- and I'm not going to let them take that away from you.'"

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 18, 1988 (Speech)

"I am going to keep the Social Security Trust Fund sound and keep our commitment to the elderly."

Debate
October 13, 1988

Notch Babies

"If elected President, I will work with Congress to see if we can come up with a fiscally responsible way to ensure that our 'notch babies' are treated fairly."

1988 Issue Statement

SOUTH AFRICA

"There are no easy answers to the problem of South Africa. As President, I will work to end apartheid there. I will also work to see that our own strategic interests are not diminished by the convergence of a pro-Soviet radical regime."

"I will work actively to cause South Africa to free Nelson Mandela -- with no conditions."

Washington, D. C.

April 15, 1988 (Speech)

SOVIET UNION/U.S. RELATIONS

Grain Embargo

When Gorbachev complained that the United States was "unreliable" as a supplier of imported goods, Bush recalled, "I kind of interjected my self and said, 'Look, I would never use grain as a political tool on an embargo.'"

Concord Monitor
December 19, 1987

Helsinki Final Act

"We have an ... objective standard they (USSR) agreed to adhere -- the Helsinki Final Act, and I would press for the maximum adherence to that."

Washington Post
June 3, 1988

Pressure for Change

"We must maintain the pressure on Moscow to change. Only such a policy will produce lasting improvements in U.S.-Soviet relations."

Dearborn, Michigan
October 19, 1988 (Speech)

Troops in Europe

"I call upon my opponent to join me in a bipartisan reaffirmation that we are not going to reduce our troops in Europe unilaterally."

Dearborn, Michigan
October 19, 1988 (Speech)

TAXES

Taxpayer Bill of Rights

"I will put the force of my Presidency behind this idea [taxpayer's bill of rights] -- whose time has more than come."

Houston, Texas
October 12, 1988

No New Taxes

My view, when I become president, is that there won't be any tax increase."

Des Moines Register
October 24, 1987

"I'm not going to say I won't raise taxes as a first resort. I won't raise your taxes period."

Atlanta, Georgia
July 8, 1988 (Speech)

"I will not raise your taxes, period, and I hope the platform will say the same thing," he said. "I believe that the way to cut the federal deficit is to rein in spending, not by rounding up more taxes."

Omaha World Herald
August 9, 1988

"The Congress will push me to raise taxes, and I'll say no, and they'll push, and I'll say no, and they'll push again. And all I can say to them is no new taxes period."

New Orleans, Louisiana
August 18, 1988 (Speech)

Gas Tax

"I will oppose any attempt to raise taxes to balance the budget. That means gas taxes, too."

October 19, 1988 (Letter)

Oil Import Tax

"I will oppose that tax [the oil import fee] and it is a tax, and we don't need it."

(AP)
February 25, 1988

Capital Gains Tax

Mr. Bush "has sided with the supply-siders in coming out for a reduction in the capital gains tax" to 15 percent from its top marginal rate of 28 percent.

The Washington Times
April 28, 1988

TERRORISM

"I won't bargain with terrorists and I won't bargain with drug dealers either, whether they are on U.S. or foreign soil."

(AP)

May 18, 1988

"If terrorists murder innocent Americans, and we have the irrefutable evidence as we did in the case of Libya, I would not hesitate to strike again."

Louisville, Kentucky

September 7, 1988

TRADE

Enforcement of Trade Laws

"I will enforce our trade laws vigorously against those who refuse to let American products compete on an equal basis in a free market."

Kansas City, Missouri
November 12, 1987 (Speech)

"As President, I will vigorously enforce existing trade laws and agreements."

Fort Worth, Texas
April 8, 1988 (Speech)

Trade Negotiations

Bush pledged to sit down with economic allies to deal with the nation's trade problem. "It's time. It's more than time -- it's overdue."

Los Angeles Herald Examiner
March 14, 1988

Free Trade Zone

"As President, I will work toward creation of free trade zone embracing Mexico, Canada, and the United States."

Washington, D.C.
April 15, 1988 (Speech)

"One of the first priorities of the Bush Administration will be to build upon the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement by aggressively negotiating elimination of tariffs and barriers around the world."

Chicago, Illinois
August 2, 1988 (Speech)

VETERANS

Federal Hiring

"I will support the continuation, and the strengthening, of veterans' preference in federal hiring."

Louisville, Kentucky
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

"I will make sure that veterans preference in federal hiring is not diluted -- if anything, it should be strengthened."

Chicago, Illinois
August 22, 1988 (Speech)

MIAs/Vietnam Veterans/Health Care

"I will do everything I can to resolve the fates of our prisoners of war and soldiers missing in action. I will help our Vietnam veterans to whom honor and respect is long overdue. And I will pay special attention to the needs of the six million veterans over age 65. We must develop a health care policy for our older veterans that can serve as a model for Americans nationwide. "

Louisville, Kentucky
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

Veterans Administration

"That's one of the first things I'll do as President. In a Bush administration, we'll have the Veterans Administration at the Cabinet table."

Louisville, Kentucky
September 7, 1988 (Speech)

YES (YOUTH ENTERING SERVICE TO AMERICA)

"...a national service foundation which I will begin when I am President. It will serve as a public-private partnership to work with local community and school-based programs to involve teenagers and young adults in volunteer service to meet the needs of their own and of nearby communities."

Sacramento, CA

October 4, 1988 (Speech)

"The program, designed to spur interest in public and community service among America's young people, calls for:

- o The formation of a national service foundation with President Bush serving as the chairman;
- o The commitment of \$100 million in federal matching grants to the program to generate the same amount or more in private sector contributions;
- o The expansion of the best existing volunteer programs and the development of new ones; and
- o Incentives for high school and college students to participate in YES volunteer work such as academic credit."

Press Release

October 13, 1988

YES and Parks

"I'd like to see legions of our young people volunteer to keep our parks in shape."

San Diego, CA

October 14, 1988 (Speech)