

TO: Senator Dole
FR: Kerry

RE: A few thoughts for the Ollie North events

*I've got some bad news and some good news today. The bad news is that you better put your hands on your wallets or your purses, because the Democrat controlled Congress is back in session today.

*And the good news is that there are only a few more months left of Democrat control, because come this November, Americans and Virginians are going to send more Republicans to the House and the Senate.

*I've travelled across the country during the past few weeks on behalf of Republican candidates...And from New York to Michigan to Oregon to Washington to Nebraska to Iowa...I saw the same thing.

*I saw outstanding Republican candidates with good organizations and good ideas. And I saw more and more people becoming excited about the Republican Party.

*And that's certainly the case here in Virginia. As you know, last year was a very successful one for Republicans here in Virginia, with the election of George Allen.

*And this year will be just as successful with the election of Oliver North.

*Despite the fact that everyone thinks that everyone in Washington knows everyone else, Oliver North and I had not met until he came to my office after his victory in the state convention.

*And Ollie and I discovered that we shared a few things in common.

*One being that both of us are proud to have served our country in the military. Ollie, of course, served in Vietnam, and I served in World War II. I invited Strom Thurmond to drop by our meeting to tell us what it was like to serve under George Washington during the Revolutionary War.

*What else do we share in common?

*We both support the Balanced Budget Amendment. We both support the Line Item Veto. We both support creating jobs by reducing the capital gains tax rate. We both want to stop a government take over of the best health care system in the world. we both support crime legislation that focuses on prisons and penalties--and not pork.

*And--most importantly--we both think that Bob Dole should be Senate Majority Leader.

*And with Bob Dole as Majority Leader and Newt Gingrich as Speaker of the House, you'll see the Balanced Budget Amendment, the Line Item veto, and all the other tihngs I mentioned.

90 AP 09-12-94 17:46 EST 65 Lines. Copyright 1994. All rights reserved.

~~AM-VA--Senate Race, Dole, 520~~

North Brings Senate Minority Leader to Campaign

AP Photo

By JOE TAYLOR Associated Press Writer

NORFOLK (AP) Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole campaigned vigorously Monday for Republican Oliver L. North, showing none of the qualms he had voiced earlier this year about the Iran-Contra figure.

Instead, Dole assailed President Clinton's plans to invade Haiti and topple its military dictator. North, meanwhile, portrayed Democratic Sen. Charles S. Robb as a rubber stamp for Clinton's liberal policies.

In his first campaign trip to Virginia for North, Dole said the United States has no vital interest in the poor Caribbean nation and Clinton has no reason to send troops there.

"He's about to make a big mistake," Dole said of the president.

Dole and North went from Alexandria to Norfolk to Roanoke to Richmond on a series of hastily arranged rallies. About 50 people turned out in an airport meeting room in Norfolk where North and Dole spent less than 30 minutes.

"I am very proud of Oliver North and very proud to be here," Dole said. "I don't make any bones about that."

When Virginia Republicans nominated North, Dole said he was troubled by it in view of North's role in the Iran-Contra affair as a national security aide to President Reagan. North was convicted of three felonies for his role in the illegal scheme to fund anti-communist Nicaraguan rebels with the proceeds from arms sales to Iran. The convictions were overturned on appeal.

Dole made no mention of his initial reluctance to support North.

When reporters asked Dole why he changed his mind about North, he replied, "I didn't change my mind. I kept my word."

Fellow Republican Sen. John Warner of Virginia, who backs independent Marshall Coleman, had asked Dole not to support North and claimed North was unfit to serve in the Senate.

The day's first campaign event was held at Alexandria's Mount Vernon Country Club, which costs \$14,000 to join and has no black members. Club President Michael A. Konopka said the club has Hispanics, Asians and women among its 525 members and said blacks would be welcome.

"We have absolutely no discrimination toward any race, religion or gender," Konopka said.

North and Dole arrived early for a rally at the Richmond airport, spoke briefly and left without taking reporters' questions. They had a fund-raising dinner in Richmond Monday night.

Elsewhere in the campaign Monday, Coleman told a group of business leaders in Fredericksburg that North has "a tainted past" from his Iran-Contra role and is "desperate to rehabilitate himself."

Former Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, the fourth candidate in the race, won the endorsement Monday of Richmond Mayor Leonidas Young, who said Wilder's record "is one that merits him continued service."

Young said he was particularly pleased that Wilder, who like Coleman is running as an independent, pushed for legislation establishing a statewide handgun sales limit. Richmond already has set a record this year for homicides.

Robb was to speak Monday night to the Richmond City Council about federal crime legislation.

94 REU 09-12-94 18:06 EST 51 Lines. Copyright 1994. All rights reserved.
BC-HAITI-USA-CONGRESS

Republicans urge vote on Haiti invasion

By Robert Green

WASHINGTON, Sept 12 (Reuters) - Republican congressional leaders Monday asked majority Democrats to schedule a vote on authorizing U.S. military action in Haiti before any American troops are sent into combat.

"We request that you expeditiously schedule congressional consideration of a resolution authorizing the use of U.S. military forces to implement the Clinton administration's policy toward Haiti," Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole and House Republican Bob Michel said in a letter to House Speaker Thomas Foley and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell.

The Republicans said the situation in Haiti was similar to the buildup of U.S. forces before the Gulf War in 1991 when President George Bush sought and got resolutions of support for military action against Iraq from the House and Senate.

Bush did not get advance approval for the invasion of Panama in 1989 and President Ronald Reagan invaded Grenada in 1983 without asking Congress, but the Republicans said Haiti was different.

"Unlike the cases of Grenada in 1983 and Panama in 1989, American citizens in Haiti are not in immediate danger. Also unlike the situations in Grenada and Panama, the element of surprise is not a factor in Haiti due to recent administration statements and actions," Dole and Michel said.

Foley, asked if Clinton needed advance approval of Congress before invading Haiti, told reporters, "I think it's an ambiguous situation. It's better for the president to have the support of Congress."

Several Republicans and Democrats spoke out against an invasion of Haiti as Congress returned from its summer recess.

"A large majority in Colorado does not think we should invade Haiti. We should listen to them," Colorado Democrat David Skaggs said.

"An invasion would be a disaster for everyone involved," Kentucky Republican Jim Bunning said, while Pennsylvania Republican Curt Weldon added: "Not one American life is worthy of this president using Haiti as a means of demonstrating his political prowess."

Indiana Democrat Leo Hamilton, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee urged President Clinton to send a high level emissary to Haiti before ordering a military invasion to overthrow the military rulers.

But Hamilton said he had little hope the mission would work, adding, "I think an intervention is highly likely."

An ABC News poll Monday found 73 percent of 1,522 Americans questioned last week opposed an invasion of Haiti.

REUTERS

93 AP 09-12-94 18:03 MSW 106 lines. Copyright 1994. All rights reserved.

AM-US-Haiti, lat Id-writer:ru,a0681,910
Non-US Troop Pledges for Haiti Increase; Republicans Seek Vote
Eds: LEADS with 16 drafts to include Republican call for vote;
Picksup 11th pgs, "Ho (Clinton) xxx"
By GEORGE GEDDA Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) Seventeen countries, including three NATO allies, Israel and far-off Bangladesh, have pledged a combined minimum of 1,500 troops to assist a U.S.-led invasion of Haiti, the State Department said Monday.

Meanwhile, Republican leaders said Congress should debate a resolution authorizing the commitment of U.S. forces to an invasion.

And Pentagon officials announced that, as part of an ongoing buildup, two aircraft carriers are being readied to carry troops and special forces into Haiti, should an invasion be ordered.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher said the commitments of the 17 countries are a "strong indication of the resolve of the international community to join us in seeking the restoration of democracy in Haiti."

The administration has been pushing hard to recruit troops to join American forces in liberating Haiti after three years of military dictatorship. Current planning calls for the deployment of about 20,000 U.S. troops.

The 17 countries, some of which had been announced previously, are: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, The Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bolivia, Dominica, Guyana, Israel, Jamaica, The Netherlands, Panama, St. Vincent, Trinidad and the United Kingdom.

The non-U.S. personnel would be sent to Haiti after the initial invasion force virtually all U.S. personnel establishes a "secure environment."

Other officials said the actual contributions of the 17 probably will exceed 1,500, mostly military forces and police.

Speaking to reporters at the State Department, Christopher said the administration, in seeking to reinstate deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, is pursuing the same goal sought by President Bush.

But Republicans, while favoring that goal, generally have opposed the use of American force to achieve it.

Monday a group of Republican leaders sent a letter to House Speaker Tom Foley, D-Wash., and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, saying there is "ample time" to debate the Haiti invasion question since the United States and its citizens are not immediately threatened.

Signing the letter were Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., Minority Whip Alan Simpson, R-Wyo., House Minority Leader Robert Michel, R-Ill., and Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, R-Ga.

The Republicans noted that the Bush administration received prior approval for launching Operation Desert Storm to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi invaders.

"President Bush took a risk in coming to Congress, but the U.S. policy was immeasurably strengthened after the congressional votes in support of authorizing force in the Persian Gulf," the Republicans wrote.

They noted that Mitchell and Foley said at the time that Bush was required to seek prior approval.

Gingrich said Monday a U.S.-led invasion of Haiti will cause "revulsion" among Americans.

"He (Clinton) is so far out on a limb I don't see how he can avoid it," Gingrich said at a luncheon with Associated Press reporters and editors.

Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said, "It is time, Mr. President, to put an end to gunboat liberalism."

Sen. Judd Gregg, R-N.H. said an invasion would put American lives at risk without the administration "having properly explained to the American people why..."

But Christopher said the stakes for the United States include

defense of democracy in the hemisphere as well as protection of human rights.

"This government that has overthrown the legitimate government has been repressive in the extreme," Christopher said.

Despite continuing U.S. threats, Christopher said there is no indication Haiti's leaders are willing to step aside voluntarily.

He said training requirements of the additional troops do not necessarily mean the invasion will be delayed. Announcements of additional contributions are expected in the coming days, he said.

Seeking to defuse criticism that Haiti is a potential quagmire for the United States, Christopher said the U.S. role there is not "nation-building," a task he said should be left to Haitians.

The Pentagon officials, describing the increased deployments in the Caribbean, said the USS America, currently in Norfolk, Va., will be deployed as will the USS Eisenhower.

The Eisenhower sailed into Norfolk Monday to "reconfigure" Pentagon plans for replacing its F 14 Tomcat jet fighters and A-6 Intruder bombers with members of the Army's 10th Mountain Division, a light infantry unit that was involved in operations in Somalia.

Special operations forces which usually enter a hostile zone to capture vital targets in advance of the main invasion force will be on the America, the officials said.

They said the America will be ready to set sail within a day or so.

The Navy has more than 15 ships in the region, including a force of 1,800 Marines who have been holding high-profile military exercises in Puerto Rico.

SCHEDULE

Draft # 3 - 9/9/94

Contact: Mo Taggart
703/684-7848
Beep 800/946-4646
pin # 1115689

SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE -- SEPTEMBER 12, 1994 -- VIRGINIA

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1994

10:00 am DEPART Capitol for National Federation of Republican Women Coffee

Driver: Wilbert
Drive time: 25 minutes
Location: Mount Vernon Country Club
5211 Old Mill Road
Alexandria, VA

10:25 am ARRIVE Mount Vernon Country Club
703/780-8700

10:30 am ATTEND National Federation of Republican Women Coffee

Location: Main Dining Room
Attendance: 200
Event runs: 10:00 - 11:30 am
Press: Open
Facility: Riser, podium and mic
Format: Mix and mingle
10:45 am Carol Archibald, Chairman of Northern
Va. Chapter, introduces Senator Dole
10:50 am Senator Dole gives remarks and
introduces Oliver North
11:05 am Oliver North gives remarks
Contact: Pamela Harrington
703/802-6600

11:30 am DEPART Coffee for National Airport

Driver: Kim Allen
Drive time: 20 minutes

11:50 am ARRIVE airport and proceed to departing aircraft

FBO: Signature
703/419-8440

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1994

Page Two

11:55 am DEPART Washington for Norfolk, VA

FBO: Piedmont Aviation
Aircraft: Turbo Commander
Tail number: 690 HT
Flight time: 50 minutes
Pilots: John Hinerman
To be determined
Seats: 4
Meal: Sandwiches
Manifest: Senator Dole
Oliver North
M. Goodin
M. Glassner

12:45 pm ARRIVE Norfolk, VA

FBO: Piedmont Aviation
804/857-3463

1:00 pm- ATTEND Press Conference/Rally

1:45 pm

Location: Piedmont Aviation
Attendance: 100 - 150
Event runs: 1:00 - 1:45 pm
Press: Open
Facility: Podium and Mic
Format: ? introduces Oliver North
Oliver North gives remarks
Oliver North introduces Senator Dole
Senator Dole gives remarks
Contact: Pamela Harrington
703/802-6600
703/802/6607 fax

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1994

Page Three

2:00 pm DEPART Norfolk for Roanoke, VA

FBO: Piedmont Aviation
Aircraft: Turbo Commander
Tail number: 690HT
Flight time: 1 hour
Pilots: John Hinerman
To be determined
Seats: 4
Meal: None
Manifest: Senator Dole
Oliver North
M. Goodin
M. Glassner

3:00 pm ARRIVE Roanoke, VA

FBO: Piedmont Aviation
703/563-4401

3:05 pm DEPART airport for Press Conference and Rally

Driver: Ken Ford
Drive time: 10 minutes
Location: Roanoke Civic Center

3:15 pm- ATTEND Press Conference/Rally

4:05 pm Location: Civic Center
Attendance: 150
Event runs: 3:15 - 4:05 pm
Press: Open
Facility: Podium, and mic
Format: ? introduces Oliver North
Oliver North gives remarks
Oliver North introduces Senator Dole
Senator Dole gives remarks
Contact: Pamela Harrington
703/802-6600
703/802/6607 fax

4:05 pm DEPART Civic Center for airport

Driver: Ken Ford
Drive time: 10 minutes

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1994

Page Four

4:15 pm ARRIVE Roanoke airport

FBO: Piedmont Aviation
703/563-4401

4:20 pm DEPART Roanoke for Richmond, VA

FBO: Aero Services
Aircraft: Turbo Commander
Tail number: 690 IIT
Flight time: 45 minutes
Pilots: John Hinerman
To be determined
Seats: 4
Meal: None
Manifest: Senator Dole
Oliver North
M. Goodin
M. Glassner

