

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2025-0647-S

FOIA Number:
2025-0647-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Rogers, Ed, Files
Subseries: Subject Files

OA/ID Number: 04016
Folder ID Number: 04016-018a

Folder Title:
Congress [Gekas, Gephardt, Hopkins, Mitchell, Molinari] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	23	1	

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
001. Resume	Resume of Henry H. Young [redacted for personally identifiable information] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	
002. Resume	Resume of Henry H. Young [redacted for personally identifiable information] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
Subseries: Subject Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location:

Pinksheet Number: rkj020
OA/ID Number: 04016-018a
Date Closed: 8/20/2025
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2025-0647-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: *Mr. Kelly*

FROM: JACK HOWARD
Special Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

Thanks for the info. I have

a feeling that Gerts is on

a mission about this.

*Can we push again & just try
to get it resolved? Let me know
if you want me to do anything.*

John

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: (4) ROGERS

FROM: JACK HOWARD
Special Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

THIS IS SOMETHING GREGG TALKED ~~TO~~
PERSONALLY TO THE GOVERNOR ABOUT. GREGG
SAID HE'S SENT THIS TO THE WHITE HOUSE
& DOD SEVERAL TIMES. THE GOVERNOR TOLD
ME TO LOOK INTO IT.

RING ANY BILLS ?

John

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL P.W. STONE

FROM:

ED ROGERS

ER

SUBJECT:

CIVILIAN AIDE PROGRAM

The attached has been brought to our attention several times. Congressman Gekas is a good guy and we try to help him when we can.

Would you please ask someone in your office to call me and bring me up-to-speed on your communications with the Congressman? I don't need anything formal, I simply want to know where we stand.

I can be reached at 456-6594.

Many thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: September 20, 1990

TO: CHASE UNTERMEYER/RON KAUFMAN

FROM: ED ROGERS

This question has come around again.

We'd like to help Gekas if we can.

Who would handle this type of thing?

Guidance, please.

Thanks.

Ed : These are personal appointments of Mike Stone, Sec Army, though obviously Dick Cheney could intervene if he had a candidate.

Chase
23 Sep 90

cc José M.

GEORGE W. GEKAS
17TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

SUBCOMMITTEES:
CRIMINAL JUSTICE—RANKING MEMBER
CRIME



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
June 7, 1990

REPLY, IF ANY, TO:

- ☐ 1519 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4315
FAX (202) 225-8440
- ☐ GOVERNOR'S PLAZA NORTH
BUILDING # 1, SUITE 302
2101 NORTH FRONT STREET
HARRISBURG, PA 17110
(717) 232-5123
FAX (717) 232-2928
- ☐ HERMAN SCHNEEBELI FEDERAL BUILDING
P.O. BOX 606
WILLIAMSPORT, PA 17703
(717) 327-8161
FAX (717) 327-9359
- ☐ SELINGSGROVE TRI-COUNTY
RD 5, BOX 198
SUITE L
SELINGSGROVE, PA 17870
(717) 743-1575
FAX (717) 743-1576

Mr. Ed Rogers
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

In lieu of trying to get together with you by phone I thought this correspondence might be the best method of communicating the problem about which Mr. Gekas approached you and Governor Sununu the other day.

As you can see, Mr. Henry Young was previously the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army for Eastern Pennsylvania. His "dismissal" recently was, we believe, uncalled for and the result of a vendetta by one individual. Mr. Gekas strongly feels that the termination is not in the best interests of Pennsylvania or the Army and has pledged to "go to the mat" on this one. Politically, I can say that many high-ranking private and public Republicans in Pennsylvania are also not pleased about Mr. Young's removal.

Mr. Gekas would like to follow up our correspondence(s) with a talk to the Governor. The attached should provide some helpful background on the issue.

Please call me when you can. Thank you for your very valuable time and attention.

Sincerely yours,

W. ALLAN CAGNOLI
Administrative Assistant to Rep. Gekas



SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON

17 May 1990



Honorable George W. Gekas
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Gekas:

Thank you for your joint letter of April 27, 1990, to Secretary Cheney, requesting Mr. Henry Young be designated Civilian Aide Emeritus. I have been asked to respond because this is an Army matter.

The Army appreciates Mr. Young's six years of service as the Civilian Aide for Pennsylvania (East). It is important, however, to allow other notable Pennsylvanians the opportunity to serve in the Civilian Aide program.

Currently, Pennsylvania is represented by three of its outstanding citizens: Mr. Chris Gleason of Johnstown represents Pennsylvania (East); Mr. Gerald Voros of Pittsburgh represents Pennsylvania (West); and Mr. Tom Sack from Scranton has been appointed to an At-Large position.

We are fortunate to have found other qualified individuals with the energy and interest that characterized Mr. Young's service as a Civilian Aide.

Normally, each state has one Civilian Aide. There are some exceptions, but I try to keep those to a minimum. Consequently, I believe appointing Mr. Young to Emeritus status would be inappropriate because this appointment may create a perception of over-representation in the program for a single state.

Your interest in the Civilian Aide program is appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

M. P. W. Stone

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

SUBCOMMITTEES

CRIMINAL JUSTICE—RANKING MEMBER
CRIME

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
April 27, 1990

- ☐ 1819 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20518
(202) 225-4318
FAX (202) 225-8440
- ☐ GOVERNOR'S PLAZA NORTH
BUILDING # 1, SUITE 302
2101 NORTH FRONT STREET
HARRISBURG, PA 17110
(717) 232-8123
FAX (717) 232-2928
- ☐ HERMAN SCHNEEBELI FEDERAL BUILDING
P.O. BOX 808
WILLIAMSPORT, PA 17703
(717) 327-8181
FAX (717) 327-8389
- ☐ SELINGROVE TRI-COUNTY
RD 5, BOX 198
SUITE L
SELINGROVE, PA 17870
(717) 743-1575
FAX (717) 743-1578

Richard B. Cheney
Secretary
Department of Defense
Room 3E966, The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We write to you regarding the recent termination of Mr. Henry Young from his position as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Young has served for eleven years as the Civilian Aide for Eastern Pennsylvania until his termination by Secretary Stone. In the position of Civilian Aide, Mr. Young has provided an enormous amount of assistance to legislators and the local community who have depended on him to advise them on Army-related matters and to serve as a general font of knowledge on the Department of Defense.

Because of the importance of Mr. Young's assistance to us as Pennsylvania legislators and to the entire Eastern Pennsylvania region, it was with great surprise that we learned of his release from duty as a Civilian Aide. With that in mind we would encourage the reconsideration of Mr. Young's position as the Civilian Aide or his redesignation as a Civilian Aide at Large or Civilian Aide Emeritus.

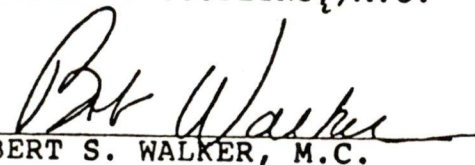
In a time when the Department of Defense needs its strongest links unweakened it seems most logical to keep at duty personnel like Henry Young who are those strong links.

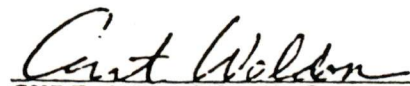
Thank you for your consideration of our concerns.

Very truly yours,


WILLIAM F. GOODLING, M.C.


GEORGE W. GEKAS, M.C.


ROBERT S. WALKER, M.C.


CURT WELDON, M.C.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON DC 20510

MAY 19 1990

May 14, 1990

The Honorable Michael P. W. Stone
Secretary
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20310

Dear Secretary Stone:

I am writing on behalf of Mr. Henry Young of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who is seeking an appointment to the status of Civilian Aide Emeritus.

As the enclosed resume indicates, Mr. Young served as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army of 11 years. From 1952 to 1954 he served his country in the U.S. Army, and today continued his service to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as Administrative Officer in the Pennsylvania Department of Auditor General. In addition, I understand that Mr. Young serves on a number of civic organizations in the Harrisburgh area.

It is my understanding that in his capacity as Civilian Aide to Eastern Pennsylvania, he was of great assistance to local, state, and Federal officials who relied on his advice and counsel on a variety of matters regarding the Army.

In light of his outstanding service to the Commonwealth and the U.S. Army, I urge that you give his application your full and personal consideration.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


Arlen Specter

AS:d1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
001. Resume	Resume of Henry H. Young [redacted for personally identifiable information] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
Subseries: Subject Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location:

Date Closed: 8/20/2025	OA/ID Number: 04016-018a
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2025-0647-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

HENRY H. YOUNG
410 Redwood St.
Harrisburg, PA 17109
Phone: (717) 564-1775

SS No. - (b)(6)

PERSONAL DATA

Date of Birth - (b)(6)
Place of Birth - Harrisburg, PA
Parents - Benjamin F. Young, Jr. (deceased)
Reba V. Young (deceased)
Church Affiliation - St. Lawrence Catholic Church
Education - Graduate, Harrisburg Catholic High School, 1949
Military Service - U.S. Army, 1952-54

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1949-1952 - Pennsylvania House of Representatives
1949-1952 - The Patriot-News Co., Harrisburg, PA
1952-1954 - U.S. Army
1954-1988 - The Patriot-News Co.:
Jun 1, 1949-Jan 31, 1961 - Sportswriter, Copy Editor
Feb 1, 1961-Oct 8, 1977 - City Editor, News Editor
Oct 9, 1977-Oct 18, 1982 - Associate Editor
Oct 19, 1982-Jul 31, 1984 - Editor
Aug 1, 1984-Dec 31, 1988 - Executive Editor
1989- - Department of the Auditor General, State of Pennsylvania -
Administrative Officer

U.S. GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army (Pennsylvania-East)
Dec 1975-Jan 1980; Jan 1983-Dec 1989

CIVIC AFFILIATIONS-CURRENT

Trustee, Volunteer Firemen's Relief Association of Harrisburg
Member, Crime Clinic of Greater Harrisburg
-PAST
Member, Board of Directors, Boys' Club of Harrisburg, Inc.
Chairman, Fire Commissioner's Advisory Committee, City of Harrisburg,
1967-1971
Chairman, Mayor's Advisory Committee on Fire Protection, City of
Harrisburg, 1971-1975

BUSINESS

Member, Board of Directors, Worlco, Inc., King of Prussia, PA

CLUB AND FRATERNAL AFFILIATIONS

Vice President-West PA, Association of the United States Army, 1980-1988
Member, Keystone Chapter, Association of the United States Army
Member, North Harrisburg Post 1001, The American Legion
Honorable Order of Kentucky Colonels
Member, Capital Area Chapter, Pennsylvania Sports Hall of Fame
Member, Harrisburg Lodge No. 12, B. P. O. Elks
Member, Harrisburg Aerie No. 122, Fraternal Order of Eagles
Member, Allison Hook & Ladder Fire Co., Harrisburg
Member, Penbrook Fire Co.
Member, Dauphin County Volunteer Firemen's Association
Member, Firemen's Association of Southeastern Pennsylvania
Member, Firemen's Association of the State of Pennsylvania
Honorary Life Member, Local 428 (Harrisburg), International Association of Fire Fighters
Life Member, Pennsylvania State Fire Fighters Association
Associate Life Member, Capital City Lodge No. 12 (Harrisburg), Fraternal Order of Police
Honorary Life Member, Pennsylvania Lodge, Fraternal Order of Police

OTHER AFFILIATIONS

Member, Pennsylvania Committee for Employer Support of the Guard and Reserve, Central Pennsylvania Area

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Pennsylvania Society of Newspaper Editors
American Society of Newspaper Editors

PROFESSIONAL AWARDS

Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association "Front Page Makeup and Headlines" Award -- First Place, 1963 and 1965
Nominated for Pulitzer Prize - 1976

OTHER AWARDS

U. S. Army Outstanding Civilian Service Medal; Department of Defense National Guard Bureau Eagle Award; Pennsylvania Meritorious Service Medal; Association of the United States Army General Creighton W. Abrams Medal; National Defense Service Medal; U.S. Army Good Conduct Medal; Pennsylvania National Guard Distinguished Service Award (1974-first ever awarded to an individual); Harrisburg Lodge 12, B. P. O. Elks, Citizen of the Year Award (1976-77); Grand Lodge, B. P. O. Elks Distinguished Citizenship Award (1976-77); Dauphin County Chiefs of Police Association Public Safety Award (1978); The Salvation Army Community Service Award (1978); Pennsylvania House of Representatives Citation "In Recognition of Outstanding Journalism"; Pennsylvania House of Representatives Citation "For Distinguished Service to the U.S. Army, the Reserve and the National Guard"

OTHER MEMBERSHIPS

The Honorable Order of St. Barbara
Legion of Honor of The Chapel of Four Chaplains, Philadelphia, PA
Honorary Member, Veteran Guard, Third Regiment Infantry, National Guard
of Pennsylvania
Honorary Member, First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry
Honorary Member, 79th U.S. Army Reserve Command

CASA FACTS

■ Robert T. Stevens, Civilian Aide from New York, became Secretary of the Army in 1953.

■ The first national Civilian Aides conference was held in 1954 at Fort Leavenworth, Kan. The conferences now take place each year in Washington, D. C.

■ The position of Civilian Aide at Large was created in 1955. The position imposes no geographical restrictions on a Civilian Aide.

■ In 1956 the Civilian Aide at Large position was increased to three.

■ Mary G. Roebling of Trenton, N.J., in 1971, was the first woman appointed to serve as a Civilian Aide. She was named Civilian Aide Emeritus in 1987, after serving eight consecutive terms.

■ The designation of Civilian Aide Emeritus was added to the program in 1980 to provide lasting recognition to certain individuals for their outstanding service to the program. The positions are now permanent.

■ Civilian Aides represent the 50 United States, as well as Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa and the Northern Mariana Islands.

■ The commander of each continental U. S. Army manages the Civilian Aides program in his area for the Secretary of the Army. He meets all of the Aides at least twice annually—at the national conference and at the local conference.



HQ, First U.S. Army
ATTN: AFKA-PA
Fort George G. Meade, Md. 20755-7000



The Civilian Aides to the Secretary of the Army program began just before World War I when a group of civilian volunteers formed an association to help supply the U.S. Army with leaders.

The efforts of the association, known then as the Military Training Camps Association (MTCA), received formal Army recognition in 1922.

During World War II Civilian Aides performed critical, often sensitive missions. They provided the Army with a pool of viable candidates for direct commissions—civilians who possessed technical skills that were vital to the wartime mission.

After the war the Army redesigned the program to create a nationwide network of people to provide grass roots opinion about the Army. Aides reported to the Secretary of the Army directly, and were responsible for promoting goodwill between the Army and the public. Formerly selected from the sole ranks of the MTCA, the Secretary of the Army now began to appoint Aides from the civilian ranks at large. And, an Aide's term was reduced from four years to two.

Today, criteria for selecting Civilian Aides include:

- Be a U.S. citizen of outstanding character, integrity and patriotism.
- Possess a deep interest in military affairs.
- Be a leader in community affairs.
- Be in a position to disseminate information about the Army to broad cross section of public and other prominent citizens in area of responsibility.
- Not be a federal elected or appointed official.
- Not be an active member of the National Guard or Reserve.



Civilian Aides advise the Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff and Army commanders in their geographical areas of public attitudes toward the Army. They make recommendations for actions needed to broaden public understanding of the Army and its mission. Aides help to attain understanding and cooperation between their communities and the Army, and encourage a mutual appreciation of the needs and problems of both.

Since the Secretary of the Army is able to attend only a limited number of military and civilian functions, Civilian Aides are called upon to represent him, serving as a convenient interface between the military and civilian communities.

With the introduction of the all-volunteer Army in the '70s, Civilian Aides were asked to lend their support to the recruiting effort. Working with school officials, Aides help to arrange programs and speaking engagements for recruiters at local high schools. They introduce recruiters and other Army officials to prominent local citizens who will support the Army recruiting program and steer men and women to enlist.

Civilian Aides visit military installations and participate in ceremonies and events to show their support and interest in the Army to their communities. They work with editors, publishers and radio and television managers to keep them informed about Army matters. They encourage local organizations to help servicemembers and their families when needed, and to recognize new enlistees. They work with state officials to post identifying signs of National Guard Armories, Army Reserve Centers and military museums.

Aides use their influence to garner employer support for the Army Reserve Components, and in turn, make sure those employers are recognized and honored for contributions. They add to the stature of the entire Armed Forces by speaking out for a strong military to provide for the security of the nation.

JOHN GLENN, OHIO
LAWTON CHILES, FLORIDA
DAVID FRYOR, ARKANSAS
BILL BRADLEY, NEW JERSEY
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, NORTH DAKOTA
J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, LOUISIANA
JOHN B. BREAU, LOUISIANA
RICHARD SHELBY, ALABAMA
HARRY REID, NEVADA

JOHN HEINZ, PENNSYLVANIA
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE
LARRY PRESSLER, SOUTH DAKOTA
CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA
PETE WILSON, CALIFORNIA
PETE V. DOMENICI, NEW MEXICO
JOHN H. CHAFEE, RHODE ISLAND
DAVE DURENBERGER, MINNESOTA
ALAN K. SIMPSON, WYOMING

MAX I. RICHTMAN, STAFF DIRECTOR
STEPHEN R. MCCONNELL, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8400

April 17, 1990

The Honorable Michael P.W. Stone
Secretary, Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20310

Dear Secretary Stone:

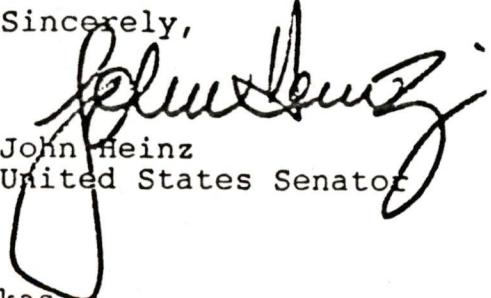
I write in support of Henry Young for appointment to the status of Civilian Aide Emeritus.

Mr. Young has served as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army for 11 years. In his capacity as Civilian Aide, he has been of great assistance to local, state, and Federal officials who relied on his advice and counsel on a variety of Army-related matters, and on his in-depth knowledge of several Department of Defense issues.

In light of his many years of distinguished service on behalf of the Department of Defense and those who benefitted from his expertise, I urge you to consider Mr. Young's redesignation as a Civilian Aide Emeritus.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


John Heinz
United States Senator

JH/pag

cc: The Honorable George Gekas

GEORGE W. GEKAS
17TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

SUBCOMMITTEES
CRIMINAL JUSTICE—RANKING MEMBER
CRIME



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
June 7, 1990

REPLY, IF ANY, TO

- ☐ 1519 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4315
FAX (202) 225-8440
- ☐ GOVERNOR'S PLAZA NORTH
BUILDING # 1, SUITE 302
2101 NORTH FRONT STREET
HARRISBURG, PA 17110
(717) 232-5123
FAX (717) 232-2928
- ☐ HERMAN SCHNEEBELI FEDERAL BUILDING
P.O. BOX 808
WILLIAMSPORT, PA 17703
(717) 327-8181
FAX (717) 327-9359
- ☐ SELINGSGROVE TRI-COUNTY
RD 5, BOX 198
SUITE L
SELINGSGROVE, PA 17870
(717) 743-1575
FAX (717) 743-1576

Mr. Ed Rogers
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ed:

In lieu of trying to get together with you by phone I thought this correspondence might be the best method of communicating the problem about which Mr. Gekas approached you and Governor Sununu the other day.

As you can see, Mr. Henry Young was previously the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army for Eastern Pennsylvania. His "dismissal" recently was, we believe, uncalled for and the result of a vendetta by one individual. Mr. Gekas strongly feels that the termination is not in the best interests of Pennsylvania or the Army and has pledged to "go to the mat" on this one. Politically, I can say that many high-ranking private and public Republicans in Pennsylvania are also not pleased about Mr. Young's removal.

Mr. Gekas would like to follow up our correspondence(s) with a talk to the Governor. The attached should provide some helpful background on the issue.

Please call me when you can. Thank you for your very valuable time and attention.

Sincerely yours,

W. ALLAN CAGNOLI
Administrative Assistant to Rep. Gekas

GEORGE W. GEKAS
17TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
SUBCOMMITTEES:
CRIMINAL JUSTICE—RANKING MEMBER
CRIME



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
June 6, 1990

Mr. Dave Gribbin
Assistant Secretary of Defense
for Legislative Affairs
Office of the Secretary of Defense
Room 3E966
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Dave:

In lieu of trying to get together with you by phone I thought this correspondence might be the easier method of communicating my problem.

As Administrative Assistant to Congressman Gekas I have been involved in the efforts to get Mr. Henry Young, of Harrisburg, PA, reappointed as a Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army from Pennsylvania. The attached correspondence, vitae and background information offers elaboration of this effort.

Mr. Gekas is very concerned that this termination is not in the best interests of Pennsylvania or the Army and would like to speak to Secretary Cheney about the matter. Anything you could do to facilitate such a conversation would be greatly appreciated.

Of course, I remain available to you to discuss or clarify any facets of this.

Thank you very much for your time and assistance in this.

Sincerely yours,

W. ALLAN CAGNOLI
Administrative Assistant

REPLY, IF ANY, TO:

- ☐ 1519 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4315
FAX (202) 225-8440
- ☐ GOVERNOR'S PLAZA NORTH
BUILDING # 1, SUITE 302
2101 NORTH FRONT STREET
HARRISBURG, PA 17110
(717) 232-5123
FAX (717) 232-2928
- ☐ HERMAN SCHNEEBELI FEDERAL BUILDING
P.O. BOX 608
WILLIAMSPORT, PA 17703
(717) 327-8161
FAX (717) 327-9359
- ☐ SELINGSGROVE TRI-COUNTY
RD 5, BOX 198
SUITE L
SELINGSGROVE, PA 17870
(717) 743-1575
FAX (717) 743-1576



SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON
17 May 1990



Honorable George W. Gekas
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Congressman Gekas:

Thank you for your joint letter of April 27, 1990, to Secretary Cheney, requesting Mr. Henry Young be designated Civilian Aide Emeritus. I have been asked to respond because this is an Army matter.

The Army appreciates Mr. Young's six years of service as the Civilian Aide for Pennsylvania (East). It is important, however, to allow other notable Pennsylvanians the opportunity to serve in the Civilian Aide program.

Currently, Pennsylvania is represented by three of its outstanding citizens: Mr. Chris Gleason of Johnstown represents Pennsylvania (East); Mr. Gerald Voros of Pittsburgh represents Pennsylvania (West); and Mr. Tom Sack from Scranton has been appointed to an At-Large position.

We are fortunate to have found other qualified individuals with the energy and interest that characterized Mr. Young's service as a Civilian Aide.

Normally, each state has one Civilian Aide. There are some exceptions, but I try to keep those to a minimum. Consequently, I believe appointing Mr. Young to Emeritus status would be inappropriate because this appointment may create a perception of over-representation in the program for a single state.

Your interest in the Civilian Aide program is appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

M. P. W. Stone



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
April 27, 1990

- ☐ WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4315
FAX (202) 225-8440
- ☐ GOVERNOR'S PLAZA NORTH
BUILDING # 1, SUITE 302
2101 NORTH FRONT STREET
HARRISBURG, PA 17110
(717) 232-6123
FAX (717) 232-2828
- ☐ HERMAN SCHNEEBELI FEDERAL BUILDING
P.O. BOX 806
WILLIAMSPORT, PA 17703
(717) 327-8181
FAX (717) 327-9359
- ☐ SELINGSGROVE TRI-COUNTY
RD 5, BOX 198
SUITE L
SELINGSGROVE, PA 17870
(717) 743-1575
FAX (717) 743-1576

Richard B. Cheney
Secretary
Department of Defense
Room 3E966, The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We write to you regarding the recent termination of Mr. Henry Young from his position as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Young has served for eleven years as the Civilian Aide for Eastern Pennsylvania until his termination by Secretary Stone. In the position of Civilian Aide, Mr. Young has provided an enormous amount of assistance to legislators and the local community who have depended on him to advise them on Army-related matters and to serve as a general font of knowledge on the Department of Defense.

Because of the importance of Mr. Young's assistance to us as Pennsylvania legislators and to the entire Eastern Pennsylvania region, it was with great surprise that we learned of his release from duty as a Civilian Aide. With that in mind we would encourage the reconsideration of Mr. Young's position as the Civilian Aide or his redesignation as a Civilian Aide at Large or Civilian Aide Emeritus.

In a time when the Department of Defense needs its strongest links unweakened it seems most logical to keep at duty personnel like Henry Young who are those strong links.

Thank you for your consideration of our concerns.

Very truly yours,


WILLIAM F. GOODLING, M.C.


GEORGE W. GEKAS, M.C.


ROBERT S. WALKER, M.C.


CURT WELDON, M.C.

BILL BRADLEY, NEW JERSEY
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, NORTH DAKOTA
J. BENNETT JOHNSTON, LOUISIANA
JOHN B. BREAU, LOUISIANA
RICHARD SHELBY, ALABAMA
HARRY REID, NEVADA
CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA
PETE WILSON, CALIFORNIA
PETE V. DOMENICI, NEW MEXICO
JOHN H. CHAFFEE, RHODE ISLAND
DAVE DURENBERGER, MINNESOTA
ALAN K. SIMPSON, WYOMING

MAX I. RICHTMAN, STAFF DIRECTOR
STEPHEN R. MCCONNELL, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8400

April 17, 1990

The Honorable Michael P.W. Stone
Secretary, Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20310

Dear Secretary Stone:

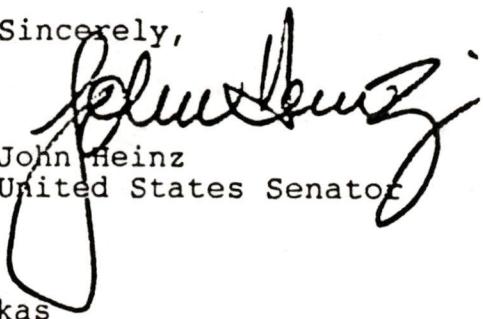
I write in support of Henry Young for appointment to the status of Civilian Aide Emeritus.

Mr. Young has served as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army for 11 years. In his capacity as Civilian Aide, he has been of great assistance to local, state, and Federal officials who relied on his advice and counsel on a variety of Army-related matters, and on his in-depth knowledge of several Department of Defense issues.

In light of his many years of distinguished service on behalf of the Department of Defense and those who benefitted from his expertise, I urge you to consider Mr. Young's redesignation as a Civilian Aide Emeritus.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


John Heinz
United States Senator

JH/pag

cc: The Honorable George Gekas

United States Senate

MAY 18 1990

WASHINGTON DC 20510

May 14, 1990

The Honorable Michael P. W. Stone
Secretary
Department of the Army
The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20310

Dear Secretary Stone:

I am writing on behalf of Mr. Henry Young of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who is seeking an appointment to the status of Civilian Aide Emeritus.

As the enclosed resume indicates, Mr. Young served as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army of 11 years. From 1952 to 1954 he served his country in the U.S. Army, and today continued his service to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as Administrative Officer in the Pennsylvania Department of Auditor General. In addition, I understand that Mr. Young serves on a number of civic organizations in the Harrisburgh area.

It is my understanding that in his capacity as Civilian Aide to Eastern Pennsylvania, he was of great assistance to local, state, and Federal officials who relied on his advice and counsel on a variety of matters regarding the Army.

In light of his outstanding service to the Commonwealth and the U.S Army, I urge that you give his application your full and personal consideration.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter

AS:d1

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
002. Resume	Resume of Henry H. Young [redacted for personally identifiable information] (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, Office of the
Series: Rogers, Edward, Files
Subseries: Subject Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location:

Date Closed: 8/20/2025	OA/ID Number: 04016-018a
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2025-0647-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

HENRY H. YOUNG
410 Redwood St.
Harrisburg, PA 17109
Phone: (717) 564-1775

SS No. - (b)(6)

PERSONAL DATA

Date of Birth - (b)(6)
Place of Birth - Harrisburg, PA
Parents - Benjamin F. Young, Jr. (deceased)
Reba V. Young (deceased)
Church Affiliation - St. Lawrence Catholic Church
Education - Graduate, Harrisburg Catholic High School, 1949
Military Service - U.S. Army, 1952-54

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

1949-1952 - Pennsylvania House of Representatives
1949-1952 - The Patriot-News Co., Harrisburg, PA
1952-1954 - U.S. Army
1954-1988 - The Patriot-News Co.:
Jun 1, 1949-Jan 31, 1961 - Sportswriter, Copy Editor
Feb 1, 1961-Oct 8, 1977 - City Editor, News Editor
Oct 9, 1977-Oct 18, 1982 - Associate Editor
Oct 19, 1982-Jul 31, 1984 - Editor
Aug 1, 1984-Dec 31, 1988 - Executive Editor
1989- - Department of the Auditor General, State of Pennsylvania -
Administrative Officer

U.S. GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Civilian Aide to the Secretary of the Army (Pennsylvania-East)
Dec 1975-Jan 1980; Jan 1983-Dec 1989

CIVIC AFFILIATIONS-CURRENT

Trustee, Volunteer Firemen's Relief Association of Harrisburg
Member, Crime Clinic of Greater Harrisburg
-PAST
Member, Board of Directors, Boys' Club of Harrisburg, Inc.
Chairman, Fire Commissioner's Advisory Committee, City of Harrisburg,
1967-1971
Chairman, Mayor's Advisory Committee on Fire Protection, City of
Harrisburg, 1971-1975

BUSINESS

Member, Board of Directors, Worlco, Inc., King of Prussia, PA

CLUB AND FRATERNAL AFFILIATIONS

Vice President-West PA, Association of the United States Army, 1980-1988
Member, Keystone Chapter, Association of the United States Army
Member, North Harrisburg Post 1001, The American Legion
Honorable Order of Kentucky Colonels
Member, Capital Area Chapter, Pennsylvania Sports Hall of Fame
Member, Harrisburg Lodge No. 12, B. P. O. Elks
Member, Harrisburg Aerie No. 122, Fraternal Order of Eagles
Member, Allison Hook & Ladder Fire Co., Harrisburg
Member, Penbrook Fire Co.
Member, Dauphin County Volunteer Firemen's Association
Member, Firemen's Association of Southeastern Pennsylvania
Member, Firemen's Association of the State of Pennsylvania
Honorary Life Member, Local 428 (Harrisburg), International Association
of Fire Fighters
Life Member, Pennsylvania State Fire Fighters Association
Associate Life Member, Capital City Lodge No. 12 (Harrisburg), Fraternal
Order of Police
Honorary Life Member, Pennsylvania Lodge, Fraternal Order of Police

OTHER AFFILIATIONS

Member, Pennsylvania Committee for Employer Support of the Guard and
Reserve, Central Pennsylvania Area

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Pennsylvania Society of Newspaper Editors
American Society of Newspaper Editors

PROFESSIONAL AWARDS

Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association "Front Page Makeup and
Headlines" Award -- First Place, 1963 and 1965
Nominated for Pulitzer Prize - 1976

OTHER AWARDS

U. S. Army Outstanding Civilian Service Medal; Department of Defense
National Guard Bureau Eagle Award; Pennsylvania Meritorious Service
Medal; Association of the United States Army General Creighton W.
Abrams Medal; National Defense Service Medal; U.S. Army Good
Conduct Medal; Pennsylvania National Guard Distinguished Service
Award (1974-first ever awarded to an individual); Harrisburg Lodge
12, B. P. O. Elks, Citizen of the Year Award (1976-77); Grand Lodge,
B. P. O. Elks Distinguished Citizenship Award (1976-77); Dauphin
County Chiefs of Police Association Public Safety Award (1978);
The Salvation Army Community Service Award (1978); Pennsylvania
House of Representatives Citation "In Recognition of Outstanding
Journalism"; Pennsylvania House of Representatives Citation "For
Distinguished Service to the U.S. Army, the Reserve and the National
Guard"

OTHER MEMBERSHIPS

The Honorable Order of St. Barbara

Legion of Honor of The Chapel of Four Chaplains, Philadelphia, PA

Honorary Member, Veteran Guard, Third Regiment Infantry, National Guard
of Pennsylvania

Honorary Member, First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry

Honorary Member, 79th U.S. Army Reserve Command

CASA FACTS

■ Robert T. Stevens, Civilian Aide from New York, became Secretary of the Army in 1953.

■ The first national Civilian Aides conference was held in 1954 at Fort Leavenworth, Kan. The conferences now take place each year in Washington, D. C.

■ The position of Civilian Aide at Large was created in 1955. The position imposes no geographical restrictions on a Civilian Aide.

■ In 1956 the Civilian Aide at Large position was increased to three.

■ Mary G. Roebling of Trenton, N.J., in 1971, was the first woman appointed to serve as a Civilian Aide. She was named Civilian Aide Emeritus in 1987, after serving eight consecutive terms.

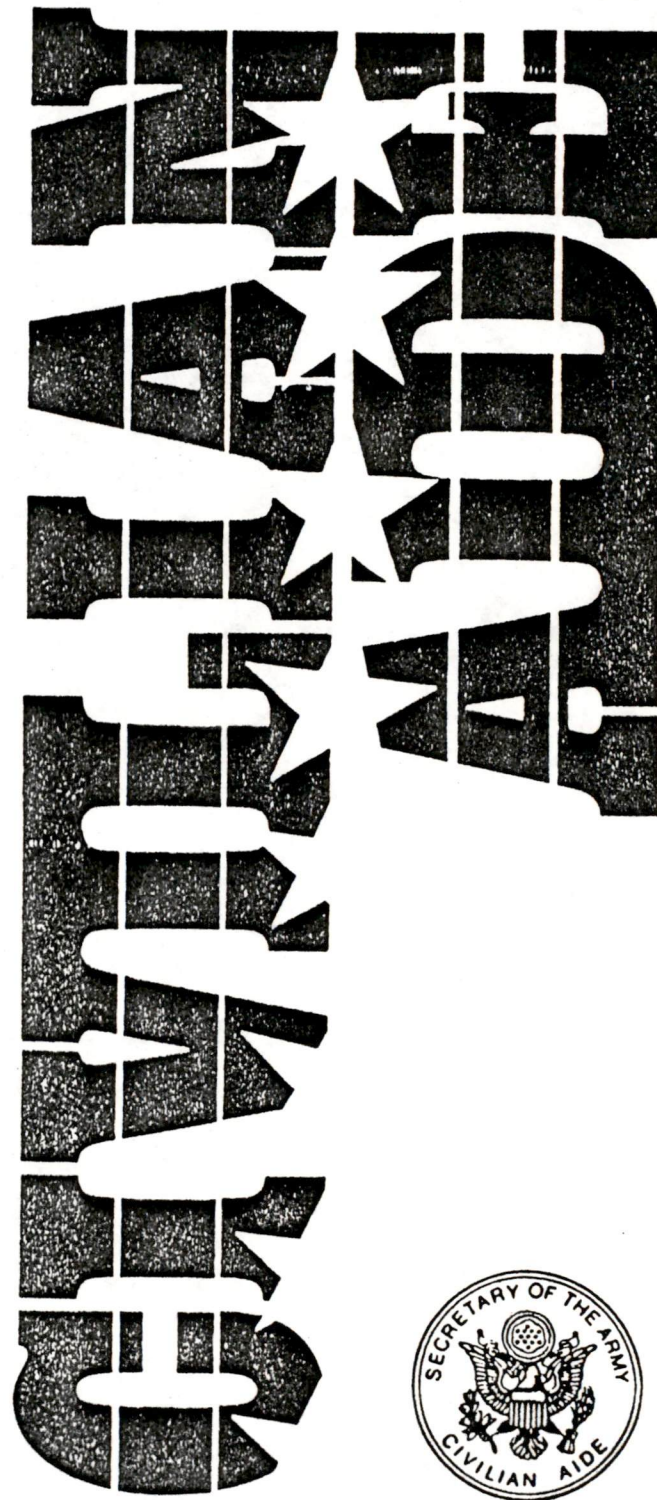
■ The designation of Civilian Aide Emeritus was added to the program in 1983 to provide lasting recognition to certain individuals for their outstanding service to the program. The positions are now permanent.

■ Civilian Aides represent the 50 United States, as well as Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa and the Northern Mariana Islands.

■ The commander of each continental U. S. Army manages the Civilian Aides program in his area for the Secretary of the Army. He meets all of the Aides at least twice annually—at the national conference and at the local conference.



HQ. First U.S. Army
ATTN: AFKA-PA
Fort George G. Meade, Md. 20755-7000



The Civilian Aides to the Secretary of the Army program began just before World War I when a group of civilian volunteers formed an association to help supply the U.S. Army with leaders.

The efforts of the association, known then as the Military Training Camps Association (MTCA), received formal Army recognition in 1922.

During World War II Civilian Aides performed critical, often sensitive missions. They provided the Army with a pool of viable candidates for direct commissions—civilians who possessed technical skills that were vital to the wartime mission.

After the war the Army redesigned the program to create a nationwide network of people to provide grass roots opinion about the Army. Aides reported to the Secretary of the Army directly, and were responsible for promoting goodwill between the Army and the public. Formerly selected from the sole ranks of the MTCA, the Secretary of the Army now began to appoint Aides from the civilian ranks at large. And, an Aide's term was reduced from four years to two.

Today, criteria for selecting Civilian Aides include:

- Be a U.S. citizen of outstanding character, integrity and patriotism.
- Possess a deep interest in military affairs.
- Be a leader in community affairs.
- Be in a position to disseminate information about the Army to broad cross section of public and other prominent citizens in area of responsibility.
- Not be a federal elected or appointed official.
- Not be an active member of the National Guard or Reserve.



Civilian Aides advise the Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff and Army commanders in their geographical areas of public attitudes toward the Army. They make recommendations for actions needed to broaden public understanding of the Army and its mission. Aides help to attain understanding and cooperation between their communities and the Army, and encourage a mutual appreciation of the needs and problems of both.

Since the Secretary of the Army is able to attend only a limited number of military and civilian functions, Civilian Aides are called upon to represent him, serving as a convenient interface between the military and civilian communities.

With the introduction of the all-volunteer Army in the '70s, Civilian Aides were asked to lend their support to the recruiting effort. Working with school officials, Aides help to arrange programs and speaking engagements for recruiters at local high schools. They introduce recruiters and other Army officials to prominent local citizens who will support the Army recruiting program and steer men and women to enlist.

Civilian Aides visit military installations and participate in ceremonies and events to show their support and interest in the Army to their communities. They work with editors, publishers and radio and television managers to keep them informed about Army matters. They encourage local organizations to help servicemembers and their families when needed, and to recognize new enlistees. They work with state officials to post identifying signs of National Guard Armories, Army Reserve Centers and military museums.

Aides use their influence to garner employer support for the Army Reserve Components, and in turn, make sure those employers are recognized and honored for contributions. They add to the stature of the entire Armed Forces by speaking out for a strong military to provide for the security of the nation.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: December 10, 1990

FOR: GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: **ED ROGERS**

☐ Action

☐ Your Comment

☐ Let's Talk

☒ FYI

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: December 10, 1990

FOR: JIM PINKERTON

FROM: **ED ROGERS**

☐ Action

☐ Your Comment

☐ Let's Talk

☒ FYI

NEWS FROM THE HOUSE MAJORITY LEADER

For Release Upon Delivery
December 6, 1990

Congressman Richard Gephardt
H-148, US Capitol

AN ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN RICHARD GEPHARDT

Washington, D.C. -- The following are remarks prepared for delivery by Congressman Richard A. Gephardt, the House Majority Leader, before the Center for National Policy at the Hyatt Regency Hotel:

"Policies that Work for People Who Work: Or, What I Learned in the Wal-Mart Parking Lot"

INTRODUCTION

On a recent trip back home, I found myself in the parking lot of a Wal-Mart store in Festus, Missouri. A woman came up to me, and talked about her frustration with what's happening in the country. Because it's been getting harder to keep up she'd been forced to take a part-time job working at Wal-Mart. And still she and her husband have a tough time making ends meet. She wagged her finger at me and said, "Both the Republicans and the Democrats up there in Washington fight for their special interests. The rich are going to get another loophole, and I'm going to get another tax increase. Who fights for me, anyway?"

Who fights for me? It's an important question, one that could be asked by almost any working American. It's a question Democrats began to answer during the budget summit. The Republicans showed their true colors and we Democrats showed ours.

But it's not enough for Democrats to define ourselves by what we're against. We must state forcefully what we are for.

For a variety of reasons, the Republican Party is unable or unwilling to fight for working Americans. It is the mission of the Democratic Party to wage and win that fight. And so this afternoon I want to answer that woman's question by talking about the Republican policies of the past ten years, and offer some new Democratic proposals to help her educate her children, prepare for a better job, fight for that job in the competitive world economy, and defend her right to be free from discrimination on the job.

I am not here today to set an agenda, or to provide a laundry-list of initiatives. Rather, I'm here today to share some personal thoughts and observation on issues the Congress and the country must confront this year and in the years to come. I examine these particular areas because they provide a stark contrast between two very different visions: a Republican vision that places the federal government squarely on the side of the powerful and the privileged outside the mainstream, and a Democratic vision of policies that work for people who work.

A CRITIQUE OF THE REPUBLICAN APPROACH

The Republicans proceed from a mosaic of motives. The doctrinaire supply siders, I'm sure, truly believe in the Laffer Curve. They honestly believe -- despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary -- that the best way to make America great is to cut taxes for the wealthy. They place their faith -- and our fate -- in an unregulated market of unproductive speculation and mergers.

Others are less ideologically motivated. They use anti-government rhetoric as an excuse for a decade of unbridled greed. They defend the status quo -- not to protect the national interest -- but to preserve the narrow interests of the people they represent.

The unifying force comes from a third faction: the political operatives, who are not motivated by ideology or economic interest. Rather, they pull together the disparate factions to maintain the Republican hold on executive power.

What has resulted from this decade-long alliance of convenience? The Great Experiment in Supply Side Theory has failed, our economic leadership has faltered, and working family incomes have fallen. At best the "riverboat gamble" failed; at worst it was a fraud.