5:05 pm ARRIVE Richmond, VA

FBO: Aero Services
804/226-7200

5:10 pm- ATTEND Press Conference and Rally

6:00 pm Attendance: 100-150
Event runs: 5:00 - 6:00 pm
Press: Open
Facility: Podium and mic
Format: ? introduces Oliver North
Oliver North gives remarks
Oliver North introduces Senator Dole
Senator Dole gives remarks
Contact: Pamela Harrington
703/802-6600
703/802/6607 fax

6:05 pm DEPART airport for Richmond Marriott

Driver: Bobby Richardson
Drive time: 25 minutes
Location: Broad and 5th Streets

6:30 pm ARRIVE Richmond Marriott

804/643-3400

MONDAY, SEPT 11 1994

Page Five

6:30 pm- ATTEND **100-Dollar Reception for Oliver North**
 7:00 pm
 Location: Ballroom Section
 Attendance: 25 @ \$500 per person
 Event runs: 6:30 - 7:00 pm
 Press: Open
 Facility: None
 Format: Photo - op
 Contact: Pamela Harrington
 703/802-6600

7:00 pm- ATTEND **ATTEND Fundraising Dinner for Oliver North**
 8:00 pm
 Location: Ballroom
 Attendance: 100 - 125 @ \$50 per person
 Event runs: 7:00 - 8:30 pm
 Press: Open
 Facility: Podium and mic, no headtable
 Format: Dinner Served
 7:30 pm Pat McSweeney introduces Senator Dole
 7:35 pm Senator Dole gives remarks and introduces
 Oliver North
 7:50 pm Oliver North gives remarks
 Contact: Pamela Harrington
 703/802-6600

8:00 pm DEPART **Marriott for airport**
 Driver: Bobby Richardson
 Drive time: 20 minutes

8:20 pm ARRIVE **airport and proceed to departing aircraft**
 (BO): Aero Services
 804/226-7200

8:25 pm DEPART **Richmond for Washington/National Airport**
 (BO): Signature
 Aircraft: Turbo commander
 Tail number: 690 HT
 Flight time: 35 minutes
 Pilots: John Hinerman
 To be determined
 Seats: 4
 Meal: None
 Manifest: Senator Dole
 M. Glassner

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1994

Page Six

9:00 pm ARRIVE National Airport

FBO: Signature
703/419-8440

9:05 pm DEPART airport for Watergate

Driver: Wilbert

9:20 pm ARRIVE Watergate



VIRGINIA

Patrick McSweeney Chairman



Present

Chairman, Republican Party of Virginia, elected - May 30, 1992
Member, Virginia State Bar
Member, Richmond Bar Association
Member, Virginia Bar Association
Member, American Bar Association

Previous

Assistant General Counsel, Virginia Governor's Management Study, 1970 - 1971
Attorney Advisor, U.S. Department of Justice, 1971 - 1972
Deputy Director, Executive Office of the U.S. Attorneys, U.S. Department of Justice, 1972 - 1973
Deputy Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice, 1973
Acting Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice, 1973
Executive Director, Commission on State Governmental Management, 1973 - 1977
Member, Richmond Regional Planning District Commission, 1977 - 1983
Chairman, Richmond Regional Planning District Commission, 1980 - 1981
Vice President, Virginia Association of Planning and District Commission, 1980 - 1982
Chairman, Virginia Bar Association Committee on Administrative Law

RNC Activity

Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1992

(cont.)

VIRGINIA

Morton Blackwell National Committeeman



Present

National Committeeman, Virginia, elected - August 16, 1988
Member, Arlington County Republican Committee, 1972 -
Organizer and Chairman, Conservative Leadership PAC, 1972 -
1979, 1984 -
Treasurer, Reagan Alumni Association, 1987 -
President, Leadership Institute

Previous

Reagan Youth Campaign Advisor, 1980
Special Assistant, Office of Public Liaison, The White House,
1981 - 1984
Delegate, Virginia State Convention, 1984
Eastern Vice Chairman, Virginia Republican Party, 1987 - 1988
Member, Louisiana Republican State Central Committee,
1963 - 1972

RNC Activity

Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1964, 1980, 1992
Alternate Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1968,
1976, 1988
Member, RNC Rules Committee, 1989 -
Aide to U.S. Representative Les Arends, Republican National
Convention, 1972

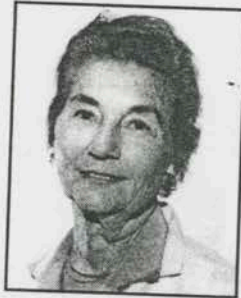
Personal

Spouse: Helen
Children: Two
Education: Louisiana State University

(cont.)

VIRGINIA

Flo Traywick
National Committeewoman



Present

National Committeewoman, Virginia, elected - August 22, 1984
Member, Executive Committee, Virginia GOP
Member, Executive Committee, Virginia Federation of
Republican Women
Board, Court St. United Methodist Church
Regent, Daughters of the Colonists
Member, White House Commission on Presidential Scholars,
1991 -
Founding Board, Virginia School of Arts

Previous

Candidate, House of Delegates, 1977
Member, Virginia Steering Committee for President Reagan
Member, Rules Committee, Virginia State Convention, 1983
Candidate, U.S. Congress, 1986
Governor's Advisory Committee for Refurbishing Executive
Mansion

RNC Activity

Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1976, 1984, 1988
Member, Committee on Call, Republican National Convention,
1988
Member, Committee on Contests, Republican National
Convention, 1992
RNC Executive Council, 1992

Personal

Spouse: Bo
Children: Three
Education: B.A., Randolph Macon Woman's College (cont.)

TALKING POINTS

DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR SENATOR DOLE

- Ollie North is a fighter. His whole life has been dedicated to fighting for what he believes in. Fighting for his country. Fighting for his President. Fighting to free Americans held hostage by terrorists. And fighting for democracy in Central America.
- Now Ollie North will fight for *real change* in Washington.
- Ollie North stands with the people. He believes and will fight for lower taxes, less government spending, health care reforms that work, a strong national defense and programs that create jobs.
- Ollie North isn't afraid to take the heat. He doesn't duck the tough calls.
- In this race in Virginia, Ollie North is the only conservative in the running. He'll bring a fresh perspective to Washington, and a fighting spirit that is based on doing what's right for the people of this State.
- Ollie North is the only candidate in this race with a specific plan for the future ... a 54-point program that puts the interests and values of working families and the law-abiding citizens of this state ahead of everything else.
- We need his commitment and his energy and his courage in Washington. And I need Ollie North working with me to turn back the tide of Bill Clinton's destructive liberal programs that are wrecking our futures.
- The choice in Virginia is clear this year: A Democratic liberal extremist who believes higher taxes and more spending are the way out of our problems -- a man who votes with Bill Clinton and his liberal friends 94 percent of the time; and a Republican mainstream conservative who will fight for lower taxes, fight for less spending, fight for tougher anti-crime measures, fight for a stronger national defense, and fight to get government off our backs.
- That's why I believe Ollie North will win this election. The people of Virginia know who's on their side, and they know that man is Ollie North.

REGIONAL ISSUES:

In all areas, anti-tax sentiment is the driving message. That and the fact that Robb is a Clinton clone, with a 94 percent record of supporting Bill Clinton. The leader should underscore this at every stop, and the fact that in Virginia, the extremist is "the person who raises taxes, increases pork barrel spending, sides with big-labor, is opposed to term limits and a balanced budget amendment, and votes with Bill Clinton 94 percent of the time. That person is the liberal extremist in this race, and that person is Chuck Robb. Big message at every stop: Robb's a Clinton extremist, North will fight for real change in Washington.

Clinton defense cuts (eliminating about 70,000 defense-related jobs in Virginia over the next several years) are particularly worrisome in the Tidewater region (Norfolk, Hampton Roads).

Clinton taxes. Clinton's new taxes, and Robb's support of them, will cost Virginia about 6.75 billion. Branding Robb as the liberal extremist on taxes, spending, pro-labor (anti-striker replacement), cuts extremely well in the western areas of the state (Roanoke, Lynchburg). This area is by far the most conservative area of the State.

Crime: In Richmond, the murder rate is among the highest in the country. Polls still show that a plurality support the Clinton crime bill. OLN has said he would have voted against it. "Gucci crime control doesn't work." Anti-tax sentiment also very high here.

North 54-point plan: This has come under attack from Robb, who now postures himself as the courageous Senator who made tough calls, and North as a demagogue whose plan does not specify real budget cuts. We've come back to the point that North has a people-based plan for real change in way Washington operates, and that this races postures a simple choice: One guys for higher taxes and the other guy's not.

Health care reform: Business concerns abound in Virginia about mandates, less quality in care and new taxes. These concerns are especially evident in Richmond and in the Western portions of the states where small business is an economic mainstay.

Also expect questions from the press on two fronts: Early indications that Dole was squishy on North (simply sweep them aside) and lingering concern re: North on Capitol Hill regarding Iran-Contra (lying to Congress). We're proactively picking fights on the character front saying OLN's motives were simple: Saving lives and protecting democracy in Central America. Dole should simply do the same, saying the Hill really does see the fact that while mistakes were made in Iran-Contra, the guiding principles were good and that OLN simply followed orders from his superiors. North also gets no credit for Achille Lauro rescue and mid-air interception of terrorist responsible for killing Americans and the planning of the successful Grenada liberation.

September 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO SENATOR DOLE

FROM: SUZANNE HELLMANN

RE: TALKING POINTS FOR LT. COL. OLLIE NORTH EVENTS

1. Mark Goodin provided some talking points which are enclosed. He will also be traveling with you and the candidate and will share some confidential polling data with you.
2. Some of the poll results: They are very good --
 - o in a two-person race (Robb and North) it is a dead even race at 46% to 43% with a 3 point margin of error.
 - o In either a four-way race or a three-way race, North wins.
 - o On the subjects of Character, Integrity, Courage, Honesty, Tough Decision-making, Thoughtfulness, and Washington insider, -- North wins on all these issues with thoughtfulness his weakest area.
 - o Also, Robb's negatives are increasing, positives decreasing.
 - o Wilder has been increasing in the polls - he's up from 11 to 14% and these supporters are coming from Robb.
 - o Bob Novak cited some polls that showed that half of the African Americans were supporting Robb, as if they didn't know Wilder was running. Once Wilder goes on the air, these African America votes will probably swing to Wilder and away from Robb leaving him even weaker.
3. North endorsement: On your hesitancy in endorsing North, I am advised it would be best for you to say this is much ado about nothing, you need Ollie North's help in the Senate, you're fully behind him, never had any doubt that you would support him, etc. Also, it would be good to mention that this is the first campaign stop you are making during this recess (on the Southern swing) -- this race can give us the majority needed in the U.S. Senate
4. The number one theme the North campaign is projecting is that North will bring real change to D.C. - he's a fighter and not afraid to make the tough calls.
5. Taxes: The tax issue will play in any region.

6. Extremism: Robb recently attacked North as an “extreme candidate” with Robb being the “mainstream”. The North campaign is counterattacking by labeling Robb with the extreme label. You might say you know something like “There has been a lot of talk about extremism in this race and as far as I can tell you in Virginia define it the same way we do in Kansas. The extreme candidate votes for the liberal agenda of President Clinton 94% of the time; the extreme candidate votes to raise your taxes; the extreme candidate is against term limits; refuses to cut the deficit; is against the balanced budget amendment; and is soft on crime. This is extremism, this is Chuck Robb and Virginians don’t want this!”
7. On Iran-Contra -- North is running on this issue, not away from it. They agree it’s controversial, but “the noble things he did are one of the reasons people like Ollie North.” You can also go into how democracy is alive and well in Grenada because of Ollie North and how, because of Ollie North’s planning and skills, the terrorist-murderer of the Achille Lauro, is now behind bars.
8. Ads: The 1st North ad featured Bill Haskell who fought with North in Viet Nam and was recruited by North to help the Contras. The other candidates said North was hiding the fact that this man, Haskell, was involved in the Iran-Contra controversy. It hasn’t stuck.

The next ad will be with a former American hostage in Iran, David Jacobson, and will show various scenes - Iranians burning the American flag, David gaunt and tired as a hostage, then in the U.S. arriving at Andrews AFB embracing his son on the tarmac with tears streaming down his face. It should be a moving picture with Jacobson then saying that North saved his life, brought me back to my country and my family - he’s one of the finest men I’ve ever known. This ad out in about two weeks.

9. Religious bigotry: North responds to this issue by stating that no one should set standards on religion - it is a personal choice. North then relates the attack on Christians today with the attack on the Catholic JFK. Shame on the Democrats for their intolerance.
10. Drug Smuggling: On the 9/6 debate, Wilder accused North of allowing drugs to be smuggled into this country by pilots supplying arms to the Contras. This is not true and you will find enclosed a statement from former Administrator of the DEA, Jack Lawn, refuting this claim.
11. Enclosed in your briefing materials is North’s “Agenda for Change - 54 Proposals For Real Change in the U.S. Senate” Some of the proposals are quite provocative like allowing only seven years for chairmanship of a committee (leadership excluded) and other rules changes.

FOR IMMEDIATE REALEASE
SEPTEMBER 6, 1994

CONTACT: MARK MERRITT
(703)802-2260

Jack Lawn Statement on Wilder/LaRouche Attack

The following is a statement by Jack Lawn who was Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration while then Lt. Col. North served as Deputy Director of Political-Military Affairs at the National Security Council.

The question of the involvement of the Contras in drug trafficking first surfaced in the mid-1980s while I was the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration. On hearing of these allegations, DEA conducted an internal review of all documents, reports, and intelligence summaries available to us at DEA Headquarters, and ordered a review of all records in our domestic and foreign offices. No information was found to corroborate these allegations that there was any pattern or practice of illicit drug activity in support of other Contra activity. Had we found any probable cause, we would have initiated an investigation.

Subsequently other senior DEA officials and I testified before several committees of Congress in support of these findings.

I recall that these allegations of drug trafficking by the Contras also were reviewed by the Iran-Contra committees who found no credible evidence to support such spurious claims.

John C. Lawn
Administrator
Drug Enforcement
Administration
(1985-1990)

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NRSC BRIEFING

MEMORANDUM

September 9, 1994

To: Senator Bob Dole
From: Richard McBride
Re: Virginia briefing

REPUBLICAN:
Lt. Colonel Oliver North

DEMOCRAT:
Incumbent Senator: Chuck Robb

INDEPENDENTS:
Marshall Coleman, *attorney*
Doug Wilder, *fmr. Governor*

POLITICAL UPDATE

- Chuck Robb, worried about his poor poll numbers and the primary, went on the air statewide in May with several :30 TV ads, each highlighting different consistency groups. He aired a "woman's" spot, a crime spot and an education spot. Conspicuously, his record as *governor* played a prominent part in the ads. Clearly Robb is trying to have Virginians think of the broader -- and more popular -- context of his public service.
- The Robb ads also highlighted the liberal part of his record, citing his support by NARAL, environmental groups, etc. This is a continuation of his voting record, which has taken a pronounced dive to the left (gays in the military, the Clinton tax bill and stimulus package, etc.). This aspect of Robb's record -- and it is significant -- has been lost in the ethics cloud hanging over his head. Together they are a one-two punch in Virginia -- ideologically unacceptable and ethically flawed.
- In this wacky 4-way race, Robb may be right that all he needs to do is solidify the liberal vote and that would be enough to win.
- Crafty as ever, Doug Wilder announced for Senate in mid June, he is "in this race to stay." Some notable things in his announcement:
 - Wilder refused to say whether he would caucus with the Democrats or defect to the Republicans.

- Wilder pointed out how he differs with Robb on a number of issues. For example, Wilder opposes gays in the military and Medicaid funding of abortions, both of which Robb favors.

- North's support may be better than any of the polls are going to predict. North has the same core group of followers, the Christian Coalition, that Michael Farris had during the 1993 Lt. Governor's race. Farris significantly outperformed the published polls (i.e. Farris: Times-Dispatch 37% Mason-Dixon 36% Actual Vote 46%). Governor George Allen also received a significant amount of their support and it allowed him to outperform his polling numbers and win by a large margin.
- On June 28, all four candidates appeared on CNN's "Larry King Live." There was an estimated 1.1 million viewers worldwide that watched the debate. North did an excellent job portraying himself as the "outsider." Larry King assisted North with his anti-Washington, anti-politician image by playing the role of the national media beating up on a candidate who represents the views of the people of his state (For example, King, unlike with the other candidates, interrupted North 14 times when the subject of Clinton's sparring with Christian conservatives was mentioned). Overall North won much needed image points.
- The day after the debate, North unveiled his "Conservative Agenda for Change" that embraces lower taxes, opposes racial and gender quotas and calls for tuition credits for private, parochial and home schools. His 54-part plan calls for English to be made the official language of the United States and for eliminating funding for the National Endowment for the Arts. North also calls for passage of a balanced budget amendment and the line item veto.
- North has been on a very effective RV tour of Virginia visiting the small towns and main streets in the rural areas of the state. In this four-way race, the rural vote could be the deciding factor. North has campaigned in these areas among "gun enthusiasts" while speaking out against "anti-hunting, anti-fishing radicals." For the most part, rural Virginia has been ignored in the last decade of politics, and as North is discovering, there are a lot of conservative voters out there. The other candidates have campaigned in the rural areas as well (Robb's red "Chuck Wagon" van), but none as consistently and effectively as North.
- The second debate took place at the Virginia Bar Association (7/16). For the most part, Robb, and many political analysts, considered it to be three-on-one with North, Coleman and Wilder attacking Robb. On Robb's second question of the night, he declined to answer how he would vote on a bill to bar companies from replacing workers on strike. After the debate, Robb described his strategy, "I'm just going to be consistently boring. There won't be any grandstanding, any

demagoguery. There won't be any soundbites, much to the chagrin of my press office."

- In an unusual move, North plans to aggressively buy out-of-state TV commercials to help in his fundraising effort. They are focusing on Clinton's immense nationwide unpopularity. The first site of this fundraising will be Little Rock, Arkansas. Another city high on the list is San Antonio.
- Robb received criticism from some Democrat party faithfuls because of the perception that ran a very unaggressive campaign throughout the summer. A comparison has been made between Robb and Mary Sue Terry (1993 Virginia gubernatorial candidate "who forfeited a lead and ended up losing in a landslide to George Allen). Robb, in a letter to supporters, wrote that he was busy working on Capitol Hill and asked them to carry the load for him.

In sharp contrast to that attitude, Robb recently began a 100-stop, 2 week tour of the state. Robb is going to focus on North because he feels that Coleman and Wilder will be unable to "compete at the same level" as the two party nominees.

- The issue of character dominated the third debate held in Hampden-Sydney (9/6). Coleman and Wilder attacked North and Robb on their controversial pasts. This was a debate that was dominated by the Independent candidates and Oliver North. Robb in particular was on the defensive most of the night. North was attacked for his role in the Iran-Contra affair and Robb was questioned about his alleged indiscretions (i.e. drug use at parties Robb attended while he was Governor, adultery, etc.).

During the debate, in an attempt to explain the need for tough, unpopular measures to cut federal spending, Robb said that he "would take food from the mouths of widows and orphans if I had to try to solve this problem." Robb is still reeling from that comment and the debate itself. In fact, Robb is claiming that he will not participate in any more debates where the Independent candidates are present.

LATEST POLLING INFORMATION

Virginia Commonwealth University (7/15/94)

BALLOT

North	29%
Robb	29
Wilder	16
Coleman	11

FINANCIAL INFORMATION

Candidate	Raised 6/30	Spent 6/30	PAC \$	2nd Quarter	COH 6/30	Debt
North	\$8,627,337	\$7,855,032	\$34,670	\$4,148,370	\$772,304	\$309,992
Robb	\$2,664,995	\$2,636,643	\$783,424	\$770,493	\$345,012	\$0
Coleman	\$135,010	\$60,959	\$4,000	\$135,010	\$74,051	\$0
Wilder	\$67,419	\$66,988	\$1,000	\$67,419	\$431	\$42,560

Va. City file

VA PILOT

BY WARREN L. SHAW

The tire irons came out

as Virginia's four candidates for the U.S. Senate brutally assaulted one another on character issues in a televised debate Tuesday night.

Independent L. Douglas Wilder, said incumbent Democrat Charles S. Robb has lost his credentials as a

crime fighter because of his attendance at Virginia Beach parties in the early 1980s where cocaine was used.

"Chuck, you've been in the company of people and said limited drug use is all right," Wilder lectured in dramatic tones. "You've been in the company of people who have been convicted and taken away. You were warned by your own attorney general to stay away. So don't tell me you're going to stand on your high horse now."

Robb replied: "I have never in my life seen or been in the company of anyone I have seen, or had reason to believe was, using drugs."

Wilder, on this attack all night, also accused Republican Oliver L. North of being aware of a drug smuggling operation from Central America to the United States in the mid-1980s when he was masterminding the Iran-Contra affair from the White House.

"How could you ride on a plane with drugs being on the plane?" Wilder demanded.

An angered North replied that allegations that he allowed Contra arms suppliers to fly drugs into the United States have been fully investigated by the Drug Enforcement Administration and found groundless. "The fact is, governor, only you and Lyndon LaRouche are raising the issue of drugs," North shot back. LaRouche is a political extremist from Loudoun County who was once jailed for raising money under false pretenses.

Please see Debate, Page A4

Debate: Candidates hammer on character

Continued from Page A1

The character issue overwhelmed an early concentration on issues, especially military issues, in which Robb seemed especially calm and well-briefed. He spelled out reasons for intervening in Haiti and in North Korea, and repeatedly cataloged his votes on specific bills in Congress.

But as the debate veered into matters of personal morality, Robb seemed less sure and allowed himself to be interrupted. He kept his eyes almost exclusively on North — the only candidate not wearing a suit jacket. At times, Robb's back was turned on the independents.

Wildier and fellow independent J. Marshall Coleman hammered relentlessly at the flaws of the two party nominees. Wildier insisted repeatedly that no one had questioned his character. Coleman seemed calm and poised, compared to the more histrionic Wildier. North, gesturing with a blue pen, appeared casual but occasionally indignant. When his remark that his 76-year-old mother subsisted on a small pension drew a groan from the audience, North reminded the hecklers that they may face the same prospect one day and then continued without missing a beat.

In two previous debates, the candidates were loath to question the integrity of their opponents. But Tuesday's debate at Hampden-Sydney College clearly showed that the campaign has begun to boil and that the candidates believe character is the central issue.

One of the difficulties of a four-way contest . . . is that an incumbent is allowing himself to be attacked by three different opponents," Robb said afterwards. "It's more entertainment almost than debate, when you get so many people into it."

Robb, Wildier and Coleman all accused North of subverting the will of Congress in the 1980s by supplying arms to Nicaraguan Contras fighting a communist dictatorship in that country. Congress, at that time, had approved an amendment banning U.S. aid to the insurgents. North sought to get around the ban by soliciting money from

other countries and private individuals.

"In our system, the military is strictly under civilian control," Coleman said. "It's not up to any individual to decide which laws he wants to obey and which laws he wants to ignore."

Robb took issue with another aspect of the Iran-Contra diversion — the selling of arms to Iran for that nation's help in freeing American hostages held in the Middle East.

"It was the policy that we were not going to deal for hostages because it puts every other American at risk when we're ready to deal for hostages," he said.

North countered that he was following classified orders from former President Ronald Reagan. North added that he stands on higher moral ground than Robb, who admitted that he engaged in activities "not appropriate for a married man" in the early 1980s when he was governor.

"The guiding principle to everything I did was to save lives," North said. "There is no guiding principle to what Sen. Robb did."

Robb acknowledged that "there are some dents in my armor," but said they never affected "my public duties and my public responsibilities."

Wildier, who has long feuded with Robb, did not accept his explanation. "Chuck Robb said that if the people of Virginia felt he was not leveling with them, then he was unfit to be senator of Virginia," Wildier said. "I don't believe he has leveled with them."

Wildier also accused Robb of spending "taxpayer dollars" several years ago to send aides on several trips to try to dissuade people who socialized with Robb from discussing activities with reporters.

"That's just plain wrong," countered Robb. Records show that at least one of the trips was financed by Robb's campaign fund.

The biting rhetoric carried over to the candidates' discussion of issues. To cut spending, Robb said, "I would take money away from widows and orphans."

Robb's opponents ganged up on him for supporting President Clinton's 1993 tax increase and for say-

ing he would support more levies if he became convinced that they were the only way to lower the national deficit.

"The problem is that Chuck Robb votes with Bill Clinton 94 percent of the time and Bill Clinton is almost always wrong," Coleman said.

Wildier chided Robb for also supporting a tax increase endorsed by former President George Bush, for once proposing a 30-cent increase in gasoline taxes and for being open-minded on increasing taxes on tobacco to fund a national health care plan. "You're prepared to support any tax," Wildier said.

Robb replied that his opponents were endorsing cosmetic solutions to spending that would have no impact on the deficit. He noted that North, Wildier and Coleman declined to identify a single entitlement program they would cut.

"No one here wants to talk about any sacrifice that would cause anyone pain," Robb said. "Everyone wants to talk about term limits, a balanced-budget amendment and a line-item veto, which is fine; but they're window dressing."

Robb scoffed when North proposed curbing federal land purchases and congressional perks. "We're talking about mere pennies," he said.

On military issues, Robb was more hawkish than his opponents. He said he would favor a U.S. preemptive strike on North Korea if it became clear that the nation was continuing to develop nuclear weapons. Wildier said he would favor such action. Coleman and North did not give clear answers.

Of the candidates, only Robb said he would support a U.S.-led invasion of Haiti to overthrow a military junta and restore a democratically elected president to power. He said he would also consider intervention in Bosnia and was prepared to authorize a blockade of Cuba.

Wildier and Coleman said troops should not be deployed to Haiti and Bosnia because the nations do not pose a threat to U.S. security. North said the nation should be wary of deploying troops anywhere. "This administration has cut our defenses so severely that we can no longer protect our vital interests around the world," he said.

Staff writer Margaret Edds contributed to this report.

EDITORIAL

A12 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1994

Richmond Times-Dispatch

VIRGINIA'S NEWS LEADER

On Character

Character is — or ought to be — the central issue in every political campaign. Those candidates who might suffer from a discussion of it understandably groan at its very mention.

So Oliver North is right to have raised it, and Chuck Robb's chief horseholder predictably dismissed North's remarks as signifying his determination to take "the low road." This is politics.

But it is important.

Character is the best measure of the sort of office-holder any candidate will be. A deeper campaign discussion of character might have given us, for instance, a President other than the incumbent — and we all might be the better for it, and less in the lap of characterless incompetents.

For perhaps a year, whisperers have very much discussed North's character; appraisals of it have appeared prominently in The Editorial Pages. Even this week



Marshall Coleman, Virginia's own Harold Stassen, visited these offices to blather about (among other things) how North's seeming lack of character impelled him to enter the Senate race — his own presence thereby helping North (and if you are confused by that reasoning, welcome to the group).

Discussion of Robb's character has not kept pace, so North obliged. "Chuck Robb is acting as though he were unstained by scandal," North said Monday. "The voters on November 8 are going to show how damaging [Robb's personal life] is. . . . Character always counts in a campaign." Robb, he added, has a "seriously

flawed" character and lacks the "moral force" to hold public office.

Bullseye.

Memos by Robb staffers cataloguing their Senator's dubious Virginia Beach activities have appeared at length in these pages [see Op/Ed Pages of March 12 and March 20]. Repeated gubernatorial trips to cavort with bimbos and denizens of the drug subculture bespeak a man of something less than sterling character. His wife publicly runs her hands all over him in tacky testament to her forgiveness. Yet why should the voters reward any politician's incumbent infidelities to them by re-electing him to another term?

Talk about lying. Oliver North has acknowledged misleading members of a congressional committee one time (implicitly under orders, but emphatically not under oath). He has said repeatedly what he did was wrong; he has said he does not make the same mistake twice.

But for most of his gubernatorial term Robb lived a lie — day after day, month after month, year after year. He has termed what he did "peccadilloes" and conduct unbecoming a married man. He violated his oath of good faith to the people of Virginia — people who await, even now, even the merest hint of apology to them.

Character counts — as we have seen most recently, at the presidential level, in the Clintons. It is the issue, the one standing above all others. And North has it all over Robb.

BRACKINS BY RICHMOND TIMES

LETT

Shrink State Government But Keep Yearly Inspections

EDITOR, TIMES-DISPATCH:

I read with interest Governor Allen's proposal on shrinking the government. I could not agree more with that philosophy.

I am troubled by the idea of eliminating state inspections of automobiles ["Plan Drops Yearly Vehicle Inspection," August 19]. I personally don't care what Maryland, D.C., or other states do in relation to automobile safety. Virginia's system is a good one. Would you fly in an airplane you did not feel had been properly maintained or have your children ride in boats without life preservers? I don't think so.

There is no absolute way to end all traffic accidents related to mechanical failure, but if one Virginia child or adult was killed because of faulty brakes or no tail-lights, then all of the cost-cutting would be in vain.

cia/ me/ tion/ peo/ and/ sici/ ant/ ly/ of/ sta/ sev/ I/ set/ car/ tio/ he/ ste/ A/ lie/ ma/ 67/ ple/ sp/ tio/ tati/ ga/ thr

VIRGINIA SENATE RACE

8-21 LTD

North's Summer Success Alters Dynamics for Fall

At the start of the summer, the Washington pundits said Oliver North was a sure loser. They predicted an easy win for Democrat Charles Robb. A *Washington Post* poll had Robb winning with a landslide margin. Another poll indicated North might finish last in Virginia's unprecedented four-way Senate contest. Anti-North voters barely contained their glee.