After ten years of Republican rule there has been a fundamental shift in the focus of government from helping working people and toward granting special privileges to a tiny elite already atop the economic pyramid. The only debate among economists today is not whether the Republican recession is rolling over us, but rather how deep and how long the recession will be.

The consequences of this lost decade were brought into sharp focus by the Republicans' behavior during the recent budget crisis. Early on in the process, President Bush reneged on his promise of no new taxes. He agreed to higher gasoline taxes, higher alcohol taxes and higher tobacco taxes on working people. But nearly four months later, George Bush and the Republicans shut down the national government in order to protect the wealthiest one-half of one percent of the American population to protect them from paying their fair share.

Why? In their version of the American Dream, if you give special advantages to the privileged, they will generate enough economic activity to benefit the rest of us. We've tried that version of the dream, and it's been a nightmare.

The Republican former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Herbert Stein, recently assessed trickle-down economics in the Washington Post. He calculated that a one-percent increase in the income of the rich would trickle down to the rest of us. In 58 years. I don't know about you, but I turn 50 next month. I don't think I can wait that long.

Perhaps to avoid being labeled as the party that cares only for the rich, the White House speechwriters and policy advisors are arguing over the need for a new buzzword to convey concern for working men and women. Much of this debate centers on an honorable word, empowerment. When spoken by Democrats, it means putting in the hands of Americans the tools they need to succeed -- from education and training to increasing their purchasing power. But when spoken by Republicans it is often another mask for their real purpose: doing more for those who already have the most.

I don't dismiss out-of-hand every idea carrying the label of the so-called "New Paradigm." As Democrats, we share -- indeed we have pushed far harder than our opponents -- goals like renewing the war on poverty, getting government off the backs of the poor, and writing values of responsibility and accountability into our social policies.

My concern is less what the New Paradigm purports to do than what it will be used to do. David Stockman admitted that the supply-side economics of the 1980s was nothing more than a "Trojan Horse" for the old, discredited trickle-down theory. By that standard, the New Paradigm may be nothing more than a Trojan Polo Pony, providing attractive cover for yet another assault on working families and another giveaway for the privileged.

THE DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

Substantively and politically, Democrats began reversing the Republicans' misplaced priorities during the budget summit. In a budget where we made deep and painful cuts in entitlement programs, we were right to insist that on the revenue side of the equation, those who benefitted the most from the policies of the last decade pay their fair share.

But the fight for working families -- like the family of the woman I talked to at the Wal-Mart -- does not end with tax fairness; it only begins. It's not enough to tell that woman her life will be better because millionaires will pay a little more in taxes. We've got to do better than that.

Democrats have assembled an impressive array of ideas to help middle-class families. Some of them, like family and medical leave, and plant closing notification, require no government involvement at all. Others try to make government more responsive and responsible. The common thread is common sense.

We Democrats say it's time to put the government back on the side of the people who pay the taxes and do the work: the families who have been left out of the Republicans' theories -- and their policies -- for too long.

INVESTING IN PEOPLE; PAYING FOR RESULTS

To win the fight for the future we have to be willing to make changes -- fundamental changes. Einstein said that splitting the atom changed everything -- except the way we think. It's time we changed that as well.

Our competitors in the world marketplace have been eager to change. While we've been preoccupied with fighting and winning the Cold War -- which was no mean feat -- our economic rivals have been waging and winning the economic competition of the future.

We have to move on so many fronts at once. To begin at the beginning, if we lose our children we lose everything. And yet the Republican ideology of "Every man for himself" has cast adrift too many of the next generation. There is no more dramatic illustration of the selfishness and bankruptcy of that ideology than their refusal to invest in our children.

At one level the solutions seem obvious: we know to a certainty that prenatal care for women, and early childhood attention for children are among the most cost-effective and constructive government programs. And yet millions of children are never reached at all. That early neglect doesn't save us money, it costs us billions down the road -- from emergency hospitalization to remedial education to long-term incarceration. Early childhood care is like the commercial for oil filters in which the man says, "You can pay me now, or pay me later." And it is essential if our children are to start school ready to learn.

Democratic common sense seeks results. We should use the leverage of government money to provide incentives for the results we want. Rather than creating a new bureaucracy, we can begin by offering bonuses to state governments that provide the essentials: for mothers that means prenatal care, and for children it means health care, including immunizations, it means nutrition and it means developmental programs like Head Start.

By the same token, we don't need yet another study to tell us that American education is in need of serious improvement. The old orthodoxy of the Left might try to respond by increasing the power of the Department of Education, or by creating another alphabet-soup bureaucracy to improve our schools. But the old ways are not good enough today. Conservatives are right when they say adding more bureaucracy is not the solution. But neither is the solution to divide us, pitting parent against parent in a competition for quality education for their children. Handing a family a small voucher and then telling them they're on their own is an abdication, not a solution. Democrats on the state and local level have made great inroads in education innovation. It's time we at the federal level give greater encouragement and rewards for successful education reforms.

Let me give you an example. Our self-styled "Education President" has declared that by the Year 2000 America will lead the world in math and science achievement. That's a worthy goal, to be sure. But President Bush's lofty goal is awfully short on the gritty specifics of how we are to achieve it.

Instead of rhetoric without results, a Democratic solution would be to pay "earn for learn" bonuses to any public school in the nation where the average math and science scores of the graduating class tie or beat the score of the nation that is number one in math and science. This would create an incentive -- a powerful market-based one at that -- for schools to improve their math and science education. It would not create a new bureaucracy and -- most important -- it would not spend a dime of the people's money until the results the people want have been delivered.

So now we can tell the woman at Wal-Mart: Democrats will fight to see to it that her children will be healthy and ready to learn; that their schools will be world-class; and that her tax dollars for education will pay a real return.

FIGHTING FOR WORKERS

In the global marketplace, where success will be determined by the skills and ingenuity of our workers, training our people is essential to competing internationally and prospering individually. Our competitors -- especially the Germans -- understand that. They have placed a national focus on training. And they have the productivity and the per capita income to prove their emphasis has paid off.

America's inactivity and inattention has a crippling cost. Over the past thirty years, our productivity growth has slowed to a crawl. As a result, earnings have declined. In fact, in real terms, average weekly earnings have fallen 12% since 1969. Here, as in so many other areas, those who have been hit hardest are those who can least afford it: while the incomes of the top 30 percent of earners have increased, the earnings of the other 70 percent have decreased.

Tragically, the Republican ideologues are too blinded by outdated theories to make the commitment these times require. We've tried vouchers here -- and they have failed. They rewarded fly-by-night operations and con games that were long on salesmanship but short on training. The con men got the gold mine and the taxpayers and the workers who needed training got the shaft.

We've got to do better than that. If we do not make the necessary national commitment, we will be left with a lowered standard of living and a workforce operating at the skill level of the Third World.

In fact, it's already happening. A Swiss company opening a plant here recently was confounded by the lack of skills in its American work force. Our people were simply too poorly trained to perform at the levels Swiss workers achieve. As a result, the Swiss management resorted to using the plant design they use in the Third World.

Raising the skill levels of our workers is a tall order. But we must begin right away. Sam Nunn and I have a proposal that does just that. It would create a national apprenticeship program of partnerships between business, labor and our schools to provide high school students with a chance to acquire job skills while they acquire their high school diploma. The link between education and jobs must be reinforced. Where once America could prosper because of the bounty of our natural resources, the key to our future prosperity is the strength and the capacity of our people.

A COMMON SENSE TRADE POLICY

But if we're being honest with the woman at Wal-Mart, we have to be willing to say to her that all the training in the world will do no good if our best jobs have been traded away by an Administration that believes more in the rhetoric of free trade than the reality of tough international competition.

Perhaps because of the heroic and historic role we played in rebuilding the post-war world, too many decision-makers in Washington wrongly regard other nations, and their markets, as having been remade in our image. But there are profound differences between the way America does business and the way our competitors do business.

We don't need to imitate Japanese business practices that would destroy our antitrust laws, or pursue protectionist agriculture policies, as the European Community does. Rather, we should use the power of the American government and our market to encourage our competitors to open up their markets, reform and streamline their systems, and give American products a chance to compete.

Despite a trade deficit that has ballooned out of control, the Administration has steadfastly refused to update its horse-and-buggy trade policies, even as our competitors pass us in the economic fast lane in their Porsches and Maseratis and Miatas.

I want to give our negotiators at the GATT all the support they need -- not only in reaching agreements, but in assuring results. We may need a new version of the Gephardt Amendment for the 1990s -- one that puts pressure on our trading partners to open their markets not only to American products, but to products from all over the world. Such an approach would enhance our influence in international negotiations by letting our trading partners know that we are deeply committed to a free and open trading system, not just for ourselves, but for all the world.

The last Congress passed legislation that would expand civilian research and development. We need to do more. We should create new public-private partnerships to put America on the cutting edge of high technology. We cannot allow HDTV and semiconductors to go the way of VCRs. Sadly, it appears the Bush Administration will fight us every step of the way. I want to put George Bush on notice: Mr. President, we Democrats -- at least this Democrat -- will not stand idly by as American jobs are sold off, boxed up and shipped overseas.

As a Harry Truman-style pragmatist, I must ask: If the American government doesn't fight for American jobs, who will? How many more Americans will be laid off - or never hired in the first place -- because of our government's rigid refusal to fight for our jobs? Our Secretary of State has said we're sending 400,000 troops to the Persian Gulf to fight for jobs. If we can commit troops in the name of jobs, why can't we commit our government to a common-sense trade policy that fights for American jobs, American workers and American businesses?

FIGHTING INJUSTICE IN THE WORKPLACE

Civil rights is another jobs issue where the cost of inaction is incalculable. The ideologues on the right are following a new trail of racial resentment and recrimination blazed by David Duke, then trod successfully by Jesse Helms, and now given a tarnished patina of intellectual respectability by William Bennett. They argue that the Civil Rights Act of 1990 requires quotas. Never mind the facts. Quotas are already illegal. And never mind that the Civil Rights Act of 1990 said that nothing in the bill -- and I quote from the legislation -- "shall be construed to require or encourage quotas."

Never mind the facts. The Republicans echo Hegel's saying: "If theory and fact disagree, so much for the facts," especially if they don't jibe with your political goals. Just make your 30-second smear, use the smokescreen of quotas, and move on.

We will not allow them to get away with that. We must not retreat from our historic commitment to civil rights.

The facts are these: The Civil Rights Act does two things -- first, it restores equal opportunity law to where it was before June of 1989, when decisions by the Reagan Court reversed Congress's intent, and all but denied victims of discrimination protection under the law. There were no quotas before June of 1989, and there will be no quotas after the Civil Rights Act of 1991.

The second thing the Civil Rights Act does is provide monetary damages to victims of intentional sex and religious discrimination. Under a civil rights law from the 19th century, only discrimination on the basis of race or ethnic origin may be compensated with damages. If the woman working at the Festus Wal-Mart were the victim of intentional sex discrimination -- including sexual harassment -- she would not be entitled to damages.

There is a compelling moral and social case for civil rights, and a pragmatic argument as well: civil rights works. Under the system we had for eighteen years, millions of Blacks, women, Asians and Hispanics moved through the door of opportunity and into the mainstream of American life. Civil rights have worked at every level of our society. Not because of quotas, but because of qualifications and increasing education. Where once Blacks and other minorities were passed over for good jobs in skilled trades, law enforcement and management, today scholars tell us one out of every four minority Americans have better jobs because of civil rights.

Civil rights works for the majority, too. Don't forget: the real majority in America is women. Our society's progress on civil rights has emancipated women in the workplace, and enhanced the earnings of every working family. Without the civil rights laws, which have moved women into greater equality in jobs, the struggling American standard of living would have collapsed in a free-fall.

But because of civil rights, millions of Americans are earning more money, paying more taxes, providing more stable and secure homes, contributing more to society, and most important of all, raising their children to believe that the American Dream of opportunity for all is a reality. The economy, and society as a whole, have been enriched by their contributions.

So we must ask: why would George Bush reverse something that has worked so well, provided so much opportunity, and opened so many doors that were closed for so long?

I think the answer lies in power politics and protecting privilege. By tolerating a stagnant economy, by reducing racial justice to a zero-sum game, by seeking a successor to the "Willie Horton" issue for a party that's lost the unifying issues of anti-communism and anti-tax-ism, certain Republican strategists seek to divide white working people from Black working people, and thereby distract them from their common interests and concerns: that under Republican rule, the system works for the rich, but not for them.

Fortunately, there are conscientious Republicans who reject the politics of racial division, and agree that civil rights ought not be a partisan issue. Conservative Republicans like my fellow Missourian Jack Danforth supported the Civil Rights Act this year. They knew it wasn't a quota bill, and I hope the President will review his position when the Act is placed on his desk next year. If he does not, I believe Congress will pass it, even over the President's veto -- because it is right. We must not let race divide American against American.

TAX CUTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE

Finally, the issue that prompted that woman to wag her finger at me in the parking lot of the Wal-Mart: taxes. While we made a start in the budget summit, the issue of tax fairness is by no means settled. If the Bush Administration uses the Republican recession as an excuse to provide yet another tax break for the super-rich, we Democrats are prepared to offer a better way.

Tax cuts that put money back in the pockets of working people can and do spur economic growth.

Whether you believe, as Senator Moynihan does, that we can preserve Social Security while reducing the payroll tax burden, or as Congressman Rostenkowski does, that any capital gains tax reduction should be targeted to the middle class, or as Senator Bentsen does, that we should reward retirement savings, or as others do, that we should simply cut taxes on working families by increasing their standard deduction, the focus and the fight remain the same: Republicans tell that woman in Missouri that a tax cut for Sam Walton will trickle down and down and down, until finally, one day, it reaches the parking lot of the Wal-Mart in Festus. Democrats say, Get real. If you want to help the middle class, cut out the middle man. Give them the tax cut, put more money in their pockets so they can buy more things at Wal-Mart, and you know what? Sam Walton will actually end up even richer.

That's the Trickle-Up Theory -- and it works.

CONCLUSION

As the Republicans' policy advisors and speechwriters wrangle over buzzwords, prototypes and paradigms, we Democrats will continue to reexamine and challenge our own orthodoxy. We did that during the Reagan-Bush-Quayle Years, and we now re-enter the national debate with fresh ideas; ideas that work in the real world, rather than a simplistic set of solutions that fit neatly within a narrow and unrealistic world view.

In just seven weeks, President Bush will address the Nation on the State of the Union. It is my hope that he will use this unique opportunity to do more than settle an academic and largely irrelevant dispute between his aides, and instead use his "bully pulpit" for inspiration, leadership, and, yes, vision. Because at this stage of our union, vision is what we need.

With the fate of much of the world dependent on the success of the American Experiment, we simply cannot afford to temporize, tinker at the margins, or cling to doctrines that are outdated and antiquated.

I reject the view that the American Century is coming to a close. America has always had a remarkable ability to re-invent itself -- not by slavish devotion to obsolete ideology but by a limitless faith in ourselves, our people and our country. It is this can-do spirit of optimism and confidence which our party must recapture; a uniquely American belief in ourselves and our country that we must restore.

(30)

contacts: Deborah Johns/David Dreyer
(202)-225-0100

XEROX TELECOPIER 295 ; 5- 3-90; 2:20 PM;

314 636 3273 +

2024842112 ; # 2

'98 05/03 13:21

2 314 636 3273

NO REP. PARTY

02

September 1998
FAX to:**MR. TONY FEATHER****Personal Profile
Mack Holekamp**

Mack Holekamp is an active Republican who combines a successful business career with the busy life of a husband to Mary (a Republican Committeewoman), father of two sons and two daughters, and recently proud grandfather of two grandsons.

A native of Webster Groves, Mack earned a degree in Economics from Washington and Lee University and attended law school.

He served with distinction on his city council for five terms, earning the reputation for being caring and receptive and quick to respond to the needs of the people of his city. He is one who respects people of all views.

He holds patents on several inventions pertaining to dredge design. He is President of Delta Dredge and Pump Corp., a small company doing international business. He is an officer and board member of the Western Dredging Association.

A man of many interests and talents, he is an instrument rated pilot, has traveled widely, and enjoys gardening, wood-working, skiing, boating and wind-surfing.

Mack is energetic and innovative. He is personable and is a good listener. He has the ability to channel imagination through invention to find creative solutions. He offers to put these skills to work serving his district and his nation in Congress to help bring about the balancing of the budget, ending inflation, lowering interest rates and improving government.

**Mark H. Kamp could make an excellent present liv
in Congress for the 3rd District. He is one man who can
make a difference.**

XEROX TELECOPIER 295 ; 5- 3-90; 2:21 PM;

314 636 3273 →

2024842112 ; # 3

'90 05/03 13:21

3 314 636 3273 NO REP. PARTY

03

HOLEKAMP FOR CONGRESS

Third District in Missouri

vs Richard Gephardt, incumbent

Malcolm L. (Mack) Holekamp

344 Gray Ave., Webster Groves, Mo.

(314) 962-0506 • (314) 968-4433 • Fax (314) 968-9635

Holekamp is an experienced campaigner, having run and won big in five city-wide elections in Webster Groves (in the 3rd Congressional district). He has been very active in GOP politics going back to Ike.

He has good name recognition in the area: For 20 years, he served the people of Webster Groves as City Councilman; his wife, Mary, is a very popular and effective Committeewoman in Jefferson Township; and he is a member of a large and old St. Louis family.

Mack is not running to be running, but to win and to give the President support in Congress. Gephardt has become a reckless obstructionist. He has alienated many voters by effectively vacating his seat while spending two years in Iowa. His aid-to-Russia proposal has caused both Democrats and Republicans to question his judgment. He does not reflect the opinion of his constituents, and has not lived in the Third District for many years.

In contrast, Holekamp lives in the Third District and is experienced in being close to the people he represents. Since he does not aspire to higher office, he will give the Third District full-time representation.

Holekamp has a high energy level and will campaign 17 hours a day to beat Gephardt. He is well educated, a quick study, and an attractive person with a good sense of humor. He has an innovative cost-effective campaign plan for both the primary and the general election in November. With hard work, good support and a bit of good fortune, it is a fair possibility he can unseat an overly visible sitting Congressman.

The defeat of Gephardt will carry a powerful message to all of Washington: Congress must become more responsive to the people. Voters want efficient, well-thought-out legislation. No more tax and spend; no more pork barrels and special favors; no more boondoggles. We have too much real need to waste even one dollar of taxpayers' money!

This new Congressman will add one to President Bush's thousand points of light: a *searchlight* to make government more cost-effective. All America will benefit.

Mack has the support of the Committee people, not only in the Third District, but throughout the St. Louis Central Committee. Join them.

You will get a good race with Holekamp. We can and will do it. Let's start now!

XEROX TELECOPIER 295 ; 5- 3-90; 2:22 PM;

314 636 3273 +

2024842112 ; # 4

'90 05/03 13:22

8 314 636 3273 MO REP. PARTY

04

Mack Holekamp

for U.S. Congress

Mack Holekamp, a 5-term veteran of the Webster Groves City Council, is running for Congress to restore fiscal responsibility and integrity to federal government.

Richard Gephardt, his opponent, spends so much time running for higher office and throwing rocks at President Bush, that he is out of step with the people of the Third District.

For generations, the Holekamp family has had deep roots in the Third District. Mack and his wife, Mary, have four children and two grandsons.

"The people of the Third District need

Mack Holekamp

for U.S. Congress



XEROX TELECOPIER 296 ; 5- 3-90; 2:24 PM;

314 636 3273 +

2024842112 ; # 6

190 05/03 13:24

2 314 636 3273 MO REP. PARTY

06

THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 1990 •

PAGE 5A

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

GOP 'Favorite' May Not Run After All

By Mark Schlinkmann
Regional Political Correspondent

Alarmed by a festering intra-party squabble, former St. Louis Election Board member Stephen F. Doss said Wednesday that he planned to withdraw from the Republican primary race for Rep. Richard A. Gephardt's congressional seat.

But Vernon F. Schmidt, 12th Ward GOP committeeman and an influential party activist, said late Wednesday that he and others were trying to persuade Doss to change his mind and stay in the race. Doss could not be reached for comment.

Doss, of south St. Louis, made his announcement to the 3rd Congressional District GOP Committee at Cranwood City Hall.

Doss registered for Gephardt's seat hours before the filing deadline March 27 after being recruited by national, state and some

local GOP committee strategists. They promised Doss significant financial help for his campaign amid a push by the national Republican Party to punish Gephardt, the House majority leader, for his recent sharp attacks on President George Bush.

But some local party officials — particularly in Jefferson Township in St. Louis County — complained that party bigwigs had not consulted them in lining up Doss as a

They supported Malcolm Holskamp, president of Delta Dredge Co. and a former member of the Webster Groves City Council; he filed for Gephardt's seat March 26. If Doss withdraws, Holskamp probably would be the GOP nominee against Gephardt, the longtime Democratic incumbent. Two other Republicans also remain in the race, but neither has any organized support.

Tony Feather, executive director of the

state GOP, is one of those who helped recruit Doss. He confirmed that Doss had announced he would drop out.

"He just said our goal in this whole thing was to defeat Dick Gephardt," Feather said. "He said it would be silly for us to sit there and knock ourselves out in the primary."

Holskamp's son, Malcolm Holskamp Jr., said his father's camp was "totally surprised" at Doss' announcement. The younger Holskamp said his father had been upset at Doss being dubbed the state party's favored candidate and had urged that the party hold off giving any financial aid until after the primary Aug. 7.

Feather said that, in the last-minute rush to get a credible candidate to run against Gephardt, the two groups of GOP officials each were trying to line up somebody — not knowing what the other was doing.

-End-

Candidates seeking Gephardt's seat

By Terry Edlmann
Journal staff writer

Webster Groves resident Mal Holekamp is joining a long line of candidates seeking the Republican nomination for the 3rd District U.S. House seat currently held by Democrat Richard Gephardt.

Holekamp, 58, filed for the seat earlier this week. He served as a Webster Groves City Councilman from 1966 through 1986.

He said his motivation for running is simple.

"We've got to get that No. 1 bushwhacker out of Congress," Holekamp said, referring to Gephardt.

Holekamp said Gephardt doesn't represent the 3rd District.

"He is too busy running for president to worry about the 3rd District," Holekamp said.

"Congress needs to support the president, not criticize him," he said.

"The president needs the help of the Congress," Holekamp said. "We have to work together if we're going to rebuild the country's infrastructure, take care of our children and elderly, and eliminate inflation."

Holekamp said he's skeptical of Soviet requests for aid.

"Sure, I'll send wheat to Russia if they send us some of their newer tanks. Then I'll know they're serious."

Holekamp and his wife Mary live at 344 Gray Ave. He's the president of Delta Dredge & Pump Corp.

Kirkwood resident Paul G. Stein has also filed for the seat. Stein, 38, is a political newcomer.

He formerly worked in the computer industry, but is currently unemployed.

Stein collects disability checks stemming from a problem with depression. He said he no longer suffers from the condition, and that in today's open climate, his history shouldn't hurt him.

Stein opposes abortion under any circumstances, the busing of school children for desegregation, tax increases except with proven necessity and Congressional pay increases without a public referendum.

Although Stein is a registered voter in Kirkwood, he's currently living in an apartment in

Richmond Heights outside the 3rd District.

St. Louis County Board of Election officials say a candidate can live outside the district in which he is running, as long as he is a registered voter in that district.

Other candidates seeking the Republican nomination to the 3rd District seat are Wally Anderson of Webster Groves, Bernard Mazurkiewicz of Affton and St. Louis resident Stephen Dens.

Candidates running for the Democratic nomination to the 3rd District seat are incumbent Richard Gephardt and Nicholas P. Clement of South St. Louis. KSHE disk jockey John "U Man" Ulett has also filed.

Thomas Mehan to run for prosecutor's post

By Craig Whitworth
Journal staff writer

Glendale resident and former Assistant St. Louis County



attorney announced his candidacy in a press conference Thursday afternoon at the St. Louis County Government Center.

"Nine years ago when I walked into the building (St. Louis

attorney's office for nine years, serving as a senior member of the trial staff. He left the post in January 1990 to join a Clayton law firm as an associate of litigation.

attorney who has also served as assistant county prosecutor and chief trial attorney under Westfall.

State Rep. Stephen Banton, 11th Dist.

Inc 1 to 7 | c r fr | 3.75 | 1 1

The project will cost about \$12 million when interest costs are included for 30 years are included.

Proposition A has run into opposition from a small citizens group that says the money for the proposed downtown stadium should be spent instead on improving education, sewers and roads.

"Taxpayers shouldn't have to pick up the whole tab; we think there could be more private

financing," said Tom Sullivan, manager of the group of fewer than three dozen people called Campaign For Better Government.

A committee backing the new stadium, St. Louisans for a Regional Convention & Sports Complex, said Wednesday that Sullivan's group opposes all tax increases and is standing in the way of economic progress.

Supporters of the measure say the stadium project would provide 4,000 additional construction

And supporters have more money where their mouth is. St. Louis businessmen and more than 100 individuals have contributed \$24,000 to the committee backing passage of the proposed tax increase, according to a campaign finance report filed March 27.

The largest contribution came from the St. Louis NFL Partnership, which is seeking a National Football League team for the proposed stadium. The partnership donated a video presentation valued at \$51,300.

The largest monetary contributions came from Union Electric Co., Monsanto Co. and the McDonnell Douglas Corp., each giving \$38,250.

To
Journ
Rep
Dist.
day
M
Harle
Buch
his co
as 2nd
Don
Mike
office
System
Louis
Execu
master
rally,
dell B
Boe
Tanz
descri
memb
a team
sent to
see if
election
by
the
of free
Buch
Buck
House
the Sc
nology

'Bl
to

By Terry
Journal
The W
of Com
Webster
Webster.
In an
some c
city re
unique r
is starti
campaign
"We're
package

effective leaders for our State, and indeed for our Nation. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, a native of Wyoming, as you well know, is a former Congressman from our great State, and very able, able man.

One hundred years ago, Wyoming's first two Senators, braving bitter winter weather, "saddled up" and began their 1,600-mile journey to the Nation's Capital. They really did not saddle up, but used the stage and rail system available at that time.

Senators Joseph M. Carey and Francis E. Warren participated in the birth of this fledgling State and they worked tirelessly to introduce Wyoming's unique qualities to the other 43 United States. Carey and Warren were an inspiration to those of us who followed in their footsteps, attempting to "fill their boots." Senator WALLOR and I follow 16 other Senators in representing the rugged State of Wyoming in our National Congress.

We continue the legacy that was started by these men. That history of the "Wyoming seats" in the U.S. Senate is a most interesting one. Senator Carey had practiced law in Philadelphia until the Territory of Wyoming was organized in 1869, when he became the U.S. attorney for the territory. He was a Wyoming rancher and also served in various elected positions—including major of Cheyenne—until he was elected to Congress as a delegate from the Territory of Wyoming in 1885. When Wyoming attained statehood in 1890, he was appointed a Republican Senator and served in that role until 1895.

Senator Carey is only one of two Wyoming Senators, along with my dear and remarkable father, Milward L. Simpson, to see his son also serve in the U.S. Senate. Robert Davis Carey entered the Senate 40 years after his father. I entered the Senate 12 years after dad did.

Francis Emory (F.E.) Warren served in the Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry during the Civil War and later received the Congressional Medal of Honor for gallantry on the battlefield. After the war, Warren moved to Wyoming, then a part of the Territory of Dakota. He served in various official positions, including Governor of the Territory of Wyoming. In 1890, Warren was elected as our State's first Governor, but resigned in November of that year when he was appointed as a Republican to the U.S. Senate. He served until 1893, and again in 1895 when he was reappointed to the seat vacated by Carey. F.W. Warren remained in the Senate until his death in Washington, DC, in November 1929. That was 39 years after he first assumed the responsibility as Senator from Wyoming.

Another significant segment of Wyoming citizens deserve special mention here, Mr. President. Wyoming has an especially rich history and has special significance to Native Americans. The Indian citizens of our fine State can

trace their roots back to ancient times. On the crest of the Big Horn Mountains in northern Wyoming is an ancient medicine wheel. This was an ancient shrine of stone built by the hands of some long-forgotten tribe. Today, this shrine still has strong religious significance to our American Indian population.

Nearly 20 percent of our area of Wyoming is encompassed by one of our Nation's oldest and most successful Indian reservations, the Wind River Reservation. Native Americans have a deservedly special significance in Wyoming.

The Wind River Reservation is the home of the Shoshone Indians and the Northern Arapaho Tribes, and that reservation continues to grow and develop in the finest traditions of the Native American people.

We are very proud of that reservation and proud to call these fine individuals our neighbors and fellow "Wyomingites."

So you see, Mr. President, there is good reason to bring the special attention of our colleagues to this significant milestone in Wyoming's history; that is, the centennial of this great State. The U.S. Postal Service issued a centennial commemorative stamp. It is on the market. It is a real piece of artwork in itself. Each singular stamp is indeed a billboard of the Grand Teton Mountains. The scene on that stamp could not have been a better choice. In a single picture, spirited with startling clarity from a Connie Schweining painting, and the dogged and determined effort of another Wyomingite, a man named Jack Rosenthal, whom I have known nearly my entire life, a great benefactor of Wyoming and of the University of Wyoming and a collector with a vigorous, vigorous booming voice of boosterism for Wyoming. He designed that stamp. The stamp captures the very essence of Wyoming, and it truly represents the authentic quality of Wyoming life: The spirit of independence, and true freedom.

Thank you, Mr. President. I am truly excited about this joint resolution commemorating Wyoming's 100th birthday as a State in our great Nation. I thank all of my distinguished colleagues of the Senate for their support of that.

Mr. President, I know my friend from Washington is ready to address us with a unique and remarkable situation that he will describe to you, but let me take a few more moments, if I may. I told the Senator from Washington that I would take a few more minutes. I want to say something very seriously, and I have a bent to do that. Humor is my sword and my shield.

REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD GEPHARDT

Mr. SIMPSON. The subject of my remarks at this moment is Congressman RICHARD GEPHARDT, Democrat of Missouri. I do not usually spend any

time talking about individual colleagues and fellow Congressmen on this floor. I now deviate from that personal policy.

It seems that Congressman GEPHARDT has apparently chosen to be the designated, self-appointed "Bush-basher" of our present times. He has taken some pretty personal pot-shots at the President. He seems to delight in that. I think it is time to take a swift look at the institutional life of this frustrated font of trivia about our fine President.

It was our revered former colleague, Senator John Stennis, Democrat of Missouri, President pro tempore, known to us as "Mr. Chairman," whether in the majority or the minority, who said to me one day with that great twinkle in his eye:

Alan, I have been here a long time. I have observed one very clear thing about legislators and those in public service, and it is this: Some grow and some swell.

He went on to say that some are doers and others are just talkers, those who come here to work and those who come here to raise partisan hell. It is usually those who are not as interested in "doing," that are the biggest talkers. It is a lot easier. It does not take any brains to be a critic—anyone can qualify. All you need is a shrill voice and usually a human target. When the target happens to hold the job that the critic desperately lusts for, and has consistently been denied, even by his own party, then the frustration levels must be enormous indeed, like the surging water behind the pent-up dam. The intensity of the attack is therefore that much higher in decibel and degree.

It is quite odd to me that a gentleman who presented himself to the public as a Presidential candidate and who was swiftly sent packing, would have the verve and the nerve to continually assail the chap whom the public did accept. The public is not that dimwitted. They made a clear choice. They picked the man who they thought presented the best vision—the "vision" thing again—for America's future, the best leadership, and they seem to feel that they made an awful good choice.

Our President's popularity is absolutely soaring. RICHARD GEPHARDT ought to try to resist the desire to have the camera lights bleach his suits out while he rails on in a quest for personal aggrandizement, trying again for the big brass ring—and wait until he has thought things through just a bit more. Even thoughtful members of his own party are giving him that good counsel.

Of course, we know of the extent of the President's popularity because of the polls. I seem to remember DICK GEPHARDT used polls every inch of the way in his Presidential quest. In fact, he never formed his opinions until he read the polls. No wonder he hates polls. They brought him down. People

were waiting for original ideas from this very bright and thoughtful man, and they were waiting for thoughtful leadership, and all they got was reprocessed cud, such as that produced by the bovine members of the quadrapeds.

He assails the President for paying attention to the public on major issues, as if somehow that is a defect in character. Good grief. That is what keeps a President in touch. That is what makes him a leader. Polls do not keep people from leading, unless they have no original ideas. Polls do not keep people from taking tough stands and being statesmen, unless they just choose to be solely partisan politicians. Polls keep Presidents in touch with public sentiments and goals and choices, and even things like who they prefer to be their President. Even people who do not pay attention to the polls know when endless posturing and positioning and jockeying for some future Presidential race seems to become the obsessive and overweening objective of life.

Some politicians do not think people see that. People "out there" are pretty savvy. They watch those of us who stare into the tube like a denture salesman, and they know they are never going to buy a thing from that person, and the purveyors often never get the word or the hint.

If the Congressman paid attention to the polls, he would discern that about two-thirds of the American people oppose providing substantial economic assistance to the Soviet Union at this time. Beyond that, the U.S.S.R. has not even asked for it. Get that. Now, that is a great way to make friends if we want to do things in the world. You walk in the door of the other guy's house, checkbook in hand, and announce to them that their country is absolutely so screwed up that we are here to write a check to get them corrected and bail them out. That is paternalistic and gratuitous conduct, unbecoming of a great nation.

It is not that Americans are not extraordinarily generous. Remember that our debt limit has been extended to \$3,122 billion. Yet, nearly two-thirds of our citizens support aid to Panama—we will also want to support Nicaragua and its new and emerging democratic government. We should do those things. But the American people simply recognize that aid to the Soviet Union is wholly premature. They also recognize that people are out there who are hacking at the administration, or saying that there is no leadership in America, when 83 percent of the people think there is, that those people are driven by a powerful need to be at the cutting edge of something—anything—for God's sake, at any cost.

If RICHARD GEPHARDT were really more interested in thoughtfully raising issues—if that last one was all he has in his old kit bag, we are all in

trouble—instead of just raising hell, he might spend more time doing the job he was hired on to do by the electorate. In 1986, his voting percentage in the House was 70 percent, compared with the House average of about 94 percent. In 1987, his voting record was 18 percent. Does that make the people of his district in Missouri pleased? Did that please them? Obviously. He is here, and it certainly did not displease them. But is that what they hired him on to do? That is a question for them to answer, not me. Does he really have a role in the legislature, other than that of a carping partisan critic?

I must say I got a kick out of the last news release from his Presidential operation saying that his staff was worried he might become known as a "carping partisan." I almost chuckled and fell off the camp stool into the fire on that one. That is all the people have known him for since he has been here. What is new? He did get tangled up in Japan-bashing for a while, but he cooled it on that because the people of this district really were not too tuned to the fact when he would say:

I have a great deal for you here. We are going to go to protectionism, and I am going to help you out. I am going to assure that you will never again find it necessary to buy shoes from Korea at 18 bucks a pair. You will have to buy shoes from Missouri at 40 bucks a pair. How is that for a deal for you? Then you will not have to go to K-Mart any more and buy blouses made in Singapore or Korea for 8 bucks. You get to buy blouses made in Massachusetts for 18 bucks. I am here to help, like the guy from the IRS.

That is why his stuff does not ring true. People are in extremity in some places in his own State, and in my State. The reason we have a trade imbalance is because people like to buy the stuff. That is why. Because they need to, because it is cheaper. That is why. They need to do that in their own personal and everyday lives, economically, and there is nothing too mysterious about that.

I think we can all understand why RICHARD GEPHARDT is frustrated. First, he is not the President; second, the American people are standing pretty well four square behind the man who got the job. Three-quarters of them like the way that George Bush is doing the job. They like the things he does, and they like his leadership, and they like his personality, and they like his persona. Big majorities approve of the fine way he is handling every single major issue: the economy, the environment, foreign policy, drugs.

Old RICHARD is just going bananas. And here is more of the reason. Because among Democrats, Bush's approval stands at 66 percent. Among blacks, the Democratic Party's most loyal constituency—and one they lose more of each and every day—it stands at 74 percent. Among young voters—the ones who will decide the elections of the future—Republicans have a 14-point advantage. No wonder RICHARD GEPHARDT does not like polls. They do

not tell him what he wants so desperately to hear. I said the other day he has the "burning bosom syndrome" here. He wants that big brass ring and that residence down at the end of Pennsylvania Avenue so badly he can taste it. So he vents his seething frustration by attacking the President, continually, for somehow not knowing what the people want and for not being a leader.

And you may be sure that if President Bush expressed a disregard for public opinion—or the polls—the Presidential candidate Congressman from Missouri would assail him as being detached, out of touch and aloof. It ain't George Bush who is out of touch!

I think Mr. RICHARD GEPHARDT needs to decide whether he is going to be a protectionist—a primary theme in his last campaign—that turned into a bumper—or whether he is going to dump taxpayer's money in various forms into newly elected democratized nations faster than they can even accept it or assimilate it. We do not yet even know who to write the check to in many of those countries. And we helped them immensely before we left in November and all of us helped on both sides of the aisle.

He needs to decide whether to be a weathervane or a statesman. The recent, orchestrated baying at the President appears to make his decision quite obvious. Those of us who have watched him knew what it would be.

But George Bush has extended the hand of bipartisanship. It is most often accepted by the thoughtful and accessible leader of the House of Representatives, TOM FOLEY, and by the fair and steady leader of the Senate, GEORGE MITCHELL, a superb man in what he tries to do for us here. And when that hand of bipartisanship and friendship is accepted, there is just tremendous more we can be doing for this country. And we are getting it done—largely because of the fact that TOM FOLEY is the spokesman for the U.S. House of Representatives and Congressman GEPHARDT is not. Thank heaven for TOM FOLEY and BOB MITCHELL.

If the Dick Gephardts of Congress prefer a policy of slashing personal attacks on the President, not so much the last one, that was kind of low key, but a continual drumfire of that during a time when—compared with the last Democratic administration—things are quite extraordinarily and remarkably better than they are now—I think it will go back to what the President said during his inaugural address, that the people did not elect us just to bicker. They expected to see something done. And they expect us to do it. And the citizens of this country expect a lot more than this of us. And they surely deserve it.

The day will come when all of us who have been RICHARD GEPHARDT watchers and—see the tremendous possibilities and the potential of this

fine man. I was on a radio program with him years ago, Tip O'Neill and I were present with him. Here was this articulate and exceedingly conscientious young man—and to see him suddenly become the Bush basher of our time, well, that is fascinating.

I think he has better things to do with the abilities that I see in him. Will we actually begin to see him walk the walk in his official duties and his legislative activities instead of just talking the talk as this self-appointed trasher of the administration?

The reason his stuff falls flat on its face is because he was not elected to that role by his partisan peers. He has just taken it up on his own. When RICHARD GEPHARDT gets in and gets wet all over and starts to legislate and help us put some good laws on the books, I will know I have seen the Moon from both sides. I will expect to see some extraordinary things of him because he is a remarkably adept young man with a great future.

But not in the role of Bush basher. Thank you.

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, this evening I was to depart for Tallinn, Estonia, where I have been asked to address the newly elected Congress of that nation.

Unfortunately, I will not be on my way to Estonia tonight because the Soviet Government, for reasons yet to be ascertained, failed to grant me a visa.

Mr. President, I would be less than candid if I did not express dismay over the recent actions of the Soviet Government with respect to United States congressional travel in the Soviet Union. By denying me and others the right to observe, first hand, the ongoing process of political reform in that country, the Soviet Union undermines its commitment to reform and to the notion of glasnost.

Mr. President, since I cannot deliver my address in person before the Congress of Estonia, I will deliver my speech before the U.S. Senate and the American people, with the design that it will reach the people of Estonia.

As a climax to a long political career, it is a unique honor to have been asked to address a Congress of the people of Estonia, designed to reestablish its rightful place among the independent nations of the world. The small, but dedicated Estonian community in the United States has never given up that vision and constantly reminded those of us who hold elective office of the injustices of 1940. The United States itself, of course, has never recognized the annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union and so there has always been a small Estonian Embassy in Washington, DC.

I represent the people of the State of Washington in the Senate of the United States. Like the Baltic, the Northern Pacific is cold, and we are no strangers to the color gray. We have snowcapped mountains that rise more than 4,000 meters from the sea, vast

deserts, sometimes angry volcanoes, and, with Alaska, perhaps the richest fisheries in the world. The western portion of the State is always green, and on the immediate outskirts of cities where we manufacture aircraft, computer software, and a wide range of food products, are ancient forests and unspoiled rivers.

I am a Member of the U.S. Senate, which has been a continuing body for 201 years, debating issues and passing laws for a nation which began with 3 million people and how has roughly 250 million. These people and their ancestors come from every nation in the world. The Senate is a forum in which their interests and aspirations have been presented successfully and constructively, with the single exception of a Civil War over slavery and secession, for that entire time.

I do not pretend that we always have amity, or even equity, but, rather, that we strive for them. On the whole, things go rather smoothly and well.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about parliamentary, democratic, truly representative governments is how seldom they have been the cause of war or civil unrest, and how often and well they have brought to fruition the full potential of their peoples, economically, culturally, and, not least, spiritually.

One of the great features of this kind of government is the inimitable sense of privacy and serenity that it grants its people, for it allows them lives of their own. You are free to participate, or not to participate; to agree, or to disagree; to withdraw, free not to think of politics, to live as though they were never invented. But, paradoxically, participation in politics can be a great joy when you know it is designed so as not to dominate the rest of one's life.

The parliamentary systems of the West have been a prescription for success, and, almost in an evolutionary sense the guide and spur to the best collective impulses of mankind; those which are just, elegant, and not overbearing.

Almost two centuries ago, reflecting on the French Revolution, the English poet William Wordsworth wrote:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive
When reason seemed the most to assert her rights.

What temper at the prospect did not wake
To happiness unthought of?

You live in such a time.

As you begin the wonderful, challenging, and dangerous task of creating your nation anew, remember, however, that the revolution Wordsworth celebrated ended in tyranny, death and war. You seek not to make such a revolution but a wondrous one, like ours in America. So, perhaps a few thoughts from a Senator who has been the inheritor of the most successful political system in the history of the world may be in order.