PAUL GOLDMAN

Stop smiling, Virginia: This is your wake-up call. Oliver North's candidacy is alive and well. He has the most money, the most enthusiastic support, and the most focused campaign.

He may have started the summer far out of first place. But as August winds to a close, Oliver North has ended at the front of the pack, not at the back. He has ended with more party support than any other candidate, not less. He has ended with the best campaign, not the worst. Oliver North may have started the summer on the fringe. Now he threatens to be the candidate of Main Street.

That's right: Ollie's back and just as bad as ever. Why was he rescued from what should have been certain defeat? His campaign team deserves part of the credit. For the past two months, it has dictated the terms of the election. The truth is there have been two separate Senate campaigns this summer. One featured the new Ollie vs. the old Ollie in an effort to redefine the North image, unite the GOP, and dictate the issues in the upcoming election. The second campaign featured the other three contestants — Marshall Coleman, Senator Robb, and Douglas Wilder — running against themselves in an effort to emerge as the most electable alternative to North.

ACCORDING TO a recent Robb campaign poll (which that campaign leaked to the press), Oliver North is now tied for the lead with the junior Senator. It is curious that the Robb camp would eagerly advertise its having squandered a double-digit lead in only two months. Perhaps it is only a ploy to rally the

“For Coleman, Robb, and Wilder, high noon awaits. Who will emerge as Gary Cooper? Time will soon tell.”

anti-North voters behind the Senator. If so, it is the first time the Robb team has shown even a hint of a strategy since the Democratic primary.

But let's assume the Robb camp is telling the truth. Even the egocentric North would concede the obvious: His opponents also deserve credit for this comeback. Robb failed to capitalize on the momentum generated by his primary victory. He had the financial resources to challenge North's television campaign. Instead, the Senator chose to be a spectator, as opposed to a participant, in the summer campaign.

Coleman and Wilder did not have the money needed to counter North's advertising blitz. But they did have a unique freedom to raise issues party candidates are afraid to tackle. A recent national poll indicated that upward of one-third of the voters were so fed up with the two-party system that they were prepared to back an independent candidate. This figure is likely to be higher in Virginia. Additionally, both Coleman and Wilder have a strong following among party-oriented voters. Accordingly, they both should have tremendous potential support. But it has been the traditional party nominee — North — who has emerged as the anti-politics-as-usual candidate. Ironically, North is most dependent on strong party loyalty to win.

SO WHAT SHOULD all the anti-North voters make of the current situation? First, it is necessary to put North's summer success in perspective. Like Robert E. Lee, he got off to a good start. But crucial battles have yet to be fought.

North is beatable. But a contested four-way race does work to his advantage. He would be easier to defeat in a three- or a two-way contest.

This reality is beginning to weigh on anti-North voters. For the purpose of analysis, these voters fall into two general categories. One group is pro-Clinton/anti-North. The other group is anti-Clinton/anti-North. These feelings about the President and North — whether justified or not — will prove crucial this fall.

In general, the first group has been deciding between Robb and Wilder. With some exceptions, the second group has been choosing between Coleman and North.

While a four-way photo-finish is possible, another result is far more probable; at least one of the anti-North candidates will be significantly behind the others. This doesn't matter if North is a sure loser.

But what happens if North appears capable of winning? Pro-Clinton voters will be ad-

nonished to pool their votes behind the pro-Clinton candidate with the best chance of defeating North. At the start of the summer, the Washington pundits said Robb, not Wilder, was that candidate. But the Senator, by his own admission, has now fallen into a tie with North. This may be a temporary political weakness. Or it might be an early warning signal of even greater and perhaps fatal trouble ahead. Is it possible that Robb cannot defeat North? Wilder answers yes and predicts this will soon become self-evident. Naturally, Robb takes the opposite view; he recently claimed that African-American vot-

ers would eventually vote for him and abandon Wilder.

The anti-Clinton/anti-North voters also face difficult cross-pressures. Earlier in the campaign, these voters were backing Marshall Coleman. But what happens if it becomes clear he can't win, but Oliver North can?

Just as Robb and Wilder want voters to focus on their dislike of North, the Republican nominee is trying to nationalize the election by urging Virginians to vote against the President. With Marshall Coleman out of

the question, Oliver North becomes the only anti-Clinton candidate in the race. He's hoping many Virginians will do in November what seemed impossible back in April or May: hold their nose and use North to send Clinton a message.

Virginians opposed to Oliver North hold the balance of power in this fall's Senate election. If his support continues to grow, those voters determined to stop him may no longer be able to indulge themselves in a four-way race. For Coleman, Robb, and Wilder, high noon awaits. Who will emerge as Gary Cooper? Time will soon tell.

Paul Goldman, former chairman of the Virginia Democratic Party, is a longtime confidant of Doug Wilder.

Leader of Anti-North Group Threatens Slander Suit

ARLINGTON (AP) - The leader of an organization working to defeat U.S. Senate candidate Oliver North threatened Wednesday to sue the Republican for accusing him of organizing anti-American activities in Nicaragua.

Woody Holton, director of Clean Up Congress and son of former Gov. Linwood Holton, sent a letter to North demanding a retraction and an apology by noon Friday.

"If no retraction and apology are forthcoming from you, I will retain counsel and pursue every legal remedy available to me," Holton wrote.

North spokesman Dan McLagan said, "It's Woody Holton who should be apologizing to Ollie North for spreading lies about him. Woody Holton is a liar. He has zero credibility, and we're not going to respond to him."

In a Sept. 2 Associated Press article about the Holton group's anti-North campaign, North was quoted as saying, "This is the same Woody Holton that organized anti-American activists down in Nicaragua."

In his letter, Holton said he visited Nicaragua in 1983 on a fact-finding tour sponsored by the Presbyterian Church. He did not organize the tour and did not participate in any anti-American activities, Holton said.

"This lie that you told about me is only one example of your propensity to stretch the truth for your own purposes," Holton wrote. "It is clear that the lies you told to Congress are only the tip of the iceberg."

North was convicted of three felonies, including aiding in the obstruction of Congress, for his role in the Iran-Contra arms-for-hostages scandal. The convictions were overturned on appeal.

North is running for the seat held by Democratic Sen. Charles S. Robb. Also running are two independents: former Democratic Gov. L. Douglas Wilder and former Republican Attorney General Marshall Coleman.

Judge Prohibits Coleman From Running Under Perot Banner

RICHMOND (AP) - A judge ruled Friday that J. Marshall Coleman cannot run as the U.S. Senate candidate of a party that was spun off from Ross Perot's organization.

Richmond Circuit Judge Melvin R. Hughes Jr. agreed with the State Board of Elections, which ruled that the Virginia Independent Party did not meet the state's legal requirements for becoming a political party.

State law requires an organization to have an active central committee for six months before being certified as a political party. The Virginia Independent Party contended that it was a continuation of the Perot Petition Committee of Virginia, and therefore was in existence during that six-month period.

Hughes said, however, that the two groups were separate corporations. "H. Ross Perot did not run for president in Virginia in 1992 as plaintiff's candidate or of any other political party," he wrote.

He added that the organization did not have an elected state chairman for six months prior to seeking party designation, as required by state law.

The organization that supported Perot's independent presidential bid in Virginia in 1992 was dormant for about a year before deciding in June to back Coleman's candidacy.

Coleman spokesman Eric Peterson said party affiliation might have had some benefit "from a symbolic perspective," but he did not view the ruling as a significant setback.

"While we're certain the plaintiff is disappointed, from the campaign perspective most of the volunteers of that organization have melded themselves into our organization already," Peterson said. "It doesn't make a lot of difference as far as strategy is concerned."

Louis S. Herrink Sr., the VIP's chairman, did not immediately return a phone call seeking comment.

Coleman, the former Republican state attorney general, is one of three candidates challenging Democratic Sen. Charles S. Robb. The others are Republican Oliver L. North, the central figure in the Iran-Contra arms-for-hostages scandal, and independent L. Douglas Wilder, the former Democratic governor.

AGENDA FOR CHANGE

An

54 Proposals

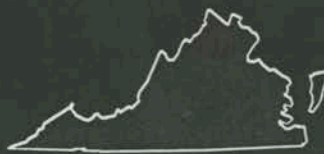
Agenda

For Real Change

For

In The U.S. Senate

Change



OLIVER NORTH

1. TERM LIMITS FOR CONGRESS
2. BREAK UP THE "GOOD OLD BOYS" NETWORK" THAT CONTROLS LEGISLATION AND THE FEDERAL BUDGET
3. MAKE CONGRESS LIVE BY THE LAWS IT MAKES
4. LIMIT THE TIME CONGRESS IS IN SESSION
5. MAKE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS PAY FOR THEIR PERKS
6. REAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING REFORMS
7. INDEPENDENT CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS PANEL
8. FULL DISCLOSURE OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC TRAVEL
9. BAN TRIPS AND GIFTS FINANCED BY SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS
10. CLOSE THE REVOLVING DOOR
11. PUBLIC ACCESS TO CONGRESS
12. END SUBSIDIZED SERVICES FOR CONGRESS
13. BAN UNSOLICITED MAILINGS
14. STOP SUBSIDIZING CONGRESSIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO STUDIOS WITH TAX DOLLARS
15. CLOSE TAXPAYER-SUBSIDIZED GYMNASIUMS AND FITNESS FACILITIES
16. END SENATORIAL MUSICAL CHAIRS
17. DEFEND THE RIGHT-TO-WORK OF ALL VIRGINIANS
18. WE NEED TO PROTECT OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS UNDER THE U.S. BILL OF RIGHTS
19. LINE-ITEM VETO
20. OUTLAW UNAUTHORIZED APPROPRIATIONS
21. NO MORE SUPPLEMENTAL SPENDING BILLS
22. NO MORE CONTINUING RESOLUTIONS
23. ELIMINATE UNNECESSARY AND LOW-PRIORITY SPENDING PROGRAMS
24. NO RETROACTIVE TAX INCREASES
25. ADJUST TAX RATES FOR INFLATION
26. MAKE IT HARDER TO RAISE TAXES, EASIER TO CUT THEM
27. USE TAXES TO REDUCE THE NATIONAL DEBT, NOT TO FUND MORE GOVERNMENT
28. TAX RELIEF FOR FAMILIES
29. TAX REFORM THAT CREATES JOBS
30. TAX REFORM TO ENCOURAGE SAVINGS, INVESTMENT AND RETIREMENT SECURITY
31. SOCIAL SECURITY MUST BE STRONG
32. CUT GOVERNMENT RED TAPE
33. NO NEW TOBACCO TAXES
34. A SAFETY NET, BUT NOT A HAMMOCK
35. RACISM IS WRONG NO MATTER WHO IT FAVORS; NO MORE QUOTAS
36. PUT CHOICE BACK INTO EDUCATION
37. FUND COMPUTERS AND LIBRARIES FOR OUR SCHOOLS
38. KEEP ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS OUT WHILE PROTECTING OUR NATION
39. MAKE ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE U.S.
40. REAL HEALTH CARE REFORM
41. ALLOCATE HEALTH RESEARCH DOLLARS WISELY
42. NO TAXPAYER FUNDING FOR ABORTIONS
43. I'M PRO-LIFE
44. REQUIRE TRUTH IN SENTENCING
45. CIVIL JUSTICE REFORM
46. MANDATORY PROSECUTION OF FEDERAL WEAPONS CHARGES
47. NO LIBERAL JUDGES
48. AMERICA NEEDS THE DEATH PENALTY
49. HABEAS CORPUS REFORM
50. PUT PRISONERS TO WORK
51. ENHANCE DRUG REHABILITATION EFFORTS FOR FIRST-TIME OFFENDERS
52. NATIONAL REGISTER OF DISCHARGED SEX AND CHILD-ABUSE OFFENDERS
53. A STRONG DEFENSE
54. PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF AMERICA, NOT THE UNITED NATIONS

DEAR FELLOW VIRGINIAN:

America is angry, and with good cause.

We work longer hours, with less time off, and, in many cases, we have less to show for it at the end of the month.

For the first time in a generation, perhaps in the entire history of this nation, our children face the future with the sad expectation that they'll be worse off than their parents.

Crime... especially the fear of violent crime... is stalking law-abiding citizens on the streets. Congress worries more about the rights of violent criminals than the innocent bystanders who are blown away in some senseless drive-by shooting.

Taxes have never been higher. Neither has the sea of red ink we call the national debt.

Our competitive position in the world economy is under assault, and yet we're graduating kids from some high schools who can't read at a fifth-grade level.

And all the while, Congress spends hours upon hours... days upon days... caught up in the same wind tunnel of talk, talk, talk.

It's a shame, really. Today's Congress often spends more time dilly-dallying with inconsequential legislation than our Founding Fathers did in writing, debating and voting on our Constitution!

We've even managed to convince ourselves that many of this nation's problems are simply too big and too complex to solve... and we've lost faith in the very institutions we created to lead this country and to protect its citizens.

That's a heck of a note for the country that won two World Wars, secured a lasting peace, conquered communism, gave birth to virtually every major invention of the 20th Century and whose workers built a standard of living that was the envy of the world.

Who wouldn't be angry? Our future, and our children's future, is at extraordinary risk, and Congress just refuses to take action to set our ship of state on a course toward a better tomorrow.

You know, it doesn't have to be this way. Our government doesn't have to be held hostage by a corps of professional politicians and career power-brokers who care more about the next election than they do about the next generation.

I believe that we can break-out of this system of grid-lock and inaction, if we have the courage, the persever-

ance and the dedication to put people back in control of government.

That's really the bottom line. The professional politicians are ruining this country. They have a vested interest in protecting a political system in which they pull the levers and call the shots. And we're simply not going to see real change until the power-brokers in Washington feel the heat and get out of the way.

That change can begin right here in Virginia – the home of so many of our Founding Fathers.

And it can begin right now – with the 1994 campaign for the United States Senate here in the Old Dominion.

No one has all the answers and, Lord knows, what we don't need is more tough talk that goes nowhere.

But I firmly believe that with real reform... with an agenda of action that puts the well-being of people over the re-election of politicians... and with a new corps of dedicated men and women leading this country... we can have the strong and secure future all of us want.

That's why I'm running for the U.S. Senate, and it's also why I've already pledged to serve only two terms in the Senate if I'm elected.

You see, making the tough calls doesn't bother me because I'm not interested in keeping a bunch of special interest groups and career politicians happy. I'm interested in fighting for the kind of change that is outlined in this booklet... the kind of change that will restore confidence in our nation's future.

Here is my platform for accomplishing those goals. It's not everyone's cup of tea, but it wasn't written to be. It was written to promote the goals and interests of working Virginians... of families struggling to make a better way for their kids... and to seek a new balance in a political system which the professional politicians have claimed as their own.

I want this campaign to be dedicated to a simple premise, my friend: The goal of fixing what's wrong out there. In that endeavor, I need your help and your support.

Together I know we can make a difference.



Oliver North

I. TAKING BACK OUR GOVERNMENT

AN AGENDA OF ACTION TO PUT PEOPLE BACK IN CONTROL

Americans have lost faith in their government and, most important, in its ability to solve the basic problems which threaten our nation's future.

The reasons are complex, but they stem from the fact that the politicians – and the system of laws and regulations they have created – are focused on keeping themselves in power instead of solving problems.

Is it any wonder that people come to Washington and end up staying for a lifetime? Who wouldn't – given the perks, privileges and lifestyle that our members of Congress and other senior federal officials enjoy year-round?

Americans need a government that is as good, as decent and as hardworking as they are. They need a government that puts a premium on solving problems, instead of preparing itself for the next election.

But to achieve that goal, America needs to take back its system of government from a privileged class of elected officials who think the levers of power are theirs alone to use. We need a system that puts working Americans back in charge of their government and in control of their future. And we need fundamental changes to a political process whose rules and regulations have been written by career politicians, for career politicians.

My race for the United States Senate is all about empowering people to do just that. It's all about giving Virginians a specific plan for solving some of our biggest problems and, in so doing, to restore Americans' confidence that their government really does work for *them*.

Here is my program for political reform, the program I'll fight for every day I have the honor of serving you as your Senator.

1. TERM LIMITS FOR CONGRESS:

First and foremost, I'll fight for a constitutional amendment limiting the terms of Senators to two terms, or 12 years. We need a new class of leaders in this country: people who go to Washington to solve problems and then leave government to return to the real world. Term limits are the single biggest improvement we can make to help accomplish that goal, and diminish the power incumbent officeholders have when they run for re-election.

Although I am opposed to taxpayer financing of elections, if I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on May 26, 1993 (Vote 128), I would have voted for the amendment which would have imposed term limits (12 years for the U.S. Senate) for those accepting public financing.

(Robb voted to kill the amendment; the amendment was defeated 57-39).

2. BREAK UP THE "GOOD OLD BOYS' NETWORK" THAT CONTROLS LEGISLATION AND THE FEDERAL BUDGET:

Senate committees shouldn't be controlled for decades at a time by the same person. I'll push for a rules change in the Senate which would place term limits on committee chairmen. Under my proposal, no person could hold a committee chairmanship for more than six years. After that, they would have to step aside for someone else.

3. MAKE CONGRESS LIVE BY THE LAWS IT MAKES:

For too long, Congress has been approving legislation with specific exemptions for itself. Whether it is equal employment or safety and health legislation, Congress seems to think that it shouldn't live by the same rules you and I do. I'll fight for an end to that by pushing for immediate applicability to members of Congress of all federal employment, environmental, regulatory, ethics, Freedom of Information, and civil rights statutes that have conveniently exempted the legislative branch. And if a member of Congress is found to have violated a law, my legislation will not allow him to use taxpayers' dollars to pay his lawyer.

CASE STUDY: EXEMPTION FOR CONGRESS FROM LAWS

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on October 29, 1991 (Vote 234), I would have voted for the motion which would have repealed the exemptions for Members of Congress from civil rights, labor, and other laws it imposes on the rest of the country.

(Robb voted to kill the motion which failed by a vote of 63-26.)

4. LIMIT THE TIME CONGRESS IS IN SESSION:

Anyone who has watched Congress from the visitors' gallery or on television knows that a tremendous amount of time is wasted. I believe Congress simply spends too much time in session, much of it wasted on receptions, political fund raisers and taxpayer-financed junkets all over the globe. I'll push for legislation requiring mandatory, fixed adjournment dates for both houses on July 31 of each year, unless a period of national emergency exists or both houses vote, by a three-fifths vote, to extend the deadline. Additionally, I believe that members shouldn't be earning a \$133,600 a year salary for a job that, in most months, occupies only three days a week. I will sponsor and support legislation that would pay members of Congress only for those days they are actually in session and holding recorded votes or committee markups.

5. MAKE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS PAY FOR THEIR PERKS:

You and I don't get chauffeured to work or meetings every day and, if we want to, we should pay for the privilege. You can't hear the heartbeat of America from the back seat of a limousine, and that's part of the problem with our congressional leaders. When I go to the Senate, I'll sponsor legislation that will treat government-sponsored limousine or chauffeured car service as a taxable benefit. It'll be this simple: If you receive the limo service as a perk of power, it'll be treated as a benefit on which you'll pay taxes. I'll also push for an end to the reserved parking at Washington area airports for members of Congress. You and I pay to park and have to cart our bags to the departure gate. Why shouldn't they?

**CASE STUDY:
FREE PARKING PRIVILEGES:**

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on April 20, 1994 (Vote 94), I would have voted for the McCain Amendment which would have expressed the sense of the U.S. Senate that free parking for Members of Congress at Washington airports — one of the perks of the professional politicians — be eliminated.

6. REAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING REFORMS:

Too often, members of Congress use excess campaign donations as their own personal "slush fund." This money ends up buying gifts for constituents and special interest groups. I'll sponsor legislation requiring a uniform reporting system for campaign dollars spent on gifts, meals and entertainment. This information ought to be available as part of a member's annual ethics

disclosure form. In addition, my bill would treat as taxable income any campaign assets used to purchase gifts, meals or entertainment.

7. INDEPENDENT CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS PANEL:

As it currently stands, Congress sits in judgment on ethics complaints about its own members. That's tantamount to the fox guarding the hen house. I think that has to change if the public is going to have respect for the ethics process in Washington. For that reason, I'll sponsor legislation that would create a special panel of retired federal judges to hear all ethics complaints raised about a member of Congress. The equivalent of a Congressional Inspector General appointed by those judges would do the investigations. Those judges would determine which penalties and sanctions should be doled out when a question of congressional ethics arises.

8. FULL DISCLOSURE OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC TRAVEL:

Each year, members of Congress travel at government expense to exotic places around the world, or use taxpayer funds to hold "field hearings" and other public relations ventures around their districts and states. Finding out about the cost of these trips is difficult, given the fact that different budgets are used to finance congressional travel. I'll sponsor legislation that will require the Congress to detail on each member's ethics report the number of government-sponsored trips they've taken each year, the number their staff have taken and for what reason, and also the cost of those trips. This way, Congress' biggest junketeers won't be able to hide behind a wall of red tape when they travel at your expense.

9. BAN TRIPS AND GIFTS FINANCED BY SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS:

A member of Congress and his or her family and staff shouldn't be able to accept gifts and travel paid for by special interests. It's influence peddling, and it's wrong. I'll fight for legislation to ban such trips.

10. CLOSE THE REVOLVING DOOR:

Members of Congress who retire or are defeated have a tremendous advantage in the lobbying world. Unlike you or me, they can walk on the floor of the U.S. House or U.S. Senate any time, for any reason. They also have special knowledge and relationships — which they've

gained on our nickel — that they put to use for personal gain. Here's what I think: Once you leave Congress, for whatever reason, you lose your privileges of the floor. In addition, I'll sponsor legislation prohibiting former members of Congress from ever lobbying Congress or the Executive Branch for compensation.

11. PUBLIC ACCESS TO CONGRESS:

As it stands right now, you and I need a pass from our elected members of Congress just to watch floor proceedings. That's wrong, and the system's in place to make you and me feel beholden to our elected officials for allowing us to watch them at work. You shouldn't need permission from any elected official to watch your government. I'll seek a rules change in the Senate doing away with floor passes, so that any individual, any time, can watch floor proceedings at the Capitol so long as they pass through security first.

12. END SUBSIDIZED SERVICES FOR CONGRESS:

Across Capitol Hill, members and staff are treated to all kinds of services at reduced cost. Our tax dollars are even being spent to allow Senators and staff to get their pictures framed at below-market rates. Most Americans work a whole year just to get a week or two off, and no one subsidizes their haircuts, shoe shines, tax preparation and picture frames. Your hard-earned tax dollars shouldn't subsidize these items for the privileged few, either. I'll fight hard for legislation to put an end to that kind of nonsense.

**CASE STUDY:
CUTS IN LEGISLATIVE BRANCH
FUNDING**

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on March 25, 1993 (Vote 77), I would have voted for the 25 percent cut in the funding for the Legislative Branch.

(Robb voted against the cut)

13. BAN UNSOLICITED MAILINGS:

Congress spends millions each year promoting itself and its members through a variety of newsletters and other unsolicited material, and you foot the bill. It's time to put an end to that tremendous waste of time and money. And it's not like you and I are getting the straight skinny on a member's voting record in that kind of material. I'll sponsor legislation that would bar tax dollars from being spent on unsolicited newsletters and other promotional material, excepting, of course, notices of hearings and town meetings.

**CASE STUDY:
ELIMINATING FRANKED MASS MAILINGS**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on July 23, 1993 (Vote 211), I would have voted to eliminate unsolicited franked (taxpayer paid) mass mailings. The measure failed by a vote of 48-47.

**14. STOP SUBSIDIZING CONGRESSIONAL TELEVISION
AND RADIO STUDIOS WITH TAX DOLLARS:**

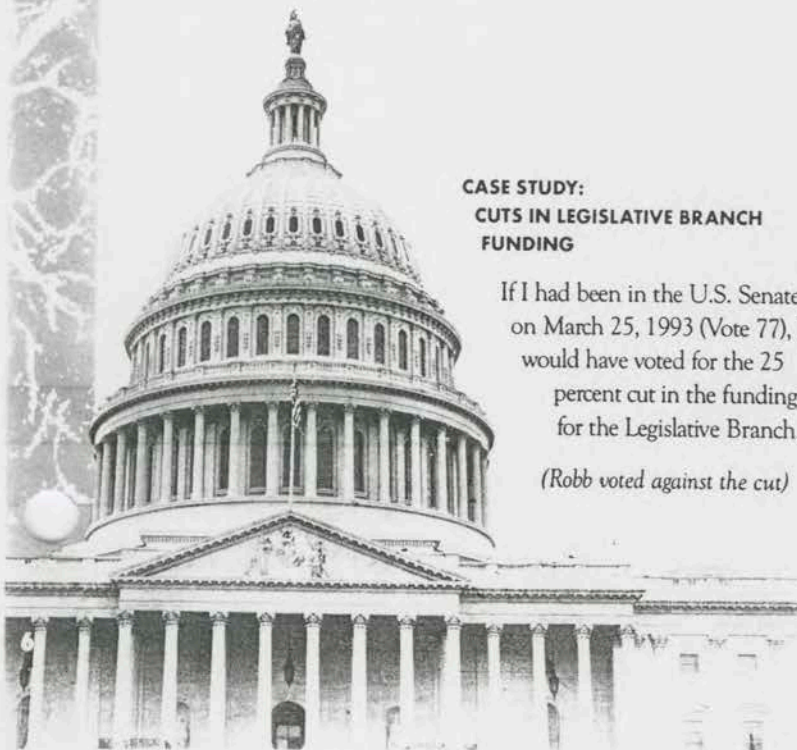
Each year Congress spends extraordinary amounts of money on state-of-the-art television and radio production facilities. They're a waste of money and, given the large number of press which cover the Congress, they're totally unnecessary. I'll sponsor and fight for legislation to end tax funding for these facilities.

**15. CLOSE TAXPAYER-SUBSIDIZED GYMNASIUMS
AND FITNESS FACILITIES:**

Did you know there is actually a tennis court in the Senate just for members? Not to mention a gymnasium, with indoor pool and massage services. Members are finally being charged for use of the facilities, but not at rates you and I would pay for the same privilege. I'll sponsor and fight for legislation to stop the subsidization of these services. There are plenty of public gymnasiums around Washington to which members of Congress can belong.

16. END SENATORIAL MUSICAL CHAIRS:

Every two years there is a mass movement of Senators from one Capitol Hill office suite to another. These moves confuse constituents and cost enormous sums of money: \$859,000 in 1993 alone. I will propose legislation to end that wasteful musical chairs and assign each State permanent office suites.



II. OUR FUTURE. OUR FAMILIES.

RESTORING WHAT'S BEST ABOUT AMERICA

Our society is facing enormous problems. We have metal detectors and x-ray machines at public schools, kids being shot and innocent people being victimized in their own homes. Meanwhile violent criminals serve only a fraction of their sentences and walk the streets to terrorize again. Schools are spending more time doling out punishment than educating children. And more and more of our hard-earned money is going out the door just to pay our taxes. What kind of system is this?

Frankly — and the liberals hate to talk about it — it's a predictable outgrowth of government policies that have been anti-family, anti-work and anti-religion. That's no way to run a country.

It's time to put some common sense and values back in our government and its policies. We need to stop listening to the liberal activists who feel sorry for those who violate the rights of law-abiding citizens, and who are so obsessed with what fringe groups think that they'll sacrifice the common good. America wasn't founded and built on that kind of thinking.

The American family is in crisis. We must work to strengthen the family, not weaken it. I support the right of parents to raise their children without interference from the federal government. I oppose any federal policy that supports or allows a minor to have any surgical or medical procedure — including abortion — without parental consent. I oppose funding for sex education programs that do not emphasize abstinence. It is an irony — and a social tragedy — that students need parental permission to be given an aspirin, but don't need it in order to be given an abortion.

We need government policies and leaders who are dedicated to promoting the interests of working people — the men and women who already spend too much of their time and their money funding a bloated and wasteful federal government. Those are the kind of policies for which I'll fight.

17. DEFEND THE RIGHT-TO-WORK OF ALL VIRGINIANS:

American workers are the most productive in the world. They appreciate the dignity of work and deserve an honest day's wage for an honest day's work. They should

not have to choose between a welfare check and being forced to belong to some particular organization to hold a job. I oppose compulsion on the workers of Virginia. I support enforcement of the Beck decision, which prohibits unions from collecting dues or amounts from non-members for purposes other than collective bargaining, contract administration, and grievance adjustment. I oppose the striker replacement ("push button" strike) bill as harmful to both workers and employers. I strongly support Virginia's right-to-work law.