What are the essentials of managing a parliamentary system, so that it does

not derail? How do they bear upon this great moment of your history?

The first requirement for a free and successful society is that it be ruled by law and that the law be the product of the people's duly elected representatives. Ruled by whim, by fiat, or even by a party aristocracy which does not represent all of the people is simple tyranny no matter how disguised. Representative government is the key to success.

A second requirement is equality before the law, full participation, inclusion. What could be more destructive than to ignore the sanctity of the individual in favor of the sacrilege of class? God did not create people in classes but as separate souls, and never is the soul of a man or a woman sufficiently defined merely by reference to class. In this, I urge you to practice as fully as you can, the politics of inclusion.

By inclusion I mean full rights for everyone and special privileges for none.

A Russian minority is in your midst, partly as a result of a terrible injustice. But as individuals they are innocent, and if you welcome them as individuals and accord them full rights within the context of Estonian sovereignty, you will strengthen Estonia.

If, on the other hand, they are forced into a lesser status with lesser rights, or if they are expelled, you will increase the dangers to yourselves, both from without and from within.

Nations divided cannot stand. What is needed here is an active transfiguration that will lift your chances of success over the many barriers of negative probability. And it can only be accomplished with a certain grace, a grace I am sure you understand.

Throughout history, and at any period, the most successful society has been that which utilized the talents of the largest share of its people. America's success is due to the fact that it has constantly welcomed new people into its midst, and has offered them the opportunity to become Americans and to grown with the country.

We are still far from perfection in this regard, but it is our aspiration and our direction, and it is our glory that we have come so far, not in spite of our diversity but because of it.

One particularly important aspect of equality before the law and equality of opportunity is its relationship to half or more than half of the population of every society, our women. Through most of history and in most societies, women have been and still are severely limited in their opportunity to live up to their full potential. This is profoundly unjust, both to women and to men, and may be the greatest inhibition to the success of human society.

Even we Americans have not yet fully conquered that discrimination. But we do provide greater opportunities for women than does any other

David S. Broder

Defeatist Democrats

Richard Gephardt, the Democratic congressman from Missouri and House majority leader, is one of the few people ever to have run for his party's presidential nomination before becoming its floor leader.

Usually it works the other way around, but there are real advantages in the Gephardt sequence. Having traveled the country for four years in pursuit of the presidency, he brings a broader perspective to his present work. And since his campaign ended with an empty treasury and an acute shortage of delegates two years ago this spring, the 49-year-old Missourian has traveled the world: Japan, Eastern and Western Europe, Mexico and Central America.

Talking with him the other day, after his latest European trip, I found him frustrated both with the nation's leadership and the inability of his party to make its views known. "I'm embarrassed, almost ashamed," he said, "when

I see the sacrifices leaders from Mexico to Czechoslovakia are asking their people to make. They have so little and are daring so much. We have so much and are asking so little of ourselves."

In a speech yesterday, Gephardt dramatized the point by reminding his listeners that in 1947, when President Truman launched the Marshall Plan, he was an embattled president with low popularity, and the government carried a deficit far bigger, in relationship to the overall economy, than it faces today. Having fought two world wars in 28 years, Americans wanted only to relax and enjoy the fruits of victory.

A Gallup poll showed only 14 percent initially supported loans and grants to Western Europe. But Truman nonetheless battled and gained congressional approval for what turned out to be the equivalent in today's dollars of \$82 billion in aid.

Somehow, today, we have convinced ourselves that we are a bankrupt nation. To finance even a tiny bit of assistance to the countries that have thrown off the shackles of communism, we talk of "shaving" aid elsewhere in the world, reducing our leverage in the Middle East and ignoring virtually all of Africa.

"What an opportunity we have!" Gephardt exclaimed. "And what a tragedy if we don't help those countries succeed. Wouldn't you think the president of the United States would explain that to the American people?"

But this is a president, as Gephardt well realizes, who does not think he was elected to ask sacrifices of anyone. The question that was turned back at Gephardt was why he and his fellow Democrats—the heirs of Harry Truman—don't step up to the challenge Bush is ducking, in this and other fields.

The answer, he said, is that they're trying—but that it is very hard to frame or to publicize national policy from Capitol Hill. Policy disputes among congressional Democrats cannot be resolved by an edict from on high, as a presidential order cuts off debate within the administration. A House-Senate Democratic leadership task force Gephardt heads has been wrestling for two months with Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan's (D-N.Y.) proposal to cut Social Security taxes—and still has not come up with a party position on the plan.

Even if the Democrats had clear policies, Gephardt acknowledges that the chances of communicating them to the public are far worse than they would be if the Democrats had the White House as a megaphone. He and others have worked hard to get the Democratic position known on everything from education to trade—and still the public says, "We don't know where the Democrats stand."

The only time the Democrats have solved this conundrum of how to behave as an opposition party, while controlling both houses of Congress, was in the second Eisenhower administration. Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn, as congressional leaders, cooperated closely with Eisenhower, while allowing then-young legislators such as Ed Muskie and John Brademas to push and promote a more progressive legislative agenda than they had the votes to pass.

Those ideas, in turn, were polished and publicized by a government-in-exile of party bigwigs, operating through an adjunct to the Democratic National Committee called the Democratic Advisory Council. Those proposals became the raw material for John Kennedy's 1960 campaign to "get the country moving again."

Gephardt says that design won't work now, largely because the public is too skeptical of government to make palatable an updated agenda of health, education and economic initiatives.

But that is defeatism. If the Democrats don't make the case—every day in every way—for governmental activism, they default on the party's distinctive tradition. And they leave themselves vulnerable to defeat, not only in another presidential race but in the congressional election of 1992, when retirements and redistricting may create as many as 100 open House seats.

Thanks to his exposure in the presidential campaign, Gephardt understands how high the stakes are for his party. But he has found no way yet to shake the complacency most congressional Democrats feel—or to challenge a standpat president. That's why he's frustrated.



BY WASSERMAN

Gephardt Says Bush Fails As a Leader

Democrat Proposes Direct Aid to Soviets

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) charged yesterday that the United States is failing to capitalize on the sweeping changes in Eastern Europe because of what he called President Bush's timid, unimaginative leadership and his obsession with public opinion polls and short-term political gain.

In one of the sharpest Democratic assaults to date on Bush, Gephardt called for direct U.S. economic aid to the Soviet Union and accused the president of running a government "of the polls, by the polls and for the polls."

"The Bush foreign policy is a policy adrift, without vision, without imagination, without a guiding light save precious public opinion polls," said Gephardt, a 1988 Democratic presidential candidate who is emerging as his party's most vocal critic of Bush on Capitol Hill.

"America must think creatively and act boldly," he added in a speech to the Center for National Policy, a liberal think tank. "Rather than pouring more and more money into weapons systems, we should be investing in our own self-interest. And stability, democracy and a market economy in the Soviet Union are in America's strong self-interest."

Specifically, Gephardt proposed sending U.S. food aid to the Soviet Union, waiving a variety of trade restrictions, including those on high-technology exports, and changing U.S. law to encourage private investment in the U.S.S.R.

See GEPHARDT, A18, Col. 1

President Criticized for 'Policy Adrift'

GEPHARDT, From A1

"Why does [Bush] want to spend billions of dollars on armaments aimed at 'communists' who don't want to be communists anymore?" Gephardt asked. "It's as though George Bush's Pentagon budget was written by someone who hasn't read in a newspaper in over a year."

Mocking Bush's recent trip to California to oppose "crime, drugs—and traffic jams," Gephardt accused the president of preferring to "occupy his time and the nation's attention with issues like Willie Horton and yet another tax cut for the privileged."

"At some point," Gephardt continued, "it is the job of the president to summon the nation to meet new challenges on the horizon."

Though Gephardt's address had the intended effect of fanning the debate in Congress over how the United States should respond to the dramatic developments in Europe, he was clearly well out in front of his party on the issue of directly aiding the Soviet Union. Few other Democrats rushed to embrace the idea, and some bluntly criticized it.

Not only have the Soviets not requested U.S. aid, observed Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), any assistance would be wasted absent fundamental reform of the Soviet economy. "Unless they reform the economy,

any economic [aid] is going down a rathole," Bradley said.

Meanwhile, Republicans pounced on the Gephardt direct aid proposal, which entails substantial political risk for Democrats despite the thawing of the Cold War and the changing attitudes of voters toward the Soviet Union.

"If you're going to start giving foreign aid to the hated commies of 70 years' worth, you've got a real sales job to do in the U.S.," said Senate Minority Whip Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.). Gephardt, said Simpson in reference to the Missouri Democrat's political ambitions, is "suffering from burning bosom syndrome."

"I know that the Democrats' knee-jerk response to any situation is throwing taxpayers' dollars at it, but this is going pretty far, even for a Democrat," Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater similarly dismissed Gephardt's criticisms of Bush as purely political. "Gephardt stands up and makes political charges against the president every week," Fitzwater said. "I don't think we will respond to the substance of them all. Politics is politics."

Bush also has suggested making trade concessions to the Soviets, but not on such a rapid timetable as Gephardt proposed.

Though one Gephardt aide who played a role in crafting the speech said the address was designed to advance U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe "in the absence of new ideas by the administration," he also said the political component "speaks for itself."

Gephardt, who misses few opportunities to needle Bush, and is disliked by the president in return, has taken a lead in pushing House Democrats to adopt a more confrontational approach with the White House as part of a larger agenda aimed at capturing the presidency.

The more cautious House speaker, Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), who was provided a copy of Gephardt's speech in advance but did not read it prior to delivery, reacted somewhat gingerly to his majority leader's rhetoric but endorsed some of the proposals to encourage the Soviets to move "toward private economic activity and democracy."

"We all have to speak each for ourselves in terms of our own accents on the issues," said Foley, adding that "in some respects we may be missing opportunities which are critical to the success of our policies."

Though Foley has not discouraged Gephardt's outspoken criticisms of Bush, at least some members of his staff worry that the ma-

See GEPHARDT, A19, Col. 1

Gephardt Says Bush Governs 'by the Polls'

GEPHARDT, From A18

majority leader runs the risk of being dismissed as a carping, partisan critic.

Gephardt's aides said a prime purpose of his speech was to drive the increasingly heated, and fluid, debate in Congress over how far to cut Bush's budget for the Pentagon.

In the speech, Gephardt painted an unflattering comparison of Bush and Missouri's last president, Harry S. Truman, who Gephardt said had energetically pushed the Marshall Plan to rebuild Western Europe after World War II despite widespread public opposition.

"Harry Truman lived by Sam Houston's maxim: 'Do right, risk consequences,'" Gephardt said. "The maxim of the Bush administration seems to be, 'Do polls, risk nothing.'"

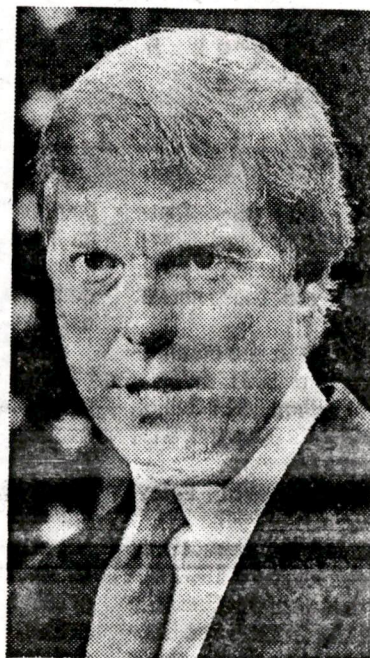
Apparently anticipating GOP criticism of a Democratic plan that hinted at spending more on foreign aid, Gephardt said the answer is not to

spend vast amounts of money but "to spend a lot smarter If we invest a small amount in freedom today, we can reap a tremendous benefit down the road, a benefit that can include billions of dollars in savings from defense, new markets for American products, new jobs for American workers, new freedom to address old domestic difficulties."

In addition to calling for the removal of restrictions on trade and private investment in the Soviet Union, Gephardt suggested a broad expansion of exchange programs to bring East European students to the United States and to send American technical and managerial expertise to the Eastern bloc.

"A nation that spent trillions to contain communism must be willing to spend a minuscule fraction of that to consolidate democracy," Gephardt said.

Staff writers Helen Dewar and David Hoffman contributed to this report.



REP. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT
... consequences "real and grave"

Gephardt on Bush's 'Lack of Vision'

Excerpts from a speech yesterday by House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.):

At some point it is the job of the president to summon the nation to meet new challenges on the horizon. Thus far the president has failed to do so Without the vision to see where we must go, the president is reduced to making every decision on the basis of polls and politics So what we are left with is government of the polls, by the polls and for the polls

The president's pollster is frequently trotted before the captive White House media. He criticizes Democrats for decrying the president's lack of leadership. He cites poll data as proof that the president is doing what the American people want.

Yes, the president is doing what America says it wants in his latest poll. But is he giving the American people the information they need to make an informed decision when his pollster calls? Of course every politician has to listen to the voice of the people—there's nothing wrong with that. But the reason the American people seem reluctant to embrace the changes in Eastern Europe; the reason they op-

pose increased investment in democracy in that region; the reason they aren't sure if the Cold War is over is because their president is not leading them. He is not explaining and interpreting these startling events for them. He is not helping them understand the new world we live in—its challenges, its opportunities, its dangers.

The president's lack of vision, and America's lack of leadership, have consequences that are both real and grave. The president of the United States retreats from the world by failing to lead the American people to see our self-interest in the success of democracy and free markets in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. But his timid posture may well create a self-fulfilling prophecy that at best confirms the status quo and at worst condemns the fragile new democracies to failure.

In short, the Bush foreign policy is a policy adrift, without vision, without imagination, without a guiding light save precious public opinion polls. But if he wanted to, President Bush could seize the day and marshal the American people into a mighty army marching for change.

History teaches us that it can be done.

GEPHARDT SHOT HIMSELF IN FOOT WITH CALL FOR SOVIET AID

Scripps Howard News Service

Release date: 3-9-90

WHITE HOUSE WATCH

By ANN McFEATHERS

Scripps Howard News Service

WASHINGTON _ As soon as the White House political operatives heard about Richard Gephardt's speech, they started smirking. By week's end, they were laughing out loud.

Gephardt, the Democrats' boyish, protectionist, red-haired, Kennedy-lookalike goody-two-shoes, made a highly touted formal speech the other day in which he called for Americans to give direct economic aid to the Soviet Union.

He also dumped on President Bush as a drifting rowboat when the country needs the fastest powerboat on the water.

"Without the vision to see where we must go, the president is reduced to making every decision on the basis of polls and politics," said Gephardt, the House Democratic leader. "So what we are left with is government of the polls, by the polls and for the polls."

Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater tried not to bite. Just politics, he said the day of the speech. The next day he couldn't resist having fun. He called Gephardt the "Maxwell Smart" of American politics, referring to the spy from the old TV show "Get Smart" who kept saying "Would you believe?" and then saying something completely improbable _ such as giving the Soviets help for which they haven't asked.

In political annals, Gephardt's speech could go down as having ended the 1992 presidential campaign of the Democratic congressman from Missouri just as it got started.

Gephardt was following conventional Democratic wisdom in making the speech: Attack the president for lack of vision, insist the administration is moving too slowly to seize the day that communism died, complain he is kowtowing to public opinion polls.

But conventional wisdom doesn't necessarily work anymore. After the wall fell, we gave it up for Lent.

Gephardt came off speaking less as a man with his own vision than as a frustrated politician. How does he launch a presidential campaign by attacking a president whose popularity is sky high without attacking the people themselves?

Gephardt is upset that polls show Americans no more willing to extend foreign aid to the emerging democracies than they ever were, so he blames the president for "not leading them."

Gephardt is wrong in thinking "the American people seem reluctant to embrace the changes in Eastern Europe."

Most Americans seem thrilled with the winds of freedom blowing around the world. But they also believe what the Democrats have been telling them for eight years: The U.S. budget deficit is a time bomb.

Most Americans probably wouldn't quarrel with reordering foreign aid so that countries such as Poland and Panama get more and countries such as Turkey and Morocco get less.

But seeing the number of homeless children increase, the decaying cities and streets and the declining middle class in this country, Americans know the wallet is too thin to help out everyone.

It is certainly true that Bush is a cautious man who may not always be what we would have him be. It is disheartening to realize that because of its declining economic power, America is not as important in the world scheme as it was a few years ago but merely one of several superpowers.

But it is maddening to hear Gephardt talk about giving away our hard-earned dollars to a country that has not asked for help, is not ready to use our capital wisely or well and still has missiles pointed at us.

Americans love democracy and have worked tirelessly for it in Europe for nearly five decades. But America is not the international nanny or rich uncle anymore.

Gephardt is smart and ambitious. But it's hard to believe he'll get the last laugh on this one.

Richard A. Gephardt
House Majority Leader
Remarks Prepared for Delivery
To the Center for National Policy
"American Leadership in the New World"
Washington, D.C.
March 6, 1990

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF EASTERN EUROPE

Two months ago, I led a Congressional Delegation to Eastern Europe. As I traveled through Central and Eastern Europe this winter, I felt that I was witnessing history in the making.

In Czechoslovakia, especially, I was struck by the depth of the commitment to democracy. The nation that was founded by a former resident of Pittsburgh -- the nation whose flag is red, white and blue -- is the nation whose "Velvet Revolution" echoes the goals and aspirations of the American Revolution. In Prague I presented the leaders of the Civic Forum with a copy of the Bill of Rights. With tears in their eyes they told me of how the ideals embodied in that Bill of Rights inspired them while they were imprisoned for advocating basic human rights.

As I talked with those young patriots in the basement of a Prague beer hall, I was flooded with emotions. Yes, pride that these courageous young men and women look to America for inspiration. But more than a little anger, too. I was angry that at the very moment when the power of ideas for which America has fought are winning the world over, America may be losing its power to help secure and consolidate that victory.

I believe that America is at risk of losing its position of leadership in the world economy. I believe that if steps are not taken to recapture our strength and reassert our leadership we endanger not only prosperity at home, but stability around the world. And I believe the current Administration lacks either the vision to know what steps we must take, or the courage to take them.

The lens of bipolar ideological struggle through which we saw the last half-century has been shattered by events. Now through the broken pieces a pattern is beginning to emerge -- a vision of a world in which economic competition will take precedence over military conflict.

Our first duty is to the truth of our circumstances. We must realistically assess our present situation -- by asking whether or not the "long twilight struggle" of which John F. Kennedy spoke is truly over. Then we must candidly assess whether American foreign policy is adequately responding to the challenges and changes we face. Next we must begin to articulate what lies beyond. We must have a coordinated, coherent plan for making certain that the changes occurring are changes for the good. Finally we must be willing to take risks. We must have the vision to know what to do, and the courage to get it done.

IS THE COLD WAR OVER?

It's important to recognize that the policies we pursued to achieve our Cold War objectives -- successful though they were -- weren't handed down from Mt. Sinai on stone tablets, meant to be followed for the ages. Rather, they were a response to a set of events -- a means to shape a safer world.

The Cold War itself was not inevitable. It evolved principally from three events or conditions:

First, the Western European democracies were no longer in a position to lead on world events. Second, Germany and Japan were in a state of ruin. And third, the Soviet Union solidified its hold on the nations its armies had swept through on the way to Berlin, with Stalin breaking his promise of free elections and refusing to allow participation in the Marshall Plan, the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund.

Today, each of those three conditions has fundamentally changed. Western Europe and Japan have strong, stable democracies and free economies; and the Soviet Union is tolerating free elections and free markets in Eastern Europe.

Let me state it plainly, once and for all: The Cold War as we have known it for four decades is over. It has ended just as the giants of a half-century ago knew it would. Surely if men of vision such as Churchill and Truman; DeGaulle and Marshall; Monnet and Spaak could somehow return today, they would be leading the fight to change the very structures they created. Because they intended them to serve a purpose, and that purpose has been served.

While retrenchment in the Soviet Union is always a possibility, the essential characteristics of the Cold War -- a spiralling arms race and superpower competition for spheres of influence -- have changed in fundamental ways.

Moreover, one of the main effects of the Cold War -- a million troops facing off across the inner-German border -- is changing as well. Even as we speak the process of German unification continues. The position of the United States on the issue of German unification is clear. It is a position I support. A unified and democratic Germany must be part of the community of free nations and allied with other democratic nations. We respect and support the right of self-determination, and believe the "two plus four" approach is well-suited to address the concerns of all of us who have been drawn into two European wars in this century. But it must be made unequivocally clear that the United States recognizes the existing border between Poland and Germany, and that the Germans do as well. The end of the Cold War cannot be a cause for resurrecting any of the conditions that led us into the last World War.

As we sail with breathtaking speed into the future, it is absolutely essential that we be guided by the constellation of democratic values. 1848 was called "the springtime of nations." I believe 1990 will be remembered as the springtime of democracy, with

freedom in full bloom. With spring elections planned in the G.D.R., Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and in Czechoslovakia, we truly face a world that has changed.

If we have the fortitude and the determination to seize the day, we can ensure that the days of the Cold War will never return.

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

Up until this point, however, the day has seized us, rather than the other way around. Thus far in these remarkable times, events have been happening to us, and we have been left groping for a reaction. To be sure, some of this is a function of the dizzying pace of change. But there is no escaping the conclusion that America's lack of leadership in this most crucial moment of this half-century is due in large measure to the fact that our President is not providing the direction we need.

If the nature of the challenge is indeed self-evident, why is it unseen or unfathomable to our President? Why, for example, is he asking the American people this year to give him a military budget that consumes nearly one out of every three federal dollars -- to meet yesterday's challenges? Why does he want to spend \$112 million on the LANCE missile for West Germany when it can only reach East Germany? Why does he want to spend billions of dollars on armaments aimed at "communists" who don't want to be communists anymore -- and yet has to be pushed into spending a tiny fraction of that to assist the anticommunist patriots that have replaced our old adversaries in Eastern Europe?

It's as though George Bush's Pentagon budget were written by someone who hadn't read a newspaper in a year. It was almost certainly written by someone who hadn't read William Webster's CIA analysis of the unlikelihood of a renewed Soviet threat -- even if Mikhail Gorbachev is ousted by hardliners. Indeed the question on the minds of people everywhere is: With peace breaking out the world over, why is our President intent on beating plowshares into swords?

I believe the answer lies in the President's lack of vision. George Bush campaigned for the Presidency without any sense of what he disdained as "the vision thing." As his campaign and the early days of his Presidency showed us, he would much prefer to occupy his time and the nation's attention with issues like Willie Horton and yet another tax cut for the privileged. It's not that issues like crime and fiscal policy are not important -- of course they are. But at some point it is the job of the President to summon the nation to meet new challenges on the horizon.

Thus far the President has failed to do so. Just last week he flew to California to pledge his opposition to crime, drugs -- and traffic jams. As for the President's plans for the rest of 1990, the White House says, "We're going to spend more time on politics than you ever dreamed possible."

The country cannot afford that -- events will force the President to react to important international matters. In the past, he has reacted -- sometimes well, sometimes

not -- but react is all he has done.

And so, without the vision to see where we must go, the President is reduced to making every decision on the basis of polls and politics.

When Governor Earl Long of Louisiana was asked why he didn't favor prison reform, he said, "Because there ain't no votes in prison." I believe the reason President Bush hasn't done more to promote democracy in Eastern Europe is because there are no votes there. Indeed, there are votes to be lost by being too closely identified with what is disparagingly and inaccurately called "foreign aid." There are votes to be lost in taking a risk for peace, in appearing insufficiently "tough" on the Russians. And there are votes to be lost in calling on the American people to make some changes to adapt to the changing world.

So what we are left with is government of the polls, by the polls and for the polls. The President, who defends foreign policy choices by pointing at his soaring popularity polls, seems to take seriously the mocking words of Mark Twain, who said: "Its name is Public Opinion. It is held in reverence. It settles everything. Some think it is the voice of God."

The President's pollster is frequently trotted before the captive White House media. He criticizes Democrats for decrying the President's lack of leadership. He cites poll data as proof that the President is doing what the American people want.

Yes, the President is doing what America says it wants in his latest poll. But is he giving the American people the information they need to make an informed decision when his pollster calls? Of course, every politician has to listen to the voice of the people -- there's nothing wrong with that. But the reason the American people seem reluctant to embrace the changes in Eastern Europe; the reason they oppose increased investment in democracy in that region; the reason they aren't sure if the Cold War is over, is because their President is not leading them. He is not explaining and interpreting these startling events for them. His not helping them understand the new world we live in -- its challenges, its opportunities, its dangers.

The President's lack of vision, and America's lack of leadership, have consequences that are both real and grave. The President of the United States retreats from the world by failing to lead the American people to see our self-interest in the success of democracy and free markets in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. But his timid posture may well create a self-fulfilling prophecy that at best confirms the status quo and at worst condemns the fragile new democracies to failure.

In short, the Bush foreign policy is a policy adrift; without vision, without imagination, without a guiding light save precious public opinion polls. But if he wanted to, President Bush could seize the day and marshal the American people into a mighty army marching for change.

History teaches us that it can be done.

In 1947 the American people, having fought two world wars in thirty years, were loathe to be caught up in foreign entanglements. They desperately desired to focus their pent-up energies on domestic demands.

But President Truman and the wise men who advised him realized that the changing times demanded that we change with them. And so Truman shaped the change by proposing that America commit itself to building democracy and free enterprise in Europe. The Marshall Plan was a classic case of principled pragmatism.

But it was unpopular. In fact, in the Gallup Poll of 1947, only 14% of the American people supported foreign loans and assistance. No wonder why -- the American economy was only about one-fourth as large then as it is today, and the Marshall Plan represented an investment that would cost \$82 billion today. One hardly needed Mr. Gallup to know such a proposal would face strong resistance.

President Truman was not in much better shape. To this day no President -- not even Nixon in the depths of Watergate -- has been as unpopular as Truman was as he headed into the election of 1948. Perhaps sensing the political advantage, mainstream Republicans like Robert Taft and extremist Republicans like Joseph McCarthy opposed Truman and criticized the Marshall Plan.

The record resounds with attacks like "socialistic", "dangerous", "simple-minded", and "giveaway." One Republican Senator -- William Jenner of Indiana -- summed up much of the opposition when he said: "It seems to be Mr. Truman's thesis that the international crisis can only be solved if we buy off the dangers of communism by giving large cash donations from the American taxpayer's pocket to already shaky European governments most of whom are, in fact, only a degree or two removed from the menace from which we are supposed to be protecting them."

But Truman did not flinch. He knew it was an investment that would reap tremendous benefits in new markets for America and more stability for the world. So he pressed on, despite the political repercussions. Ignoring the polls, Truman worked with the Republicans who controlled the Congress, especially Senator Arthur Vandenberg, and signed into law what one British newspaper called "an act without peer in history."

Harry Truman lived by Sam Houston's maxim: "Do right, risk consequences." The maxim of the Bush Administration seems to be: "Do polls, risk nothing."

There is no substitute for Presidential leadership. And given the fact that President Bush has record-high levels of popularity and more than two years to go before he faces re-election, he is in the perfect position to lead.

If he were to come to Congress the way Truman did, I can assure him we would work with him the way Vandenberg did. If he would use his bully pulpit to lead, the American people would follow. And if he would summon us all to the challenges we face, this country would rise to meet them. The American people will support

democracy in Eastern Europe if our President tells us it's in our deep self-interest to do so. But we risk freedom dying on the vine if our President doesn't take the lead.

The President should carefully articulate to the American people the risks and benefits of the new world. He should remind us of how fragile young democracies are. He should distinguish today's circumstances from those of 1947 -- why it is we don't have to replicate the Marshall Plan -- the Europeans don't need it, and we Americans cannot afford it. Of course, each nation is unique, but by and large the Eastern European countries have stronger physical foundations for their economies than the Western Europeans had in 1947 -- their dislocation was caused by the communist system, not by the destruction of war. However, while they have stronger economic bases than the Western Europeans had after the war, many Eastern European nations have weaker traditions of free government and free enterprise.

So the President should call on America not necessarily to spend a lot more on foreign aid -- but to spend a lot smarter. For example, the new military base in Italy the President's budget calls for will cost more this year than the total amount of savings we will receive from all the proposed base closings here in America. But do we need another military base to defend Western Europe -- or can we better advance freedom and democracy in all of Europe through economic, technical, political and moral support? By the same token, do we need an increase of almost a half a billion dollars in military assistance in our foreign aid budget, and converting another \$400 million in military loans to grants, while at the same time reducing UNICEF emergency aid for children and United Nations Environmental Program assistance at a time when famine and disease and pollution are becoming more clear and present dangers than superpower conflict?

The President should lead America in reassessing and changing our priorities to meet the new challenges. Otherwise history will remember the Bush foreign policy as a latter-day Maginot Line. He should let us know that if we invest a small amount in freedom today, we can reap a tremendous benefit down the road -- a benefit that can include billions of dollars in savings from defense, new markets for American products, new jobs for American workers, new freedom to address old domestic difficulties. But most of all we stand to gain peace and stability. We have an historic opportunity to lower the deadly levels of tension in the nuclear age, and pull our children farther back from the brink of Armageddon.

With the demise of the Cold War, the American people are awaiting a new vision -- a new way of looking at the world and understanding these momentous events. In Eastern Europe and around the world, the challenge for the United States is to help free people consolidate their gains, and build nations that are free, prosperous and secure. Here at home the challenge is to reinvigorate the American economy and renew the American spirit. The most important tools for achieving both goals are economic rather than military.

America must once again assert itself as a leader. To do that we must change the way we think about national strength, and arm ourselves for the economic competition already underway. America must begin by helping to shape the change in

Europe, or we will surely be a victim of it. To that end there is much that we can do right away.

THE AMERICAN ROLE

The Congress is taking steps to ensure that the tremendous risks taken by brave people are rewarded with the better future promised by free governments and free markets. We are making progress in granting many nations of what we used to call the "Eastern bloc" Most Favored Nation status.

Next we should expand the role American agriculture plays in encouraging change in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. I propose a Food for Freedom program that will share the strength of America's agricultural abundance with the Eastern European and Soviet people. There is no doubt that private ownership of farm land and the hard work of our family farmers are the keys to America's success in agriculture. But while Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are moving in that direction, it is in our interests to help sustain them on that journey.

President Havel of Czechoslovakia made that very point about the Soviet Union in his recent address to Congress. If someone whose nation was invaded by Soviet troops, who was imprisoned by Soviet puppets, who was pinned under the boulder of Soviet domination for all his adult life can call on us to assist the Soviets in moving to democracy, the least we can do is listen.

I believe that support of the process of democratization in the U.S.S.R. is in America's self-interest. We have a stake in the success of peaceful change towards a pluralist system in that nation. A stronger Soviet economy will facilitate the process of peace. How can the Soviets pull Red Army troops out of Eastern Europe if they have no jobs and no homes for them to return to in Russia?

So America must think creatively and act boldly. Rather than pouring more and more money into weapons systems, we should be investing in our own self-interest. And stability, democracy and a market economy in the Soviet Union are in America's strong self-interest.

On this point I must say that President Bush has been right -- as far as he's gone. He has lent important political and moral support to the process of reform in the Soviet Union. I'd like to enlist American farmers and business people to make more substantive investments as well. Anyone who has seen the lines outside the McDonald's in Moscow knows the Soviets would appreciate American food and American goods. And American farmers and workers would appreciate the markets. We should waive trade restrictions such as Jackson-Vanik and the Stevenson Amendment, relax restrictions on high-tech exports, and encourage private investment in the Soviet Union. We provide Export-Import Bank loans and OPIC assistance to China, why not to the Soviet Union?

Another aspect of President Havel's speech that moved me was his point that rather than a hand out, the people of Eastern Europe want a hand up. The United

States can offer that hand through a series of exchanges on a scale never before seen.

We need a Freedom International program for the 1990's -- a modern-day Berlin Airlift bringing planeloads of people across the Atlantic in both directions: religious, educational, and political leaders from Budapest and Bratislava coming to work in churches and schools and offices in San Francisco and San Antonio. If each of America's fifty states could offer scholarships to just forty Eastern European students, we will have doubled the number of Eastern Europeans studying in the U.S.

We should support conferences on issues affecting the environment, the arts and the military. We should encourage discussion of the sources and solutions of ethnic prejudice and religious intolerance. We have so much to learn from each other. So let the exchanges begin. The Congress will soon be considering a bill which will provide \$190 million worth of technical assistance, Peace Corps programs, and exchanges to Central and Eastern Europe. In all, legislation currently before Congress will provide over a half a billion dollars in immediate investment in Eastern European democracy. And that is only the beginning.

America is well-positioned to take a leading role in providing the technical and managerial assistance the Eastern Europeans need. So much of the strength and the soul of our nation has its roots in Eastern Europe. How wonderful it would be if we could encourage experienced Americans -- as part of a Free Enterprise Corps -- to return to the nations from which their parents came to help a new generation have a new birth of freedom in their old countries. We in America would be benefitted by a return to those roots as well. The fight for freedom in Eastern Europe is rekindling the revolutionary spirit of America at a time when we badly need it. We have as much to gain from this as anyone.

"UNITED" FOR THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE

But America cannot, need not and should not go it alone. History teaches us that a coordinated response from both sides of the Atlantic has been the answer to all the great challenges of this century.

For several years I have advanced the idea of forming an economic alliance as stable and as strong as the NATO military alliance. Over time, economic cooperation will be as indispensable as the military and political dialogue of the United Nations Security Council. As Trade Ministers become more vital to their nations' security than Defense Ministers, I would like to see more and more international dialogue and cooperation.

A Union of Nations for International Trade and Economic Development -- UNITED -- might be a means for giving structure to such cooperation. UNITED would bring together, on a regular basis, the leaders of the major trading democracies -- the nations of the European Community, the United States, Canada, Japan and Australia. By working together, and discussing our problems and opportunities, we could bring more order and stability to issues of development, trade and competition -- issues which

threaten to divide us as much in the future as ideology did in the past.

UNITED would not be a new bureaucracy, but rather a new approach; an expansion and extension of what has worked so well for NATO and what is being done through G-7, the European Community, GATT, the IMF, the World Bank and others.

UNITED's mandate will be to coordinate, not to dictate. It can address so many of the topics facing leading nations today: from developing the economies of Eastern Europe to formulating new rules of international economic engagement to addressing the burden of Third World Debt.

The lessons of the past offer evidence that economic engagement can work -- and that all sides can "win." The Marshall Plan's initial commitment to Europe has grown to the point where we invested some \$1.2 trillion in the 1980's alone for the common defense of the Continent. Today we are in a position to realize a dividend from 40 years of prudent investing. We must reinvest a part of that dividend. It's just good sense. A nation that spent trillions to contain Communism must be willing to spend a minuscule fraction of that to consolidate democracy. Only a prosperous and peaceful Europe will allow us to reduce our military commitments without reducing our national security.

If we hesitate now, if our resolve falters just at the moment when we are about to realize the peace and prosperity that our fathers fought for, the consequences could be disastrous. I realize the political risk such reinvestment entails. But as President Kennedy said, "there are risks and costs to a program of action. But they are far less than the long-range risks and costs of inaction."

Ultimately the attention of the world must move beyond responding to individual crises and toward building vigorous and vibrant economies in the developing countries of the world -- which will be the focus of so many of the new challenges we face. Herein lies the greatest challenge and the greatest opportunity of the next century. For too long we have allowed the threat of military confrontation between East and West to obscure the threat posed by the growing gulf between the superpowers and the superpoor.

CONCLUSION

Over time, I want to see a Europe in which America's young students have replaced our young soldiers; a Europe in which American technology has replaced American tanks; a Europe in which new American lasers replace aging American LANCE missiles.

But it is a grave mistake to think that the focus of history has shifted completely away from the United States and onto Europe. The difficulties we face here -- and how we rise to meet them -- will determine whether a strong America leads the world in the new era of economic competition, or a diminished and exhausted America shrinks from the challenges history has laid before it.

This is our new call to arms -- to rebuild American strength, to restore Eastern European democracy, to redress the problems of unbalanced trade, and to reassure the world that the Berlin Wall that divided East from West is not succeeded by a chasm of poverty separating North from South. Economic engagement and competitive coexistence will be the watchwords of the new decade and the new century that will follow it.

The stakes could not be higher. The threat could not be more real. A hundred years from now the 1990's will be remembered as the time when America reinvented itself once again, and in so doing led the world into a new era of peace and prosperity - if we have the vision to see the change in the course of history, and the courage to adjust our course to meet it.

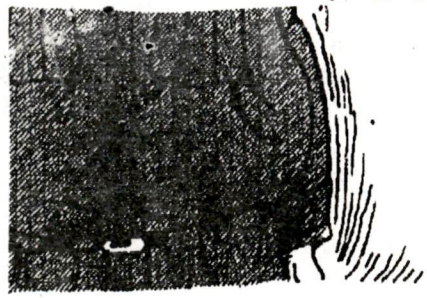
MARY MATALIN
CHIEF OF STAFF
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

ED -

From a "letters-to-editor"
project - FYI.

Mary

CC:lee



ic defects ress real problems

ters to:
stel, Opinion Pages Editor
100 S. Fourth Street
63102

ad and include the telephone number of the writer.
will not be published.

stand. ed to believe, that they are
tastroph- being cheated once again
or all age by the "wealthy."
to be The only thing worth sav-
not con- ing in the plan was the
vic Act spousal impoverishment
"nearly clause. Contrary to current
ement of misconceptions, the law as
as still written provided little pro-
tection to low-income retire-
ees.
ief refer- Seniors will not "rest
ed" care easy" until the real issues
ely men- involved are addressed
enlarged more effectively. These
include help for the unin-
sider peo- surd, long-term health
stand the care, as well as catastrophic
s written care.
lan, they
e intend- **ESTELLE FARRINGTON**
St. Louis

of Missouri and we are proud
of its intrinsic beauty. But we
"stray" across the state line
many times a year to enjoy
Illinois. The bluffs are a
favorite of ours.

We just want you to know
that we value nature and the
preservation of it over a
water park development.

CAROLYN HELMBACHER
Arnold

□□□

There has been too much
destruction to the river bluffs
already.

The area should be pre-
served as a national monu-
ment until such time as
Mother Nature decides it's
time to change Earth's face.

CLARICE PARKS
Normandy

□□□

This note is in response to
the piece titled "Palisades
worth preserving."

I would not classify myself
as an environmentalist. Yet to
sit back and not voice my
displeasure at the ruination
of some 1,200 acres of natu-
ral terrain for the greedy
benefits of a naive few would
be unbearable.

Development at the cost of
plant life, animal life and bird
life in exchange for the
"good" life is foolish and
naive.

If development is so
important, then why not rede-
velop some areas which real-
ly could use it. The metro
east area is a veritable trea-
sure chest of opportunity.

MARK VALESAND
Edwardsville

□□□

I have often wondered,
why does the statue of justice
wear a blindfold? Is it to
show the impartiality of our
courts, as I was taught in
school? No!

Recently, I rediscovered a
book that has answered my
question; *Through the*
Looking Glass, by Lewis Car-
roll. The reason for the blind-
fold, to quote Alice, is,
"There's no use trying, one
can't believe impossible
things." Yes, Lady Justice,
not believing her cyes, dons
a blindfold.

During the Democratic
Convention in Atlanta, two
peripheral, newsworthy
events occurred. One was the
pornographic filming of actor
Rob Lowe committing statu-
tory rape. The court's ver-
dict: Guilty as charged. Mr.
Lowe was sentenced to pro-
vide 20 hours of community
service (talking to other
under-aged girls?) There was
also a sit-in at an abortion
clinic, led by Randall Terry,
who was arrested for criminal
trespass and unlawful assem-
bly. The court's verdict:
Guilty as charged. Mr. Terry
was sentenced to serve two
years in prison.

Is this justice? To quote
the astute Tweedledee, "Con-
trariwise, if it was so, it
might be; and if it were so, it
would be; but is isn't, it
ain't."

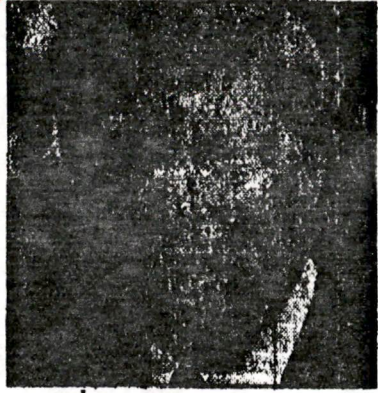
ESLIE NORDAN
Arnold

ions ing

ie victims
mily, job,
hips and
e.

naware of
in our
nd its vic-

D STOUT
e Director
or Victims
rime, Inc.



RICHARD GEPHARDT
"Question of judgment?"

Gephardt plays party politics

In his first visible act as
House Majority Leader,
Rep. Richard Gephardt
decided to make President
Bush's proposed reduction
in the capital gains tax a
party-line vote.

Such a decision brings
into question the Missouri
Democrat's political judg-
ment, and veracity. After
all, wasn't a capital gains
tax reduction the preferred
economic growth tool of

President John F. Kennedy?
And, lest the Democratic
leadership forget, did not
Majority Leader Gephardt
and House Speaker Foley
support a capital gains cut
in 1978?

Wise Democrats will
stick with John F. Kenne-
dy, George Bush, and the
old Gephardt on this one.

M. ZANE YATES
St. Louis

St. Louis Sun (New England Daily)

Accolades for McNary, scolding for Gephardt

When Gene McNary's appointment in Washington is confirmed, St. Louis County will lose a leader.

The more I have been involved with Gene, his staff, and the departments, the more I appreciate his executive skills.

McNary will be remembered not only by his accomplishments but also his proposals for change. Some we liked, some we didn't, but he had the courage to bring them to the table.

DANIEL J. LOWERY
Mayor
Shrewsbury

House Democratic Leader
Richard Gephardt assumed

Readers interested in writing to:
William J. Feustel, Opinion Pages Editor
St. Louis Sun, 100 S. Fourth Street
St. Louis, Mo. 63102
Letters should be signed and show the telephone number of the writer. The telephone number will not be published.

the position of point man last month in fighting President Bush's planned reduction in the capital gains tax.