CASE STUDY: STRIKER REPLACEMENT:

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on June 11 and June 16, 1992 (Votes 120 and 121), I would have voted against the motion to invoke cloture, thus limiting debate, on the striker replacement ("push button" strike) bill.

(Robb voted for the motion to limit debate)

18. WE NEED TO PROTECT OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS UNDER THE U.S. BILL OF RIGHTS:

The present government is gradually attacking our basic constitutional rights by an assault on the U.S. Bill of Rights. This trend must be reversed.

*The First Amendment—
Protect Our Fundamental Freedoms.*

We must also build values in our schools. I will support legislation that upholds the right of our children to engage in purely voluntary prayer in public schools and suspends federal aid to any school district which does not allow constitutionally protected voluntary prayer in the schools.

CASE STUDY: PRAYER IN SCHOOLS

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on February 3, 1994 (Vote 22), I would have voted for the Helms Amendment which would deny federal aid to state or local school agencies that prohibit constitutionally protected voluntary prayer in public schools.

The Second Amendment – Let's Protect the
Right of Lawabiding Citizens to Own Guns.

The Second Amendment is an important component of the fight against crime as we defend our constitutional right to bear arms in defense of ourselves and our families. I will fervently oppose all efforts to deny fire-arms to law-abiding citizens as not only an abridgement of our Second Amendment rights but as fundamentally wrongheaded. Gun control disarms precisely the wrong people. We need to fight violent crime, not law-abiding citizens who happen to own guns.

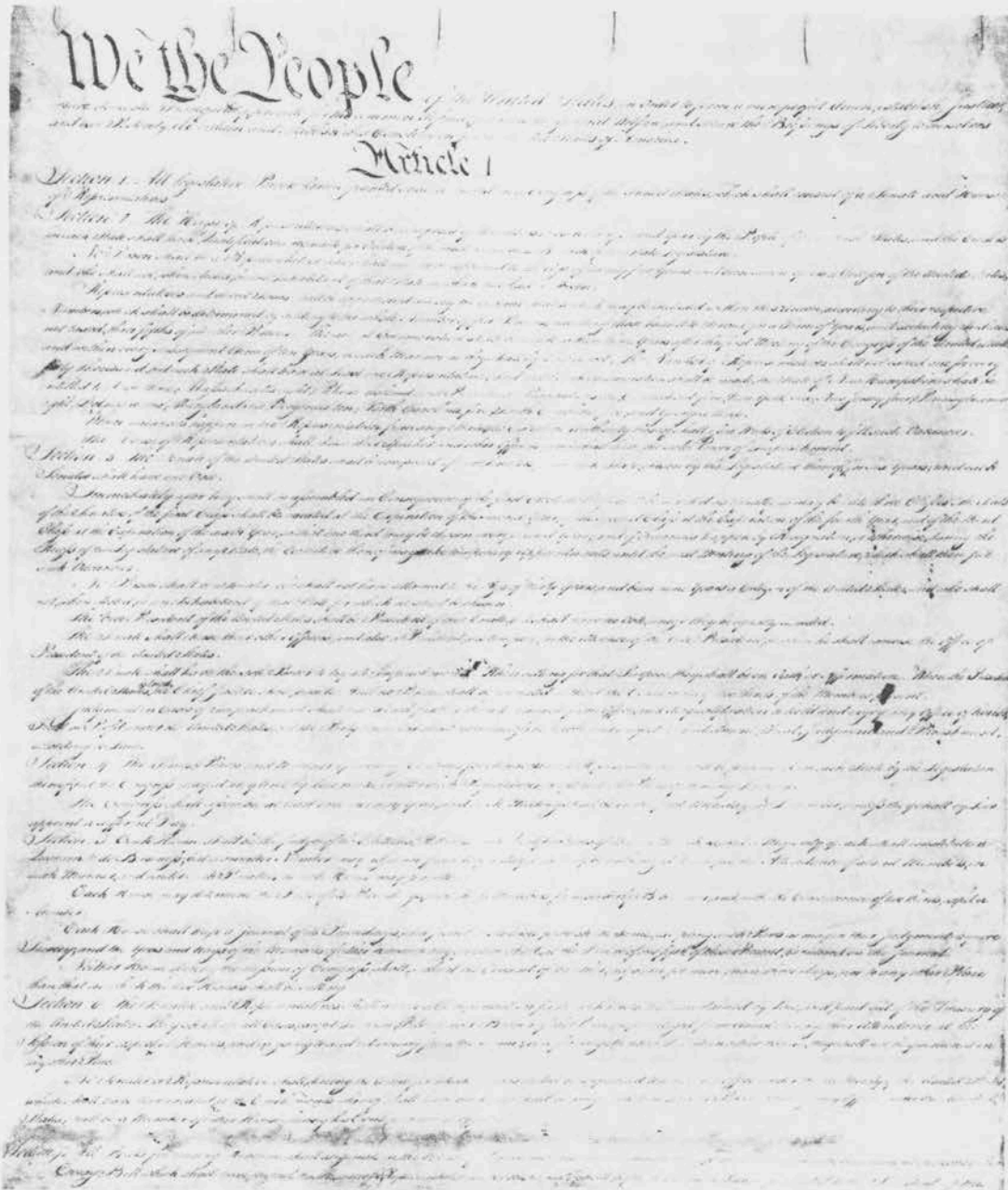
CASE STUDY:
BRADY BILL/5 DAY WAITING PERIOD

If I had been a Member of the United States Senate on November 20, 1993 (Vote 394), I would have voted against the Brady bill, a mandatory waiting period to purchase guns. (Vote 394).

(Passed 63-36; Robb voted for it.)

CASE STUDY:
SEMI-AUTOMATIC GUN BAN

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on November 17, 1993 (Vote 375), I would have voted against the



Feinstein amendment which banned certain so-called "assault" weapons. This was another step violating Second Amendment rights when we know gun control doesn't work. We should be penalizing violent criminals who use guns — not wiping out legitimate gun manufacturers and the rights of gun owners.

(Passed 56-43; Robb voted for it)

The Fourth Amendment – Let's Protect Ourselves from Unreasonable Searches.

The Fourth Amendment is an important protection against searches and seizures, and protects us from such unreasonable invasions of our rights through search warrants. The Clinton Administration is unwilling to extend this protection to individuals who may live in public housing. I believe that poor people have rights which must be protected. Once this right is breached to search for any commodity without a search warrant, the liberties and property of all stand in danger of violation.

The Fifth Amendment – Let's Protect Private Property.

The Fifth Amendment is essential in protecting our right to private property. All of us want a good, clean and healthy environment. However, extremists in the present Administration have been using the heavy hand of the federal government to deny individuals their constitutionally guaranteed right to compensation when their private property is taken. Under the designation of "wetlands" or "endangered species," the government has been infringing on the private property of individual landowners and preventing them from use of their own property. I will make sure that there is no "taking" of private property without just compensation. I will also seek legislation requiring that environmental regulations be based on the best scientific information available and that the government choose the course of action that least interferes with private property rights. I will also fight for stipulations that new environmental regulations include an economic impact statement and a cost-benefit analysis.

**CASE STUDY:
ECONOMIC IMPACT AND COST BENEFIT ANALYSES/EPA**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on April 29, 1993, I would have voted to require economic impact statements and to require cost-benefit analyses for regulations by the Environmental Protection Agency

(Votes 109 and 112).

(Robb voted against both).

Ninth and Tenth Amendments – No More Unfunded Mandates.

The Ninth and Tenth Amendments were adopted to protect the rights of the people not specifically listed in the U.S. Constitution, and to reserve to the people and the states the rights not delegated to the federal government. The federal government has been whittling down the rights of the people and the states through unfunded mandates on state and local governments. Approximately 12 percent of municipal revenues now go to meet those mandates. Unfunded mandates are like your uncle taking you out to dinner and then sticking you with the check. They force localities either to raise taxes or cut services such as police protection. I'll fight for federal legislation to require that any federal mandate include funding for the direct costs of complying with it. In addition, I will work to require that an economic analysis be prepared showing the effect on state and local government of complying with the federal mandate.

**CASE STUDY:
THE GREGG AMENDMENT:**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on May 17, 1994 (Vote 115), I would have voted for the Gregg Amendment which would prohibit federal penalties against communities for non-compliance with unfunded federal mandates under the Safe Drinking Water Act.

(Senate voted to kill or table the amendment 56-43; Robb joined the majority in voting to kill it).

III. PROTECTING OUR FAMILIES' ECONOMIC FUTURE:

Americans know their federal government spends and taxes too much, and in doing so is jeopardizing the future of our children and the economic security of our nation. Washington's politicians are simply unwilling to make the tough choices needed to rein in the sea of red ink that is crippling our economy and breaking the back of the American taxpayer. In fact, they've set up a spending system that will literally bankrupt this country if it's not brought to an end soon. It's a system where a handful of powerful men and women control the purse strings, and it's political suicide to cross them. I have a program that can end the fiscal insanity in Washington, get Uncle Sam's hand out of your pocket and put in place financial incentives to put Americans back to work through economic growth.

The first order of business is to curb federal spending. I'm a sure "YES" vote on a Balanced Budget Amendment, and I'll fight hard for its approval by Congress. But frankly there are many important steps Congress can take right now to curtail the red ink. Here's my program to cut federal spending:

19. LINE-ITEM VETO:

More than 40 governors have this power – the power to veto specific spending programs without having to veto an entire spending bill. Giving the President this power will deal a serious blow to pork barrel spending. As your Senator, I'll fight for this important change.

20. OUTLAW UNAUTHORIZED APPROPRIATIONS:

Congressional rules prohibit so-called unauthorized appropriations – those last-minute spending projects that haven't been fully cleared through the committee process. But the rules are violated virtually at will. I'll introduce and fight for a new federal law which outlaws any unauthorized appropriation except with the consent of a 3/5th majority of both houses of Congress.

21. NO MORE SUPPLEMENTAL SPENDING BILLS:

All too often, Congress uses so-called "supplemental" spending bills for federal programs and departments to

approve huge expansions of the federal bureaucracy. This has to stop. I'll introduce a bill banning Congress from approving additional spending for any federal department beyond the amount actually budgeted by Congress, except with the consent of a 3/5th majority of both houses of Congress.

22. NO MORE CONTINUING RESOLUTIONS:

Another trick is to use the so-called Continuing Resolution – which allows federal spending to continue in the absence of approved budget limits for a new fiscal year. Instead of simply continuing spending at budgeted levels, Congress uses the legislation as a "Christmas Tree" for new pork projects, many of which were never authorized by Congress. This must stop. I'll sponsor reforms that will put an end to this nonsense.

23. ELIMINATE UNNECESSARY AND LOW-PRIORITY SPENDING PROGRAMS:

One of my highest priorities in Congress will be to reduce the amount of interest we have to pay by aggressively attacking the annual deficit and thus the National Debt. Of every spending proposal I will pose a question that I sometimes think Congress has forgotten how to ask: "Is it more important to spend this money than to reduce the amount of interest we are paying?"

It's quite clear that many of the programs on which the government is spending money – billions of dollars – just aren't that important. We need to start identifying these programs. I believe it is time that we cut taxpayers money from wasteful liberal spending programs which are anti-consumer, anti-family, and anti-work and apply these scarce funds to programs which are pro-family, pro-economic growth, and pro-Virginia. As a start I would eliminate funding for the National Endowment for the Arts, a "welfare for the rich," program. I would also eliminate all federal funding for programs which undercut English as the official language of the United States. I'd also fight to stop the federal government from making unnecessary purchases and acquisition of land for non-defense purposes.

CASE STUDY:**CUTTING PORK BARREL PROJECTS**

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on March 30, 1993, I would have voted for cutting the 54 "Pork Barrel" Projects and wasteful spending proposed by the Clinton Administration (Vote 86).

(Robb voted against the cut.)

CASE STUDY:**CUTTING FUNDING FOR NEA**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on September 14, 1993 (Vote 268), I would have voted for the Helms Amendment to eliminate funding for the National Endowment for the Arts because I do not believe the federal government should be funding art projects when the government is running record deficits.

(The amendment was rejected 15-83; Robb voted to kill the funding elimination).

24. NO RETROACTIVE TAX INCREASES:

I oppose making tax hikes retroactive as President Clinton did. I will never vote for a retroactive tax hike. In fact, there are ought to be legislation outlawing it.

CASE STUDY:**RETROACTIVE TAXES**

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on June 24, 1993, I would have voted against retroactive taxes on the American people (Vote 186).

(Rejected; Robb voted for the retroactive taxes).

25. ADJUST TAX RATES FOR INFLATION:

During the 1970s, inflation pushed millions of taxpayers into higher tax brackets. "Bracket creep" caused federal revenues to increase 1.6 percent for every 1 percent increase in inflation, without Congress having to pass a single bill! Indexing tax rates to inflation protects American taxpayers against unlegislated tax increases. As a U.S. Senator I will resist every attempt to repeal indexing.

**26. MAKE IT HARDER TO RAISE TAXES,
EASIER TO CUT THEM:**

Today Senate rules require sixty votes to reduce taxes but only a simple majority vote to raise them. We need to reverse that situation. We should require 60 votes to raise

taxes and only a simple majority to cut taxes. I'll fight to bring about this change.

CASE STUDY:**SUPER MAJORITY TO RAISE TAXES**

If I had been a Member of the United States on October 28, 1993, I would have voted for the Nickles Amendment which would require a super majority of three-fifths, not a simple majority, to raise taxes. (Vote 339)

(Rejected 40-56; Robb voted against this amendment.)

**27. USE TAXES TO REDUCE THE NATIONAL DEBT,
NOT TO FUND MORE GOVERNMENT:**

A large part of the federal budget – 14 per cent or over \$200 billion – goes just to pay the interest on the National Debt. Money spent on interest is not only wasted, it's money we can't spend on things we truly need. I'll work to reduce the amount we spend on interest by working to lower the National Debt. To that end, I'll support legislation to allow taxpayers to designate two per cent of their federal taxes to reducing the National Debt.

CASE STUDY:**SPENDING CUTS**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on March 24, 1994, (Vote 78) I would have voted for the Gramm Amendment which would have accepted all of President Clinton's proposed spending cuts (except for law enforcement), rejected all of his proposed spending increases, and then freeze discretionary spending for the next five years with all savings going to deficit reduction or tax cuts.

(Rejected 32-67; Robb voted against it.)

28. TAX RELIEF FOR FAMILIES:

American families desperately needed the tax cut that President Clinton promised and then reneged on. This year the average American will work 125 days just to pay federal taxes, and those taxes will consume 22.4 percent of the average American's income.

A good place for tax relief is the personal exemption for dependent children. The amount of the personal exemption is \$2,350; according to the Urban Institute, if the amount of the personal exemption had been adjusted for inflation, it would be \$8,652. In the U.S. Senate I will fight to make the personal exemption for children more nearly reflect the cost of raising children.