The last time the capital gains tax was reduced, over one million jobs were created in the electronics industry alone.

What's more, since Rep. Gephardt voted for a cut in the capital gains tax during the Carter Administration, are we to assume that cutting capital gains is only unfair when it is proposed by a Republican President? The capital gains cut was

Gephardt's first big chance to show that his presidential campaign rhetoric on competitiveness was serious, and he blew it.

LARRY CALLAHAN
Imperial

Your sports section lacks articles in regard to the hunting and fishing sports. Missouri is now entering the beginning of its hunting season. Hunting is most likely the

largest, single winter sports activity in the state. There are a lot of Stan readers deeply involved in the sport.

ERIC J. RIEDER
St. Peters

Editor's note: The Sun runs outdoors stories on Wednesday and Sunday in the sports section.

□□□

Thank you for the Guest Column by Dick Huey on the Museum of Transport (Sun, Sept. 26). Media coverage is vital to maintaining and expanding that support.

JIM SEAMON
St. Charles

dment

ing a new one, "semi-auto- / don't know what it / seems to be effective. If / cessful, they will elimi- / as well as handguns. / world would be one where / ce and military have / ally, they would take / ne police. Then we / e to vote. We could let the / ide who our leaders / e they do in Panama and / s.

John F. Kennedy was / with a bolt action rifle, not / atic. Recently, in Belle- / woman and her son / is their home with a sci- / ve problems in Illinois / tes fight with weapons / eting prison walls. / ight years have seen an / nount of control in / including guns. Let's not / epend in the other

Charles F. Fischer
Collinsville

For Thought

I saw the movie "Rome- / miliar with the history of / Oscar Romero's assassi- / Salvador. The movie / suffering of the people / e. It showed the peas- / oessed, deprived of / od and often of their / ll happening in El Salva- / ala and other places / orld. I feel aggrieved that / is aiding the oppressors, / ent-sanctioned militias / illing, with millions of / month. We are also sup- / vement of Pol Pot and / uge in Cambodia, where / an ago more than / ir own people were tor- / ighted. / out our values. Was / ed from Hitler's

Renate Vamberg
St. Louis

Higher Taxes Not The Answer

House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt took the lead in the fight against President Bush's proposal to lower the tax rate on capital gains. Calling the proposal a "tax break for the rich," Gephardt ignored the same benefits of a lower capital gains tax on the middle class, which he saw clearly enough in 1978 when he voted for a similar cut.

First, no one questions the fact that a reduction in capital gains would raise revenue for the federal government, thus lowering the deficit. That helps everyone. Second, a lower capital gains tax encourages busi-ness and provides jobs for those Americans most in need. Finally, many middle-class Americans benefit directly from a reduction in capital gains taxes when it comes time to retire or educate a child.

As to the distribution of benefits, consider these facts. In 1987, one-third of federal tax returns reporting long-term capital gains had an adjusted gross income of less than \$20,000. Seventy percent of the returns with long-term capital gains had incomes less than \$50,000. And only 2 percent of the returns with long-term capital gains had incomes greater than the \$280,000 Gephardt referred to.

It may be true that middle-class people will not claim income on capital gains every year. Why does it make sense to stick them with a whopping tax bill on the year they do? Does it make sense to penalize investments on a tuition savings account or retirement plan?

As hard as it may be for Gephardt to understand, higher taxes aren't always the answer.

Earlene M. Barbes
Lamay

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

10/14/89

St. Louis Sun 10/14/89

es are not
egalize

7. By elimi-
trade would
he to feed
nd, more to
yone who

s of dollars
at this is a
no effective

in Rolman
Clayton

1" policy
issue on the

ly, most of
is a casual
it or die
I be free.
oby L. Jones
bster Groves

re action
will continue
erals.
and act. We
We must find
lual and

shol, but we
say yes. Our
tem, we have

n M. Corsaro
St. Louis

189 10/16 13:25

189 10/16 13:25

189 10/16 13:25

189 10/16 13:25

189 10/16 13:25

189 10/16 13:25

plead with other county and city resi-
dents to drive out and look at our
lovely community and see what the
proposed airport expansion would de-
stroy. I stand to lose my home, my
church, my school and my job. As
much as I fear and dread that, I could
end up living in a half destroyed com-

Acting as little children, the bullies
downtown are trying to push the coun-
ty residents around with the proposed
airport expansion. Are Mayor Vincent
Schoemehl and the St. Louis Airport

Bridgeton

growth occurs, further expansion will
be required. It's time for regional con-
trol of the airport so that St. Louis may
prosper, not just the city and
Schoemehl.

Charles W. Sapp
Bridgeton

company is committed to making
products that are good for your family
— and for the environment.

Scott Stewart
Public Affairs
Procter & Gamble Co.
Cincinnati

Tax Cut For Wealthy — Or For Overall Good?

It would be very interesting to know
where the data originated for the fol-
lowing Sept. 29 quote from Ronald
Brown, chairman of the Democratic
Party. He stated that "the proposed
cut in the capital-gains tax would give
a needless tax break to the wealthiest
1 percent of Americans." Rep. Dick
Gephardt, in an impassioned speech
to the House, was almost livid when
describing the cut as a tax break for
the wealthy.

The operative word in these actions,
of course, is "wealthy." Many people
from all walks of life and with small to
large incomes own stocks, bonds and
other income-producing properties.
To try to make the public believe that
this reduction in the capital-gains tax
would affect only the wealthy is a
form of dishonesty.

Lucy McReynolds
Webster Groves

We have been told that the lowering
of the capital-gains tax will paradoxi-
cally increase tax revenue and we will
be able to cut the deficit. We have also
been told that the cut is non-inflation-
ary, that it would increase private in-
vestment and that it would create
more jobs. Let's examine some of
these basic assumptions.

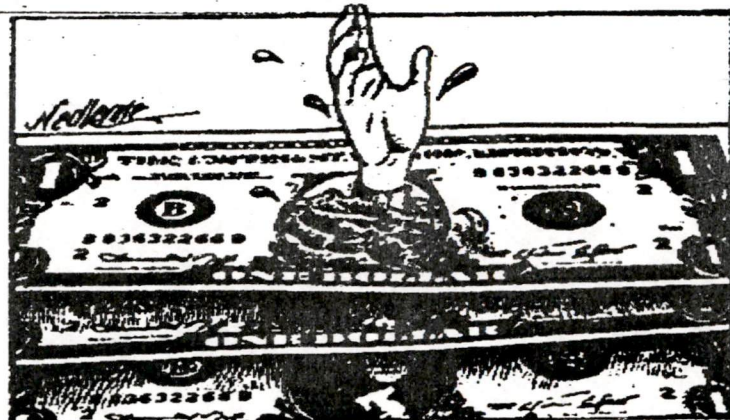
The assumption is that long gains
are better for the nation than wages,
interest or short-term gains and,
therefore, should be taxed at a lower
rate. So, for example, a person who
sells stock for \$1,000 profit after one
year (long-term gain) should pay less
tax than one who earns \$1,000 interest
on a certificate of deposit after one
year. It can be argued that the man
with the stock endured the greater
risk. Possibly so, but then the person
who wins at the race track should be

entitled to a still lower tax rate.

Let's not forget, also, that the long-
term investor is allowed to let his
money continue earning without being
taxed while the owner of a five-year
certificate of deposit will be taxed on
his earnings quarterly. In other words,
we are shouldering the load of financ-
ing the government for the long-term
investor. It's hardly fair that we have
to also pay more taxes on the same
amount of money earned.

Now, let's examine the benefits the
tax cut is supposed to engender — the
same benefits claimed for former
President Ronald Reagan's tax cut for
the rich in 1982. David Stockman, di-
rector of the budget at that time, ad-
mitted later that it was a raid on the
Treasury. The lowering of the taxes on
long-term capital gains would proba-
bly in the short term raise revenue
and lower the deficit. This argument
assumes that a large group of invest-
ors with long-term gains refuse to
take their profits until a tax cut is
passed. This may well be the case, but
in the long run, tax revenue will de-
crease, and the deficit will balloon,
just as it did in the Reagan years.

The claim that the tax cut will not
be inflationary is fallacious. New
money pumped into the economy by
tax cuts or deficit financing is always
inflationary. Will the cut mean more
investment money? I haven't seen any
shortage of money available to buy
huge corporations. A much fairer way
to create investment money would be
to reinstate individual retirement ac-
counts. More people would benefit,
and the money would be more certain
to be invested rather than be spent for
foreign luxury items. But the wealthy
investor and the company executive
with stock options would not gain



nearly so much, so they oppose this.

To sum it up, a tax cut on long-term
gains is a subsidy for the rich. It is
another raid on the treasury. The mid-
dle class will occasionally benefit but
will pay out far more than it gains.

Charles Belik
Webster Groves

A closer examination of the capital-
gains vote raises some important is-
sues for the future in terms of the way
Democrats posture themselves.

While it is true that the capital-gains
change would benefit 80 percent of
those who earn over \$100,000 a year, it
was a mistake to reduce the issue to
the stereotypical rich vs. poor issue, as
the Democrats did.

Democratic leaders might have
presented a better case if they had
concentrated on either targeting the
assets to be sold to meet some national
objective or allocating the revenue to
an appropriate national purpose that
is currently short-funded such as drug
control and affordable housing.

Middle-class taxpayers, while not
tax experts, are more sophisticated
than ever before. While they may not
be accountants, they are investment-
oriented in the context that they do
understand a system that rewards sav-
ing, risk-taking, entrepreneurship and
business. To belittle those ideals as the
exclusive domicile of only the rich
would be to miss the point.

The capital-gains issue underscored
the basic problem with the Demo-
crats: They can't crystallize the prob-
lem in laymen's terms. They can't
seem to present a solution that is de-
cidedly better in the long term than
that presented by Republicans. It
wasn't the wealthy alone who were
affected by Black Monday. Many mid-
dle-class Americans who choose to in-
vest in American companies took a
bath in October 1987. They similarly
see some benefit to a system that gives
some preference to savers, not spend-
ers, investors, not consumers.

Louis G. Berra
St. Louis

John D. Spence

10/5/89

with whites who grew up on the north side of St. Louis, though most towns have blacks; no one is quite sure whether this represents stable integration or rapid neighborhood change. To the south are comfortable white-collar suburbs like Kirkwood, pleasant but not rich places filled with older whites. In the center of the county are high-income Ladue, the home of most of St. Louis's elite, Creve Coeur and the more Jewish suburb of Olivette. Farther west, you come to new subdivisions, with few trees and large, air-conditioned houses which keep their storm doors up all year; they are interspersed among a few crumbling remains of rural houses built higgledy-piggledy by their owners years ago and grimy enclaves like Times Beach, site of a toxic waste dump which was a center of national attention in 1983.

Politically, the 2d is a mixed bag. The working-class suburbs are traditionally Democratic, mainly on economic issues, but often leave the party on cultural issues; the southern suburbs and most of the new subdivisions are pretty solidly Republican, though with a variety of perspectives. In the 1970s the demographic balance favored the northern, working class suburbs and the Democrats. But by the 1980s the working class areas had grown little or saw their residents move to semi-rural surroundings far beyond the county line, while the affluent suburbs in the west were growing fast.

This helps to account for, but does not entirely explain, the victories of Republican Jack Buechner (pronounced *beekner*) in 1986 and 1988 after his loss in 1984. Buechner is a Republican with a sense of humor and an irreverent approach, who became known as a moderate in the legislature because he backed the Equal Rights Amendment. On economic issues he is a strong free market man, and a decrier of government waste—even when it helps the folks back home. In 1984, he took on Bob Young, a pipefitter who represented St. Ann for 20 years in the legislature and the 2d for 8 years after that, a genial political pro who prided himself on a perfect AFL-CIO voting record. Buechner lost that time, but returned in 1986 and criticized Young, a member of the Public Works Committee, as a "back-scratching, back room deal maker" for pushing for pork barrel projects for the district. Young's solid support of labor didn't help in the southern end of the district. Buechner's campaign was outspent and Young raised much more PAC money. But Buechner's message, delivered via an exceedingly effective TV ad, was enough to make him the one Republican who beat an incumbent Democratic congressman in 1986.

In Washington Buechner got seats on the Budget Committee and Science Committees, the latter of importance to McDonnell-Douglas. In the House, he took some unusual stands, calling for free mailing privileges for challengers in House campaigns, for example, and paring down the NASA authorization to what it is likely to get in the appropriations process. He allowed during the 1988 campaign as how he didn't think the death penalty was a relevant issue. But he was also ready to take up the cudgels for a 2d District low-bidder that didn't get a defense contract and for a refusenik who eventually got out of the Soviet Union. In 1988, Democratic legislator Bob Feigenbaum, one of the expositors of dioxin pollution in Times Beach, ran, emphasizing hazardous waste disposal. But his campaign was not well-financed, some of his arguments were far-fetched, and in a year when George Bush was carrying St. Louis County comfortably, Buechner won by a 2 to 1 margin. With his personal appeal and his party's strength, he seems to have a safe seat.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 573,700, up 5.1% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 546,039, up 11.4% 1970-80. Households (1980): 79% family, 44% with children, 68% married couples; 24.3% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$232; median house value: \$53,700. Voting age pop. (1980): 386,511; 5% Black, 1% Asian origin, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 173,205 (61%)
Dukakis (D) 111,172 (39%)

Rep. Jack Buechner (R)



Elected 1986; b. June 4, 1940, St. Louis; home, Kirkwood; Benedictine Col., B.A. 1962, St. Louis U., J.D. 1965; Roman Catholic; married (Marietta).

Career: Practicing atty.; MO House of Reps., 1972-82.

Offices: 502 CHOB 20515, 202-225-2561. Also 13545 Barrett Pkwy. Dr., Ste. 150, Bailwin 63021, 314-965-1101; and St. Charles City Hall, 200 N. 2d St., St. Charles 63361, 314-946-9377.

Committees: Budget (8th of 14 R). Task Forces: Budget Process, Reconciliation and Enforcement; Human Resources. Science, Space and Technology (14th of 19 R). Subcommittees: Science, Research and Technology; Space Science and Applications.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	15	35	17	55	50	88	82	100	79	60
1987	12	—	6	21	—	86	—	—	100	75

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS	1987 LIB — 1987 CONS
Economic	16% — 83%	0% — 89%
Social	26% — 74%	15% — 84%
Foreign	0% — 84%	31% — 68%

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	FOR	5) Ban Drug Test	FOR	9) SDI Research	FOR
2) Gephardt Amdt	AGN	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	AGN
3) Deficit Reduc	AGN	7) Handgun Sales	FOR	11) Aid to Contras	FOR
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	FOR	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	AGN

Election Results

1988 general	Jack Buechner (R)	186,450 (66%)	(\$693,066)
	Robert H. Feigenbaum (D)	91,645 (33%)	(\$254,492)
1988 primary	Jack Buechner (R), unopposed		
1986 general	Jack Buechner (R)	101,010 (52%)	(\$326,375)
	Robert A. Young (D)	93,538 (48%)	(\$528,101)

THIRD DISTRICT

The center of the United States, or at least the geographical center of its population in 1980, is in the 3d Congressional District of Missouri. This is the southern part of the St. Louis metropolitan area—a slice of pie with its apex near the Gateway Arch, extending outward and widening in suburban St. Louis County and finally ending in Jefferson County, once a rural area and now part of suburban St. Louis. The city's south side is almost entirely white, with signs still there of the German immigrants who made St. Louis one of the nation's most bustling and progressive cities in the late 1800s; the most famous St. Louis German was Carl Schurz, friend of Lincoln, Union Army officer in the Civil War, Secretary of the Interior and Senator from Missouri. St. Louis's south side, like the north, has lost about half its population in the last 40 years, much of it

moving directly out to St. Louis County, where the solid middle class of St. Louis lives, people who keep its offices humming, its stores and warehouses bustling, its schoolchildren instructed and disciplined. Others have moved out to Jefferson County, where old towns sitting near the banks of the fast-flowing Mississippi are now receiving an infusion of shopping centers, new subdivisions, and apartment complexes. Republican during most of the post-Civil War period, middle-class St. Louis became Democratic in the New Deal years; it still is in local elections but has trended Republican in national and state contests.

One product of south side St. Louis is Missouri's most recent candidate for President, 3d District Congressman Richard Gephardt. He has accomplished in a dozen years the considerable feat of making himself both a respected leader inside the House and a serious, if so far not successful, candidate for President in the great world beyond the Washington Beltway. He has the ambitious politician's knack of seeing his openings, widening them and making his way through to still more. The knock on him is that he has gone through a few too many changes, and that it's not clear what he stands for. To that, his reply is to painstakingly set out his positions, how he came to them, and how he hopes to reach his goals.

Gephardt's origins are not quite so humble as he likes to suggest; his father was a milkman but also a real estate salesman, the family lived in one of the more comfortable wards in south St. Louis, and both sons were sent to prestige colleges. Gephardt returned after law school, clearly seeking a political career; he joined a big downtown law firm, but unlike most associates moved not to an affluent suburb but to the south side. There he ran for alderman in 1971, and was one of a band of south side reformers on the council. He was thinking about running for mayor when 3d District Congresswoman Leonor Sullivan announced her retirement, and he jumped into the race running as an anti-establishment candidate. He beat a labor union official in the 1976 primary and a former board of aldermen president in the general, outcampaigning both of them.

Unlike most Democrats of the time, Gephardt came to the House not with the blessings of organized labor, but over its opposition; he was one of the newer breed of Democrats who did not automatically favor big-government and high-tax solutions. Yet he was also adroit enough to get a seat on the Ways and Means Committee in his first term, when there were more than 100 freshman and sophomore Democrats and only a half dozen seats available. He helped to scuttle a Carter proposal for hospital cost controls and came up with a competition-based alternative (co-sponsored by David Stockman) offering employees choices between different health insurance plans. On taxes he, unlike most Democrats, was open to arguments that they should be lowered to encourage investment and recognized that nominal high rates were actually unsustainable and could be sacrificed to get rid of loopholes for the wealthy. In the early 1980s, he supported the Reagan tax cut and was the House co-sponsor with Bill Bradley of rate-cutting, preference-eliminating tax reform. He was one of the founders of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council, and he also got himself elected chairman of the House Democratic Caucus in 1984.

Gephardt is a good listener, a hard-working detail man, and a natural molder of political compromise—qualities that make him popular with his colleagues. They helped him wrap up the caucus chairman race early, when David Obey dropped out, acknowledging he didn't have the votes. Gephardt had the support—often active, enthusiastic support—of dozens of his colleagues in his 1988 presidential race. But as he started running seriously for President in 1985 and moved from seeking the support of mixed liberal-and-moderate constituencies in the 3d District and the House to seeking votes in the lopsidedly liberal constituencies of Democratic endorsing groups and Iowa caucusgoers, his approach to issues seemed to change. He played little part on tax reform (Dan Rostenkowski didn't want him to). In 1986, he abandoned his long-time support of anti-abortion measures in a bow to the power of feminists in the Democratic nominating process. In 1987, he was advocating a referendum to let farmers authorize the government to impose mandatory production controls, a step that would probably be impracti-

cable and certainly would be costly to consumers. This Harkin-Gephardt amendment never came close to passing either house, but he talked about it a lot in Iowa. Even more prominently, he went on the offensive on the trade issue. Repelled, he says, by the spectacle of industries coming into Congress looking for special relief—he cites the auto industry and UAW's domestic content bill, which he voted against—he came up with the Gephardt amendment requiring countermeasures against countries running large trade surpluses with the United States. It passed the House in late 1987 by a 218-214 margin—a gift to Gephardt's presidential campaign, for it clearly was going nowhere in the Senate or in conference committee.

Meanwhile, Gephardt was spending more time in Iowa than any other candidate; his entire family moved there. He built an organization and with his emphasis on trade and production controls he attracted support from union organizers, older voters and those who want the government to revive Iowa's ailing farm economy. He sloughed over the tension in his record between his earlier moves toward market-oriented solutions attractive to young upscale voters and his campaign year support of control-oriented solutions attractive to older downscale voters. He won the Iowa caucuses with 31% of the vote, to 27% for Paul Simon and 22% for Michael Dukakis. But, like every other early primary winner, he failed to get any momentum in 1988's cluttered media, and instead in New Hampshire found himself under attack for changing his positions in a super-prosperous state that hates taxes and government regulation; he finished second with 20% to Dukakis's 36%. Gephardt won the South Dakota primary February 23 with 44% by running an ad attacking Dukakis for urging Iowa farmers to grow Belgian endive. But that released Dukakis from any scruples on negative campaigning, and his well-financed campaign ran a devastating flip-flop ad against Gephardt before Super Tuesday on March 8. Gephardt's campaign, by previous years' standards well-financed, could not match Dukakis's, and made some bad decisions (spending heavily in hopeless Florida, as Dukakis would in the general). On Super Tuesday, Gephardt won only Missouri and was effectively out of the race. He kept his campaign theoretically alive until the Michigan caucus March 26, but, despite vigorous support from Congressman John Dingell and several UAW leaders, won only 13% there. That left him with time to meet Missouri's filing deadline of March 29 and to win reelection (although with a slightly lower than usual 63%) in November.

Gephardt had to give up the caucus chairmanship, a temporary position; he remains an important House Member nonetheless. He traveled to Japan and China, continues to study the trade issue, as he writes a book and learns Japanese. He remains interested also, it appears, in the presidency. Many Gephardt backers argue that he had the message—an I'm on your side populist appeal—that would have prevailed if he had only had enough money. But on Super Tuesday Gephardt failed to beat either Dukakis or Albert Gore in media markets where he was matching their spending.

There was not much doubt that Gephardt was interested in running again for President in 1992, and before the Democratic Leadership Council in March 1989, he laid out his basic approach. His presidential aspirations were sidelined however when, with the resignations of Jim Wright and Tony Coelho, he jumped in to fill the vacuum. He won a decisive victory in the Democratic Caucus for majority leader over Georgia's Ed Jenkins, 181-76, in June of 1989. After the scrutiny of the 1988 presidential campaign, Gephardt's ethics seemed beyond reproach, a factor which, along with his reputation as a pragmatic consensus builder, made him a highly attractive candidate to replace now Speaker Tom Foley.

But many will watch closely to see how Gephardt performs. Will he assume the role of Coelho, the aggressive partisan, or will he extend his ample ability to compromise to the other side of the aisle? Whatever the case, he now has the chance to prove his political skills and ability—to a degree that even he might not have imagined so soon after his decisive Super Tuesday losses—in a forum not too far from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 558,700, up 2.3% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 546,102, up 0.3% 1970-80. Households (1980): 72% family, 36% with children, 61% married couples; 31.2% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$151; median house value: \$43,900. Voting age pop. (1980): 403,646; 1% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 126,310 (53%)
Dukakis (D) 111,956 (47%)

Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D)



Elected 1976; b. Jan. 31, 1941, St. Louis; home, St. Louis; Northwestern U., B.S. 1962, U. of MI, J.D., 1965; Baptist; married (Jane).

Career: Practicing atty., 1965-71; St. Louis City Alderman, 1971-76.

Offices: 1432 LHOB 20515, 202-225-2671. Also 9959 Gravois, St. Louis 63123, 314-631-9959.

Committees: Majority Leader.

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEL
1988	75	73	82	73	19	10	15	0	20	9
1987	20	—	81	21	—	0	—	—	0	8

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	92%	—	73%	—
Social	72%	—	*	—
Foreign	64%	—	*	—

Key Votes

1) Homeless \$	—	5) Ban Drug Test	AGN	9) SDI Research	AGN
2) Gephardt Amdt	FOR	6) Drug Death Pen	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	—
3) Deficit Reduc	—	7) Handgun Sales	AGN	11) Aid to Contras	AGN
4) Kill Plnt Clsng Notice	AGN	8) Ban D.C. Abort \$	FOR	12) Nuclear Testing	FOR

Election Results

1988 general	Richard A. Gephardt (D)	150,205	(63%)	(\$512,206)
	Mark F. Hearne (R)	86,763	(36%)	(\$202,524)
1988 primary	Richard A. Gephardt (D)	45,784	(82%)	
	James Vires (D)	4,073	(7%)	
	James W. Whitt (D)	3,442	(6%)	
	Ed Roche (D)	2,747	(5%)	
1986 general	Richard A. Gephardt (D)	116,403	(69%)	(\$881,325)
	Roy Amelung (R)	52,382	(31%)	

FOURTH DISTRICT

In Warrensburg, on the western prairie of Missouri, was delivered the classic "Eulogy to a Dog" in 1870, in a lawsuit brought by a hunter against a sheep farmer who shot his black and tan hound, Old Drum, who "never lies. I can always tell the kind of game he is chasing by his bark." The defendant's lawyer Francis Cockrell—formerly a Confederate general, later U.S. Senator for 30 years, appointed to settle a boundary dispute with Mexico in 1910—won the case on appeal, but on retrial plaintiff's lawyer George G. Vest—later Senator for 24 years himself—quoting the story of Lazarus and a poem by Byron, eulogized the dog as ready to stand by his master's grave, "watchful, faithful, and true," and won damages of \$25. This story, recounted in the *WPA Guide*, gives a picture of early life in a Missouri teeming with westward settlers and fought over in the Civil War.

The 4th Congressional District of Missouri includes Warrensburg and much of the prairie of western Missouri, from Jefferson City, the state capital at the center of the state, through the old prairie counties and the new developments, filled with retirees from cities and from ranks of the career military, around Lake of the Ozarks, all the way to Independence (though not including Harry Truman's home). Political attitudes are still shaped by the Civil War: Truman, who set up his 1940 campaign headquarters in Sedalia, a county over from Warrensburg, was born in Lamar in the southern end of the district and lived in Independence, next door to (and now a suburb of) Kansas City; the Trumans were strong Democrats and his mother could remember when her house was attacked by Yankee soldiers. Jefferson City has been heavily Republican since then; but ancestrally the 4th is mostly Democratic.

Ike Skelton, congressman from the 4th District, looks the part of an old-fashioned rural Missouri Democrat. His record on economics tends often to put him in line with his party; he is more tradition-minded on cultural matters and foreign policy. His main work comes on the Armed Services Committee and its issues. While he tends to support higher defense spending, he also demands to know what it's being spent on—and is willing to speak out when he thinks mistakes are being made. After the 1984 election he played a major role in elevating Les Aspin as chairman over the elderly and out-of-touch Mel Price. In 1986 he was a strong proponent of reorganizing the Pentagon command structure, unifying the service commands and strengthening the power of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and played a key role in passing the reorganization law. He is also able to look after the interests of Whiteman Air Force Base near Warrensburg, the site for deployment of the B-2 Stealth bomber. Also in 1986 he was also a lead sponsor of the successful move to fund the Nicaraguan contras; in 1988 he was trying to forge yet another compromise on contra aid. In 1987, he was calling for better strategic thinking in the services and in their war colleges.

Skelton has been given leave to do this work by his constituency. The current 4th District lines put Skelton in with another incumbent, Republican Wendell Bailey, in 1982, but Skelton had represented 64% of the new district and won with 55%; Bailey was elected state treasurer in 1984. Since then, Skelton's reelection has been routine and in 1986 unanimous. He was mentioned as a Senate candidate in 1988, but didn't run.

The People: Est. Pop. 1986: 587,300, up 7.4% 1980-86; Pop. 1980: 546,637, up 19.7% 1970-80. Households (1980): 77% family, 42% with children, 69% married couples; 25.5% housing units rented; median monthly rent: \$141; median house value: \$35,600. Voting age pop. (1980): 390,415; 3% Black, 1% Spanish origin.

1988 Presidential Vote: Bush (R) 139,370 (59%)
Dukakis (D) 95,117 (40%)

MAJORITY LEADER RICHARD GEPHARDT: A POLITICAL VULNERABILITY STUDY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TAB 1	Executive Summary
TAB 2	Vulnerabilities: Gephardt on Key Issues
TAB 3	Ratings By Special Interest Groups and Attendance
TAB 4	Campaign Finances
TAB 5	Missouri 3 -- Electoral and Demographic Profile
TAB 6	A Political Biography and Selected Readings
TAB 7	Key Policy Flip Flops and Readings
TAB 8	The Liberal Class Warrior
TAB 9	The ACLU and Gephardt
TAB 10	Readings on Key Issues

FINDINGS

Is Gephardt vulnerable? Yes, but not in this election cycle. But, a strong challenge in this cycle could prevent him from raising large sums of money on behalf of other Democrats, and could soften him for a future election.

What would it take to give him a run for his money this year? As Majority Leader, Gephardt will have the money to run a winning campaign. But an energetic, well financed opponent could run a strong campaign pointing out the policy and political flaws in the Gephardt candidacy. Public perception of the Congress is low, and Gephardt is in the leadership. His record, detailed in this report, shows that he is a flip-flopper, and an animal married to political convenience -- two characteristics the public perceives in the Congress and that Gephardt personifies.

In summary, here's how to point out Gephardt's vulnerabilities:

1. Drive a wedge between Gephardt and the voters by exposing him as a liberal who is out of step with the times. Gephardt's district votes Republican in up-ticket races.
- o The third C.D. has a 31% Republican base vote. In presidential, senatorial and gubernatorial elections the district voted Republican throughout the eighties. Gerald Ford lost the district by less than 2 points.
2. Show that he is a captive of liberal special interest groups, especially labor unions and the ACLU -- he is culturally out of step with his district.
3. Expose his policy agenda as a risk to his constituents -- a risk to the nation's peace and prosperity.
4. Expose his political makeover as sheer opportunism. He has flip flopped all over the issues agenda. He's a chameleon.
5. While he probably cannot be beaten in this cycle a well financed, articulate opponent can bloody him to the point that he can lose many of his leadership and fund raising activities.

(Note: Gephardt is apparently successful in bringing "the pork" back to his district. In 1988, the city of St. Louis ranked third (behind Los Angeles and Newport News, Va.) in federal procurement contracts with contracts valuing \$4.8 billion.)

DISCUSSION

Richard Gephardt's greatest vulnerability is that he changes his positions more often than some people change their underwear. Gephardt will do or say anything to succeed. His only conviction is political opportunism. Like Woody Allen's character Zelig, he makes himself over to fit the situation.

- o In Gephardt's political career, power always beats principle. Gephardt would prefer that his constituents view his flip-flops as intellectual growth beyond parochial interests. Others view him as an unprincipled, mean spirited political hack.
 - o Gephardt has turned himself into a tax-and-spend, anti-defense, social issues liberal.
 - o Many of the core issues identified with him represent an economic threat to the American people. To curry special interests he is willing to propose hidden taxes that would transfer money away from the consumer to traditional Democratic constituencies. His farm program alone could have resulted in as much as a \$1,000 burden per year on the average American family's food costs. His trade policy was almost universally considered protectionist to the extent that it could cause a trade war. Regarding general fiscal matters, Gephardt would pit Americans against one another through his populist class war policies.
- Gephardt is out of step with history. At a time when the world is looking toward more decentralized market based policies, Gephardt has been a major advocate of further centralization and government control.

VOTING TRENDS

For the past three presidential campaigns Gephardt's district went Republican by at least 53% of the vote.

Since 1976 Missouri Republicans have given Richard Gephardt a free ride. He has had little or no opposition, allowing him to use the advantages of incumbency to establish an apparently safe seat.

Up-ticket voting trends indicate that the third district is not "a yellow dog" district. Other Republicans do very well there. Gephardt's success has also been a measure of a weak and underfunded opposition.

CAMPAIGN FINANCES

Gephardt knew the value of the PAC dollar long before many of his colleagues. Business interests are his largest contributors, belying his carefully cultivated anti-establishment image.

As Majority Leader, Gephardt can be expected to receive all the PAC money he needs for his own campaign. His position will allow him to raise large sums for other Democrats.

- o From 1982 through 1986 more than half of his campaign funds came from PACs.
- o Approximately two thirds of the nearly 1.3 million PAC dollars raised between 1983 and 1988 came from business PACs.

A cursory analysis of major PAC contributions (i.e. those totaling \$2,500 and above) indicates that Gephardt's largest contributions come from union PACs. The aggregate figure for business PACs reflects a larger number of smaller contributions.

VULNERABILITIES

The Chameleon

Richard Gephardt's greatest vulnerability is that he changes his positions more often than some people change their underwear. Gephardt will do or say anything to succeed. His only conviction is political opportunism. Like Woody Allen's character Zelig, he makes himself over to fit the situation.

- o In Gephardt's political career, power always beats principle. Gephardt would prefer that his constituents view his flip-flops as intellectual growth beyond parochial interests. Others view him as an unprincipled, mean spirited political hack.
- o There is much to be learned from the unguarded remark made by a politician. As the House of Representatives was taking up the Gephardt trade amendment, a protectionist measure that economists saw as harmful to world trade, Joe Kennedy caught Gephardt in the hall and joked:

"Say, you don't really care what happens to this, do you?"

"Just vote the good of the country, " Gephardt said, laughing.

"You don't really want us to do that, do you?"

"Hell no."

(The Ambition and the Power, John M. Barry, p. 275)

Three Phases

There are three distinct phases to Gephardt's political career:

- o In 1976 he ran as a congressman in a blue collar ethnic district and represented the views of the moderate conservative voters who had elected him. He was anti-abortion and opposed court-ordered busing.
- o After three terms, he began to move left so as to ingratiate himself with his fellow liberal Democrats in the House whose leadership he sought. He abandoned earlier sympathy for low-tax pro-growth policies, but helped found the Democratic Leadership Counsel (a group of moderate Democrats). In 1984, he got himself elected chairman of the House Democratic Caucus.
- o By 1985, as he set his sights on the Democratic presidential nomination, he moved to the far left, adopting radical populist policies (on trade and agriculture) that appealed to Democratic Iowa caucus voters.

GEPHARDT ON THE ISSUES: READ MY FLIPS

Abortion

- o In his first campaign in 1976 Richard Gephardt ran a newspaper ad in which he pledged he would work for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. Shortly after he was elected to the House he co-authored a pro-life constitutional amendment. He said: "Life is the division of human cells, a process that begins with conception. It is, therefore, a fact not a concept ..." In 1986 he recanted.

Busing

- o In 1981 Gephardt proposed a constitutional amendment to ban court ordered racial busing. In 1987 he charged that the nomination of Judge Robert Bork for the Supreme Court threatened "all of the progress of the past 50 years" on civil rights court cases.

Capital Gains: Flip Flopping Class Warrior

- o In 1978 Gephardt voted for HR 13511, which proposed to cut the capital gains rate from 49.1% to 35% and index the "basis" of capital gains to the consumer price index. This latter point would reduce the capital gains tax even further because only real and not nominal capital gains would be taxed. Now he calls the President's proposal to lower the capital gains tax as "... George Bush's idea to help out his wealthy friends." (The New York Times, 9/15/89)

Defense: Strategic Program

- o On defense matters, Gephardt once voted for the MX missile, the B-1 bomber and the Strategic Defense Initiative. In 1981 he said "Democrats can't look weak on defense." (USNWR, 2/8/88) Now he opposes them all.

Education: Reformer Turned Hack

- o In 1981 Gephardt said "I would get rid of government in education to a much greater extent than we have. I would discharge those responsibilities either to the private sector or to the states." In 1986 he called for a bigger federal role because the AFL-CIO informed him that by 1990, "Half the people in the country are liable to be unemployed because they can't write good enough [sic]. They won't be able to compute good enough [sic]."

Health Care Regulation: Flip Flop

- o In 1980 he joined Rep. David Stockman in sponsoring a bill to deregulate health care. In 1984 he joined Sen. Kennedy in sponsoring a bill to impose cost controls on the medical industry.

Honoraria: Hypocrisy

- o Gephardt often spoke out against outside incomes and subsidized insurance policies for Congressmen. He said, "I do not accept honoraria as well."

In addition to his \$75,100 congressional salary Gephardt received \$22,425 from honoraria -- only \$105 below the limit. Gephardt explained: "Obviously, you have financial considerations, with two homes and all that goes with it." (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/87/87)

Social Security

- o As a Democratic presidential candidate Gephardt said, "Any Democratic President who agrees to reduce Social Security is no Democrat at all." In 1981 he referred to Social Security as one of "... a number of other subsidy programs ..." lumping it together with food stamps, state welfare programs and AFDC (Rothenberg, p. 125). On May 23, 1985 Gephardt voted for HCR 152 to impose a one year freeze on Social Security, veterans compensation and federal retirement.

Tax Increase

- o When given a choice between cutting spending and raising taxes, Gephardt lurches towards the latter. In 1988 when considering the mandated budget cuts of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law the Washington Post reported "Rep. Richard A. Gephardt said yesterday that Congress should seek an agreement with the White House for a tax increase to help avoid drastic spending cuts next year ..."

(The Washington Post, 1/24/88)

Trade: Protectionism

- o In 1987 Gephardt proposed an amendment to the Omnibus Trade Bill to require tough retaliation in the form of import quotas or tariffs against countries such as Japan that maintain large trade surpluses with the United States. Called by some "the son of Smoot-Hawley" an editorial in U.S. News and World Report (3/14/88) noted "... Gephardt has clearly tapped into a rich anti-foreign vein with his slurs against the trade practices of Korea (read Japan)." As Hobart Rowen of the Washington Post noted "The pitch is both slick and classic: you folks are being victimized by those wicked foreigners." Even Jesse Jackson described the Gephardt amendment "... as demagogic and defeatist and says it invites retaliation. 'You get a big applause ... but it's cheap.'" (The Wall Street Journal, 5/22/87)

"I AM A LIBERAL": THE ONCE CONSERVATIVE POPULIST

Over the years Gephardt has voted to bar the Justice Department from using federal money to block organized prayer in schools, came out against abortion and busing, favored capital punishment and opposed further controls on firearms. "We're people who have seen the failures of government, and we're willing to question the programs and are willing to change and redirect them."

(The Wall Street Journal, 1/30/85)

Gephardt, however, had defined himself two years earlier before an audience at Princeton University when he said, "I am a liberal ... I am a social activist ... I am also a realist."

(The Neo Liberals, Randell Rothenberg, 1984)

"Everything about Gephardt's plotting political career and his bland personality suggest that his new found Populist passion is phony. It consists of marketing reactionary liberalism as "progressive" and clothing appeals to selfishness in the language of compassion."

(New Republic, TRB 2/15/88)

FARM PROGRAM: SOAK THE CONSUMER

Gephardt's farm program would create a government-supervised national food cartel, controlling production, giving a monopoly to current producers, and guaranteeing them higher prices. Many of the winners would be large agri-business firms not poor family farmers.

Gephardt claims his plan would "save" the government \$12 billion a year in farm price support costs, which he would use -- depending on the audience -- either for deficit reduction or to fund education programs. What it actually is, though, is a hidden food tax. "Progressive"?

(New Republic, TRB 2/15/88)

- o According to Food and Policy Research Institute estimates, the Harkin-Gephardt bill which would raise farm prices to 80% of parity would mean that consumers would pay an estimated \$65.5 billion a year more in food costs. The average family of four would pay an additional \$1,000 a year. The incidence of this "food tax" would be most regressive because lower income families use a larger proportion of their income for food purchases

OIL IMPORT TAX

When campaigning in the oil patch states of Texas and Louisiana, Gephardt supported an oil import fee to guarantee a price of \$24 a barrel. Since oil is a world wide commodity, the price of domestic oil would rise to that of the import level. According to the New Republic (2/15/88), this proposal would result in a \$36 billion a year tax on consumers of which \$14 billion would go to the government and more than \$21 billion would go as a windfall to domestic oil companies.

RATINGS BY SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS AND ATTENDANCE: SUMMARY

GROWING LIBERALISM

- o Over the years Gephardt's ratings have become increasingly more liberal. Among major liberal rating groups, Gephardt's ratings nearly doubled over the ten year period, 1978-88.
 - Gephardt's Americans for Democratic Action rating more than doubled, from 35% in 1978, to 75% in 1988.
 - Gephardt received a 73% rating from the anti-business Consumer Federation of America in 1988, nearly twice his 41% rating in 1978.
 - Gephardt's ACLU rating nearly doubled from 40% in 1980 (1978 not available) to 1988, when he received a 73% rating.
- o Although Gephardt's ratings with conservative groups have fluctuated, they have steadily declined over the same ten year period.
 - From a National Security Index of 60% in 1978, Gephardt's rating dropped to zero in 1988.
 - Gephardt's 1978 National Taxpayers Union rating of 58% dropped to 34% in 1987 (1988 not available).
 - Although the Chamber of Commerce rated Gephardt at 64% in 1980, he dropped to 11% the next year, and was rated at 20% in 1987.
 - Gephardt's Americans for Conservative Action rating dropped from 33% in 1978 to 10% in 1988. He was rated at zero in 1986 and 1987 and at 4% in 1989.

COMPARISON TO MIDWEST DEMOCRATS

- o The Americans for Conservative Action ratings have shown that while Gephardt becomes more liberal, his fellow mid-western Democrats are becoming more conservative.
 - In 1984, Gephardt's 14% ACU rating was the same as the average ACU rating for Democratic members of the house from the mid-west.
 - In 1989, Gephardt's 4% rating was one-tenth of the 41% rating for Democratic members of the house from the mid-west.
 - Gephardt's 1989 rating of 4% was one-tenth of the 47% rating for members of the Missouri House delegation.
 - Gephardt's lifetime ACU rating is 16%. The average lifetime rating for members of the Missouri house delegation (50%) is more than three times as high.

GROUP RATINGS

	YEAR:	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87**	88
American Conservative Union		33%	21%	6%	27%	33%	9%	14%	19%	0	0	10%
Americans for Democratic Action		35%	74%	56%	45%	55%	85%	75%	60%	70%	20%	75%
National Taxpayers Union		58%	41%	30%	30%	33%	15%	20%	27%	26%	34%	na
National Security Index		60%	*	10%	*	90%	*	10%	*	22%	*	0
AFL-CIO		75%	85%	61%	73%	73%	77%	78%	79%	80%	81%	82%
Chamber of Commerce		na	na	64%	11%	35%	25%	38%	19%	18%	0	20%
American Civil Liberties Union		na	*	40%	*	33%	*	70%	*	64%	*	73%
Consumer Federation of America		41%	54%	43%	64%	54%	83%	67%	75%	67%	21%	73%

* -- no rating in odd years

na -- group rating not available

** -- in 1987, Gephardt missed 82% of recorded votes.

National Journal Ratings

Economic Ratings (%)

- o Although always more liberal in economics than most House members, Gephardt has varied widely on the ratings spectrum. His 1983 rating gave him a perfect liberal rating, yet a year later 32% of his colleagues voted more liberal than he.

	Liberal	Conservative
1981	68	30
1982	57	43
1983	99	0
1984	68	31
1985	75	22
1986	87	0
1987	73	0
1988	92	0

Social (Cultural 1981-82) (%) * = did not vote enough to receive a score

- o On social issues, Gephardt's has become increasingly liberal, leading up to his presidential bid in 1988. His only respites from this climb came in 1985 (a slight drop), and 1987, when his short-lived presidential campaign earned him Congress's worst attendance record, and he had no score for ratings.

1981	47	53
1982	45	55
1983	59	36
1984	76	23
1985	56	43
1986	89	0
1987	*	*
1988	72	28

Foreign (%) * = did not vote enough to receive a score

- o Gephardt voted increasingly more liberal on foreign issues in the 1980s, (again without a score for 1987, due to his presidential campaign).

1981	32	68
1982	51	49
1983	62	38
1984	65	34
1985	62	37
1986	74	25
1987	*	*
1988	64	34

ATTENDANCE

Voting Participation

- o Although Gephardt had a good attendance record throughout most of his career, it suffered in the late 1980s because of his presidential ambitions. In 1986, his attendance record plunged and in 1987, he had the worst attendance of any member of Congress.

[Percentage of recorded votes in a year which representative voted yea or nay]

1977:	97
1978:	95
1979:	91
1980:	93
1981:	94
1982:	94
1983:	94
1984:	92
1985:	91
1986:	70
1987:	18
1988:	80
1989:	96

COALITION SUPPORT

Presidential Support

- o Gephardt's presidential support record represents the liberalization of a lawmaker. After general support of the Carter administration, Gephardt increasingly disagreed with President Reagan. The drop in 1987 stemmed from his poor attendance.

[Percentage of presidential-issue recorded votes on which representative voted yea or nay in agreement with the President's position.

* = Carter years]

1977: 73*
1978: 74*
1979: 74*
1980: 79*
1981: 54
1982: 44
1983: 26
1984: 33
1985: 26
1986: 16
1987: 5
1988: 18
1989: 33

Conservative Coalition Support

- o In the 1970's Gephardt gave mild support to the conservative agenda. In 1981 Gephardt became a strong backer of many conservative coalition votes. After 1982 however, Gephardt broke with conservatives, showing an increasingly liberal record.

[Percentage of conservative coalition recorded votes on which representative voted yea or nay in agreement with the position of the conservative coalition]

1977: 36
1978: 40
1979: 39
1980: 33
1981: 69
1982: 56
1983: 25
1984: 27
1985: 31
1986: 18
1987: 5
1988: 16
1989: 22

Gephardt Campaign Finances

- o As the following chart represents, Gephardt knew the value of a PAC dollar long before many of his colleagues. Business interests are his largest contributors, belying his carefully cultivated anti-establishment image. From Business Week (3/14/88):

"'It's time to tell the forces of greed, enough is enough,' declares Representative Richard A. Gephardt (D-MO). But when it comes to accepting campaign contributions from the corporate interests he's flogging on the stump, the self-styled scourge of the Establishment takes a more forgiving view."

- o While Gephardt was not always a populist, he was always a PAC-man. With the exception of a slight blip in 1986 (when he rolled up an enormous bank account, presumably with an eye on the 1988 presidential campaign), individual contributions to his congressional campaign have steadily dropped, from \$140,966 in 1982, to only \$53,927 in 1988.
- o While Gephardt's corporate PAC dollars have grown, so has his labor support, from \$18,000 in 1982 to \$84,000 in 1986, to more than \$111,000 in 1988.

Analysis

- o An examination of Gephardt's PAC receipts of more than \$2,500 per election per cycle shows his most generous support comes from organized labor. Of the \$402,478 received in contributions of \$2,500 and above in his 1984-88 House campaigns, \$151,300 was from labor, \$116,678 was from trade associations, and \$86,500 from corporate PACs (\$61,000 from the 1988 cycle alone).
- o No ideological PACs contributed \$2,500 or above in any of his congressional campaigns. While this is a function of a perennial lack of cash in these PACs, it is also indicative of Gephardt's bobbing and weaving ideology.
- o Although business and corporate interests contribute heavily to Gephardt's campaigns, they are not found proportionally among the \$2,500 and over group, indicating their support is token -- they give \$1,000 or \$2,000 to keep a member of the leadership happy, not because he supports business. The largest employer in his district, Anheuser Busch, gave him only one \$2,500 contribution in three cycles, not exactly a sign of support.
- o While a challenger always faces an uphill battle in soliciting PAC contributions, business and trade groups are not adverse to double-dipping and contributing to both candidates. Gephardt's weaknesses among these groups could be exploited by a credible challenger with strong business ties.

Conclusion

- o Gephardt is a master at one of the most practical perks of incumbency, the PAC contribution. No special interest is taboo in the pursuit of ever-increasing victory margins, and ever-growing power in the national Democratic Party. The donations range from Wall Street financial firms to machinists unions, further illustrating his hypocrisy.
- o As Majority Leader, Gephardt will continue to receive PAC money from those whose interests he represents, to keep his support coming, and from those who don't want to make him mad. If he wants it, it's there for him.
- o But that same availability illustrates his biggest vulnerability, like Jesse Helms' use of the union label in his 1984 campaign. Gephardt is bought and paid for.

Gephardt Campaign Finances: Cycle Acticity, 1982-88

[Source: Almanac of American Politics, 1984-90]

<u>1982 Total Receipts</u>	\$342,873	PAC Breakdown	
Individuals	140,966	Agriculture	\$ 13,975
Party	1,000	Business	130,125
PACs	187,514	Health	12,400
		Ideological	3,850
		Labor	18,550
		Professional	4,050
 <u>1984 Total Receipts</u>	 \$429,231	 PAC Breakdown	
Individuals	131,172	Agriculture	\$ 8,800
Party	100	Corporate	98,050
PACs	248,660	Trade/Membership/Health	63,972
		Ideological	11,250
		Labor	47,288
		Corp. w/o stock	10,825
 <u>1986 Total Receipts</u>	 \$830,682	 PAC Breakdown	
Individuals	336,276	Agriculture	\$ 6,500
Party	100	Corporate	196,050
PACs	455,073	Trade/Membership	
		/Health	124,450
		Ideological	34,500
		Labor	83,919
		Corp. w/o stock	9,654

<u>1988 Total Receipts</u>	\$513,893
Individuals	53,927
Party	219
PACs	183,196

PAC Breakdown

N/A

PAC Receipts -- Aggregates, 1983-88 [Source: The New York Times, 6/29/89]

Agriculture	47,725
Business	
Aerospace-Defense	21,000
Energy	48,650
Finance	117,475
Food Processors/ Packagers	63,600
Insurance	121,078
Machinery/Manufac.	16,700
Real Estate/ Construction	73,450
Other	286,750
Health	66,425
Single Issue (i.e. abortion/gun control)	54,900
Labor	308,419
Professional	62,129
TOTAL:	\$1,291,201

Missouri 3 -- Electoral and Demographic Profile

3rd C.D. Election Results -- 1976 - 1988

	Republican	Democratic	Total
'76 Pres	114,390 -- 48.3%	118,403 -- 50.0%	232,793
'76 Gov	110,310 -- 46.9%	124,423 -- 52.9%	234,733
'76 Sen	127,615 -- 54.9%	103,567 -- 44.6%	231,182
'76 House	81,681 -- 35.1%	150,795 -- 64.9%	232,476
'78 House (no statewide elections)	43,968 -- 22.2%	153,994 -- 77.7%	197,962
'80 Pres	127,018 -- 54.4%	94,314 -- 40.4%	221,332
'80 Gov	133,999 -- 52.9%	117,539 -- 46.4%	251,538
'80 Sen	131,047 -- 56.4%	100,459 -- 43.2%	231,506
'80 House	79,916 -- 32.2%	168,109 -- 67.8%	248,025
'82 Sen	101,529 -- 59.2%	70,041 -- 40.8%	171,570
'82 House	37,388 -- 22.1%	131,566 -- 77.9%	168,954
'84 Pres	156,443 -- 64.7%	85,385 -- 35.3%	241,818
'84 House	No Republican	193,537 -- 100%	193,537
'86 House	52,382 -- 31.0%	116,403 -- 69.0%	168,785
'88 Pres	126,310 -- 53.0%	111,956 -- 47.0%	238,266
'88 House	86,763 -- 36.7%	150,205 -- 63.4%	236,968

Note: Figures prior to 1982 were adjusted to reflect current district boundaries.

Sources: Congressional Districts in the 1980s, Politics in America,
RNC Strategic Information

Electoral Patterns: Can a Republican Win?

Gephardt can be vulnerable in 1990 if the voters of the 3rd C.D. are effectively told that their congressman does not share the same values as Sens. Danforth and Bond, and Gov. Ashcroft.

The 3rd C.D. can and does vote Republican, not only in presidential elections. The 3rd C.D. supported Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Kit Bond, and John Ashcroft, while at the same time giving Dick Gephardt enormous majorities.

The vote disparities between the top of the ticket and the House race are large -- as high as 19 points in 1976, 22 points in 1980, 37 points in 1982, and 17 points in 1988. This is not a yellow-dog Democratic district. The district is becoming more suburban, more middle-class, and more likely to vote Republican, if offered a credible choice.

As Gephardt's career and rhetoric veers to the left, his re-election margin drops.

Gephardt's liberal voting record may not faze St. Louis City, but the middle-class, suburban voters of St. Louis County and Jefferson County may spurn his class warfare, soak-the-rich rhetoric.

Key to Gephardt's vulnerability is the GOP's ability to field a well-financed challenger.

Incumbency Advantages/GOP Failures

Except in 1988 when it initially appeared that he would leave Congress, the GOP may have furthered Gephardt's electoral success by failing to field well-financed challengers. In 1984, he ran unopposed. In 1986, he spent close to \$900,000 while his opponent spent nothing, and 31% of the electorate voted against his re-election in a non-presidential year. That 31% makes up the GOP base vote in the district, suggesting that he has become more vulnerable through the 1980s as a result of the changing Gephardt and the changing electorate.

	Gephardt Performance	Gephardt Spending	GOP Spending
1976	63.7%	\$168,146	\$ 61,862
1978	81.9%	113,977	0
1980	77.6%	198,785	0
1982	77.9%	345,360	2,967
1984	100.0%	379,664	N/A
1986	69.0%	881,325	0
1988	62.8%	512,206	202,524

[Source: ABC News, The '88 Vote]

Not until 1988 did Gephardt have even a moderately well-financed challenger. Republican Mark Hearne spent \$205,524 and held Gephardt to 63% of the vote, the poorest showing of his career.

Demographic Overview

The 3rd C.D. is split between the city of St. Louis (partial), surrounding St. Louis County (partial), and suburban Jefferson County (entire). In 1980, the breakdown was:

St. Louis City:	192,055	(35%)
St. Louis County:	207,864	(38%)
Jefferson County:	146,183	(27%)
Total:	546,102	

Population Profile

November 1989 unemployment: 6.1% (not-seasonally adjusted)
November 1988 unemployment: 6.4%
1986 estimated population: 558,700
1980-86 population growth: +2.3%

1980 White population: 533,831 (97.8%)
1980 Black population: 7,442 (1.4%)
1980 Hispanic population: 5,603 (1.0%)
1980 Other population: 3,260 (0.6%)

1980 Voting Age Population: 403,646

Population Shifts

Census Bureau estimates show the 3rd C.D.'s population grew by 12,600 persons (2.3%) from 1980-86, to 558,700. The Census Bureau does not break down population estimates within the district, therefore 1986 estimates for the portions of St. Louis city and county within the 3rd C.D. are not available.

All of Jefferson County is contained within the district, so it is possible to estimate that there has been a substantive population shift within the district lines -- Jefferson County's population grew by 17,000 from 1980-86, and St. Louis County grew by 34,000. The city's population during the same time dropped by almost 10%. While these statistics do not prove internal shifts, they strongly suggest the district is becoming more suburban.

St. Louis County

The 3rd C.D. is often called "solidly middle-class;" the St. Louis County segment (34% of the district's 1980 population) is the heart of its middle-class voters. The county cast 45% of the vote in the 1988 3rd C.D. election, and split 57%-42% for the incumbent. In 1980, the county cast less than 40% of the district's vote.

St. Louis County voters are the Republican base in the district, and provide enough votes to push the district into the GOP column in statewide elections.

St. Louis City

The south end of St. Louis City is Gephardt's base; he began his political career as an alderman there in 1971. In 1980, St. Louis City cast more than one-third of the C.D.'s vote, by 1988, its share of the vote decreased to 30%. Gephardt carried the city in 1988, 71%-29%.

Congressional Districts in the 1980s remarks that St. Louis voters, once "firmly rooted in the New Deal coalition, ... have become increasingly concerned about taxes, government spending, abortion and busing." Although Gephardt's positions on these issues should push their votes into the GOP column, there is no indication that is taking place.

Jefferson County

Jefferson County, entirely within the 3rd C.D., has grown in the 1980s. Located south of St. Louis, the metropolitan area's orbit is extending into the county, although the southern and western portions are said to remain largely rural and agricultural.

The county cast about 22% of the district vote in 1982, and in 1988, cast only 24%, despite the county's 18% population growth. While Gephardt carried Jefferson County 64%-36% in 1988, it is politically marginal, and has supported GOP candidates for the U.S. Senate, governor, and other down-ballot offices.

BIOGRAPHY
REP. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT (D-MO)

Personal History

Richard Gephardt, a Baptist, was born Jan. 31, 1941 (49 years old), to Loreen Cassell Gephardt and the late Louis A. Gephardt. He married Jane Anne Byrnes in 1965. They have three children: Matthew (16), Christine (14), and Katherine (9). Gephardt establishes his "educated family man" image through affiliations with Kiwanis, Boy Scouts (he was an Eagle Scout), Children's United Research Effort, and the Missouri Bar Associations. He completed his undergraduate work at Northwestern University and graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in 1965.

Career: Non-Political

From 1965 through 1971, Gephardt served in the Missouri Air National Guard where he attained the rank of captain. From 1965 through 1977, he was an attorney and partner in the St. Louis law firm of Thompson and Mitchell. During this time (1971-1973), he was chairman of the Young Lawyer's section of the Bar Association of Metropolitan St. Louis.

Career: Political

Gephardt was elected Democrat alderman of the 14th Ward of the City of St. Louis and served from 1971 through 1977. In 1976, he was elected to represent Missouri's 3rd Congressional District and has had little trouble getting re-elected. While the 3rd District has been voting Republican at the presidential level (65% for Reagan in 1984 and 53% for Bush in 1988), it still has Democrat potential in state and local races.

Gephardt defeated his 1986 opponent, Roy Amelong, with a vote margin of 69-31%. Gephardt outspent Amelong \$286,689 to \$5,000. He ran for the Democrat presidential nomination in 1988, but exited from the race and filed for re-election to his seat in the House. In the 1988 House general election Gephardt garnered 63% of the vote to his opponent's Mark F. "Thor" Hearne's 36%.

With the resignations of House Speaker Jim Wright and House Majority Whip Rep. Tony Coelho, Gephardt moved up the ladder of power and was elected the House majority leader on June 14, 1989. During a three and a-half-hour close door meeting by the Democratic Caucus, the congressman defeated Rep. Ed Jenkins (D-GA-9) by a vote of 181 to 76. According to his congressional biography supplied by his office, Gephardt now will serve as the "... chief strategist and spokesperson for the Democratic Party in the House."

Committee Assignments

Having moved up to the position of Majority Leader and according to the Rules of the House, Gephardt now sits on the House Budget Committee and is an ex officio member on the Permanent Select committee on Intelligence. The majority and the minority leaders of the House have no vote on the Intelligence Committee and are not counted for purposes of a quorum.

Gephardt has stood out in the House and had virtually no trouble winning the position of Democratic Caucus Chairman. His committee assignments in the past included the House Committee on Ways and Means, the Budget Committee, and the Select Committee on Population. Gephardt made maximum use of his House positions to further his name recognition. He was considered the clear front-runner in the race to get the bloc of congressional Democrat convention delegates and had the support of at least 80 House members by the time he left the race.

Major Issues

"When asked in the interview on which issues he drew 'a line in the sand' that he would not step across no matter what the circumstances, Mr. Gephardt spoke of capital gains taxes and foreign trade." (The New York Times, 6/15/89)

In the past, Gephardt's priority issues included trade, education, agriculture, and health care cost-containment. Special attention should be paid to his current versus past stances on abortion, health care, and the minimum wage. (See "Weaknesses" section.) Additionally, Gephardt's vote for the 1981 tax reform package became an issue. In Iowa, his rivals (particularly Simon) made it a negative. Likewise, Gephardt sounded defensive about his vote when he was there.

In New Hampshire, however, Gephardt boasted about his stance on taxes and directed criticism at Dukakis and Simon on the issue. As Simon's bid for the nomination continued to weaken, Gephardt's trade amendment and farm program got more attention. Gephardt used these policy proposals to spearhead his effort to develop a thematic vision for his campaign. His various position "flip flops" were targets for attacks by Dukakis and Gore. The "crossfire" of negative ads by these campaigns is considered the reason for Gephardt's poorer-than-expected showing in the "Super Tuesday" primaries.

Issue Stands

- o Opposed raising the Social Security retirement age to 67.
- o Opposed procurement authorization for 21 MX missiles.
- o Opposed reducing dairy price supports.
- o Opposed freezing physicians' fees under Medicare.
- o Opposed cutting education spending.
- o Opposed revising immigration laws.
- o Favored capping the tax cut.
- o Favored establishment of domestic content.

- o Favored limiting abortions.
- o Favored a nuclear freeze.
- o Favored barring covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua.
- o Favored aid to freedom fighters in Nicaragua.
- o Favored passing the Equal Rights Amendment.

Political Assessment

Gephardt is constantly labeled as one of the young "shining stars" in the Democratic Party. He has a reputation in the House as a hard worker -- someone who takes on boring jobs that require some amount of effort. He is, however, both a workhorse and a show horse. His name was connected with almost every in-the-news legislative issue.

The first Democrat to declare his bid for the nomination, Gephardt channeled all of his considerable energy and determination into winning his party's nomination. He became adept at one-on-one "politicking" during his days as a St. Louis alderman when he did things like personally collect his constituents' garbage as a creative answer to their complaints.

Gephardt has a carefully cultivated appeal to teachers, feminists, left-wing farmers, union members and even motion picture artists. Organization and tenacity are his strengths, and Democrat analysts knew it would be hard to best Gephardt in drive, effort, or self-discipline. His speaking style, traditionally quiet and serious, became filled with fiery Populist rhetoric. By using such rhetoric, Gephardt turned Governor Michael Dukakis' lead in South Dakota around and ended up winning the primary.

He noticeably lightened up on his trade/Populism theme in the Super Tuesday states and suffered for it (winning only his home state of Missouri). Gephardt effectively bypassed the Illinois primary and his showing was predictably poor. The final (but not official) vote revealed that he had won only two percent of the popular vote and no delegates. This dropped Gephardt to fifth place in delegate totals and left him in a "last stand" position in Michigan. He failed this test, losing out to Dukakis and Jackson, and exited the race for the nomination on March 28, 1988.

Political Strategy

Gephardt followed a Carteresque game plan. He made a big play for Iowa and it paid off. If he was hoping to emerge the clear victor, however, he was disappointed. Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), at last report, came as close as 3 percentage points to Gephardt. Gephardt's lead was, however, apparently large enough to bring him a second place finish in New Hampshire. His failure in the Super Tuesday races was a great blow to Gephardt's position. What was beginning to look like a race between Dukakis and Gephardt became, overnight, a battle between Dukakis and Senator Al Gore (D-TN) (and later, between Dukakis and Jackson).

In his battle to win the Democrat nomination, Gephardt adhered fairly closely to the "successful candidate" profile prepared by Patrick Caddell:

- o He was the "inside insurgent;" representing change, but still able to gain support within the party from leaders, etc.
- o He represented "broad mainstream values."
- o He had a "thematic expression," an ability to promote a national message.

His campaign manager, William Carrick, has stated that the basic Gephardt strategy was "to do a Carter." Gephardt was strongly emphasizing a populist theme in the first primary states, but slacked off slightly for the Super Tuesday primaries. Having pulled out a win in Iowa, a second place in New Hampshire, and a surprise win in South Dakota, Gephardt Super Tuesday showing was surprisingly poor.

Gephardt's strategists lightened up on his fiery populist rhetoric (specifically his trade position), diluting the very element which delivered his earlier victories. Gephardt put all his money on advocating an oil-import fee in the Super Tuesday states, a topic which did not convert many new voters. By the time Gephardt "turned up the volume" on his populist/trade rhetoric again, it was simply too late.

Gephardt is pure politician in his attention to the special interests and was vulnerable to accusations of currying favor. He accented his House reputation as a hard worker and all the legislation with his name on it. At the same time, Gephardt posed as an anti-establishment hero of the people. He ended up getting attacked by Dukakis for trying to appear as "Mr. Anti-establishment" and taking massive amounts of PAC money.

Gephardt's big problem was money. Despite his poor Super Tuesday showing, Gephardt was the only candidate besides Jackson with a refined thematic "vision" for the country. If he had gotten the needed financial backing and returned to emphasizing the "us against them" theme, Gephardt would have made a strong showing.

After sitting out the Illinois race, Gephardt put all his money on Michigan. His U.A.W. support, previously considered a formidable asset in Michigan, weakened when his chances of winning the nomination started to look slim. As always, big labor wanted (above all else) to be backing the man that eventually ends up in the White House. His third place finish in Michigan signaled the battle was over for Gephardt.

Political Analysis: Strengths

One of Gephardt's most finely honed talents is choosing limelight-grabbing issues. In particular, he has keyed in on education, tax reform, health care, farming, and trade. Consistently, if a piece of legislation attracts media attention, it has his name on it. There is Bradley-Gephardt on taxes, Kennedy-Gephardt on health care cost-containment and Harkin-Gephardt on farm legislation. He has even managed to get himself on television with various motion picture luminaries as a result of his well-timed stance opposing

movie colorization. He has a strong "family man" image. During the 1988 campaign he introduced his wife with the line, "This is the Dick and Jane Show." Perhaps most importantly, Gephardt showed that he has the ability to formulate a "vision" for America. This ability, combined with his connections in Congress and an improvement in fundraising, would prove him a formidable opponent in 1992.

Political Analysis: Weaknesses

Gephardt's protectionist/populist line was much tougher to sell in the more affluent sectors of the country. Sharper attacks from his rivals highlighted his rather notable tendency to change positions on important issues. His policy proposals were detailed enough to draw more fire. Another problem Gephardt encountered is one that Jackson had all along in his campaign. Specifically, other candidates (namely Gore and, to an extent, Dukakis) began to use "Gephardt" populist rhetoric.

While Gephardt attempted to run as an anti-establishment, "us against them" candidate, he still promoted the angle that he qualifies for running this country because of his record as an effective legislator. While his many pieces of legislation succeed in bolstering his name recognition, the vehicles Gephardt has chosen, in many ways, leave him wide open to criticism.

By electing Gephardt the House majority leader and Rep. William Gray (D-PA) as their party whip, The Washington Post wrote that, the "... Democrats have chosen two men who have come of political age in a House where power is more diffuse than in the past and where the exercise of leadership depends far more on building coalitions among the party's disparate elements than on commanding absolute loyalty. Both are viewed as pragmatic and non-ideological[.]"

(The Washington Post, 6/15/89)

Gephardt views himself as a "terminal centrist". "'I appreciate people who bring up far-reaching ideas, radical ideas, people that are willing to push the frontier,' the Congressman said. 'But I don't have a great deal of satisfaction with never being able to get things done. I see centrism, or finding a consensus, as the key to actually accomplishing something.'"

(The New York Times, 6/15/89)

Comparing Gephardt's Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) ratings to the American Conservative Union's (ACU) ratings it is evident that Gephardt is certainly not a centrist at all but a liberal of the highest order. In 1989, Gephardt received a 90% vote rating from ADA compared to a 4% rating from ACU.

Furthermore, the new House Democratic leadership has the reputation for listening to their colleagues and having voting records that are more liberal than the House as a whole. Looking at Gephardt's positions over the years, "... Gephardt ... has taken an increasingly liberal stance during his 12 years in the House. He voted against positions taken by President Reagan 76 percent of the time in the last year of Mr. Reagan's administration."

(The Washington Times, 6/15/89)

- o **On Trade:** His trade amendment was so blatantly protectionist that he was branded Rep. Richard "Smoot" Gephardt by prominent economic journalists (a reference to the Smoot-Hawley tariff that exacerbated the Great Depression). His amendment would have forced the President to "take whatever steps are necessary to reduce the trade surpluses" with Japan and others by "10 percent a year, including.... across the board imposition of quotas and tariffs." Gephardt defended his trade amendment in the Wall Street Journal (April 30, 1987) with the statement, "I just don't buy this idea that one action will throw financial markets. We can't go tiptoeing around worried about reaction in financial markets." As Warren Brookes pointed out (April 22, 1987), "If the administration's tiny tariff action affecting less than ... 0.3 of 1 percent of U.S.-Japan total trade could spook the stock market by 90 points, think what a full-fledged "Smoot" Gephardt-style trade war could do." Of course, this amendment had served to increase his popularity with the AFL-CIO. The severe 1987 stock market dislocation, put Gephardt notably on the defense concerning his protectionist trade policy.
- o **On Agriculture:** His proposed farm legislation would greatly expand government control of agriculture. Under Harkin-Gephardt, the government would limit the supply of farm products and raise prices by telling each farmer how many acres he can farm. According to the Food & Policy Research Institute (FAPRI) estimates, raising farm prices to 80 percent of "parity"-- defined under Harkin-Gephardt, as their relative purchasing power during 1910 to 1914--would mean that consumers would pay an additional estimated \$65.5 billion annually for food. Succinctly, the average family of four could pay an additional \$1000 per year for food. Of course, since lower income brackets spend a greater proportion of their income on food, they would be hardest hit by this proposed legislation.
- o **On Abortion:** One of his more well-known inconsistencies concerns abortion. Representing a socially conservative district, Gephardt sponsored a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. When he became a presidential candidate, he changed his position.
- o **On Taxes:** Gephardt's "crusade" to improve American education involves major tax increases. With these, he expects to balance the federal budget within five years and pay for the revamping of the educational system. Eventually, he wants to raise taxes from 18.5 percent of the GNP to 21 percent-22 percent--a \$90 billion increase from today's economy (New Republic, June 1, 1987, pg.22). Gephardt's program would make minor savings in domestic spending but vastly raise education expenses.
- o **On Defense:** Gephardt wanted cuts of \$40 billion over three years and advocated slowing down production on or completely phasing out the Stealth bomber, MX missile, SDI and possibly the Trident II missile.

- o **On Foreign Policy:** Gephardt voted to bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua in 1983 and to bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua in 1984. He stated, "The tragedy of the current situation in Central America is that we have lost our sense of values, we have ignored history and we have abandoned our traditions."

(The Washington Post, 3/12/87)

Themes and Rhetoric

Attacks on President Bush:

"'Instead of attacking the economic problems left to him by his predecessor, George Bush has chosen to avoid the future by hiding in a diversion created for today. The administration faces a changed America and a new world with an ossified policy cobbled together by a Republican Party desperate to hold together its fractured factions.'"

And:

"'The key to the current Republican strategy has been to perpetuate a precarious status quo. Any great changes, even those that might inure to America's benefit, are avoided at all costs. Change is to be put off. The status quo is to be preserved. George Bush appears to be determined to go down in history as the hesitation president. At least his first year in office could be titled, 'The Year of Living Timidly.'"

("National Press Club Luncheon", 10/19/89)

Attacks on Republicans:

"'Some on the other side are committed to the dark side of politics ... the politics of character assassination,' Mr. Gephardt said in an upbeat speech to his colleagues [accepting the majority leader's position]. 'But let us say, here and now, the dark side will never be our side, and that we will win at the ballot box not by the force of our slurs but by the force of our ideas.'"

(The Washington Times, 6/15/89)

And:

"The Republicans cling to an economic philosophy that is intellectually flimsy and economically faulty. The Republican economic construct tells Americans that the only way they can better their situation is at someone else's expense, something that would have been unthinkable in the days of an expanding pie. But in a stagnant, inflation-wracked economy, people believe it on a deep instinctual level."

("National Press Club Luncheon", 10/19/89)

1992 Presidential Bid:

"... I can't run for president and be a majority leader. I can't do two things at the same time that are inconsistent."

(The Washington Times, 6/15/89)

And:

"Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) was asked yesterday whether his election as House majority leader meant he was abandoning his presidential ambitions, or simply putting them on ice. 'The American people, especially voters on 'Super Tuesday,' laid aside my presidential ambitions,' Gephardt said with a smile."

(The Washington Post, 6/15/89)

Capitol Gains Tax Cut:

"... the Bush [capital gains tax cut] proposal doesn't 'put money in the little guy's pocket, it picks his pocket.'"

(The Washington Post, 9/23/89)

And:

"This [capital gains tax cut] was George Bush's idea to help out his wealthy friends."

(The New York Times, 9/15/89)

On His Own Flip-Flops:

"'I think what I believe has not changed on any issue,' he said this week. 'What happens is that as time goes on and issues, facts and circumstances change, you come to a different way of dealing with a particular problem.'"

(The New York Times, 6/15/89)

The Bork Nomination:

"The urgent call of our duty is clear: We shall fight the Bork nomination in the Judiciary Committee, we shall fight his nomination in the Senate, and we shall fight his nomination all across this country and we shall never give up and never give in."

"They say that the values and beliefs of a Supreme Court nominee should have no place in the national discussion of his nomination. Well, that view is dead wrong."

("Speech to the NAACP," 7/6/87)

Leadership:

"Important to leadership is having ideas, being able to articulate those ideas and move those ideas into reality. I have done that with tax reform, I have done that with trade, I have done that with health care. I think my record of being able to translate ideas into reality is better than anybody who is going to be in this race."

(Los Angeles Times, 2/23/87)

Challenges to the Reagan Administration:

"Instead of asking something of us, they have given us a call to selfishness. They have not summoned us to think about the future, but only to think about ourselves ... Now America must ask: What will it take for us to be good? How can we do better? How can we be the best?"

(The New York Times, 2/24/87)

The Election:

"We will do it by being the first to work each day and the last to quit each night. We will do it because we know that what matters is not who runs in front, but who finishes in front."

(The New York Times, 2/24/87)

Trade:

"We can't afford more trade negotiations in which American workers and American farmers are always the loser ... the next president must be as tough in negotiating the terms of trade as this president has been in negotiating with the Russians."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

Trade Policy:

"I know this notion will not be popular with everyone, but people sitting in cushy offices, in secure jobs, have no right to tell workers on assembly lines that their homes and livelihood have to be sacrificed on the altar of a false and rigid free-trade ideology."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

Iowa:

"A day without Iowa to me is like a day without sunshine."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

Vision of the U.S.:

"We are determined to make America first again. First in economic leadership, first in national strength, first in its commitment to the vindication of human rights -- and the survival of the human race."

(Los Angeles Times, 2/23/87)

The Domestic Front:

"At home, our wages are falling; the middle class is shrinking; the number of people in poverty is increasing."

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

Agriculture:

"I say to farmers, the problems you're having are not the fault of the people and farmers of Iowa, the problems are the fault of the government."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

Foreign Policy: General

"In foreign policy, we are adrift, and things seem increasingly out of control. Our leaders say one thing and do another. They talk tough and make bad deals for Americans behind closed doors. In foreign policy, we have no policy[.]"

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

Foreign Policy: Contras

"... and if Congress outlaws military aid to the contras, the duty of the executive branch is to carry out the law, not to figure out how to bend and break it covertly."

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

Role of Government:

"Whether the issue is preserving the environment or protecting consumers, we need a government that is once again on the people's side."

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

Military Spending:

"In pursuit of arms, the [Reagan administration] has busted the budget of the United States. They have broken the back of American agriculture and many a basic industry ... Is there an ounce more security in a nation of rusting plants that once produced tons of rubber and steel? Is there security in a nation whose green fields are turning to dust?"

(The Washington Post, 2/25/87)

Energy:

"If we are to continue to have a viable manufacturing base, then we simply can't afford to rely on foreign energy sources. We must have a viable domestic energy industry to serve the needs of the nation."

(The Washington Post, 2/25/87)

Education:

"We must set a national goal that no qualified student at any level will be denied the chance to learn because of money. We must form a new national partnership -- public and private -- to assure that the skills of our people keep pace with the demands of the marketplace."

(Los Angeles Times, 2/23/87)

Voting Ratings on Issues

Group Ratings:

	1979	1984	1986	1987	1988	1989
-- American Conservative Union	21%	30%	0	0	10%	4%
-- Americans for Democratic Action	74%	75%	70%	20%	75%	90%
-- National Taxpayers Union	41%	20%	26%	34%	--	NA@
-- National Security Index	--	10%	22%	0	--	NA
-- AFL-CIO	85%	92%	100%	100%*	92%	NA
-- Chamber of Commerce	--	38%	18%	0	20%	30%

* Percentage For When Voting

@ Not Available

National Journal Ratings (1985):

-- Economic: Liberal, 75%; Conservative, 22%
 -- Social: Liberal, 56%; Conservative, 43%
 -- Foreign: Liberal, 62%; Conservative, 37%

(1986):

-- Economic: Liberal, 87%; Conservative, 0%
 -- Social: Liberal, 89%; Conservative, 0%
 -- Foreign: Liberal, 74%; Conservative, 25%

Poll Position

Gephardt won the Iowa caucuses by a slim margin of three percent. He won an important victory over Simon for second place in New Hampshire -- again by 3%. While he undeniably fared poorly in Minnesota, Gephardt pulled out an important win over Dukakis in South Dakota. A Time magazine poll (2/17-21) of 212 likely Democrat voters in the Super Tuesday states proved prophetic when it showed Gephardt trailing Jackson, Gore, and Dukakis -- winning 11% of the support. March 8, 1988 was not a good day for Gephardt. The AP wire reported that Gephardt picked up only 93 delegates in the Super Tuesday primaries. With a dismal showing in Illinois, Gephardt was at the bottom of the Democrat pack in delegate counts. His third place showing in Michigan sounded the death knell for Gephardt's presidential campaign. Gephardt received a total of 1,390,305 primary votes (7.3 percent). Gephardt released his delegates before the convention.

Delegate Count and Percentages: Per Associated Press -- 4/6/88

Candidate	Delegate Count	% Dels. Won	% More Needed
Dukakis	735.55	35.3%	82.1%
Jackson	706.55	33.9%	83.9%
Gore	394.8	18.9%	102.9%
Simon	170.5	8.2%	116.6%
Gephardt	154.0	7.4%	92%
Uncommitted	516.6	--	--

Finances

Gephardt was in financial trouble in his bid for the Democrat presidential nomination. He did not have the resources to fight the negative advertising of Dukakis and Gore in the Super Tuesday battles. His most recent FEC filing (covering the period from January 1, 1988 to January 31, 1988), showed cash-on-hand at the close of the reporting period hitting a low of \$172,477.10. His total receipts for this period amounted to \$2,129,462.08, while his total disbursements were \$2,911,303.21. Gephardt borrowed against his matching funds. His win in Iowa and second place in New Hampshire did not translate into the traditional boon for Gephardt's fundraising.

An article in The New York Times reported that Gephardt's "Presidential campaign and political action committee received unusual, unsettling loans totaling \$200,000 in 1986 and 1987 by banks whose top officers now hold key positions on [his] campaign." (The New York Times, 2/13/88) According to the article, bank officials from many other banks along with attorneys who specialize in campaign finance believe that "the loans might have violated Federal election laws because it was unlikely they would have been made had it not been for the ties to the campaign of the two bank officers." (The New York Times, 2/13/88) The two top Gephardt campaign officials are Terence R. McAuliffe [National Finance Chairman for Gephardt] and S. Lee Kling [Gephardt campaign Treasurer].

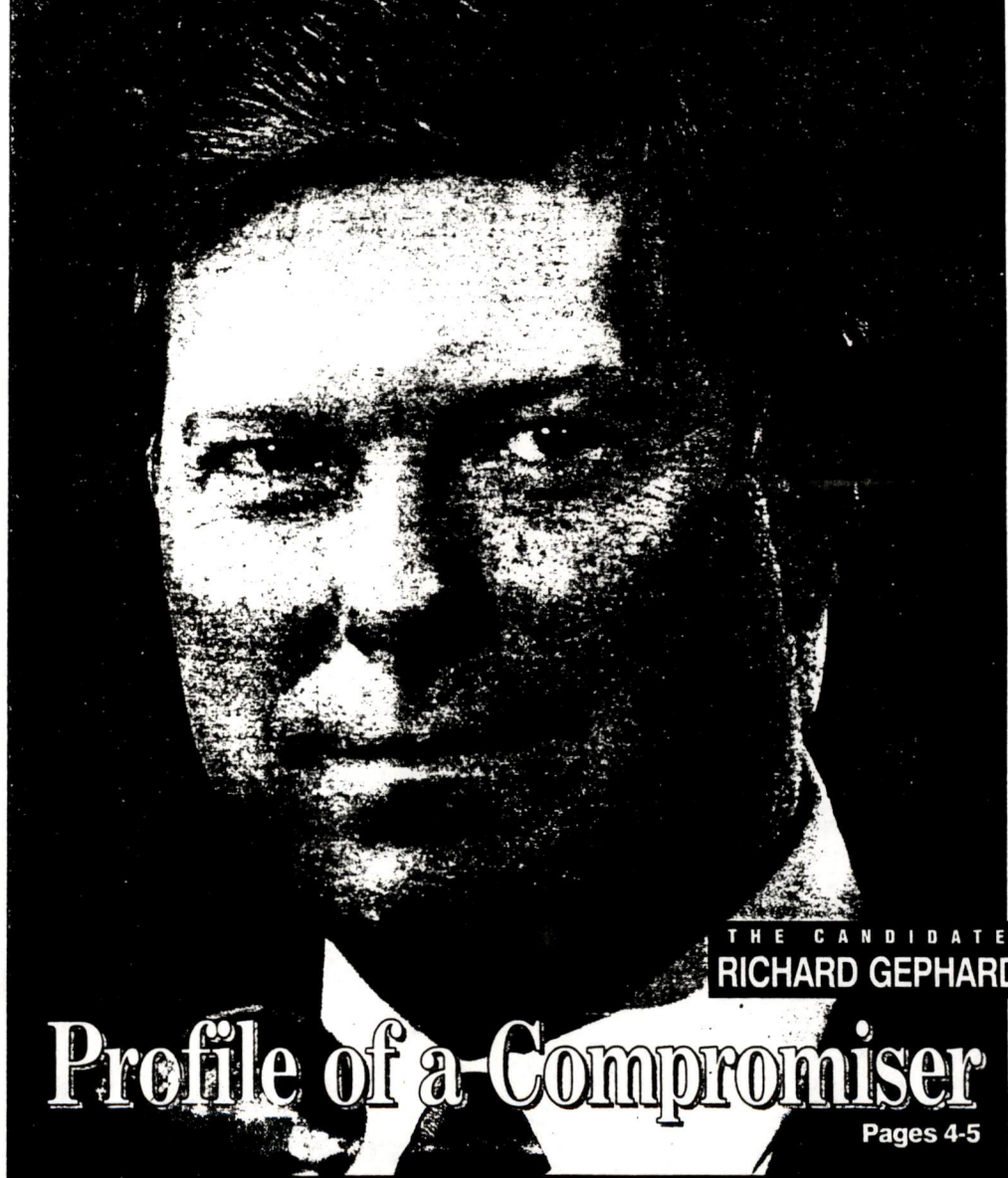
Former Staff and Advisers

Names	Campaign Role	Former Emp./Title
William Carrick	Campaign Manager	Aide to Sen. Kennedy
William A. Romjue	Political Director	House Dem. Caucus Dir. and Carter Campaign.
Richard Moe	Senior Adviser	Mondale Chief of Staff
Joanne Symons	Senior Adviser	
Donna Brazile	National Field Director	Hands Across America and former Field director to Jackson campaign, later to Dukakis campaign.
S. Lee Kling	Treasurer	
Terence McAuliffe	Finance Chairman	Practicing Atty. at McAuliffe, Kelly and Furlong. (202-783-1800)
Eoyd Lewis	Finance Director	Finance Director to Senate candidates Bob Graham and Bob Edgar.
Barry Piatt	Campaign Aide	
Steven G. Murphy	Director of Democratic Caucus	Chief of Staff for Rep. William Gray, III (D-PA)

Former Staff and Advisers ctd.

Names	Campaign Role	Former Emp./Title
Dr. Andrea King	Congressional Staff Director	Gephardt Legislative Assistant: Education and Human Services
Ed Riley	Pollster	Pollster
Ethel Klein	Consultant	
Bill Fleming	State Director (Iowa)	
Mark Longabaugh	State Campaign Manager (New Hampshire)	

PART II



THE CANDIDATES
RICHARD GEPHARDT

Profile of a Compromiser

Pages 4-5

Music: The Secret to the Baltimore Symphony's Financial Success. Page 7

Books: Dan Cryer Reviews 'Memoirs of a Woman Traveling Alone.' Page 8

Part III / Business: Gas Leak Is Another in Long Line of Northville Crises.

RICHARD GEPHARDT

By Myron S. Waldman
Newsday Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

IN JANUARY, 1977, only a couple of weeks after taking the oath of office as a congressman for the very first time, Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) became the co-sponsor of a constitutional amendment that would ban abortion.