**CASE STUDY:
CLINTON TAX AND SPEND PROPOSAL**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on August 6, 1993 (Vote 247), I would have voted against the Clinton Administration five year tax and spending proposal which imposed one of the largest tax increases in history on the American people.

(Passed by a vote of 51-50 with the vote of the Vice President; Robb voted for it, providing the tie breaking vote for passage).

**CASE STUDY:
NO NEW TAX/BUDGET PLAN**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on March 24, 1993, I would have voted for the Republican budget alternative requiring no new taxes (Vote 60).

(Rejected; Robb voted against the alternative).

**CASE STUDY:
GAS TAX INCREASE**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on June 24, 1993, I would have voted for eliminating the new gas tax (Vote 167).

(Rejected; Robb voted for the gas tax increase).

**CASE STUDY:
CUTTING SPENDING FIRST**

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on April 20, 1993, I would have supported the Republican plan to cut spending first (Vote 103).

(Robb voted against the Republican plan).

29. TAX REFORM THAT CREATES JOBS:

We need to overhaul the Tax Code so that tax laws stop discouraging, and start promoting, job creation and economic growth. I'll, therefore, fight for tax relief for small business, enterprise zones, a tax credit for each new job created and incentives to do the research and development that creates the jobs of the future.

30. TAX REFORM TO ENCOURAGE SAVINGS, INVESTMENT AND RETIREMENT SECURITY:

Today the federal government taxes inflation. Even if it's only inflation that causes the worth of your property to increase, the federal government taxes the amount by which the sales price exceeds your purchase price. The more inflation, the greater the tax. As a matter of fact, the tax on inflationary gains is greater than the tax on appreciation due to improvements to the property

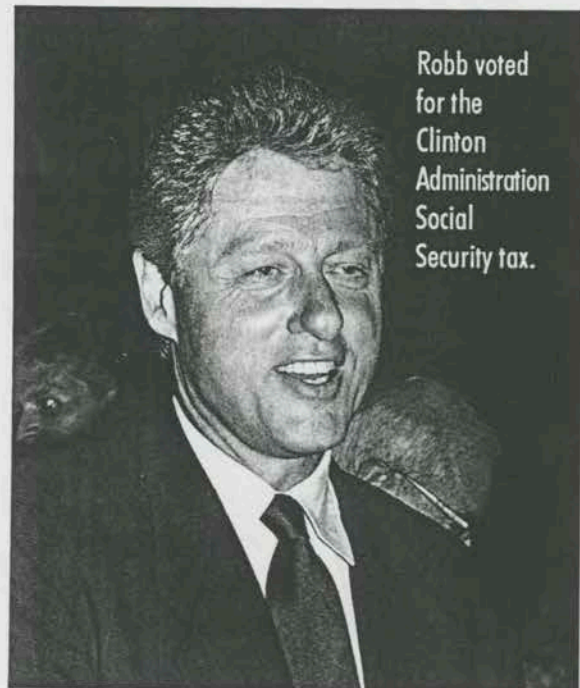
because you can deduct from the gain the cost of the improvements. That's absurd, and I'll work to end the tax on inflation.

I'll also fight for legislation to allow everyone, including people covered by a company retirement plan, to deduct up to \$2,000 a year in inflation-adjusted dollars for an Individual Retirement Account (IRA).

And I'll be up there working to allow tax-free accounts similar to IRAs to be set up for first-home purchases, to send the kids to college and graduate schools and to guard against catastrophic medical expenses.

31. SOCIAL SECURITY MUST BE STRONG:

I am a rock-solid supporter of the right of our senior citizens to have a financially secure retirement with adequate income from such programs as Social Security. The Medicare Trust Fund, which pays hospital and doctors' bills for senior citizens, will run out of money in seven years. The separate trust fund that pays benefits to disabled workers may be out of funds next year. We



must preserve and strengthen these trust funds. I favor an independent Social Security Board. I support repeal of the earnings limit for Social Security recipients. And I oppose, as a breach of faith, proposals to "means-test" Social Security.

CASE STUDY:**REPEAL OF SOCIAL SECURITY EARNINGS TEST**

If I had been a Member of the United States Senate on October 27, 1993, I would have voted to repeal the Social Security earnings test thus allowing Social Security recipients to earn additional earnings without being penalized by reductions in their Social Security benefits. (Vote 338).

(The repeal of the earnings test was rejected 46-51; Robb voted to keep the earnings limitation).

CASE STUDY:**CLINTON SOCIAL SECURITY TAX**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on June 24, 1993, (Vote 169), I would have voted to eliminate the Clinton Administration tax on Social Security.

(Robb voted for the tax).

32. CUT GOVERNMENT RED TAPE:

The Clinton Administration's adventures in government regulation remind me of the Energizer Bunny: they go on and on and on. In 1993, its first year, the Clinton Administration's proposed new regulations consumed 69,688 printed pages in the Federal Register, the most since the last two years of the Carter presidency. All those regulations are taking a tremendous toll on our economy. I promise to fight to require a cost/benefit analysis of all new federal regulations.

CASE STUDY:**REGULATORY RELIEF**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on March 10, 1994, I would have voted for the Simpson Amendment which would require economic impact analyses and cost-benefit reports on proposed new regulations.

(The measure passed 56-42; Robb voted to kill this amendment).

33. NO NEW TOBACCO TAXES:

The federal government is waging war on one of our main cash crops and a large employer of Virginia workers — tobacco. I will fight unfair increases in the tobacco tax since it ignores the real problem: We are not taxed too little, the federal government just spends too much. I believe that before we start singling out any segment in our economy for higher taxes, we need to cut wasteful government spending. I will fight for Virginia's farmers, workers, and industries to keep them strong and prosperous.

34. A SAFETY NET, BUT NOT A HAMMOCK:

Many of our government entitlement programs have become a hammock instead of a safety net. They're anti-family and anti-work. Welfare reform should wipe the term "dead-beat dad" from our vocabulary and assure that able-bodied people will work. I support welfare reform that includes workfare, that will break the cycle of dependency and discourage illegitimacy, and that will save money for the taxpayer.

We should utilize our free enterprise system to end welfare as we know it. We can do this by giving businessmen a tax credit when they hire someone off the welfare rolls. We may be able to remove over half of the able-bodied individuals from our welfare rolls — and use the resulting tax income to pay for the continuation of those who are not able to work and remain on the welfare rolls. As a U.S. Senator, I will fight to allow our free enterprise system to solve our welfare problem.

CASE STUDY:**CUTTING BENEFITS TO STATES THAT DO NOT REQUIRE "ABLE-BODIED" TO WORK**

If I was a Member of the U.S. Senate on June 22, 1993 (Vote 163), I would have voted for the amendment which would cut federal welfare administration to the states that do not, within a year, require at least ten percent of their "able-bodied" welfare recipients without dependents to work.

(The amendment was rejected 34-64; Robb voted to kill or table this amendment).

35. RACISM IS WRONG NO MATTER WHO IT FAVORS; NO MORE QUOTAS:

All Americans deserve fair treatment and to provide equality of opportunity. Misguided quota programs, however, divide as much as segregation did. I will fight for equality of opportunity for all Americans and oppose racial and gender quotas which enlarge the power of the federal government, promote government-guaranteed outcomes, and degrade individual achievement.

CASE STUDY:**1990 QUOTA BILL**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on July 18, 1990 (Vote 161), I would have voted against the Kennedy race-based hiring quota bill known as the Civil Rights Act of 1990 because I believe hiring or promotion quotas are unfair to workers and violate the constitutional rights of our citizens to be judged on merit.

(The measure passed 65-34; Robb voted for it).

IV. EDUCATION AND OUR FAMILIES:

Our schools are in crisis. Students are graduating without being able to read; adults are unable to hold jobs because they lack basic literacy skills. That's intolerable. We must ensure that our children master the science, math and technology they will need in their careers. I will fight any efforts to introduce "outcome-based education" that promotes political correctness instead of academic achievement and work against government efforts to regulate private schools or home schooling.

36. PUT CHOICE BACK INTO EDUCATION:

I will work hard to guarantee to parents the right to educate their children in public, private or home schools, especially to ensure that the option of private schools is not something only the rich can enjoy. Although public education plays an important role in preparing America's next generation of leaders, it is critical that parents be offered a choice. I support tuition tax credits for private schools.

CASE STUDY: PARENTAL NOTIFICATION IN THE SCHOOLS

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on February 8, 1994 (Vote 28), I would have voted to allow parental notification before any school system distributed condoms to students.

(The measure was rejected 34-59; Robb voted against it.)

CASE STUDY: FUNDS TO LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on February 8, 1994 (Vote 27), I would have voted for the Mack Amendment which would provide that money for school reform and innovation go directly to local school boards (Vote 27).

(The measure was rejected 32-61; Robb voted against it.)

CASE STUDY: SCHOOL CHOICE

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on February 8, 1994 (Vote 25), I would have voted for the Coats Amendment which would have authorized six school choice demonstration sites in low-income areas to test the

school choice idea in a limited control setting to see how well it would work.



(The measure was rejected 41-52; Robb voted against school choice.)

37. FUND COMPUTERS AND LIBRARIES FOR OUR SCHOOLS:

Another problem in education is that the Clinton Administration is proposing that we cut millions of dollars from programs that would upgrade computer systems in libraries, millions from library capital improvement and additional millions from literacy programs. When knowledge is so crucial and technology can help us deliver, we cannot afford these cuts. I will propose cutting social engineering and wasteful pork barrel spending so we can restore needed funds for library and literacy programs. I will work to encourage business-school partnerships to advance education and to add new resources to our schooling-funding.

CASE STUDY: WASTING EDUCATION DOLLARS

If I had been a member of the U.S. Senate on July 30, 1991, I would have supported the amendment which would have prohibited giving Pell grants to state or federal prisoners (Vote 161). Pell grants are designed to assist needy individuals meet the expenses of a college-level education. Lavishing prisoners with taxpayer dollars, when hardworking students are left struggling, is an outrage.

(The measure was rejected 38-60; Robb voted to continue giving Pell grants to prisoners.)

V. PROTECTING OUR FAMILIES BY DEFENDING OUR BORDERS:

I support legal immigration — those people who have lawfully entered our country and have made a contribution in building a strong, secure, and economically prosperous America. I am the grandson of immigrants.

Our main problem is illegal aliens, and we must take effective action against them.

38. KEEP ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS OUT WHILE PROTECTING OUR NATION:

We have simply lost control of our borders. I will support increased funding for our Immigration and Naturalization Service and our Border Patrol to prevent illegals from entering.

CASE STUDY: IMMIGRATION OF PERSONS WITH AIDS

The United States is having problems with the AIDS epidemic among its citizens. We cannot afford to allow foreigners who have AIDS to come into the United States. I will also strongly support banning immigration by those found to be HIV-positive, and drug tests for resident aliens as a condition of remaining in the U.S.

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on February 18, 1993 (Vote 13), I would have voted for the amendment to prohibit the permanent immigration of persons affected with the HIV virus.

(The measure passed 76-23 but Robb voted against it).

NO MORE WELFARE FOR ILLEGAL ALIENS.

Current laws that require us to provide social and medical benefits to illegal aliens are straining our ability to provide for our own citizens. At least one state is already suing the U.S. government over the costs associated with illegal immigration. I will also support and fight for the necessary legislative and even constitutional changes to ensure that the "equal protection clause" does not mean that illegal aliens should receive government welfare, education and other benefits paid for by Americans.

DEPORT ILLEGAL ALIENS WHO COMMIT CRIMES.

Taxpayers in the United States are paying millions of dollars to provide three meals, a bed and health care for thousands of illegal aliens serving time in U.S. jails. The

Clinton Administration has asked for \$350 million to assist the states to house alien inmates — and many states claim this will not even come close to covering the costs. In the U.S. Senate, I will push for legislation that would permit judges to enter a deportation order during the sentencing phase of the criminal trial, expand the list of crimes justifying deportation, and expedite deportation of alien criminals at the conclusion of their sentences.

NO ABUSE OF THE POLITICAL ASYLUM SYSTEM.

We need to reform the political asylum system. Fleeing from genuine political persecution is one thing. But too many individuals who do not face political persecution seek asylum as an excuse to get to America. Then many of them disappear into our cities and towns as illegals. I will support expeditious determination of political persecution claims and prompt deportation of those who do not qualify.

39. MAKE ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE U.S.:

The English language is the glue that holds the United States together. Many people have fled from tyranny to the United States and learned the English language as their ticket to political, economic and social success in our country so they can rise as far as their individual talents can take them. We have only to compare our history with Canada's to see that a common language helps forge a bond of unity among a nation's citizens whereas language issues can divide us not only socially but politically. Certain special interest groups have not learned that lesson and are discouraging immigrants from embracing English. That is wrong. As a United States Senator I will support legislation to make English the official language of the U.S.

VI. HEALTH ISSUES AND OUR FAMILIES:

It is irrefutable that the United States has the finest doctors, dentists, nurses, health practitioners, hospitals, and medicine in the world. However, we do recognize that there are some problems which need attention such as portability, accessibility, and affordability.

We need to examine what are the problems and how best to solve them through incremental steps and free-market based incentives to reform our health care system. We must be aware how each change will affect other sections of our health care services. We must reject the top-to-bottom changes suggested by the Clinton Administration, which threatens the finest health care services in the world.

40. REAL HEALTH CARE REFORM:

We must have meaningful health care reform that fixes the problems in our health care system while preserving those aspects of our system that have made it the best in the world. The Clinton proposal would place the health care industry — one-seventh of the U.S. economy — under the control of the federal government and undermine the pillars of our health care system: choice and quality.

We must be willing to tackle such changes as tort reform which will resolve the crisis in malpractice suits, establishing Medical IRAs allowing individuals to save for needed health expenses, and tax deductions presenting the opportunity for doctors and hospitals to treat indigent patients.

In addition, federal health care legislation must fully fund the vitally important preventive activities of the Public Health Service and state and local public health agencies.

41. ALLOCATE HEALTH RESEARCH DOLLARS WISELY:

A few years ago the Department of Health & Human Services issued a report showing how it spends its health research and prevention funds. That report disclosed that there are more than 700,000 yearly deaths due to heart disease, more than 500,000 deaths due to cancer and about 27,000 due to AIDS, HHS spends \$288 per heart-disease death trying to eliminate the causes of heart disease; \$2,608 per cancer death on cancer research; and

\$110,280 per AIDS death on seeking a cure for AIDS. Thus, we are spending a ratio of 55:1 for a cure for deaths from AIDS as we are for deaths from cancer. That allocation makes no sense. We should use our limited research dollars to attack the greatest threat. I'll fight to re-allocate our research budget to problems like heart disease and breast and cervical cancer while preserving an appropriate level of funding for AIDS research.