"Life . . . begins with conception," the new House member said then. "Life is a fact — a person either has it or not."

A little later in his career, in the early 1980s, when he had grown in stature in the House, Gephardt was the chief sponsor of another constitutional amendment — this one to ban busing for the purposes of integration.

And when he first came to the House, he also favored tuition tax credits for parents who send their children to parochial schools — a position many liberals fear would cripple the public school system.

Today, Dick Gephardt, now a major contender for the Democratic nomination for president of the United States, believes in none of the above. He has reversed himself on a range of social issues, as he has on issues of defense and nuclear safety. His detractors say he is a flipflop, a political opportunist, a Zelig among politicians; his supporters say that his changes represent the progression of a legislator moving into leadership in the national arena, a lawmaker who has risen above some of the more parochial passions of his congressional district.

Whatever the reasons, there is at least some agreement that he would not be able to compete successfully without such a reversal of his social views. "I remember thinking at the time when he was first talking of running, no way can this guy survive with his views on those three issues," commented a Democratic congressman who asked that his name not be used.

Gephardt himself says that his goals have remained constant, and all that has changed is the means he backs to achieve them. He once voted against letting states delay the licensing of nuclear power plants — but later changed his mind on the issue. He once voted to continue production of the MX missile, the B-1 bomber and nerve gas but later became a leading opponent of the MX and contra aid, as well as being in the forefront of a drive to freeze testing of nuclear missiles.

"What I've tried to do," he said last week, "is look at the issues in light of new facts and concerns and decide how to reach a goal or principle."

Gephardt is fond of citing Franklin Roosevelt when questioned on the stump about the consistency issue. "You never had to worry that he had goals and principles and beliefs," he says. "But he often experimented and then, when he found something didn't work, he changed and went on to something else. That's what you have to do."

On the stump, the House's supreme insider becomes the populist outsider



R. Maiman / Sygma

Alluding to the old schoolbook, Gephardt tells 'Dick and Jane' stories about himself and his wife.

Gephardt was almost always a leader, a leader by listening, by virtue of patience, by appearing to sit on his own ego and let others take the credit, by a remarkable ability to effect compromises in the frequently rancorous disputes that engage those in public life. Before he entered the adult world of politics, he was president of his fraternity, Beta Theta Pi, president of his freshman class and later of the student senate at Northwestern University.

Once in Congress, he began a march toward leadership that in a decade resulted in his being elected the No. 4 Democrat in the House — chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, which makes policy decisions on legislation coming to the floor.

He won this position not only because of his brains and his powers of persuasion and compromise, but also because he was able to work as the supreme insider within many groups that form in the House. Yet

now, as he stumps the country, he speaks as the populist outsider. "Enough is enough," he declares as he denounces corporate greed, Korean trade practices and the writings of newspaper editorial boards. And then he says: "It's your fight, too."

In the last days of the Iowa caucus campaign, media adviser Robert Shrum drafted the fierce "us against them" speech that transformed Gephardt from someone who talked in "policy speak" into something of an orator.

The pitch, in which Gephardt strikes a patriotic note with his advocacy of a get-tough trade policy, has won support from poorer blue-collar Democrats, many of whom voted for Ronald Reagan in 1984 and 1980. With it, he has all but ended the presidential hopes of his midwest rival, Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.), and is now threatening the chances of a southern opponent, Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.), as well.

Gephardt seems in public to be a pleasant but solemn man, although House insiders say he is a wonderful mimic who can make his colleagues collapse in laughter with private parodies of the House-floor arguments of conservative Republicans.

Today, he is the pride of the Democrats in the House. His win in Iowa made him the first of their number in the 20th Century ever to win a presidential caucus or a primary. More than 80 House members have endorsed him and many of them are working for his nomination as the party's presidential candidate.

They actually go out and speak for him in weather that is 15 below zero. "I am very dedicated to Dick," said Rep. Douglas Bosco (D-Calif.), one of the House members who speaks on the stump for Gephardt as well as being an influential fund raiser for the campaign. "He is not a lot of flim-flam. He is just a pure leader."

Not only do members of Congress campaign for Gephardt but, in at least many of their districts, their staffs are at his disposal, sometimes accompanying him and guiding him as he enters their areas.

"Like most people in Washington who work with him, I like him," said Ann Lewis, a liberal who occasionally advises Jesse Jackson and is a former political director of the Democratic National Committee. "He finds the center of gravity on an issue and works from there."

"He looks for ways to bring people together," said Alvin From, the executive director of the moderate-to-conservative Democratic Leadership Council which Gephardt helped to found in 1985.

Gephardt was 35 years old when he was first elected to the House, an earnest, open-faced man with pale skin and ginger hair that no wind ever seems to stir out of place. It has been said that for several years he has been carrying with him a little kit of eyebrow darkener and rouge for his television appearances.

He speaks in the even, slow, slightly nasal tones of the Midwest. He wears almost identical blue suits, and his public demeanor is a perfect fit for the conser-



Meeting the voters at a senior citizens' center: Gephardt favors protectionist trade legislation and a freeze on testing nuclear missiles, and is against aid to the Nicaraguan contras.

state man. It was Wright who eventually won. But Bolling didn't forget his young backer. And over at the Democratic National Committee, Chairman

AP Photo

vative, white South St. Louis district he represents, a district populated largely by families of German descent who were called "scrub Dutch," so named because at one time they scrubbed their walks with naphtha.

He is a former Eagle Scout with three children and a wife named Jane, an establishment fit so remarkable that Gephardt himself occasionally jokes

Part of an occasional series on the presidential candidates

about it. Taking his cue from the old elementary school readers, the congressman will occasionally tell "Dick and Jane" stories.

He was born in South St. Louis on Jan. 31, 1941, second of two sons of Louis and Lorean Gephardt. His father, who died in 1984, sold insurance, then worked as a milkman and later sold real estate. His mother, who is now 80 and an active campaigner, worked as a legal secretary. Neither parent had a high school diploma. His brother, Don Gephardt of Wantagh, L. I., is a musician and also dean of instruction at Nassau Community College.

After Northwestern, Gephardt went to the University of Michigan Law School. In 1966, at the age of 25, he married Jane Byrnes, whom he had met at Northwestern. He is a Baptist, she a Catholic.

They have three children, Matthew, Christine and Katherine, and he has said they are being raised as

Catholics. In 1972, when Matthew was 19 months old, he developed a cancerous tumor in his abdomen. Gephardt speaks with more passion of that time than of anything else.

"My world stood still," he once recalled. "I became very angry — at people, at God, at anybody I could strike out against." The baby, with constant care by doctors and parents, made an almost miraculous recovery. But for years, more care and several operations were needed, to correct the complications that had resulted.

Gephardt had been a St. Louis alderman before the election that brought him to Washington. On the Board of Aldermen, he was said to be one of a number of "Young Turks," city officials pushing for reform. But he also had excellent relations with the older, establishment politicians. On the board, his nickname was "Dickie-Do-Right."

When he first came to Washington, he and the other Democratic newcomers quickly found themselves involved in another election, for Democratic majority leader of the House. The competitors were three veteran representatives — Jim Wright of Texas, Philip Burton of California and Dick Bolling of Missouri.

Gephardt was from St. Louis and Bolling was from Kansas City, but they had never met before. Nevertheless, Gephardt cast his lot with Bolling, the home-

Bob Strauss also was prompted to help by a mutual acquaintance, big Democratic fundraiser Lee Kling, who happened to be from St. Louis. Today, Kling directs fundraising for the Gephardt presidential campaign.

Between Bolling and Strauss, Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill was convinced to give the first-term from St. Louis a seat on the most powerful panel of the House, the Ways and Means Committee.

Ways and Means is the committee in which taxes get raised, lowered, invented and eliminated. Naturally, its members are very popular. All sorts of corporations and groups love to contribute to their election campaigns; Gephardt has far outstripped his Democratic rivals in contributions from political action committees. Although organized-labor PACs have been the heaviest contributors, banks, real estate interests and medical groups have also been represented.

Another good thing happened to Gephardt almost immediately. He was befriended by Rep. Gillis Long (D-La.), a member of the Long clan and chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. "Bolling was like Gephardt's uncle," said one congressional source who asked to remain anonymous. "But Gillis and Gephardt had a father-son relationship."

Now not only did Gephardt have a wonderful committee assignment and powerful friends in high Democratic places; he was also polishing a knack for being at the forefront of almost all legislative initiatives in which he chose to be involved. Early in his career, while he befriended liberal colleagues, he continued his conservative ways.

"An Atari Democrat," said one House aide who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Remember that phrase? Atari Democrats meant that family farms had to go, the old manufacturing jobs had to go, you've got to catch the next wave."

"I listen to Gephardt these days and I hear things are wrong with the economy because foreigners took unfair advantage of us. Hit back and everything will be cool."

In 1977, before Gephardt made his transformation, he voted against the creation of a consumer-protection agency, saying that such a new entity would cost the taxpayers too much. He became a leading advocate of unsuccessful "sunset legislation" — a device to periodically examine and end government programs that might be inefficient or wasteful. He voted against letting the federal government give legal aid to homosexuals.

It was in 1979 that he made his first move that brought him to national attention. That year, he chal-

—Continued on Page 10

The Representative From Missouri

Born Jan. 31, 1941 in St. Louis, Mo.

Married to the former Jane Ann Byrnes; children Matthew, Christine and Katherine.

Bachelor of science degree from Northwestern University, 1962. Law degree from the University of Michigan, 1965.

Military service: Air National Guard 1965-1971

Career: Practiced law, 1965-77. St. Louis alderman, 1971-77; member of Congress, 1977 to present.

Religion: Baptist

Greatest achievement: Helping bring about the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

How he relaxes on the campaign trail: Jogging in the early morning, a couple of Budweisers at night.

Favorite food: Cheeseburgers

Favorite type of music: "I'm eclectic. I like all of it — classical, jazz, pop . . . opera."

Last book read: "Secrets of the Temple: How the Federal Reserve Runs the Country," by William Greider

Last movie seen: "Platoon"

Current Republican he most admires: conservative author Kevin Phillips. "He understands the problems of working people," although his conclusions, Gephardt says, are wrong. / H

Jack
regards

Richard Gephardt: A Compromiser

—Continued from Page 5

challenged the president of the United States, Jimmy Carter.

Carter asked Congress to pass legislation to control the costs of hospital care by putting a cap on hospital revenues, a measure strongly opposed by the industry. Gephardt was reported to have decided the proposal just wouldn't do what it aimed to do. He allied himself with another junior member, Rep. David Stockman (R-Ill.), who would later become Reagan's budget director. Together, they introduced an amendment on the House floor calling for more competition among hospitals and insurers and also providing for a new study of hospital costs. The amendment passed, 234-166, and Jimmy Carter's hospital-cost-containment bill was dead.

Apparently, the president bore no grudges. The next week, he called Gephardt and asked him to be his Missouri state chairman for his re-election campaign, just as he had been for Carter's 1976 campaign. Gephardt agreed.

IN 1984, GEPHARDT reversed himself on the subject of hospital-cost control. With Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), he sponsored a Medicare rescue plan that among other things would set limits on hospital and physician charges and fees.

"His hallmark has always been to oppose someone one day and be his friend the next," said a House aide who did not want to be quoted by name. "No matter how fervent the fight, he still is able to retain his friendships. Lots of people divide the House into friends and foes. Gephardt doesn't have any foes."

His supporters include several black officials, among them Rep. Alan Wheat (D-Mo.), and he seems to be well regarded by members of the Congressional Black Caucus, although many of them are backing Jackson.

Yet in 1980, when running for re-election, Gephardt attended a picnic of the Metro-South Citizens Council of St. Louis, an organization that opposes busing and describes its agenda as "white rights."

"They had invited him," said a source familiar with the situation. "He was going to church picnics at the same time. He didn't attach any significance to it."

Bill Carrick, who is Gephardt's campaign manager in the presidential effort, tells a slightly different story. "Dick was in the park and had stopped at probably twenty different picnics," Carrick said. "He inadvertently walked into it. He shook hands and left."

Charles Bussey, a black St. Louis lawyer who was the Missouri chairman of Jackson's presidential campaign in 1984 but who is now supporting Gephardt, told a similar story. "He left after he found out what the situation was," Bussey said.

He also said he did not have any problem with Gephardt's one-time endorsement of a constitutional amendment to prevent school busing for integration purposes. "Here in St. Louis, a number of black people don't favor busing either," Bussey said.

He said he knew Gephardt from his aldermanic days when he successfully fought to stop the redlining of poor neighborhoods by lending institutions and for his being on the right side of public-accommodations laws.

Bussey said he switched his support "not that I think any less of Jesse Jackson" but that Gephardt is "capable of getting elected and is [also] sensitive to the causes I care about."

Gephardt espouses many important causes. With Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), he introduced the Bradley-Gephardt tax-reform bill that eventually was adapted first by President Ronald Reagan and then by Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) to become the tax-revision law of 1986.

His latest and best-known effort is his proposed trade legislation, which would authorize the president to take reprisals against any country carrying on unfair trade practices against the United States. Although the measure sounds a bellicose note — and has been attacked by Gephardt's rivals as protectionist — it would not actually require the president to get tough with a trading partner. If he chose not to, it would take a two-thirds vote of Congress to force him to act.

And Gephardt is not only an active player in creating legislation; he has long been a collaborator with groups of Democratic congressmen that span the ideological spectrum.

As the protege of the conservative Gillis Long, he gave the then-chairman of the Democratic Caucus access to groups of congressmen that would have been otherwise unreachable.

Long was ailing. He suffered a heart attack and then underwent bypass surgery in 1981. Alvin From, who had gone from Carter's White House to the Democratic Caucus as Long's top aide, began to work with Gephardt and others to draft economic answers to the hard-charging administration of Ronald Reagan.

Starting in 1981, every Tuesday, about 30 House members calling themselves the Committee on Party Effectiveness would lunch in a windowless room in the House' Longworth Building. Gephardt, among the leaders in thinking up innovative plans to unite the Democrats, was said to have been particularly solicitous that Long, in fragile health, would get the major share of credit for drafting the Democratic blueprint for economic progress.

In 1985, Gephardt succeeded Long as caucus chairman.

Beginning at the 1984 Democratic National Convention, Gephardt was one of a group of conservative and moderate Democrats, including then-Virginia Gov. Charles Robb, who met to create the Democratic Leadership Conference, an organization talking about strong defense and less government. Gephardt was named as the first chairman.

At the same time, Gephardt was meeting with the House liberals. Rep. Tony Coelho (D-Calif.) was hosting meetings in the basement of his home to discuss the direction of Democratic leadership. House Speaker O'Neill found out and was not very happy.

"The meetings were definitely seditious," said Chris Matthews, who was O'Neill's spokesman at the time. "When you're having leadership meetings without telling the leadership, that is seditious."

Gephardt was among a small committee of the group that went to O'Neill and said that all that was desired was that the younger Democrats be brought into the action. O'Neill promptly agreed. "Gephardt never got blamed," Matthews said.

But one of the other basement visitors, Rep. Leon Panetta (D-Calif.), was cut off when he tried to win the House Budget Committee chairmanship. "There was some concern about too many of the young breed getting into leadership positions," grinned Panetta. He is an active supporter of Gephardt's drive for the presidency as is Coelho, who is now House whip.

"Gephardt is smart enough to be on both sides," Matthews said. "He's ambidextrous, politically."

When he started to run, he picked two of Ted Kennedy's top advisers to help him — Carrick as his campaign manager and Shrum as his media adviser and speech writer.

Carrick was asked about Gephardt's switches on social issues. He said that Gephardt changed his mind about sponsoring an anti-busing constitutional amendment long before he started to run for president, basically because the problems in St. Louis were eased by introducing a system of magnet schools. As for abortion, Carrick said that Gephardt still votes against federal funding of abortions but that as president he wouldn't veto a funding bill.

IN THE HOUSE, he may have marched from right to center in his political views, but his style has been consistent.

He was always a hard worker, sometimes getting up at 5:30 in the morning to jog and then cruising through a day of meetings on the hill or a round of speeches on the stump. Once, he packed his suit when he took his son Matt on an overnight Boy Scout hike. In the middle of the night, he left his son in the care of other adults, changed into his suit and drove off to Baltimore-Washington Airport so he could fly to Florida and attend a conference on health care there.

Rep. Mike Synar (D-Okla.) claimed that one key to Gephardt's success is not only hard work but also his ability to listen. "A novocaine butt," was the way Synar put it. "And antifreeze in his eyes," said a House aide. "During the dullest hearings, he just never dozes off."

"He is not an ideological person," said liberal Democratic consultant Ann Lewis. "He is not driven by a set of ideological beliefs. It's not that he lacks beliefs but he is a problem solver, a pragmatist. He wants to get something done." //

TRB[®]

FROM WASHINGTON

SEE DICK RUN

If ever a man was born to wear a suit, it's shiny Representative Richard A. Gephardt. But these days, whenever possible, Gephardt affects a down parka and Caterpillar Tractor-style cap, in keeping with his new role as tribune of the people. To me he looks like a well-scrubbed little boy playing "farmer in the dell." Yet, combined with a lot of railing against "the establishment" and "the status quo," it seems to be working. Gephardt is leading slightly in the polls for the Iowa Democratic caucuses.

Many have commented on Gephardt's remarkable transformation. After the 1984 election disaster, he was a founder of the Democratic Leadership Council (or "Democrats for the Leisure Class," as Jesse Jackson styles it), a group dedicated explicitly to moving the party to the right. He was widely thought of as a "neoliberal." Just last August he told David Broder of the *Washington Post*, "If you need a label for me, moderate is as good as any." In recent years he's flip-flopped on abortion, busing, the minimum wage, and the Equal Rights Amendment, among other issues.

Everything about Gephardt's plodding political career and his bland personality suggest that his newfound populist passion is phony. But even if the passion is sincere, the populism is a fraud. Gephardt has perfected the Cuomo bait-and-switch, named after its formerly most skilled practitioner. It consists of marketing reactionary liberalism as "progressive" and clothing appeals to selfishness in the language of compassion. The trick is to promote a sense of grievance, which Gephardt does by telling farmers that their crisis is getting worse (despite figures to the contrary) and old folks that people in Washington are plotting to take

away their Social Security.

Gephardt talks like this: "We have to have a president in this country who says to the American people that selfishness and greed, get mine now, [are] not the highest values. . . . We gotta care about one another again. We gotta send a message of compassion." This is exactly how Democrats should be talking. But Gephardt never tells his audiences that they should be more compassionate, or contribute more to help others, or reject their own status quo. His actual platform is one long "get mine now."

Gephardt's farm program would create a government-supervised national food cartel, controlling production, giving a monopoly to current producers, and guaranteeing them higher prices. The typical farmer—even the typical "small family farmer"—has assets worth several hundred thousand dollars, which the typical food consumer does not, so this idea clearly is not "progressive" in the financial sense. Nor is it "progressive" in the temporal sense to try to halt the migration from farming that has been going on for more than a century.

Gephardt claims his plan would "save" the government \$12 billion a year in farm price support costs, which he would use—depending on the audience—either for deficit reduction or to fund education programs. What it actually is, though, is a hidden food tax. "Progressive"?

Gephardt is best known for his call to "get tough" about foreign trade barriers. He concedes, when pressed, that these barriers have caused only a small fraction of our trade problems. But he fearlessly exploits their demagogic potential. He insists that his call for new trade barriers of our own is not "protectionist" because his ultimate goal is a world of completely free trade.

Be that as it may, the appeal of trade barriers as a campaign issue is not that they will lead to free trade and higher exports in some rosy future. It's that they will halt competition from imports now. When Gephardt visits specific factories and promises to save specific jobs, he is not promoting a vision of free trade—which would destroy far more current jobs than the semi-free trade we have today (though it also would create even more new ones). He's promoting a vision of economic stasis, which is "progressive" in neither sense.

Campaigning in Texas and Louisiana, Gephardt supports an oil import fee to guarantee a minimum price of \$24 a barrel.

continued on page 41

Moving Beyond Confrontation.

Drawing on his experience in the MIT-Harvard Public Disputes Program, a leading mediator and his co-author provide the first jargon-free guide to consensual strategies for resolving public disputes—indispensable to citizen activists, business and government leaders.

"An important contribution...better ways for the public and government to work together."
—DAVID MATTHEWS, President
Kettering Foundation

"The book vibrates and communicates, giving readers a whoping benefit-to-cost ratio."
—HOWARD RAIFFA,
Harvard Business School

Breaking the Impasse

Consensual Approaches to Resolving Public Disputes
Lawrence Susskind and Jeffrey Cruikshank

\$19.95 at bookstores, or direct from the publisher.
Toll-free (800) 638-3030. Major credit cards accepted.

BASIC BOOKS, INC. **BASIC BOOKS** 10 East 53rd Street, New York 10022

rows are, as Ionesco puts it, "earth-form sorrows"; but he also believed that human beings can and should rise above them.

VICTOR BROMBERT

Victor Brombert's latest book, *The Hidden Reader*, will be published this spring by Harvard University Press.

TRB, from page 4

rel. Since oil is oil, domestic producers also would be able to charge \$24. With a current price of \$18 and consumption running about six billion barrels a year, this would cost consumers about \$36 billion a year. But since three-fifths of the oil we consume is domestic, not imported, only \$14 billion or so would come to the government. More than \$21 billion would be pocketed by domestic oil producers. Is a tax on consumers to benefit mainly oil barons "progressive"?

In 1985 Gephardt supported a failed effort to freeze Social Security benefits as part of a budget plan. Today he claims the "political establishment" is "just waiting for the election to be over so they can go back to trying to cut Social Security." This is hilarious, since there can't be a more establishment issue in the entire political firmament than the sanctity of every penny of Social Security. Only a few renegades like Bruce Babbitt have dared to point out that Social Security recipients get back far more than they put in, and to suggest that perhaps the better-off among them could do with a bit less. Social Security is financed by a starkly regressive and increasingly burdensome tax on working people. What is "progressive" about opposing any tiny change in the system?

Gephardt likes to tell journalists an adorable story about his nine-year-old daughter running for treasurer of her elementary school class and wishing to use the traditional campaign strategy of throwing candy to the crowd. Dad said, "Kate, you can't do that. That's buying the election. You really have to tell them what's in your heart." So she did, and lost. Next time, he agreed that she could approach each voter individually and ask for support. "Then, if you think you have their vote, take a piece of candy and put it in their hand." The Gephardt system.

The moral lesson here appears to be

that there's a principled difference between pandering wholesale and pandering retail. Gephardt goes from one group to another, convinces each group that there's a plot to deprive them unjustly of candy, then promises to seize the candy from the malefactors and deliver it to those for whom it is no more than their just due. If they vote for him. And they'd better take him up on it quick, because I suspect that Gephardt-the-Populist is a special limited-time offer that may be withdrawn by the manufacturer as market research dictates.

CORRESPONDENCE, from page 6

ment is incapable of understanding what has happened to it. Recall Detroit's claim that our American gas guzzlers were driven from the market by unwarranted government regulation and that the Naderites would never be satisfied until we were all walking. Rossin did advocate that the DOE concentrate research funding on the LWR and on the Breeder Reactor program, views that played a major role in making his tenure as assistant secretary for nuclear energy remarkably short (nine months).

Mr. Negin's comments regarding nuclear waste suffer from a narrow focus. The nuclear fuel cycle that came into existence with the current LWR technology extracted small quantities of uranium from large quantities of ore, and reprocessed and concentrated the radioactive wastes for burial in inexpensive depositories (salt mines, deep ocean). Today there are new fuel cycles that are capable of extracting uranium from its ore far more efficiently, which skips the expensive reprocessing step that concentrates the wastes and makes them harder to handle, and that include waste burial in solid rock or volcanic tuff. This strategy is expensive but is warranted by the result, and European countries have already adopted it.

CAPITALISM'S PARADOX

To the editors:

In his review of Walter Russell Mead's book *Mortal Splendor: The American Empire in Transition* ("The Empire Strikes Out," January 4 & 11), Ronald Steel refers to Mead's claim that "conservative economics overthrows conservative order" as the "unacknowledged paradox of the right." Paradox, yes. But unac-

knowledge? Is Mr. Steel familiar with Daniel Bell's *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, whose thesis, essentially, is that capitalism (i.e., "conservative economics") is ultimately corrosive of bourgeois culture (i.e., "conservative order")? Or does he read George F. Will, whose writings have been permeated by similar arguments for over a decade? For that matter, has he consulted any of the scores of histories of the conservative intellectual movement, virtually every one of which emphasizes the tension between libertarian (or "economic") conservatism and traditionalist (or "order") conservatism? This paradox, far from being unacknowledged, has been one of the central (and most widely discussed) features of American conservatism for at least a third of a century.

DAN HIMMELFARB
New York, New York

The editors welcome correspondence from readers. Letters should include the writer's full name, address, and telephone number; be typed double-spaced; and be held to under 200 words. Letters may be edited for space. Please address letters to: Correspondence, TNR, 1220 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Call for any book

- Immediate shipment worldwide.
- Credit cards or check. • Ask about our overnight gift delivery nationwide. • Free monthly New Title Forecast. • Mail orders welcome.
- Open 24 hours every day.



1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

The Graduate Faculty

Ferenc Fehér
Leon Festinger
Baruch Fishman

For everyone in The Graduate Faculty, A through Z, write or call for a Bulletin: Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research, 65 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10003 (212) 741-5710

Richard Gephardt: The Insider as Populist

The Economic Battle Cry That Revived a Presidential Campaign

By Sidney Blumenthal
Washington Post Staff Writer

MANCHESTER, N.H.—To Gordon Gekko, business is not about making things; it is merely the tracking of pulsing numbers on a green computer screen. His motive in wrecking a company is that "it is wreckable." Liquidate stocks! Liquidate bonds! Liquidate workers!

Thus, Oliver Stone's big-screen morality play, "Wall Street."

In north-central Iowa, Rep. Richard A. Gephardt mounts a platform in a metal railroad shed. A huge yellow diesel locomotive, draped with two American flags, stands as a backdrop; klieg lights shine on him. Every word the candidate breathes into the bitter cold is a steamy, vaporous cloud.

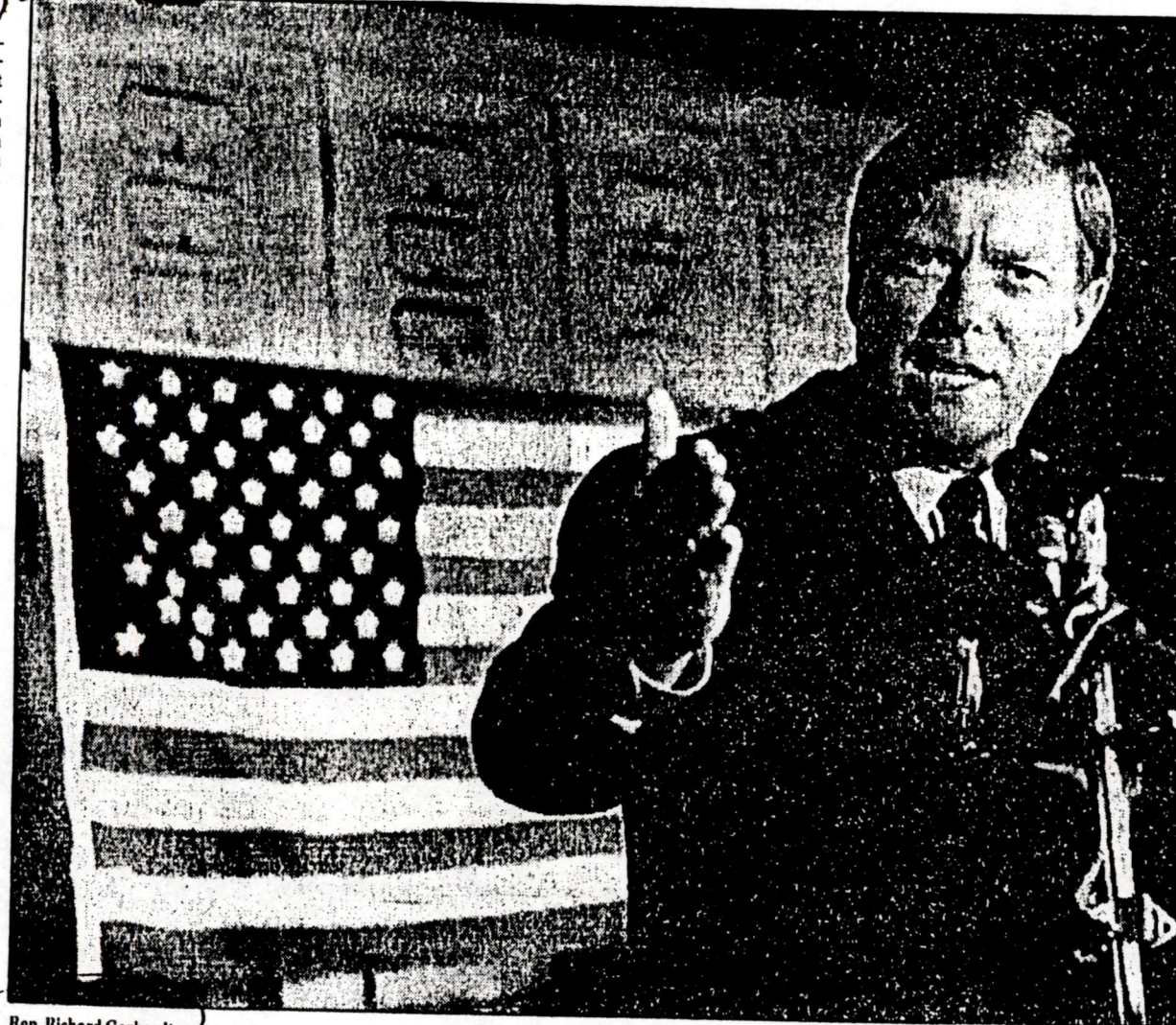
"What this election is all about," he says, is "fundamental, basic change . . . what I see everywhere—we're losing our standard of living . . . the middle class is starting to shrink." But those "just interested in paper profits don't want change." They will defend their privileges. "It's your fight, too!"

Thus, Richard Gephardt's morality play—and, four days later, his victory in the Iowa caucuses.

"It's what I think," he says in an interview here a week later, about "Wall Street"—the movie. "It was written by a guy who knows it, he really understands it. It really did ring true."

The Wall Street *rentiers*, says Gephardt, "can make money and are making money out of the decline in the American economy. So long as they are making big profits they'd just as soon see it go on. They don't care. Takeover attempts, putting together financings, trashing companies . . . the transition can go on for years . . . it's killing us."

What Gephardt is talking about is



Rep. Richard Gephardt.

BY JOEL RICHARDSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

what he sees as a battle between the part of the economy that crashed last October—Wall Street and its world of red-suspended speculators—and the manufacturing part of the economy that crashed in the 1982 recession and fell further under the weight of the Fed's Big Dollar. In one of his television ads, Gephardt says, "We must not abandon those who build our cars, forge our steel and farm our land."

This is only in part class conflict—call it "sector conflict."

Gephardt relies on iconographies of the smokestack and the reaper, but the "sector conflict" is not necessarily between the high-tech and low-tech industries.

"Industrial includes more than steel and automobiles," says Gephardt. "It includes a lot of things we have thought of as emerging industries, or new technologies . . . What we've missed is the interrelatedness of the whole economy."

"But obviously this [decline] has particularly affected older industries . . . We have to confront these things square on or we're going to go down . . . I don't see any inconsistency in it at all."

Gephardt sees himself as representing those who produce, opposed to those who wheel and deal. In this he connects himself to the populist lineage, observing in one speech, somewhat anachronistically, that Andrew Jackson was "never popular on Wall Street." Gephardt's affirmation of the nation against the global market lends him his populist energy.

Historically, populism has been a movement of protest. What makes Gephardt's rendering especially potent is the addition of economic nationalism. Since 1960, in presidential elections, nationalism has often been debated in military terms—Kenne-

See GEPHARDT, B14, Col. 1

The Politics of Economics

GEPHARDT, From B1

dy's missile gap, Reagan's window of vulnerability.

Gephardt has transferred the theme from military comparisons with the Soviets to an economic comparison with our trading partners. "It's the economic gap," he says. "The real competition of the next 20 or 30 years is economic and not military ... if we continue a senseless arms race, only the countries that are engaged in economic competition will win."

Gephardt reaches for a phrase to capture the profound transformation he believes is demanded: "I'm talking about an American rejuvenation, a renaissance—an American *perestroika*."

But Gephardt of Missouri, who fashions himself a modern Harry Truman, does not yet have a Fair Deal for a new generation. What he has is a plan to negotiate trade surpluses in a world market where the biggest U.S. competitors are multinational.

To some, however, he is speaking the unspeakable.

"There is a huge group who feels the status quo is good for them, so don't change it," says Gephardt. "They are importing goods for Americans. So don't fool with it because you're going to mess up what I've got." You've got people literally

hired by foreign countries who don't want this policy to change—Washington lobbyists, advertising firms, people making big bucks off the importation of products, who think they may be affected, don't understand what I'm talking about."

In the search for support, or at least supporting evidence, Gephardt says he has begun reading William Greider's "Secrets of the Temple," which makes the modern populist case that the Reagan administration and Federal Reserve policies under Paul Volcker were "disastrous for farm exports, for heavy industry, for any enterprise whose market was not protected by national boundaries."

"As the book indicates," says Gephardt, "Volcker and the bankers have an interest that is served in the way they run the bank."

But even as Gephardt explains his positions, his staff worries about a skeptical response. Once again, a relatively little known figure, suddenly looming as a possible president, is subjected to the microscope. Sen. Paul Simon, running third behind Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis and Gephardt in polls for Tuesday's primary here, has aired ads contrasting the earlier, more conservative incarnation of Gephardt with the reliably liberal liberal.

Who, critics ask, is Richard Gephardt? Is the candidate "The Candidate," more artifice than reality? How does the bland former St. Louis alderman get this newfound intensity?

Is Gephardt the "Robocandidate," a creature constructed from the spare parts of dead campaigns? Is he a practitioner of "situational politics," adjusting his action to the exigencies of the moment?

But there is a larger question than Gephardt's purity of heart. It is whether his message is an effort to make yesterday tomorrow—a vain promise to restore a lost industrial America.

"We've accepted decline," he says.

"We don't have to accept this. We can reorder the future."

America's Home Room

Gephardt began his political career far from thoughts of *perestroika*, in the 14th ward of St. Louis to be precise. He grew up ambitious, earnest and ambitious. He is the son of the Protestant ethic—his mother Loreen, who drilled in him the idea that hard work would win the day.

But from his father Louis, he learned that this was not always so. Louis Gephardt strived to succeed, but at each turn he failed: lost a family farm, left his job as a milkman because, according to his son, "his back gave out ... went into real estate and never did as well as driving a milk truck ... My mother went to work when I was in the fifth grade so that there could be enough chance for us to go to college. My dad never did well. He was a great person, wonderful father. There were months when I'd come home and he'd be sitting at the desk, wondering how to make the payments on the house ... I understand what it means to be not poor, but up against it economically."

"When I'm in plants and I hear people sit across the table and say, 'I just lost my job and I don't know where I'm going to get one and I don't know how I'm going to go home and tell my kids,' what goes off in my mind is what it was like when my dad said, 'I don't know how we're going to pay for this, I can't buy you a pair of pants, I can't just buy you a pair of shoes, you're just going to have to do with what we've got.'"

"I understand what that means. Workers in this country are getting crushed. It's not so much that they've lost their jobs; it's that the best job they can get pays \$5 an hour. Their wives are working for \$5 an hour. At the end of the month they have nothing."

After graduating from Northwest-

ern University and the University of Michigan Law School, Gephardt joined a downtown St. Louis law firm and immediately entered politics. In 1968—the year of generational decision—the new 14th Ward committeeman supported Hubert Humphrey—not Robert F. Kennedy, not Eugene McCarthy—for the nomination. Gephardt belonged to the student council wing of the Democratic Party. But he was rising in a declining political machine in a declining city.

In 1971 he was elected to the Board of Aldermen and he was an advocate of the neighborhoods against the banks, which engaged in "redlining"—the refusal to grant loans and mortgages to some working-class districts.

"The town was decaying within," Gephardt says. "Neighborhoods were emptying out. Everybody had written it off. We went to the banks and said, 'You've got to put your money back into this town.' We fought them tooth and nail." But Gephardt also became controversial for his support of tax abatements for certain real estate interests.

In 1976 he was elected to Congress, again finding himself in a hierarchical political system in decline. He advanced by attaching himself to older mentors, particularly the powerful Rep. Richard Bolling from his home state.

Gephardt's agenda reflected his socially conservative, "scrubby Dutch" district. For him, it was home room in America. He proposed constitutional amendments to bar abortion and busing for desegregation; favored the neutron bomb and nerve gas, and a more progressive tax code.

Gephardt believed that Jimmy Carter was "his kind of Democrat," according to an old friend. It was the height of post-Nixon good government managerialism. Gephardt, the young insider, became appalled at Carter's ineffectiveness. Still, in the 1980 primaries that ripped the Democrats apart, he remained with Carter, disliking Sen. Edward Kennedy more, considering him "out-

worn," says a longtime Gephardt friend.

Gephardt had enhanced his reputation during the Carter years by opposing the president's hospital cost containment bill in 1979, also opposed by the American Medical Association and business groups. Gephardt's position was somewhere in a vague middle. He was moving himself toward a center of his own creation. Clearly, the tide was going out on Kennedy's brand of liberalism and Carter's managerialism.

In the early days of the Reagan ascendancy, Gephardt voted for the supply-side tax program and even chided the president in a 1981 news release for his passivity on the "social issues ... to reverse the misguided social trends of the '60s and '70s."

But Gephardt was faithful to the Democratic Party as an institution. That devotion swiftly pulled him far from the shores of Reaganism. In 1981 he acquired a new mentor, Louisiana Rep. Gillis Long, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, who was seeking an innovative alternative to Reagan's economic policies. A year later, the caucus' Special Task Force on Long-Term Economic Policy, on which Gephardt was a key member, issued its high-tech-oriented manifesto that sketched the outline for much of the subsequent Democratic debate. Gephardt and other younger members of the task force were labeled "Atari Democrats."

Gephardt himself moved on to the issue of taxes—one element of a larger economic strategy—cosponsoring a bill with Sen. Bill Bradley that became the basis for tax reform in 1986. In 1985 he proposed the Gephardt amendment, an instrument to open closed foreign markets with the threat of a slowly closing American door. For this, he was widely labeled a "protectionist."

In his next rite of passage, Gephardt succeeded Long, who died in 1985, as caucus chairman. In the meantime, Long's chief aide, Alvin From, set up a group called the

See GEPHARDT, B16, Col. 1

Democratic Leadership Council whose mission, in the aftermath of the Mondale debacle, was to yank the party toward "the center." Gephardt became its first chairman and labeled himself a "terminal centrist."

But the DLC, in an effort to gain an image of strength for the party, backed the contra war in Nicaragua. "I never believed that what the DLC was for was to move the party ideologically," says Gephardt.

A month after Mondale's defeat, Gephardt decided he would run for president. He discussed the impending campaign with Hamilton Jordan, Carter's former political strategist. Gephardt's campaign, in effect, was his legislative priority, especially economic "competitiveness," an abstract and metallic buzzword.

No House member had been elected president since James Garfield. How could Gephardt appear as more than the reflection of a representative's compromises? "We didn't know what the message would be," says a close Gephardt associate.

The 'Inside Insurgent'

On Jan. 1, 1987, Patrick Caddell, the pollster to the Democratic nominees from 1972 to 1980 and to Gary Hart in 1984, completed a 92-page memo on the '88 campaign. This work was presented to a group of Mondale financial backers now reconstituted as IMPAC 88.

The ideal candidate in 1988, Caddell wrote, would be "an inside insurgent"—a formulation intended to address the flaws of Carter, Mondale and Hart:

"A total outsider, would likely rend the party beyond electoral repair. Yet a candidate who was viewed as a candidate of the party's establishment would have limited general appeal. What is needed is a candidate who is an insurgent, somewhat anti-establishment, who represents change and yet is able to have real inside party support from political leaders, activists, and elected officials."

It was a theme that had been earlier spun out by Alan Baron, the political newsletter writer, and William Schneider, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, who planned to write a book on "The Radical Center." Caddell's candidate of choice was Sen. Joseph Biden, though Biden did not truly fit the prescription. And when Biden plagiarized the identity of British Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock, he was completely out of the race.

By then, Caddell was in Santa Barbara, but the general notion of the inside insurgent was still awaiting a candidate.

Gephardt says he has never read Caddell's memo. But he adds, "My whole career has been about inside insurgency since I was on the St. Louis Board of Aldermen."

In early 1987, Bill Carrick left his position as Ted Kennedy's political director to become Gephardt's campaign manager. Carrick took the job only after he convinced himself that "there's no Jimmy Carter in this guy," he says.

Carrick prodded Robert Shrum, a member of Kennedy's political directorate and his speech writer, into writing Gephardt's announcement speech—"Make America first again"—and then asked him to join the campaign. Shrum, who had briefly worked for Carter during the '76 campaign but became quickly disillusioned, didn't much care for "terminal centrism," which he considered a form of Carterism. When Gephardt invited Shrum to dinner, he put him off. "I didn't know if I'd like to have dinner," says Shrum. He asked Kennedy what he thought. The senator told him to talk to the congressman. "Finally," says Shrum, "I liked Bill a lot and I said, 'Sure.'"

He says he came away from his

dinner with Gephardt impressed. "I found him unbelievably smart: He knows issues... we talked a good deal about the contra war and trade... his 'centrism' didn't relate to that." Shrum, too, went through the process of convincing himself Gephardt would not be a Carter. When Shrum joined the campaign, so did his partner, David Doak, who had been with the Biden campaign.

With Kennedy out of the race, his theme of "fighting for average people," as Shrum puts it, was available. Carrick believed that with no questions about Gephardt's character, the campaign should be fought on "issues and ideology." Gephardt would be strongest if he "kept it on a value-driven plane," says Carrick.

This conception neatly meshed with the notion of the inside insurgent. "It fits Gephardt a lot better than it fits Joe [Biden]," says a senior Gephardt adviser. "I hate to say it," says another, "but Caddell had it right."

Thus the Gephardt campaign drew upon elements of Caddellism without Caddell and Kennedyism without Kennedy.

Up From Iowa

The Iran-contra scandal was the "watershed event of this campaign," says a senior Gephardt adviser. Before its revelation, Democrats had 3-in-the-morning anxiety attacks that perhaps Reagan might be right about some things. He remained the image of leadership: Campaign polling showed Democrats in search of their own Reagan.

For the Gephardt campaign, though, times kept getting tougher. After the October stock market crash, Gephardt was assailed for his trade policy, which was seen as a threat to a wobbling economy. "Everyone said the trade thing was dead," says Gephardt.

After the Dec. 1 Democratic debate, televised by NBC, Gephardt went into a tailspin. The Des Moines Register had him down to six points in Iowa. His own poll showed him at 10. The campaign was consumed with panic: should television ads be put on the air immediately to stanch the losses?

"It's always difficult to confront what was the fact, that we were dropping, washing out of the race," says Gephardt. "I just got mad."

On Dec. 17, Gary Hart dropped back into the race, roiling the polls further—and completing the field of candidates. The day after Christmas, Gephardt's ads began airing in Iowa—"Washington crossing the Delaware," says a top Gephardt adviser. For 10 days, the commercials went unanswered by the other candidates.

"When it's over, let it be said that you changed America and gave it back its soul," the commercials said. Gephardt began his ascent, a phoenix on the prairie.

Along with the ads, his message was crystallized in three speeches, written by Shrum, fitting his issues with the anti-establishment theme. He excoriated Ivan Boesky and "a committee of elites composed largely of individuals worth millions of dollars," which, he said, sought to balance the budget by cutting Social Security: "It's your fight too!"

The day after his Iowa victory, Gephardt delivered a stemwinding speech here, drawing the line between "our America" and "their America."

"It's a new world we live in today," Gephardt says. "It is different than the one we were in 10 years ago and certainly 40 years ago." Gephardt wants to make his message new. He is straining toward another metamorphosis.

His plane had landed in Manchester to the blaring strains of Bruce Springsteen's anthem of declining industrial America, "Born in the U.S.A."

ernment. Does that give me the right to say we're gonna topple it? No. But if there's some legitimate group that's fighting for their freedom I might want to get Congress to go along with offering assistance." At the Derryfield School he said, "We're not afraid of Ortega. We're not afraid of the Sandinista army. They're no threat to us. But now they're talking about increasing the army and bringing in sophisticated Soviet weapons. If we ask the American people, 'Do you want another Soviet base in this hemisphere?', they'd say no. We haven't articulated our policy very well."

One can discern in all this the outlines of support for a deal whereby the Soviets would forgo bases and withdraw advisers in exchange for an end to U.S. support for the *contras*—exactly the deal Gorbachev has reportedly been offering, and the administration rejecting, for months. I like to think that Dole is simply too intelligent and too realistic to think much of the current policy of keeping a nasty, inconclusive war going and hoping for the best. He offers rhetorical red meat to the faithful, but for a true Doleologist like me his real intentions are there to see, cryptic but decipherable. To me this looks like ruthless shrewdness in the service of ultimately reasonable policy. To someone else, of course, it might look like duplicity.

Dole misses no chance to refer to himself as a conservative, and his conservative credentials date back a long way. Like Reagan, he was a charter supporter of Barry Goldwater in 1964. He was always a slashing partisan, and he is one of the few prominent Republicans who still uses "Democrat" as an adjective. But ideology is foreign to him, and to the extent that partisan loyalties have given way to ideological ones, Dole is a far less divisive figure than he used to be. When he touts his leadership abilities, he mentions two examples: working with Patrick Moynihan and Tip O'Neill to rescue Social Security in 1981, and defying the Reagan Justice Department to get the Voting Rights Act renewed in 1982. His record, on the whole, remains that of a hidebound Reaganite. But judging from what he says, and the feeling with which he says it, that is not the side of himself he values.

Dole is never more laconic than when he talks about the wound that felled him in the Po Valley in 1945, paralyzed him from the neck down for a year, put him in the hospital for 39 months, and left him reluctant to this day to look in the mirror. He does not speak of himself as a hero and in fact (unlike Bush) he was not a hero, merely a kid who "got shot." The experience made him, he says, "a bitter young man." Of course, he always adds, it also made him more sensitive to the handicapped and to unfortunates in general. Still, it is remarkable in this age of empty optimism that he dares to use a word like bitter about himself, even in the past tense. At some level he remains bitter, and his defeat here will do nothing to gentle him. The Republican contest is about to get ugly; the temptation to go hard right will be strong. It will be interesting to see if Bob Dole can resist it, and still be president.

HENDRIK HERTZBERG

CAMPAIGN '88

THE MAN TO BEAT

Manchester, New Hampshire

Richard Gephardt is no hero to the press. Two days before the New Hampshire primary on February 16, columnist Mike Barnicle of the *Boston Globe* wrote of him, "If he thought dressing up like a vegetable would help him win, [he'd] appear as a head of lettuce." A few days earlier, Jonathan Yardley, the book critic of the *Washington Post*, said he checked out a copy of *The Candidate* from his video store "only minutes after watching Gephardt's cynical attempt to manipulate the emotions of voters in Iowa." The main character of that 1972 movie is an idealistic but ambitious Senate candidate who becomes putty in the hands of his political handlers. The fellow, wrote Yardley, "is of a piece with Richard Gephardt . . . all image, no substance." The *Des Moines Register* called him "the most disappointing [candidate] of the field."

The other Democratic presidential campaigns view Gephardt even less charitably. A joke told by staffers for Bruce Babbitt goes like this: Why are Gephardt's eyebrows so light? He's a quart low on bullshit. Terry Michael, the press secretary for Paul Simon, says that after a year and a half of full-time campaigning by Gephardt, "people wonder what he really believes in, what his values are." A strategist for another Democratic candidate is more emphatic. "Gephardt has no convictions at all," he says. "He'll do anything and say anything to get a vote. He epitomizes the dark side of politics."

Gephardt's opponents, particularly Simon, complain bitterly about the methodical way he's changed positions—on abortion, minimum wage, the MX missile, medical cost containment, Social Security cost-of-living increases. But what truly offends them is Gephardt's incongruous populist spiel, incongruous because it conflicts with his status as an influential figure in Washington. And what infuriates them all the more is that the spiel works.

It won the Iowa caucuses for Gephardt on February 8, and it carried him through a storm of criticism to a second-place finish in New Hampshire. Alone among the white Democratic candidates, Gephardt arouses crowds. This is surprising, even to Gephardt, who's always been regarded in Congress as cool and unemotional. But despite raw, drizzly weather, a noontime audience in front of city hall in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, got worked up February 15 when Gephardt denounced the corporate "attitude of selfishness and greed and get mine now, worry about everyone else later [and] survival of the fittest." His spiel is also adjustable. Gephardt sounded less anti-establishment in prosperous New Hampshire than in downtrodden Iowa. With the addition of some pro-military rhetoric, it should make Gephardt formidable in the 13 Southern and border state primaries on Super Tuesday, March 8. In short, he's

now the man to beat for the Democratic nomination.

Gephardt developed his stump speech backwards. Ordinarily a speech is drafted, and snippets of it are used in television commercials. But Gephardt's TV spots, produced by media consultants Robert Shrum and David Doak, came first, and the stump speech grew largely out of them. At the time this happened last December, Gephardt was sinking like a stone. He stood at 6 percent in the Iowa Poll (down from 24 percent), and he was desperate. He insisted that he appear in the commercials and talk mostly about trade and agriculture. Gephardt says he wanted to express his anger over the economic decline of the country and how it affects workers. He'd talked "over and over and over again" to workers who'd lost their jobs. "This gets to you. It goes right to your heart. . . . And then you read the 9,000th editorial saying your trade policy is protectionist and lousy and won't work. You get angry. You want to express this. I finally decided: this is what I believe in, this is what I want to do."

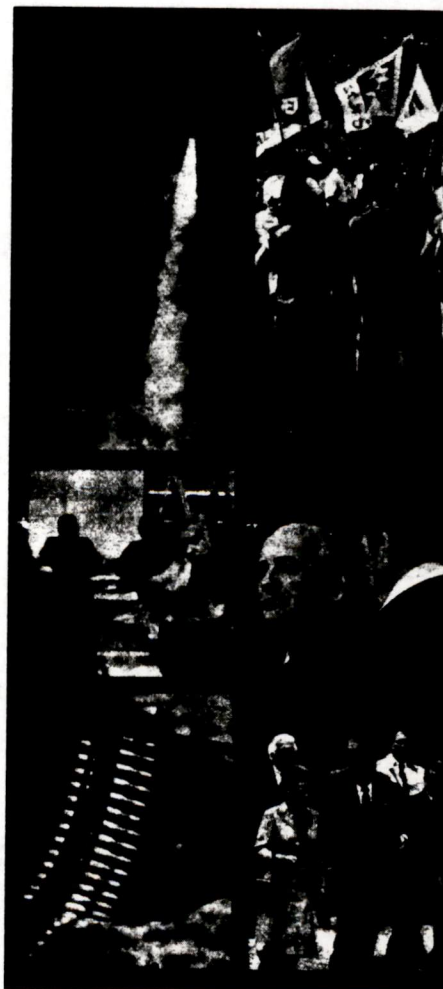
Does Gephardt really believe his transformation as a candidate came about so nobly? I think he does. Most politicians are far less cynical than you imagine. They have no trouble persuading themselves that the politically convenient position is also their heartfelt belief. In 1976 Ronald Reagan really thought the Panama Canal treaties threatened the nation's security. In 1984 Gary Hart believed he was bursting with "new ideas," despite being unable to name many of them. In Gephardt's case, he couldn't deliver his populist message with such passion if he didn't half-way believe it. He may be deluded and demagogic, but he's not entirely manipulative.

The catchy part of the message is an attack on trade barriers that keep out American goods. In December Gephardt told his aides, "What we've got to do is tell people what these countries do to our products." One aide suggested he trace what happens to an American-made pen. "Nobody cares about what pens cost," responded Gephardt. But what about U.S. cars? William Carrick, Gephardt's campaign manager, asked researcher Pat Brookover to "find how much American cars cost overseas." Brookover said he already knew that. In Korea a Ford Taurus costs \$76,000, he said, and a Cadillac \$87,000. He was assigned to find what a Chrysler K car costs. When he did, the fact that the \$10,000 American car costs \$48,000 in Korea became a central point in Gephardt's TV ads and stump speech, wrapped nicely in an assault on the "establishment,"

the "conventional wisdom," "experts," "academics," "editorial writers," the *Wall Street Journal*, "the big multinational oil companies," "big importers," and "the big grain cartels."

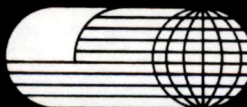
Even before the ads went on the air, Gephardt was stirring audiences in person with his new spiel. Operative Joe Trippi reported back to Gephardt strategists in Washington before Christmas that the candidate was suddenly "sensational" in speeches. At first they thought Trippi was being sycophantic. Finally, one by one, they heard Gephardt for themselves and were astonished.

In Portsmouth Gephardt called for new trade, environmental, and education policies, and said the Social Security and Medicare programs should be run by a separate agency so Republicans won't be able to cut them. But it won't be easy to achieve these goals, he said, because "There are strong resistance forces. . . . They like trade policy the way it is because they make money from it. They don't want to stand up for the right kind of regulation of the environment because they want the quick profits. They don't want to invest in education and training because they are ready to accommodate decline in this country. What they're saying is, 'We must go down, we must decline, let's just manage it so we can make some quick profits off it.'" Gephardt was not specific about who "they" are, but the crowd in Portsmouth didn't seem to mind.



WHAT IN THE WORLD IS GOING ON HERE?

Only one television program will tell you. Because only one television program is devoted exclusively to international affairs. American Interests with host Morton Kondracke. Each week, on public television.



American Interests
American Interests is a production of The Blackwell Corporation. For further information, write:
Blackwell, 1255 23rd Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

Reporters mind, and Gephardt and his strategists are eager to woo them. Gephardt invited 10 journalists to a private lunch the day of the New Hampshire primary. His wife, Jane, came too. Later that day, he met with a half-dozen national political reporters. Carrick, who was political director of Teddy Kennedy's Senate staff before taking over the Gephardt campaign, says the press will never understand Gephardt. "I'm going to sound like Spiro Agnew," Carrick says. Journalists covering national politics "are all basically liberal Eastern Establishment people. Culturally they don't like Gephardt. They tell you Gephardt isn't the kind of guy you can go have a beer with. Would they like to go for a beer with Michael Dukakis or Paul Simon?"

The Gephardt campaign goes to great lengths to prove he's not an opportunist. Press secretary Mark Johnson passed out copies of a *Washington Post* article describing Gephardt as an "inside insurgent." The concept is silly, and Gephardt doesn't buy it. "I have not had some concept of how to do this," he says. "I'm just doing—I am what I am." Gephardt is chairman of the House Democratic Caucus and has the endorsement of 80 House Democrats, including Majority Leader Thomas Foley. "I have always believed that what I try to do is to change the status quo where I think it needs changing, but from inside the system," says Gephardt. That makes him an insider, but hardly an insurgent. He's an insider with a spiel.

Foley appeared in New Hampshire with a defense of Gephardt's changes of position. Gephardt has unwavering "principles and goals," Foley said. What changes is his method of achieving them. Gephardt agreed with this explanation. "Look, one of the greatest presidents we ever had was Franklin Roosevelt," he says. "You never had to worry that he had goals and principles and beliefs. But he often experimented and then when he found something didn't work, he changed and went to something else. That's what you have to do. It's unimportant that you be rigidly, almost ideologically, consistent with the way to get something done. But the goals don't change."

On health care, for example, he says, he once opposed a federal role in holding down costs and now favors a limited one. But his goal of "the best possible health care at the lowest possible price" hasn't changed. His shift is politically shrewd. He opposed cost containment in 1979 when anti-government sentiment was running high, but favors it now that this sentiment has subsided. ✓

THE BAD NEWS for Gephardt's foes is that he has taken their best shots and survived. Rather than go after the front-runner in New Hampshire, Dukakis, Simon went on television and radio with ads questioning Gephardt's flip-flops. "The question is, what would a President Gephardt do?" the ads asked. Gephardt was also attacked in a televised debate three days before the primary by Simon, Dukakis, Bruce Babbitt, and Albert Gore. "We took our hits," says Richard Moe, a Gephardt adviser and former aide to Walter Mondale. "Every news organi-

zation did its scrutiny piece. That's legitimate, but it takes its toll." Media consultant Doak says the attacks knocked 10 points off Gephardt's percentage in New Hampshire, and still only Dukakis finished ahead of him.

Now comes payback time. "Some of the other folks are going to have to answer" for their liberal records, especially Dukakis and Simon, says Carrick. Gephardt's message is "evolving," says Moe, and in the South he'll sound hard-line on defense and tax cuts. Gephardt says he'll zing Dukakis for opposing Reagan's policy in the Persian Gulf and the Midgetman missile, for "his reluctance to use military power," and for declaring the Monroe Doctrine dead. And Gore won't be able to get to his right on foreign policy issues. "We're awfully close," he says. The chief difference between them is that Gephardt has a spiel on economics. In a presidential race, that's no small thing.

FRED BARNES

Reagan's economic legacy.

ARE YOU BETTER OFF?

BACK IN 1980 the Republicans defiantly—in fact, rhetorically—asked voters the question, "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" So many felt the answer was "no" that Ronald Reagan won in a landslide. The big "no" was based on the "misery index"—the unemployment rate plus the inflation rate—which went from 12.5 in 1976 to 19.5 in 1980, largely because inflation went from 4.8 percent to 12.4 percent. It was also based on the fact that median family income declined during the Carter years, and GNP growth was only 7.7 percent.

We now know that the Carter slide was part of a general stagnation that started with the first oil shock in 1973, before he ever came to office. But Carter was unable to control things, and so he was bounced. During Ronald Reagan's first term, the country endured the deepest recession since the Great Depression and median income dipped some more, but by 1984 the trends were buoyantly up and Reagan won again in a landslide.

Now it's time to ask the AYBO question again, and the 1988 election may hang on the answer. Republican candidates will say that Reagan turned the corner for the American economy, that peoples' lives are getting better, and that to elect a Democrat would be a return to Carterism—big spending, high taxes, and heavy government regulation. Democrats are saying that Reagan's been a wastrel with a credit card, giving the country a good time on borrowed money, favoring the rich at the expense of the middle class and poor, and dooming us to lower standards of living in the future. What's the truth?

The bottom line is a lot harder to read than it was in the Carter days. In terms of traditional measures—output, in-

GEPHARDT ON CAPITAL GAINS: THEN AND NOW

Today, House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-MO) decries any cut in the tax rate on capital gains as a giveaway to the rich.

According to Gephardt:

"'... the Bush [capital gains tax cut] proposal doesn't 'put money in the little guy's pocket,' it picks his pocket.'"

(The Washington Post, 9/23/89)

"This [capital gains tax cut] was George Bush's idea to help out his wealthy friends..."

(The New York Times, 9/15/89)

This was not the case in 1978, when Gephardt (along with now House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-WA) voted in favor of the Revenue Act of 1978 (HR 13511). One of the major features of this bill was a provision which lowered the maximum possible tax rate on capital gains from 49.1% to 35%, as well as indexation of the basis of capital gains to the consumer price index to compensate for inflation.

In fact, Rep. Gephardt went so far as to applaud the tax cut provisions of HR 13511 as "responsible":

"... when you analyze the bill, it does call for a moderate responsible tax cut that I think most people can justify."

(Congressional Record, August 10, 1978)

DICK GEPHARDT: CHAMELEON

In 1987 and 1988 Dick Gephardt traveled the country pursuing the Presidency. But Dick the Presidential Candidate was poles apart from Dick the Congressional Candidate.

Some Introductions are Clearly in Order ...

Dick Gephardt "Defender of Social Security" Meet Dick Gephardt "Enemy of Social Security."

On May 23, 1985, Dick voted in favor of an amendment [H.C.R. 152] that sought to impose a one-year freeze on COLA's for Social Security, veterans compensation, and Federal retirement.

On January 15, 1985, Washington Post reporter Dan Balz quoted Dick:

"When you put anything [social security] off bounds, saying you would not even think about it, you can often find yourself in a position where the other alternatives are as difficult, if not more difficult."

(The Washington Post, 1/15/85)

Dick then ran around claiming that the "political establishment" was "just waiting for the election to be over so they can go back to trying to cut Social Security."

(The Washington Post, 1/28/88)

"Any Democratic president who agrees to reduce Social Security is no Democrat at all."

(The Washington Post, 1/7/88)

"I'll take Social Security out of the budget so people won't be tempted by it. It would be wrong and immoral to cut it to compensate for mistakes in other areas of the budget, such as defense spending."

(The Washington Post, 11/21/87)

"Ronald Reagan and his administration wants [sic] to cut Social Security every chance they get and that's why we need a Democratic president in 1988."

(Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11/20/87)

Today, Dick decries any cut in the tax rate on capital gains as a giveaway to the rich.

According to Gephardt:

"'... the Bush [capital gains tax cut] proposal doesn't 'put money in the little guy's pocket,' it picks his pocket.'"

(The Washington Post, 9/23/89)

"This [capital gains tax cut] was George Bush's idea to help out his wealthy friends..."

(The New York Times, 9/15/89)

This was not the case in 1978, when Gephardt voted in favor of the Revenue Act of 1978 (HR 13511). One of the major features of this bill was a provision which lowered the maximum possible tax rate on capital gains from 49.1% to 35%, as well as indexation of the basis of capital gains to the consumer price index to compensate for inflation.

In fact, Rep. Gephardt went so far as to applaud the tax cut provisions of HR 13511 as "responsible":

".. when you analyze the bill, it does call for a moderate responsible tax cut that I think most people can justify."

(Congressional Record, August 10, 1978)

Dick Gephardt "Man of Convictions" Meet Dick Gephardt "Presidential Candidate."

- o In 1978, Americans for Democratic Action gave Dick a rating of 35%. His rating for 1988 was more than twice that.
- o For 1989, Americans for Democratic Action gave Dick a rating of 90%.
- o In 1978, the American Conservative Union gave Dick a rating of 33%. In 1986 and 1987, Dick's rating fell to 0%.
- o For 1989, the American Conservative Union gave Dick a rating of 4%.
- o In 1978, the National Taxpayer's Union gave Dick a rating of 58%. For 1986, Dick's rating dropped to 26%.

Dick Gephardt "Advocate of Prayer in School" Meet Dick Gephardt "Opponent of Prayer in School."

- o On September 9, 1981, Dick voted in favor of school prayer [Walker Amendment HR 4169].
- o On July 26, 1984, Dick voted against the Walker Amendment HR 11 to stop federal aid to states prohibiting vocal and silent prayer in public schools.

As one St. Louis Post-Dispatch story notes, on Aug. 7, 1981, Dick "issued a news release accusing Reagan of putting too low a priority on the issues of busing, abortion and prayer in public schools" -- all causes Dick has since abandoned. Dick said in the news release:

"The president's decision is a disappointment to those in the Congress who represent constituencies for whom these and other social issues represent the government's resolve to reverse the misguided social trends of the '60s and '70s."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

Dick Gephardt "Defender of the Family Farm" meet Dick Gephardt Enemy of the American Consumer."

"You've got to have supply-management. That's what the Harkin-Gephardt Save The Family Farm Act is about."

(United Press International, 11/3/87)

"By passing all of Harkin-Gephardt we can begin to turn the rural economy of this nation around and save some \$12 billion in current [farm] program costs in the process."

(United Press International, 10/15/87)

The experts [including the United States Department of Agriculture, don't see eye-to-eye with Dick. Dick voted against legislation in 1978 that promoted crop inventories management -- basically the same thing he is now proposing.

(U.S. News & World Report, 2/8/88)

The Economic Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture estimates that Dick's plan would destroy approximately 2.2 million jobs in farm-related industries.

("Agriculture's Links to the National Economy: Income and Employment," 10/86)

The Food & Policy Research Institute (FAPRI) estimate Dick's plan will dictate an eventual rise in the price of wheat from the current price of approximately \$2.50 per bushel to \$7.60. Cotton would go from 47 cents per pound to \$1.39, soybeans from \$4.68 per bushel to \$13.70, and corn from \$1.34 per bushel to \$5.55.

FAPRI estimates that Dick's plan would necessitate an additional annual food payment of \$65.5 billion for consumers. The average family of four would pay an additional \$1,000 per year for food.

Under Dick's plan, people with incomes at 125 percent of the poverty level and below would pay \$7.4 billion more for food. Each low-income family of four would pay an additional \$625 more out of already limited budgets.

("The Commodity Supply Management Program," FAPRI Staff Report, 2/87)

("Consequences of S. 2869, "SAVE THE FAMILY FARM ACT," Office of Economics, USDA)

Dick Gephardt "Right to Lifer" meet Dick Gephardt "Pro-Choicer."

On January 27, 1977, Dick Gephardt put on the permanent Congressional record the following statements:

"Life is the division of human cells, a process which begins with conception. It cannot be a partial fact.

"While 'life' may elude definition, the word 'person' should not. The Declaration of Independence asserts 'all men are created equal.' It follows that a person becomes such when he is created and that, in my opinion, is the factual point when life begins."

(Congressional Record, 1/27/77)

"The ruling [Supreme Court: Roe v. Wade] was unjust, and it is incumbent on the Congress to correct the injustice. The amendment my colleague and I introduce today will do just that. It establishes the right to life of any person regardless of age, health, function, or condition of dependency, including the unborn at every stage of biological development."

(Congressional Record, 1/27/77)

The Nation's Health magazine picked up a rather different attitude when they asked Dick, "Do you support the principle that abortion should be a matter of choice for women?" Dick said the following:

"Yes, it should be a matter of choice.

"I do not believe current federal law regarding abortion needs to be changed and I would not use the views of a prospective judicial nominee on this or any other single issue as a 'litmus test' when appointing federal judges."

(The Nation's Health, 12/87)

Dick Gephardt "the Saint" Meet Dick Gephardt the "Fallen Angel."

The St. Louis Post Dispatch reports that on several occasions, Dick spoke out against outside incomes and government-subsidized insurance policies for congressmen. This Missouri newspaper notes that Dick often made the following statement:

"I do not accept honoraria as well."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

According to the paper, in addition to his \$75,100 congressional salary, Dick took in \$22,425 from honoraria -- only \$105 shy of the limit. Dick said:

"Obviously, you have financial considerations, with two homes and all that goes with it."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

Dick Gephardt "Enemy of the Oil Industry" Meet Dick Gephardt "Friend of the Oil Industry."

Then ...

In the 95th Congress, Dick voted against the Kruegar-Brown amendment to remove new onshore natural gas from federal price controls (8/3/77).

In the 96th Congress, Dick voted against the Breaux-Dingell amendment to the Alaskan Lands Act (5/16/79) that would have permitted more mineral leasing.

Dick endorsed an amendment by James Shannon of Massachusetts to "toughen" the Windfall Tax on Crude Oil. (6/28/79)

US News & World Report points out that Dick once opposed an oil-import fee "because he claimed it would be inflationary and produce a windfall for big oil companies."

(US News & World Report, 2/8/88)

Now ...

"I'm for an oil import fee, which is a revenue, a tax measure, that would increase costs for the American people."

(United Press International, 1/7/88)

"I am for an oil import fee, not because it's popular in New Hampshire and Iowa and a lot of places, but because it's the right thing to do for this country. It's a good national policy."

("DNC Presidential Debate," 10/7/87)

Fellow-Democrat Bruce Babbitt stated that, "The oil import fee is basically a gift to big oil. Two-thirds of everything we collect is a gift to oil companies."

(Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11/9/87)

Dick "The Promoter of a Strong America" Meet Dick "The Grand Appeaser."

In 1981, Dick protested that "Democrats can't look weak on defense."

(US News & World Report, 2/8/88)

Then ...

Dick's 1982 American Security Council rating was 90%.

On July 9, 1981, Dick voted against an amendment that sought to reduce the air force authorization for research, development, testing, and evaluation by \$2,408,000,000 and to eliminate all funding for the MX basing system and missile program. [H.R. 3519]

On November 18, 1981, Dick voted against an amendment that sought to delete \$1.9 billion in funding for the MX missile and its basing mode. [H.R. 4995]

(Congressional Record)

Dick backed weapons "such as the neutron bomb and nerve gas."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

Now ...

This September, Dick stated, "The American people will not and should not put a Democrat in the White House if they believe we are the party of a weak America."

(United Press International, 9/24/87)

Dick's Idea of "Keeping America Strong:"

- o Dick's 1987 and 1988 American Security vote rating was 0%.
- o On March 11, 1987, Dick voted for a moratorium on Contra funding. [HJR 175]
- o On May 12, 1987, Dick voted in favor of the Bennett Amendment to cut SDI funding from \$5.7 billion to \$3.1 billion. [HR 1748]
- o On May 13, 1987, Dick voted for the Hertel Amendment to delete \$250 million for the MX missile rail garrison deployment.
- o On June 23, 1987, Dick voted against the Walker Amendment that prohibited Americans from aiding the military operations of the Sandinistas. [HR 1777]

galvanizing the nationalistic right wing—currently fragmented in secular, religious, and racist parties—into a vocal and unified whole, Sharon hopes to hold the balance in the Israeli Knesset, replacing the traditional Orthodox bloc. Privately he has said that he probably never will be Israel's prime minister. If he is allowed to develop unchecked, however, he could be the man making the decisions for the prime minister—something he managed to do artfully under Menachem Begin both during the peace process with Egypt and Israel's war in Lebanon.

The Americans took Shamir seriously when he presented his plan to Secretary of State James Baker in early April. They don't expect him to rush in and hand back territory, but they intend to keep him to his word on free elections. The Labor Party has adopted the same strategy, forcing Shamir to bring his initiative to the Knesset for formal approval, thus hoping to prevent any future backtracking by the prime minister or his party.

There are few precedents for the election of representatives to negotiations, or for elections under the bayonet of occupation. Clearly, if the concept is to be translated into diplomacy, some creative thinking must be done. Who can stand? What is bona fide election rhetoric, and what is sedition? Once elected, what powers do those elected have and what restrictions are they subjected to?

Conventional wisdom has it that the PLO will win these elections hands down; that they will organize a slate prior to the election, with the ballot box giving nothing more than formal approval. But unanimity is neither automatic nor assured. There are other forces at play, such as the Hamma movement, which would sweep Gaza and probably some major West Bank towns as well; latent but still active pro-Jordanian groups; and well-organized and armed Rejectionist factions of the PLO who oppose a two-state solution as much as the most extreme factions of the Israeli right wing.

Still, there are election models that could make it all work. There could be no objections from any side if the elections were internationally guaranteed by mutually acceptable parties; if the only restrictions on who could stand were age, residency, and an internationally recognized criminal record; if those elected were guaranteed freedom of travel, so that they could move between Tunis and the territories, and if they were given true powers to negotiate an evolutionary solution leading to a mutually acceptable final settlement.

The modalities have to be agreed upon. For this the United States has its dialogue with the PLO, Egypt has offered itself as a conduit, and Israel has a working team of experts, headed by Arens's senior policy adviser, Sallai Meridor, proposing ideas that will be transmitted to Washington, if Shamir survives on July 4. There are experts in the United States who have organized elections under more complicated circumstances. The real problem is the lack of leadership in

getting the process going.

Indeed, we seem to be moving in the wrong direction. In the wake of Baker's statements that Israel will have to speak to the PLO and that the country should abandon its vision of a Greater Israel, Shamir is beginning to slide away from his positions of early April. As internal party criticism mounts, and as the number of terrorist infiltration attempts and attacks increase from Palestinians over Israel's northern border, he will continue to slide to the right. The Palestinians, in the occupied territories and abroad, after first embracing the idea, have begun to attach so many conditions to the process that they too have stepped back. The chasm gets deeper.

HIRSH GOODMAN is the Strategic Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Dick Gephardt, weather vane.

MAN FOR ALL SEASONS

By Morton M. Kondracke

When most of the country last saw Representative Richard Gephardt, in March 1988, his presidential campaign was going down in flames. His theme of "economic nationalism"—a blend of protectionism, Japan (and Korea)-bashing, and economic populism—had won Iowa and South Dakota for him, but cost him financial support in New York and California. What money he had—\$1 million—he spread too thinly over several Southern states on Super Tuesday, while Michael Dukakis and Albert Gore shrewdly targeted their funds in areas of strength. Gephardt also suffered from a reputation as a flip-flopper on every issue from abortion to the minimum wage. After a dismal third-place finish in Michigan, he withdrew from the race to seek re-election to Congress, declaring victory in defeat: "We've drawn the decisive battle line of the 1988 election, the economic strength of the nation."

Gephardt now feels vindicated by the results of the 1988 election and by retaliatory trade actions taken by the Bush administration (though he thinks they're not tough enough). He has been saying over and over again in speeches across the country and in Congress that "we are in danger of losing control of our economic destiny," and was preparing to write a book about it to enhance his shot at another presidential bid in 1992. When he delivered the keynote address at the California State Democratic Convention in February, he said that "in the closing weeks of the 1988 cam-

paing, when the voters at last heard a semblance of this message ('economic strength'), we closed a widening gap. The next time, we have to say it from the beginning."

Gephardt also had settled or paid back practically all of his leftover \$2.8 million campaign debt—and in the process had expanded his fund-raising network for 1992. At a meeting of political aides on January 29, he made it clear that he felt money was the main reason he didn't win last year. His finance team assured him that he already had the ability to raise half again what he'd raised in 1988 (\$10 million). Gephardt concluded his running would depend upon his prospects for raising a Dukakis-sized war chest of \$25 million. In spite of his loss last year, Gephardt had also kept a formidable core of political advisers, including consultants Robert Shrum and David Doak, former Mondale aide Richard Moe, fund-raiser Terry McAuliffe, finance chairman Boyd Lewis, campaign manager Bill Carrick, Missouri adviser Joyce Aboussie, and Iowa coordinator Stan Murphy. He had hired a new chief of staff, Tom O'Donnell, former political director of the House Democratic campaign committee, and had begun raising funds for his political action committee to help friends with their 1990 campaigns.

Now the misfortunes of House colleagues Jim Wright and Tony Coelho have changed his plans. Instead of launching another presidential bid, Gephardt has undergone something of a political rebirth as House majority leader, the third most powerful Democratic post in the country. Because the top two party leaders, Tom Foley and George Mitchell, are conciliatory types, many congressional colleagues expect Gephardt to be the chief activist-organizer on the Hill, the key inventor of strategies to counter President Bush. Republican leaders think he's a worthy adversary, tactically speaking, but they also think he stands for ideas—protectionism and heavy government regulation—that the country doesn't want.

Clearly that's not the way his Democratic colleagues feel. From the moment he announced, he was the runaway favorite for majority leader. As liberal Representative Barney Frank puts it, "He's a good legislator with a non-threatening personality. He's very bright, but not intimidating, no Lyndon Johnson. Some liberals thought he wasn't liberal enough, but the presidential race moved him in our direction. He was a year early on this sophisticated economic nationalist policy, which is the winning theme of the future. And he's the world's longest-standing Eagle Scout, which has come to be the litmus test for advancement these days."

Indeed, Gephardt is a former Eagle Scout and is regarded as squeaky clean on all counts. Rather than resort to honest graft of one sort or another to secure his financial future, Gephardt and his wife sold their close-in suburban Washington home for a healthy profit, bought a cheaper one farther out, and invested the difference ("after paying capital gains

at the current and appropriate rate," Gephardt says) for their children's college education.

Besides being clean, Gephardt is also known for his ability to see where political currents are heading. After the 1980 Democratic defeat, he was a leader of various House efforts to develop "new ideas" for liberalism. And after the 1984 defeat, he became the first chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group originally dedicated to building party strength in the South and West. Senator Bill Bradley selected Gephardt to co-sponsor tax reform legislation. Edward Kennedy asked him to co-sponsor health care cost containment legislation and, with Tom Harkin, he co-sponsored market-allocation farm legislation last year—giving him a considerable boost in Iowa.

But questions persist about whether Gephardt truly stands for anything, whether he isn't pandering to fear and loathing of the Japanese, and whether the positions he takes will be good for the Democratic Party. Gephardt and his friends insist that he's proved he is dedicated and serious about the issue of "economic strength"—to the extent of reading all the major books on competitiveness, traveling to Japan, and even taking lessons in Japanese. They say that even though he terms Japan "our greatest economic competitor" and criticizes foreigners' trade practices, he means to compete not just by threatening to keep out foreign products, but by improving American education and urging American industry to make better and cheaper products.

Yet Gephardt's 1989 speeches betray the same problem that his 1988 campaign speeches did: he expends far more energy and eloquence describing America's trade crisis and the threat that Japan poses to us than he does in describing how our government and industry can improve their own performance. He acknowledges that Japanese trade barriers represent only a small part of the reason for the trade deficit between the two countries, but he devotes most of his speeches to attacking them. This neatly parallels American public prejudices. According to a recent Yankelovich poll, 61 percent of Americans think the Japanese are successful in world trade because they make quality products and only 24 percent believe it's because they are unfair traders. Yet 61 percent want to restrict Japanese products and 76 percent regard them as a threat to American economic security.

Gephardt contends, persuasively, that to open Japanese markets to American goods will require tough bargaining. Yet there is also an element of panic and pessimism in Gephardt's oratory—"before long, Japan won't ask us to pay our debt in yen. They will tell us"—that goes beyond the necessities of negotiation and threatens to whip up dangerous nativist sentiments. Gephardt also says that free-trade agreements with the Japanese are unlikely to work, and that the solution to the trade imbalance might have to be bilateral agreements setting the level of imports. That is a prescription for a cartelized world—which Gephardt also contemplated last

year in urging production controls in agriculture.

Gephardt does praise Japan for absorbing the shock of a super-valued yen by improving industrial productivity and cutting labor costs, yet he opposes wage give-backs by American labor and opposes Japan-style tax concessions to industry. His answer to improving productivity is to "demand that our corporations reinvest in this nation ... end tax incentives for wasteful mergers ... create tax penalties for financial manipulation, and enforce anti-trust laws." Gephardt is calling for only modest increases in spending for education and no new taxes except an oil import fee.

Republican leaders such as Newt Gingrich think that a Gephardt-led Democratic Party remains too tied to unions and to a government-regulated economy to win national power. But the truth is that economic nationalism with a tinge of anti-Asian demagoguery just might have gotten Gephardt the 1992 presidential nomination. So perhaps Jim Wright's misfortune is the world's gain. Ambitious Dick Gephardt probably will run for president in 1996. And by that time, he may have figured out a positive program for American economic strength.

The cold war was lost, not won.

ENOUGH ROPE

By John Mueller

The list of people who consider the cold war to be more or less over keeps growing. Even President Bush now says it is time to move "beyond containment" and "to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations." Some hardliners still warn of a possible relapse, and their wariness is reasonable. But for now, at least, things look good: the Soviet Union appears sincere in its postrevolutionary yearning for a "quiet, normal international situation," as Mikhail Gorbachev has put it; and influential Westerners from almost everywhere along the political spectrum seem to be rooting for Gorbachev's success.

For some conservatives, one benefit of declaring the cold war over is that they can then claim to be the ones who won it. The Soviet Union's ongoing retreat, in their view, is a vindication of Ronald Reagan's eight years of aggressive opposition to communism—and, more generally, of the policy of containment that has long characterized American foreign policy and that, though less militant than the Reagan Doctrine, has often been championed by conservatives.

It is nice that the Soviet Union's redirection leaves so

many conservatives in the West feeling triumphant, but the truth is that the West didn't win the cold war at all. The Soviet Union lost it. Almost all the calamities that have brought the U.S.S.R. to its present desperate condition—compelling it not only to abandon expansionism but to rethink its political and economic philosophy—have been self-inflicted. And to the extent that American policy has contributed to the mellowing of the Soviet Union, neither the Reagan Doctrine nor the policy of containment has been crucial. In fact, it is more nearly the case that the occasional *failures* of containment are what doomed Soviet communism.

Everyone agrees that a major cause of the Soviet Union's redirection has been the staggering failure of its bureaucratic and economic system, which stifles initiative and enshrines inefficiency and dislocation. That system, however, was the Soviets' idea, and the fact that it is now catching up with them cannot be credited to Ronald Reagan or anyone else in the United States. Similarly, the Soviets have sought to suppress, often brutally, ancient nationalisms and freedoms. The contradictions that are now emerging from that failed policy owe nothing to the West, which has always rigorously opposed it. Nor can the fact that the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe has become a severe economic drain be credited to Western policy—which, of course, strenuously opposed its formation from the beginning.

The champions of containment might concede these points but reply that the contradictions of Soviet communism have been heightened by competition with the West in the international arena. This argument is strongest as it relates to arms policy. The Soviets' vast economy-straining arms buildup is undoubtedly a reaction in part to Western defense spending. But in large part it is not. Central to the classic Soviet Communist view of the world has been an intense suspicion of, and hostility toward, the surrounding capitalist world, a suspicion that verges on paranoia. Indeed, the West tried to level or reduce arms expenditures several times—in the mid-1940s, the 1960s, and the 1970s. Each time the Soviets demonstrated that their policy was "too much is not enough." As Jimmy Carter's secretary of defense, Harold Brown, reluctantly concluded, "When we build, they build; when we cut back, they build."

Soviet ideology also has had at its center a messianic drive to undermine the capitalist enemy, and it is on this drive that containment is directly focused. As Bush has pointed out, the hope has been that if this expansionary impetus were systematically frustrated, Soviet foreign policy would eventually mellow. Accordingly, the United States has sought to counter pro-Communist movements not only in areas of highest concern, such as Western Europe, but also in such peripheral areas as Korea, Laos, and the Congo. The lesson of Munich has been applied: when a country bent on expansion gains territory, the experience only whets its appetite for more. Thus when Communist expansion has been thwarted—as in Greece in the 1940s, in Korea in the 1950s, or in Central Africa in the 1960s—the policy has

Candidate of the moment.

NEO-GEPHARDT

"I WOULD get rid of government in health care. I would get rid of government in education to a much greater extent than we have. I would discharge those responsibilities either to the private sector or to the states."

Barry Goldwater in 1964? Ronald Reagan in 1980? No, this was a then-obscure House Democrat named Richard Gephardt in 1981. At the time, Gephardt belonged to a loose party faction known as the "Atari Democrats" or "neoliberals." Although neoliberalism never achieved the depth or coherence that its advocates had hoped for, the Atari Democrats did some good work in trying to wed compassionate politics with dispassionate economic analysis.

Of all the Democratic contenders in the 1988 presidential race, Gephardt is the one most closely tied to neoliberalism. And he has worked the hardest to abandon it.

- In 1980 he joined with Representative David Stockman in sponsoring a bill to deregulate health care. In 1984 he joined with Senator Edward Kennedy in sponsoring a bill to impose cost controls on the medical industry.

- As noted earlier, he once spoke of curbing Washington's role in education. Now he wants to shower America's schools with federal grants. According to the verbatim transcript of a 1986 conference of the Democratic Leadership Council, he now seeks a bigger federal role because the AFL-CIO had informed him that by 1990, "half the people in the country are liable to be unemployed because they can't write good enough. They won't be able to compute good enough." Maybe he's right: even presidential candidates don't talk good enough.

- In 1981 Gephardt proposed a constitutional amendment to protect neighborhood schools against court-ordered racial busing. In 1987 he told the NAACP that the nomination of Robert Bork for the Supreme Court threatened "all the progress of the past 50 years" on civil rights court cases.

- For years Gephardt backed an anti-abortion constitutional amendment. Now he doesn't. He once opposed federal funding for abortions. At the 1987 convention of the National Women's Political Caucus, he pledged not to veto abortion money as president.

- In 1981 he deplored the fragmentation of social programs: "[We] have AFDC, we have a number of other subsidy programs, like Social Security and SSI. It would make sense for me to consolidate that." Now that he's wooing elderly primary voters, he no longer refers to Social Security as a "subsidy." In fact, he's co-sponsoring a bill to establish the Social Security Administration as an independent agency.

- In the early part of the decade, Gephardt worked for tax simplification, saying that lower rates would help our economy more than special tax breaks. But interest groups opposed real tax reform. According to the definitive book on the 1986 tax bill, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch* by Alan Murray and Jeffrey Birnbaum, "Gephardt dropped the ball on tax reform while the legislation was experiencing hard times. . . . [His] dedication did not last."

- In 1982 Gephardt said that America's economic future belongs to people who do mental labor, not to "a work force that is particularly adept at making things. This is going to have to be a population that is particularly adept at thinking up things. That will result in some amount of manufacturing and production, but it will retain its competitive edge vis-à-vis other parts of the world with its superiority, its ability to be ahead on the thought-process end of things." Now he says that the decline in manufacturing jobs is a grave national problem, and he serves as the leading congressional proponent of protectionist trade legislation. Of course, he calls his measure "The Gephardt Global Market Access Amendment" and denies that it is protectionist.

All politicians of both parties, at least successful ones, trim their sails to adjust to prevailing winds. Few have shifted as dramatically, quickly, and smoothly as Richard Gephardt.

JOHN J. PITNEY JR.

John J. Pitney Jr. is assistant professor of government at Claremont McKenna College.

Richard A. Gephardt's strong showings in Iowa and New Hampshire have revived the question: Which, after all, is the real Dick Gephardt?

Recent attacks by rival Democratic presidential candidates, reporters and others who are miffed that Gephardt does not play by their rules have focused on three problems: the "flip-flops" in his voting record and campaign statements, his alleged pandering to key constituencies and the conflict between his roles as Washington insider and campaign populist.

A recent *Washington Post* profile was headlined, "Gephardt's Changes on Major Issues Raise Questions About His Sincerity." *U.S. News & World Report* concluded that his many changes of positions over the years raise the issue of whether "it has all become appearance." And Paul Simon, who is also running for the Democratic nomination, said of Gephardt, "The American people have had a hard time knowing where he is going to go."

Presidential campaigns are hardly an ideal forum for reasoned discourse on issues. But much of the attack on Gephardt, though it contains some kernels of truth, is simplistic and misdirected. The lawmaker from St. Louis is no saint, but some of his critics seem overly eager to attack him. And, based on the early vote returns, their concerns have not struck much of a chord with the public.

As a party leader and proponent of an array of major legislative initiatives during his 11 years in the House, Gephardt has been the frequent target of Capitol Hill critics who questioned his consistency or feared that he was too much of a young man in a hurry. Some of their doubts were well-placed; others, reflections of the jealousy and jousting that pervade a legislative body.

Those who cannot understand, for example, how a lawmaker who cuts deals with K Street lobbyists can turn into a prairie populist have perhaps forgotten that Gephardt was first elected to the House as an insurgent running against organized labor's candidate and that he publicly and privately struggled to change the party image caricatured by former Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass. Few can dispute that Gephardt has scored a notable record of achievements in areas such as health care, taxes and budget policy and that he gained the wide respect of his colleagues—far more than did Simon or fellow presidential candidate Albert Gore Jr. during a similar period in the House before each was elected to the Senate in 1984.

Similarly, the fact that Gephardt sought a middle ground on a divisive issue such as the MX missile or that he—like a sizable majority of House and Senate Democrats—voted for final passage of the 1981 tax cuts after trying to reduce their size are not necessarily marks of inconstancy. Even President Reagan, that paragon of purity, has learned that convictions sometimes give way in the process of governing.

What about Gephardt's allegedly crude protectionist pitch? No doubt, the details of his trade proposal would require refinement before being enacted. And the solution is more difficult than erecting barriers that would force a Hyundai to sell in this country for \$48,000. But, as demonstrated by the public's grow-

ing pessimism displayed in opinion polls, many voters know that this nation needs to address its serious trade problems, including unfair foreign practices, and they fear that public and private leaders have not done much to respond.

Elections, in part, are about public fears and desires. What some call pandering, others may call attempts to respond to the public mood. If a campaign such as Gephardt's spotlights problems facing sectors such as farming and energy, so much the better. It only adds to cynicism to argue that these concerns can or should be ignored. And more power to a candidate who acknowledges that he is going through a process that helps him learn about national problems from a perspective different from that of St. Louis or the House floor; failure to change because of such an experience would be a poor commentary on the candidate and his audience.

The Gephardt critics also contend that his newfound appeal came only as he fell in Iowa polls late last year and that he was saved by his slick advertising campaign. But the seeming conflict between Gephardt the insider and Gephardt the establishment-basher has been a topic of discussion for many months. He discussed this tension during a lengthy interview in October:

"I'm not running against Washington, against Congress. I

really believe you need a President who knows how to work with Congress. Having been there more than 10 years, I know you can't win without sharing goals. . . . To the extent that my ideas have been controversial and against the grain, you can say they have been anti-establishment. Throughout my career, I have been out on the perimeter on issues, but I have not done it as an outsider. . . . Some issues I have discussed are not without controversy. To the extent I am taking on accepted policy, there may be an against-the-grain aspect. I don't welcome that. But you have to define yourself and your vision." (*For a report on Gephardt's bid for the presidential nomination, see NJ, 10/31/87, p. 2720.*)

In a political world where shorthand jargon such as "liberal," "conservative" and "populist" has become meaningless despite the efforts of some to promote the stereotypes, candidates sometimes are difficult to define. It has always been a part of the process for them to attempt to define themselves in a way designed to produce victory. Democrats, in particular, should have tired of high-sounding presidential campaigns that bomb with the public.

Yes, some of Gephardt's message has changed from the one that has defined him inside the Capital Beltway. But waging a presidential campaign is very different from enacting legislation. Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole has not passed farm or tax bills by convincing his colleagues that he is "one of us." And Gephardt cannot win the presidency simply by displaying his abundant skill and patience in harmonizing warring legislative factions.

So Gephardt's often sanctimonious critics should lighten up. There are very few virgins in politics. And it has been a long time since one was elected President. □

Which Gephardt?



Richard A. Bloom

DICK GEPHARDT: LIBERAL CLASS WARRIOR

Dick Gephardt likes to set neighbor against neighbor, worker against worker, rich against poor. In Gephardt's world-view, the rich are getting richer at the expense of the poor and Americans are getting poorer because of foreign competition.

- o Nowhere is Gephardt's class warfare rhetoric more caustic than on the issue of a capital gains tax cut:

"This [capital gains] is an issue that describes a vast difference between the two parties at a time when the gap is widening between the rich and the poor."

(The Wall Street Journal, 7/25/89)

"[Gephardt] asserted that Mr. Bush's [capital gains tax cut] plan was 'designed to keep Leona Helmsley's dream alive -- that 'only little people pay taxes.' ' "

(The New York Times, 9/22/89)

"Responding to Bush's defense of the proposed capital gains tax cut, House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) said, 'the Bush proposal doesn't 'put money in the little guy's pocket,' it picks his pocket.' '"

(The Washington Post, 9/23/89)

"'This [capital gains tax cut] is Bush's folly,' Mr. Gephardt said. 'This was George Bush's idea to help out his wealthy friends...'"

(The New York Times, 9/15/89)

- o In general, Gephardt is deeply committed to increasing the tax burden on the rich:

"Though Gephardt proposed no broad-based tax increases, he said Democrats should insist on income tax progressivity by raising the marginal tax rate on the nation's wealthiest taxpayers."

(The Washington Post, 10/20/89)

- o And he encourages other Democrats to take the 'soak-the-rich' plunge as well:

"Do not give in to a threat that there will be a TV ad coming in the fall that will say: 'you voted to raise taxes.' Do not be cowed by political messages. Stand up for what you think in your heart and your mind[.]"

(Newsday, 10/13/89)

- o Again, when referring to his protectionist views on trade policy, Gephardt's neighbor against neighbor, us against them rhetoric comes through strong and clear:

"I know that this notion will not be popular with everyone, but people sitting in cushy offices, in secure jobs, have no right to tell workers on assembly lines that their homes and livelihood have to be sacrificed on the alter of a false and rigid free-trade ideology."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

- o Gephardt seems to enjoy bashing foreigners, typically at a hysterical, fever pitch:

"'This is your country. It's not theirs, its not anyone else's.' ...

"Most notably, Gephardt has stepped up assaults on Japanese and Koreans, accusing them of not only unfair trading but also of seemingly unrelated sins, such as sponging off the United States and Running an inferior political system. ...

"'... In Japan and some other countries, when they want to pick a prime minister, five or six people go into a room and pick somebody,' he said. 'We don't do that here.' ...

"Japan's leader, usually the head of the major political party, actually is elected by the nation's 600-member parliament."

(The Los Angeles Times, 1/24/88)

- o His special friends agree. In support of Gephardt, and advocating a more literal interpretation of the Gephardt amendment, Frank Wallick, a United Auto Workers (UAW) spokesman, states:

"... The only way to get the attention of Japanese, Taiwanese and Koreans is to beat them over the head."

(Minneapolis Star & Tribune, 7/6/87)

- o An editorial in U.S. News and World Report sums up the Gephardt world-view:

"... Democrat Richard Gephardt has clearly tapped into a rich xenophobic vein with his slurs against the trade practices of Korea (read Japan)."

(U.S. News and World Report, 3/14/88)

- o Washington Post columnist Hobart Rowen sums up the Gephardt strategy best:

"The [Gephardt] pitch is both slick and classic: you folks are being victimized by those wicked foreigners."

(The Washington Post, 2/11/88)

- o Even Jesse Jackson admits that Gephardt goes too far:

"... The civil-rights leader describes the Gephardt amendment aimed at exporting nations as demagogic and defeatist, and says it invites retaliation. 'You get a big applause,' Jackson says of the Gephardt trade position, 'but it's cheap.'"

(Wall Street Journal, 5/22/87)

- o Gephardt has a strange view of the state of the economy, and on Republican economic policies -- the same policies which created the longest peacetime expansion in the history of the United States.

"At home, our wages are falling; the middle class is shrinking; the number of people in poverty is increasing."

(The Washington Post, 2/24/87)

"...[T]he businesses of this country... [should] stop merging and pushing paper around and start creating jobs and creating wealth."

("Democratic Presidential Candidate's Forum," 10/7/87)

"Reagan and his callous crowd have locked out the poor... while they revel in selfishness and greed."

(Louisville Courier-Journal, 6/16/87)

- o According to Wall Street Journal Columnist Paul Gigot, Dick Gephardt the political Chameleon has now gone full circle -- from conservative Democrat to liberal class warrior:

"Once in favor of an anti-abortion amendment, he now opposes it. He once voted for the MX missile, the B-1 bomber, SDI: this year he was one of only 80 House members who voted for the Congressional Black Cacaos budget slashing defense spending. Once against the minimum wage, he now votes down-the-line with organized labor. A founder of the tax reform drive in the mid-1980s, Mr. Gephardt nearly abandoned it when the top tax rate fell too low for his neo-populist tastes.

"The makeover was complete by his 1988 presidential campaign, when he emerged as the Korea-basher of the ... Hyundai ads. Robert Schrum, the gifted Ted Kennedy-wordsmith, was enlisted to give his speeches the soak-the-rich edge that has now become a trademark. A Gatsby-in-reverse, he's remade himself as a man of 'the little people.'"

"Some attribute all this to opportunism, but that may not be fair. By the account of his friends, this is now the real Dick Gephardt. He's a convinced class warrior. Republicans, Mr. Gephardt says now, favor 'the super-rich.'"

(The Wall Street Journal, 9/29/89)

THE ACLU AND GEPHARDT: TWO PEAS IN A POD

"... I really think that in running for Congress and running for the Senate, and running for President, you need to set out your views on issues as honestly and candidly as you can. And people will make the judgement."

("Evans and Novak Report", 10/05/85)

DEATH PENALTY

The ACLU on capital punishment ...

"The ACLU is widely known as one of the most persistent critics of the death penalty. It has been active in appealing the death sentence even when its assistance has not been wanted by the candidate for execution.

"... The campaign inspired the national ACLU to launch a two-year study of the issue. The new policy argued that the death penalty denied equal protection of the laws, was cruel and unusual punishment, and removed the guarantees of due process."

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; pp. 266-267)

Gephardt on capital punishment ...

"Gephardt sounded the same theme and denounced [Judge] Bork for opposing affirmative action and the right to abortion, as well as his position in favor of the death penalty."

(United Press International, 7/6/87)

PRAYER IN SCHOOL

The ACLU on prayer in school ...

"... The ACLU has led the opposition. Sensing that time was of the essence, the Union published an ad in the New York Times just after Reagan's election. The subject occasioned an ACLU jeremiad: 'The Moral Majority -- and other groups like them -- think that children should pray in school. Not just their children. Your children.' The title of the ad showed how worrisome the organization was: 'If the Moral Majority Has Its Way You'd Better Start Praying.'"

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; p. 307)

Gephardt on prayer in school ...

"... Gephardt insisted that he never shared Reagan's belief that a Constitutional amendment was needed that would allow oral prayer in schools, directed by teachers. Gephardt said recently he favors no strengthening of current federal law, which goes only as far as allowing religious clubs in schools to use the same facilities after school as other groups."

(Scripps Howard News Service, 6/20/87)

ABORTION

The ACLU's position on abortion ...

"The American Civil Liberties Union asserts that a woman has a right to have an abortion -- that is, a termination of pregnancy prior to the viability of the fetus -- and that a licensed physician has a right to perform an abortion, without the threat of criminal sanctions."

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; p. 99)

Gephardt's position on abortion ...

"Yes, it [abortion] should be a matter of choice.

"I do not believe current federal law regarding abortion needs to be changed and I would not use the views of a prospective judicial nominee on this or any other single issue as a 'litmus test' when appointing federal judges."

(The Nation's Health, 12/87)

The facts on Gephardt:

"Indeed, the record shows that Gephardt has traveled a long way since he first ran for congress in 1976. 'A Pro-Life Promise,' said Gephardt's campaign advertisement in a newspaper that year. A grinning, youthful Gephardt, appearing with his wife and two children pledged in the ad to work for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion."

(The Los Angeles Times, 2/29/88)

Senator Gore even talks about Gephardt's position on abortion ...

"SEN. GORE: ... 'But I do not believe the federal government has the right to tell a woman when she can and cannot have an abortion. Now, that is one of the issues upon which Congressman Gephardt has changed 180 degrees. And it's not a case of just having one or two or three issues where he has changed 180 degrees. There is a long, long list of issues. You can't tell whether or not the views he is enunciating today are the ones that he will have tomorrow[.]'"

("NBC Meet the Press", 2/21/88)

COVERT ACTIONS

ACLU on U.S. covert actions ...

"... A new policy entitled 'ACLU Role in International Civil Liberties Matters' was adopted. The Union announced that it was its belief that 'the United States Constitution requires the same standard of conduct for government personnel (whether civilian or military) overseas as it requires at home.' Specifically, the board claimed that 'a policy of secrecy' encouraged civil liberties violations[.]"

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; p. 209)

Moreover ...

"Covert actions by U.S. intelligence agencies are always unconstitutional (Policy 117). The press must be allowed access to combat zones from the beginning and must be notified in advance (Policy 8). (No Grenada, no raid on Libya.)

"On military secrecy: 'The need and the right of the people to know outweighs any governmental interest in concealing military action' (Policy 7)."

(The Washington Times, 10/19/88)

Gephardt on U.S. covert actions ...

"... I'd rather spend that money on strengthening education at home, rather than burning schools in Nicaragua. The contra was a bad idea, and bad ideas never get better. When the CIA mined the harbors of Nicaragua, we were embarrassed. Then the CIA produced a manual telling people how to assassinate people and we were embarrassed again. Then our government sold arms to the Ayatollah and solicited money for the contras from the government of South Africa, and the whole world, again, knew that we had lost our moral compass."

("1988 Debates", 8/27/87)

Farm Issues Seen as Likely to Play Key Role in Shaping the 1988 Campaign

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 — Relatively few American voters have a personal stake in farm prosperity or poverty, but a lot of those who do live in Iowa, where the first Presidential caucuses of 1988 will be held on Feb. 8, and in the 15 Southern or border states that will hold primaries or caucuses a month later.

As a result, agricultural issues are likely to play a disproportionate role in the first stages of the Democratic and Republican nomination contests.

Even though most voters elsewhere may have little interest in crop subsidies and farm mortgage renegotiations, the political send-off that Iowans and Southerners give to two, three or four candidates early next year could have a significant impact on which Presidential candidates will be on the ballot in November.

Considerable importance, then, attaches to the views the 14 current Presidential contenders have on agricultural issues. Almost all of them have farm speeches, statements or votes available for scrutiny.

Sharp Rise in Farm Subsidies

By far the most controversial question is whether farmers should continue to receive special financial help from the Federal Government and, if so, how much and what kind. Under the Reagan Administration's farm program of voluntary production controls, subsidies have soared to \$25 billion to \$30 billion a year even though many smaller farmers continue to go bankrupt and farm exports are exceeded in value by food imports.

The Democrats uniformly pronounce this program a disaster, but they differ on how to change it.

Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri has the most detailed alternative, a bill now before Congress and co-sponsored by Senator Tom Harkin, an Iowa Democrat. If the bill, which they call the Save the Family Farm Act, is passed and a majority of growers approve the plan in separate referendums for each crop, mandatory controls would limit production and prices would rise accordingly. Current subsidy payments would be eliminated and government costs would drop.

But critics say the Harkin-Gephardt bill would "shut down a big portion of rural America," reduce markets for American farm products abroad by raising prices and encourage foreign growers to increase their production for sale in this country.

Other Democratic Views

Another Democratic candidate, former Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, is opposed to crop production controls, preferring to lift farm income by "a support price geared to the cost of production plus a reasonable return."

Still another Democratic candidate, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, favors some restrictions on production, which he views as "supply management" but does not go as far



Representative Richard A. Gephardt, Democrat of Missouri.

as Mr. Gephardt. Aides to Mr. Dukakis said he would continue some subsidies but would try to focus them more sharply where the need was most serious.

Mr. Gephardt's "acid test" for any new farm program is whether it results in higher prices for farmers, but one of his rivals for the Democratic nomination, Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware, differs with him on this issue. "The acid test of a new policy is that it does not curtail or eliminate export markets," Senator Biden said in a debate at the Iowa State Fair last month. "The first victim of a trade war would be the farmer, not the manufacturer."

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who plans to enter the Democratic Presidential contest formally next month, says he sees agriculture as part of a "systemic crisis" in which small farmers are threatened by large farming and business interests, just as some workers' jobs are threatened by the merger of multinational corporations. Mr. Jackson's advisers say he favors "the Harkin approach" of raising farm income by encouraging higher prices, rather than paying subsidies.

Concern About Overproduction

Other Democratic candidates are also concerned about overproduction, but vary on how they would curtail it and deal with problems that arise when overproduction occurs.

Senator Paul Simon of Illinois says that "we must increase set-asides," another term for idling land, and "do a better job of targeting farm benefits to family farms."

Senator Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee says he favors "incentive programs that curtail supply" rather than the Gephardt proposal for mandatory production controls.

Representative Patricia Schroeder of Colorado, who is also expected to en-

ter the Democratic race, says that "farmers don't need subsidies, they need markets." But as long as subsidies continue, she said, they should go to farmers rather than agricultural land-holding companies.

Two Republican Approaches

The Republican candidates take a completely different approach — actually, two approaches that are different from that of the Democrats and from each other. Generally, Vice President Bush and Senator Bob Dole of Kansas support the Reagan Administration's farm program, with which they are inescapably identified.

Other contenders for the Republican nomination favor eliminating farm subsidies, and thus the Administration's program, and returning to a free market. Former Gov. Pierre S. du Pont 4th of Delaware says he will gradually eliminate subsidy payments over five years. The Rev. Pat Robertson says he will do the same thing "over a reasonable period." Former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. calls an agricultural free market a desirable long-range goal, but talks more about "a negotiated worldwide reduction of barriers and subsidies."

Representative Jack F. Kemp of upstate New York has a kind of multiple position. He would rather keep the Administration's program than go to the mandatory production controls called for in the Harkin-Gephardt bill. But he proposes a gradual five-year return to "competitive prices," with income supplement payments during the transition period that are unrelated to production, limited in size and targeted to family farmers.

From time to time, Mr. Bush echoes President Reagan's plea for the end of farm subsidies everywhere, but the Vice President says he is committed to

gradually ending subsidies for the nation's farmers "if, and only if, our trading partners do the same."

Extension of Export Subsidies

Meanwhile, he says, the current program is "beginning to work" and is "providing stability," while the Harkin-Gephardt "policies of protectionism and production controls would result in trade barriers to our exports and mandatory acreage reductions that would cripple our farm economy."

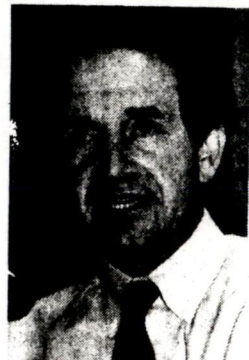
Senator Dole also says the Administration's program is "beginning to pay off." His principal suggestion for improvement is extending export subsidies, which now go to cotton and rice farmers, to those who grow corn, wheat and soybeans, adding about \$5 billion a year to the current cost of agricultural programs.

Another major issue involves farm credit and ways to help the large number of farmers who are unable to handle the debts they assumed when times were more promising. Generally, the Democratic candidates express more concern over this problem than the Republicans. Mr. Bush, in a visit to Iowa this summer, issued a five-page statement on "rebuilding rural America" without mentioning the farm credit crisis once.

Revisions in Farm Credit

Several Democrats have expressed qualified approval of a bill approved by the House Agriculture Committee that would overhaul the Farm Credit System, a quasi-governmental lending apparatus, but does not provide funds for the action, which would cost from \$4 billion to \$6 billion.

Mr. Gephardt says the credit measure is essentially the same as a major section of the legislation he and Sena-



Senator Tom Harkin

tor Harkin are sponsoring. Senator Biden supports revising the Farm Credit System to promote restructuring loans as an alternative to foreclosing mortgages. Senator Gore wants to improve the Farm Credit System so that "no farmer is taken needlessly off the land."

Senator Simon emphasizes that stabilizing banks in the system must benefit farmers who borrow from them, as well as bankers. The same condition is stressed by Mr. Jackson as an element of his support of any "bail-out" of the Farm Credit System. He also says he wants to make foreclosed farm land available first to its previous owners and then to those who are starting to

farm, restarting or are members of minority groups.

Governor Dukakis says he backs new capital for the Farm Credit System and more debt-restructuring assistance for farmers, but has expressed concern about the cost of the House bill. Mr. Babbitt wants farm credit officials to "make every effort to restructure a loan before foreclosing it."

Mrs. Schroeder is described as "skeptical" about direct use of Federal funds to bail out the Farm Credit System. Solvency will come, she said, when increased exports of agricultural products raise the value of farm land.

'Aggie Mae' Program Backed

Among the Republicans, Mr. Kemp favors strengthening the credit system with "a self-liquidating government loan" rather than a direct use of Federal funds. Last May he backed the creation of a new government-sponsored secondary market for farm mortgages, nicknamed Aggie Mae after its home loan counterpart, Fannie Mae. This is one of the provisions in the House farm credit legislation that has won committee approval.

Mr. Haig, Mr. Robertson and Mr. du Pont have all urged debt restructuring to prevent foreclosure.

There is bipartisan support among the candidates for research to promote new uses for agricultural products and for developing new markets abroad for American farm products, particularly by persuading foreign countries to reduce or eliminate their own agricultural subsidies.

Candidates of both parties are also talking about broader economic development of rural areas. But most of these projects cost a lot of money, and no one talks too much about that.

Gephardt Defends Trade Plan

NY Times 10/30/87, p31

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29 — As members of Congress flee from trade bill provisions with any hint of protectionism in the wake of the stock market tumble, Representative Richard A. Gephardt, who has made such measures a centerpiece of his Presidential campaign, said today that he was holding firm.

Mr. Gephardt declined comment on assertions by lawmakers that the market's plunge spelled defeat, or at least major revisions, in the amendment to the trade bill the Missouri Democrat has championed. Rather, Mr. Gephardt said, the latest economic woes heightened the need for his leadership.

Plunge Tied to Trade Report

"I'm going to turn up the heat on trade issues," Mr. Gephardt said in a telephone interview today during a campaign stop in Iowa. "We're in this mess because we have been doing nothing at all about trade. The crash on Wall Street began when the trade numbers came out."

Several political analysts said the tirade on Wall Street against protectionism could hurt Mr. Gephardt politically because he is seen in Washington and throughout the country as the leading proponent of such

He asserts that his amendment is far different from Smoot-Hawley.

measures. But they also noted that he could benefit by stressing that he would be the best-prepared candidate to grapple with economic matters.

"The bad news for Gephardt is the obvious," said Norman Ornstein, a political scientist at the American Enterprise Institute. "If you were to do a word association game with Wall Street people and Dick Gephardt, the word that would immediately spring up would be 'protectionist,' and in a very strong way."

"The good news," Mr. Ornstein added, "is that people are looking for a strong and steady leader who knows how Washington works. The market situation reinforces that. Here's a guy who served on the Ways and Means and Budget committees. He can take advantage of that if he can avoid the protectionist monkey on his back."

What Amendment Would Do

Mr. Gephardt's amendment to the trade bill, which is now before confer-

ees who are seeking to reconcile versions passed by the House and Senate, would require tough retaliation in the form of import quotas or tariffs against countries such as Japan that maintain large trade surpluses with the United States.

But now, lawmakers are particularly sensitive about the amendment's protectionist components because they fear the proposals would be perceived as resembling the Smoot-Hawley Act enacted in the 1930's. The import barriers in that act exacerbated the nation's economic troubles after the 1929 Wall Street crash and helped prompt the nation's worst depression.

William E. Brock 3d, the outgoing Secretary of Labor, went even further than some lawmakers and this week urged Congress to abandon the trade legislation, saying it would "scare people to death."

In the interview today, Mr. Gephardt disagreed. "I would say the opposite," he said. "Bill Brock couldn't be more wrong than he is. The bill should be worked on and completed."

His amendment is far different from Smoot-Hawley, Mr. Gephardt said, because it does not call for across-the-board tariffs and includes provisions for negotiations to eliminate foreign trade barriers.

Joseph P. Kennedy II

Why I Voted Against the Gephardt Amendment

5-4-87 15

The American people are right to be deeply concerned and frustrated with America's declining international trade performance. That frustration boiled over last week in a vote in the House of Representatives that narrowly passed the Gephardt amendment, a proposal to get tough with America's trading partners that run large surpluses with this country. As a message of frustration, the Gephardt amendment is certainly effective, and I was deeply tempted to join most of my fellow Democrats and organized labor in supporting the proposal. But in the end, frustration, however much justified, cannot by itself make a workable policy.

The Gephardt amendment sends a message, but that message is too blunt to provide real benefits to Americans, whether as workers or consumers. The amendment requires numerically rigid tariff retaliation against countries that run large bilateral trade surpluses with the United States and are determined by the U.S. International Trade Commission to pursue unfair trading practices. This last requirement is just window dressing. All countries, including our own, pursue some trading practices that are unfair to others. We restrict imports of steel, textiles, apparel and sugar, just to mention a few.

The real teeth in the amendment lie in its provision for automatic retaliation against any country running a large surplus with the United States, without regard to the country's overall trade balance or the root causes of the surplus. If the Gephardt amendment actually becomes law, it could lead us into an international trade war in a deeply divided and hostile world, the kind of trade war that helped cause the Great Depression half a century ago.

To vote against the Gephardt amendment is not to endorse the president's economic policies. President Reagan has a lot to answer for on the trade front. In his six years in office, the United States has gone from being the world's largest creditor nation to the world's largest debtor nation. When President Reagan took office, our balance of trade in goods and services was in surplus. By 1986, the balance had exploded to a \$125 billion deficit, the largest in the history of the world. This year the United States is expected to finish \$170 billion in the red—another world record.

The problem with the Gephardt amendment is that it doesn't address the real causes of this trade mess—the shortcomings of this administration's policies. Rather it blames the

If the amendment becomes law, it could lead us into the kind of trade war that helped cause the Great Depression.

rest of the world for our problems. The "us versus them" logic of the Gephardt amendment is ironically part and parcel of Reagan's overall feel-good politics of the 1980s. When problems arise, Reagan always says they are somebody else's fault. Dozens of our trading partners and allies didn't suddenly get sneaky with us once Reagan came into office. However comfortable that view may be, there is no evidence or logic to support it. There are trade abuses, and we should pinpoint them and fight them, retaliating if necessary. But we shouldn't pretend that our new and massive problems have suddenly arisen because the world is ganging up on us.

The real causes of our trade problems are not hard to find. The Reagan administration has led us into a consumption binge, with cuts in taxes and increases in military spending that have overheated our economy and sucked in imports from around the world. For five years the administration pursued a devastating policy of a super-strong dollar (remember how the president used to boast about the overvalued dollar!) and thereby priced our goods out of world markets.

The administration has prodded Latin American countries into harsh austerity programs to get them to repay impossibly high debts quickly. That has caused those countries to cut back sharply on their purchases of U.S. goods.

And most important, the president has neglected the steps the federal government should take to improve the productivity of U.S. industry. Our productivity as a nation is the real source of our competitiveness abroad and our rising living standards at home.

The president has demanded, and achieved, cutbacks in education, in basic research, in investments in our nation's infrastructure—

all of which are vital for long-term productivity growth and increasing living standards. Reagan says that the government is the source of our problems. A more constructive approach to leadership would ask how the government can be part of the solution.

The Gephardt amendment ignores these realities. Our allies are troubled by our inability to come to grips with our own problems and our eagerness to pin the blame on them. If we impose new tariffs, as the mechanistic formula of the Gephardt amendment would force us to do, our trading partners will respond in kind. If we cannot tackle the underlying problems in our economy, the inflow of savings from the rest of the world will run dry and interest rates will soar. We saw this in a brief but powerful way a few weeks ago when the president's new \$300 million in tariffs against Japan took effect: the bond and stock markets fell sharply, and the dollar sank against several currencies.

A realistic trade policy must begin with a realistic economic policy. Taxes can't be cut by 30 percent on the flimsy pretense that "supply-side" miracles will make up the lost revenue. Military budgets can't be expanded without regard for military needs and the means for paying for such spending. The dollar can't be allowed to rise by 50 percent against our competitors' currencies, giving our competitors a 50 percent competitive edge over American labor. Productivity growth can never be achieved by cutting education, research and job training.

As responsible legislators, we need to pursue policies that address these real issues. The easy-out of Japan-bashing will not solve our trade problems. To the extent that foreign trade practices are unfair, and many are, the House trade bill, without the Gephardt amendment, would require specific actions that are well targeted against the offending practices. The United States must bargain aggressively in the multilateral trade negotiations just getting under way in the Uruguay Round. We should fight for more open markets for our agricultural, high-tech and service industries in those talks. But just as we demand that others put their houses in order, we must do the same with our own. Only if we recognize that there are two parts to the problem can we have a real trade policy that doesn't just point fingers—or worse, take the first step toward a global trade war.

The writer is a Democratic representative from Massachusetts.

Gephardt bill saves textile firms, fleeces the consumer

By Warren T. Brookes

ORANGE CO.
1166.
2-26 Fr. B1

Rep. Richard "Smoot-Hawley" Gephardt is sweeping through the Super Tuesday Southland, proclaiming himself the protector of the poor and downtrodden.

Actually, he's carrying water for the very profitable US textile industry, which backs his protectionist trade amendment while pushing more quotas for its own products.

This powerful lobby has already scared the Reagan administration into imposing tight textile quotas on Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and now mainland China. These quotas have already cost US consumers \$9 billion in higher import prices as these countries "trade up" to fill their quotas.

So the consumer is already paying for Gephardt's protectionism, whose primary result is not to protect jobs but expand profits.

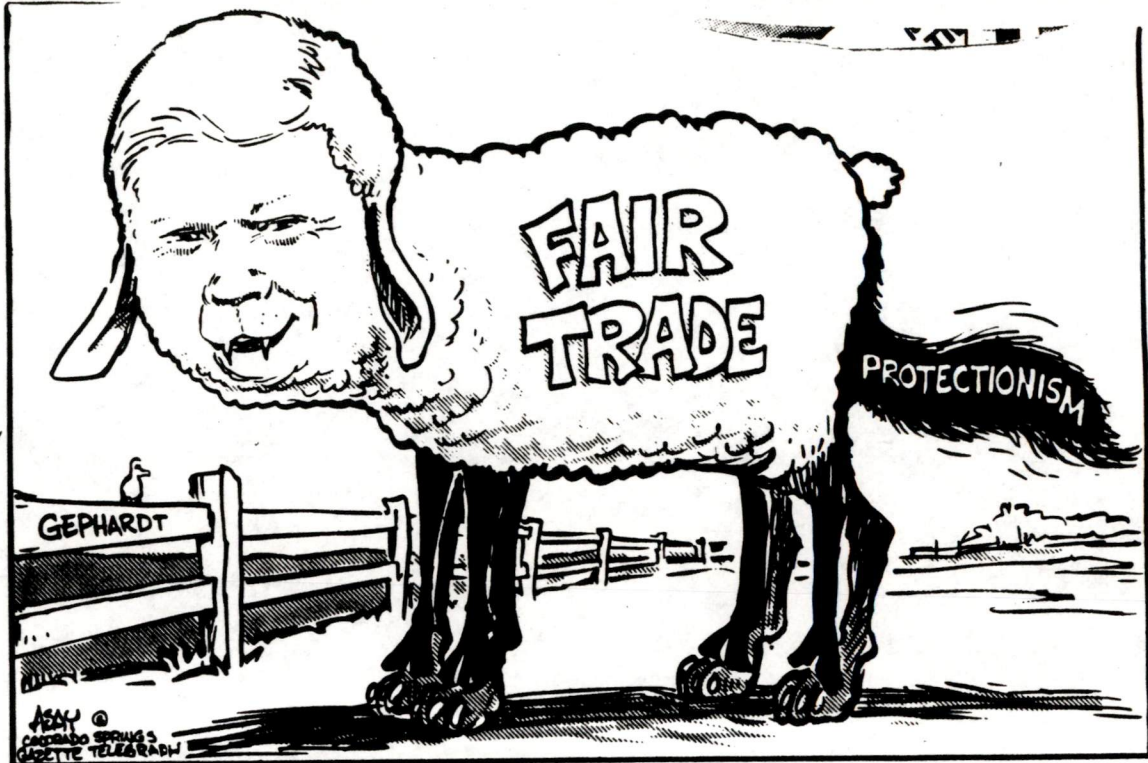
Since 1982, no other major industry has generated as good a financial return as textiles, with a more than 600 percent rise in equity value, even after the October market crash. Indeed the textile state economies are among the strongest in the nation with 30 percent higher job growth.

Yet, no other major industry has spent less on expanding its capacity, with the result that today, textile plants are operating at more than 95 percent, and turning down large orders from domestic customers.

As Leslie Wexner, the enormously successful chief executive officer of Limited Stores, which imports about half of its women's garments, said in a Capitol Hill interview last October:

"If we were to cut imports by 10-20 percent in this country by protectionism, they couldn't make up the difference. Consumer prices would go up 20-30 percent. We aren't prejudiced against US manufacturers. They are just behind the times technologically, and can't deliver in the new fast-moving style market we now face. Even if labor costs were identical, timeliness is still the key. Today we can write orders from Asia on Aug. 1 and receive substantial quantities by mid-September.

"Last August, we offered a major US manufacturer a



potential contract for several hundred million dollars worth of business a year. ... We said, when we send you a sample garment by Federal Express, how soon can you send us counter-samples so we know you understand what you are duplicating. Their guy says 'three weeks.'

"Wait a minute, we said, we send samples to the Orient by air and get them back in three days with travel. ... They told us their sample rooms are just not geared up to work on anything less than a three-week cycle."

As Wexner said sadly, "That ended the discussion. They simply walked away from several hundred million worth of business."

As London's *Financial Times* reported on Oct. 12, "There has been a marked stagnation of investment in new textile machinery by the American textile industry during the past three years. So much so that China, in a concerted drive to build up its ... exports, has overtaken the United States as the main destination for textile machinery."

One of the reasons? *Financial Times* reported: "The US textile manufacturing sector is dominated by some very large companies — they buy machines in huge quantities or not at all — and the early 1980s has been one of those capital spending gaps."

As Wexner charged, "The industry's old boy network would rather fight for protection than compete in the market. The textile industry is powerful on the (Capitol)

Hill because they are so much more socially connected than the retailers — they grew up together, went to school together."

But Wexner said, "This breeds a kind of anti-competitive mentality. There is a kind of desperation in the industry — they can't see how to win and they aren't working at it in fundamental ways — they are saying to Congress, 'save my ass'."

Wexner got so frustrated with US suppliers that he staged his own trade fair at his Ohio headquarters last August, and brought in more than 850 manufacturers. But when he offered large orders, "They just couldn't deliver."

"Foreign competitors are coming here and buying cotton and wool, and converting it into goods over there, and sending it back here because we aren't converting it successfully here."

Wexner warns, "If we pass a textile bill the domestic industry won't do anything. Most American industry doesn't really want to compete. They have to be forced by the market."

So, even as the textile states are booming, "Smoot" Gephardt is stirring sympathy for an industry that doesn't deserve it — and making trouble for consumers who will pay for it.

Brookes is a syndicated columnist.

Rep. Gephardt Favors Tax Increase

Congress Should Seek Agreement With White House, He Says

WP 1/24/82

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) said yesterday that Congress should seek an agreement with the White House for a tax increase to help avoid drastic spending cuts next year under the new Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-balancing law.

In remarks to a legislative strategy session of the American Association of Retired Persons and in an interview later, Gephardt said he would prefer to raise income taxes. But he said Congress is more likely to support an increase in gasoline taxes or oil import fees if petroleum prices continue to fall.

Gephardt, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, acknowledged that President Reagan has indicated no softening of his opposition to a tax increase and conceded that a tax increase "isn't going to happen" without Reagan's support.

But Gephardt's advocacy on the eve of Congress' return today underscores mounting pressure on Capitol Hill for a tax increase to minimize damage to domestic and defense programs under the new law, designed to force a balanced budget by fiscal 1991.

Mandatory cuts of \$11.7 billion for the rest of fiscal 1986 are scheduled to take effect March 1. Anticipated cuts approaching \$60 billion for fiscal 1987 will take effect Oct. 15 unless Congress and Reagan agree on an alternative.

In a separate assessment, Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) said yesterday that the legislation will require cuts next year of nearly 28 percent in a wide variety of social programs, along with a reduction of nearly 17 percent in defense spending. Cumulative cuts for the two years would amount to 31 percent for domestic programs and 21 percent for defense, he said.

Defense and domestic spending will be cut equally in dollar terms, but the domestic percentage is higher because many programs, including Social Security and anti-poverty spending, are exempt.

Schumer opposed the budget-balancing law when it was enacted late last year, calling it "self-inflicted fiscal terrorism" and predicting that it would be repealed or substantially revised when its full impact became clear.

For the first two years, Schumer calculates a reduction in student loans from \$4.9 billion to \$3.4 billion; housing for the elderly and handicapped from \$1.9 billion to \$1.3 billion; the National Institutes of Health from \$5.5 billion to \$3.8



Rep. Richard A. Gephardt conceded that a tax rise "isn't going to happen" without the support of President Reagan.

billion; the Federal Bureau of Investigation from \$1.2 billion to \$843 million, and the Internal Revenue Service from \$3.6 billion to \$2.5 billion.

Schumer said in an interview that he also would favor a tax increase but added, "Gramm-Rudman has to be repealed, first and foremost." Even with a tax increase, he said, "it would be impossible to reach \$144 billion [the deficit target for fiscal 1987] without serious damage to the economy."

But Gephardt, while characterizing the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law as a "blunt instrument," said he hoped it will help bring Congress and the White House to the bargaining table after five years of budget stalemate.

He said he thinks that the House-passed tax-overhaul legislation pending in the Senate might be the proper vehicle for a tax increase. But he said such an increase could be considered separately.

Spending will have to be cut to persuade Reagan and members of Congress to agree to a tax increase,

Gephardt said. But to require massive deficit reductions through spending cuts alone, as the president is expected to do in his fiscal 1987 budget, is "wrong-headed," he said.

Expert Custom Tailoring & Alterations

for men & women



- Suits
 - Sportcoats
 - Topcoats
 - Tuxedos
- Largest Selections of finest fabrics

Are you a 10 inch drop? Broad Shoulders with Small Waist and Big Thighs? Hard to fit or unpopular size? All custom designs done on premises.

WE GUARANTEE PERFECT FIT.

Christopher Kim's
MEN'S WEAR • CUSTOM TAILORING
2025 M St. N.W., Wash, D.C. 955-KIMS

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at noon.

Committee:

Judiciary—9:30 a.m. Open. Patents, copyrights and trademarks subc. On manufacture and public distribution of certain copyright material, and manufacturing clause of the copyright law. 226 Dirksen Office Building.

HOUSE

Meets at noon.

Committees:

Foreign Affairs—1:30 p.m. Open. Asian and Pacific affairs subc. On investigation into Philippine investments in the U.S. 2172 Rayburn House Office Building.

Public Works and Transportation—10 a.m. Open. Investigations subc. On insurance affordability and availability. 2167 RHOB.

DIABETES

People with diabetes who have been taking insulin for 1-15 years are invited to participate in a nationwide study of a new drug that might help to prevent eye and nerve damage from the disease. To be eligible for the study, diabetics must be between 18 and 56 years of age and have few if any signs of diabetes-related eye damage.

For more information, call 301/496-6534, National Eye Institute, NIH, Bethesda, Maryland 20205