CASE STUDY: REALLOCATION OF AIDS FUNDS

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on May 15, 1990 (Vote 92), I would have voted for the amendment to allow states with 100 or fewer AIDS cases reported in the preceding two years to use funds authorized under the bill to provide comprehensive care to people with other chronic diseases, including cancer and Alzheimer's disease.

(The amendment was rejected 33-65; Robb joined the majority in voting against it).

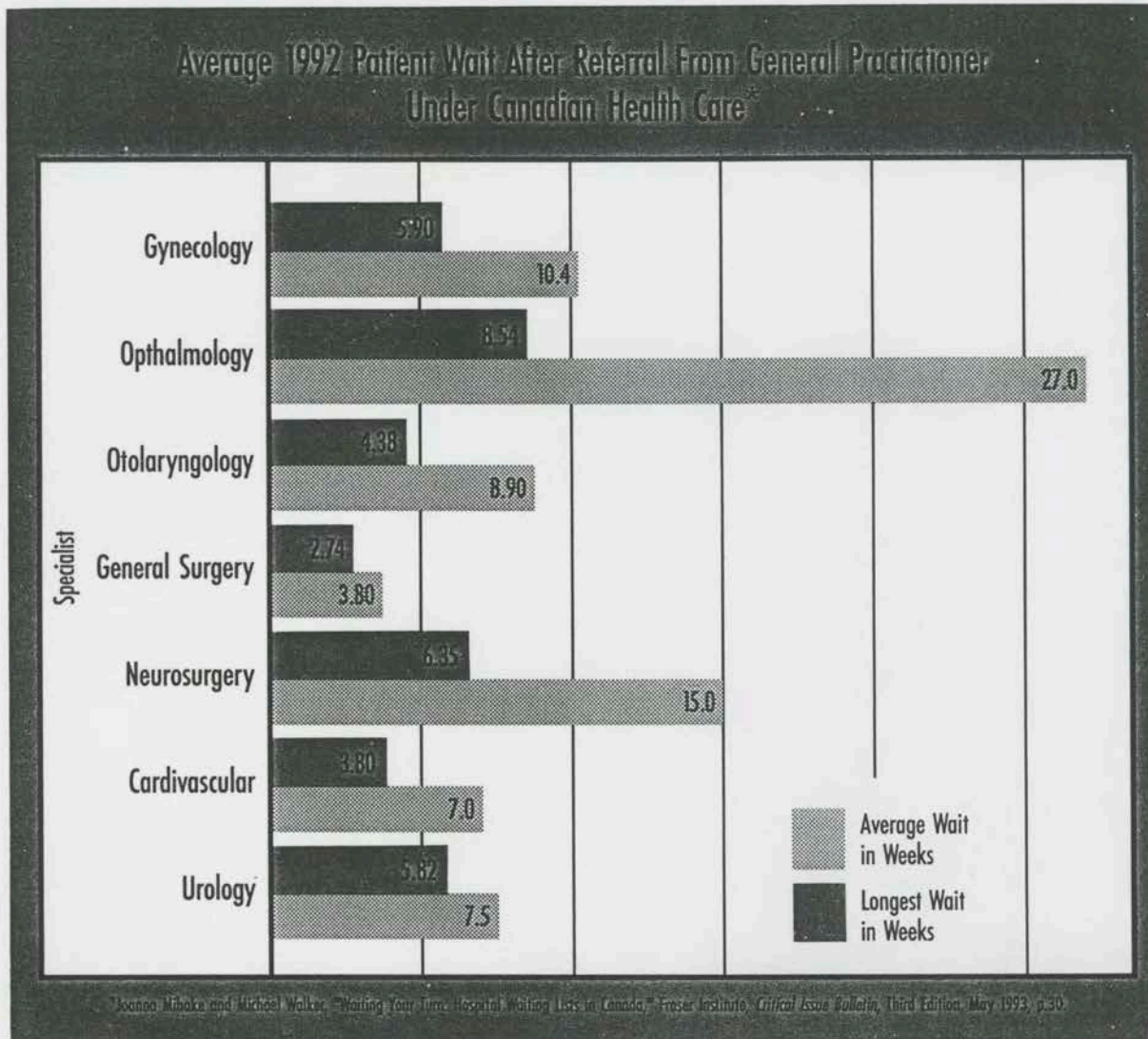
CASE STUDY: REALLOCATION OF AIDS FUNDS II

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on October 12, 1990 (Vote 268), I would have voted for the amendment to shift \$120 million from AIDS-related programs to those relating to the prevention of infant mortality, sudden infant death syndrome, child health research, mental retardation in children, and Alzheimer's disease.

(The amendment was rejected 69-23; Robb voted with the majority to kill it).

42. NO TAXPAYER FUNDING FOR ABORTIONS:

I oppose all taxpayer funding of abortion. I oppose the so-called Freedom of Choice Act, abortion for sex selection and abortion on demand. I strongly oppose including taxpayer support for abortion services in a national health reform bill. I will work hard to secure support for alternatives to abortion such as adoption. Our nation faces a National Debt of four and one half trillion dollars, and we cannot afford to use taxpayer money to pay for abortions. In addition, I will vote against foreign aid which allows funding for abortion.



**CASE STUDY:
BAN ON ABORTION FUNDING FOR
FEDERAL HEALTH PLANS**

If I was a Member of the U.S. Senate on August 3, 1993 (Vote 235), I would have voted to reinstate the ban which prohibits federal employees health care policies from paying for abortions.

(Ruled non-germane 48-51; Robb voted against the amendment)

**CASE STUDY:
TAXPAYER FUNDING OF ABORTIONS**

If I was a Member of the U.S. Senate on September 28, 1993 (Vote 290), I would have voted for the committee amendment to prohibit taxpayer funds from paying for abortions (except in cases of rape, incest, or when the life of the mother is endangered).

(The measure was rejected 40-59; Robb voted for taxpayer funding of all abortions for whatever reason).

43. I'M PRO-LIFE:

I oppose abortion except in cases in which pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when pregnancy endangers the life of the mother. Unfortunately, abortion is used today as a means of birth control. Often the government won't even allow parents to know if their teenage daughter is planning to have an abortion. Yet that same government doesn't mind paying for abortions with tax dollars. That's just wrong.

VII. CRIME AND PROTECTING THE SAFETY OF OUR FAMILIES:

Crime is a growing problem in our society, especially for the poor. The crime wave threatens not only the safety of our homes and persons but also the very fabric of our society. The federal government cannot be a passive observer of this growing crime wave. We need action to defeat crime in our society. We need common sense criminal justice reforms and we need them now.

I support the construction of new prisons to house our growing criminal class. We need to make sure that violent criminals serve their time, and are not out on parole or released to threaten law-abiding citizens. I believe in reducing wasteful spending so we can devote more of our resources to prison construction. These prisons must be built away from neighborhoods. We should consider constructing some for violent criminals in the more isolated regions of the U.S. especially in the Western states. As a U.S. Senator, I will fight for additional prison construction.

44. REQUIRE TRUTH IN SENTENCING:

In many states, overly lenient parole laws and "good-conduct" allowances permit violent criminals to get back on the streets after serving as little as 30, 25 or even 15 percent of their sentences. That's not only a fraud on the juries that handed down the sentences, it's playing Russian roulette with our citizens. I'll fight for a law that will condition federal aid to state law-enforcement agencies on the states' adopting legislation requiring that all violent offenders serve a minimum of 85 percent of their sentences.

45. CIVIL JUSTICE REFORM:

Unjustified verdicts are funneling millions of dollars from the careful to the careless, and encouraging unscrupulous attorneys to file frivolous lawsuits that are tying up our court system. I believe we can reduce these frivolous suits by requiring the losing party to pay the legal expenses and court costs of the winning party in most cases. We would prevent the courts from wasting time on frivolous suits, save money for the taxpayers and better guarantee that justice will be done. I will propose legislation bringing about this beneficial change.

46. MANDATORY PROSECUTION OF FEDERAL WEAPONS CHARGES:

When George Bush was President, an aggressive campaign was launched to prosecute those who abused the federal firearms laws. "Operation Triggerlock" focused federal law enforcement resources on armed career criminals and "Operation Gunsmoke" deployed hundreds of U.S. Marshals to arrest armed and dangerous criminals. Also, U.S. Attorneys were directed by the Attorney General to demand convictions for firearms offenses in those cases where a weapon was employed to perpetuate a violent offense.

The Clinton Administration has taken the opposite position and rescinded that rule of mandatory prosecution. Attorney General Janet Reno would prefer to give prosecutors broad discretion over when to punish criminals for firearm abuse and to push for strict gun control measures which interfere with the Second Amendment rights of law-abiding Americans to own guns. This is just plain stupid. Tough sentences are a clear deterrent to criminal activity and that includes firearms abuse. As a United States Senator, I'll use every opportunity including public hearings and resolutions to reverse the present Administration's nonsensical firearms prosecution policy.

In addition, I will sponsor and support legislation which prohibits bail for violent criminals, particularly those with prior records of similar offenses, as well as those charged with breaching the national security, major drug traffickers and persons affiliated with organized groups formed for the purpose of perpetuating crimes such as street gangs. As a United States Senator, I would also demand public hearings to determine what other measures federal enforcement officials need to keep our streets safe and our citizens protected.

47. NO LIBERAL JUDGES:

A good deal of the problems we have with career criminals stem from judges who won't throw the book at repeat violent offenders. We need a careful review of the qualifications of all judges who sit on our federal courts. The President, in his zeal to please special interest groups, has appointed individuals to the bench who threaten the

fight against crime. Some Clinton-appointed judges, for example, always manage to find reasons to void death sentences. I will fight against the confirmation of federal judges who won't be tough on crime and oppose the confirmation of those judges who want to rewrite the Constitution rather than interpret its provisions. I will urge the appointment and confirmation of federal judges who will enforce the law through constitutional decisions rather than creating new "law" by their interpretations, or writing their personal concepts into their decisions.

**CASE STUDY:
JUDGE ROSEMARY BARKETT**

If I had been a Member of the United States Senate on April 14, 1994 (Vote 92), I would have voted against the confirmation of Rosemary Barkett of Florida to be a Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit because of her soft-on-crime record, which included opposition to the death penalty even in the most outrageous cases. She also has worked to reduce sentences on violent criminals based on their own supposed "sociological victimization".

(Confirmed 61-37; Robb voted for the confirmation).

48. AMERICA NEEDS THE DEATH PENALTY:

We need the death penalty. I support reinstatement of capital punishment and believe when a person commits a heinous crime he or she should be executed despite race, color, or creed. I would have opposed the imposition of racial quotas on the imposition of the death penalty.

**CASE STUDY:
RACIAL QUOTAS**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on May 11, 1994 (Vote 106), I would have voted for the D'Amato Amendment which would have expressed the Sense of the U.S. Senate that the Senate-House conferees should eliminate the "Racial Justice Act," a misnamed amendment which would, in effect, put a quota on the implementation of the death penalty and would, in effect, abolish the death penalty.

(Adopted 58-41; Robb voted against it).

49. HABEAS CORPUS REFORM:

Today, criminals sentenced to death not only have one, two or three appeals of their convictions, they can also postpone their executions by an almost limitless succession of petitions (called "habeas corpus" petitions) seeking additional court review of their convictions. As a

result, the average length of time between imposition and execution of the death penalty is eight years. John Wayne Gacy, who murdered 33 boys and young men, avoided execution for 14 years by filing more than 40 habeas corpus petitions. That's ridiculous. I'll fight for legislation limiting Death Row prisoners to one round of habeas corpus petitions. Four bites at the apple are enough.

**CASE STUDY:
HABEAS CORPUS APPEALS**

If I had been a Member of the United States Senate on November 17, 1993 (Vote 374), I would have voted to limit habeas corpus appeals by death row inmates in order to facilitate swifter implementation of the death penalty thus avoiding the continuing delays by appeal after appeal.

(Motion to kill or table the measure passed 65-34; Robb voted to kill or table this bill).

50. PUT PRISONERS TO WORK:

Prison time should be hard time, not leisure time watching MTV. I'll sponsor and fight for legislation that will require federal prisoners to work eight hours a day, six days a week. And my legislation will use non-violent, first-time offenders to assist in public works projects like highway maintenance and public lands improvements, the way Virginia uses its non-violent prisoners.

**51. ENHANCE DRUG REHABILITATION EFFORTS
FOR FIRST-TIME OFFENDERS:**

Many first time offenders turn to a life of crime because of a drug habit. That doesn't excuse them from punishment, but we're fooling ourselves if we think we can punish an individual without treating the disease that compels them toward crime. I'll strongly support putting proven anti-drug and drug-rehabilitation programs in our federal facilities as the best way to fight this problem.

**52. NATIONAL REGISTER OF DISCHARGED
SEX AND CHILD-ABUSE OFFENDERS:**

Many criminals who commit sex and child-abuse offenses are repeat offenders. They move around the country after serving their sentences, only to terrorize people who are unaware of their history. I'll support and fight for federal legislation encouraging a cooperative effort among states to report the relocation of a convicted child or sex offender into an area after they're released from prison.

VIII. DEFENDING OUR FAMILIES' FREEDOM:

The United States is the last superpower on earth. Despite the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Iron Curtain, this is still a very dangerous world. The U.S. is and must remain the leader of the world and must have the resources to discharge that responsibility. We need to be strong enough to discourage aggressors everywhere. The Clinton Administration has cut too fast and too deep into our defenses. It has stretched our armed forces so thin that we will be unable to protect America's vital interest anywhere. The Clinton Administration's average each month is cutting 15,000 personnel, 37 primary authorized aircraft, one battle force ship and one combat battalion.

53. A STRONG DEFENSE:

Clinton has tripled the actual cuts he promised during the 1992 campaign and is spending significantly less than the Bush Administration on modernization over the next five years (\$93 billion). It has turned our once-mighty armed forces into a laboratory for radical social experiments such as allowing homosexuals in the armed forces and putting women in combat. I will fight for a strong U.S. defense.

I oppose the Clinton Administration defense cuts.

I oppose admitting homosexuals to the U.S. military.

CASE STUDY: DEFENSE CUTS

I would have voted against the Clinton Administration defense cuts which will result in a loss of 70,000 jobs in Virginia. We need to keep critical defense related jobs in Virginia.

CASE STUDY: PROTECTING DEFENSE FROM CUTS

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on March 23, 1994 (Vote 69), I would have voted for the Lott Amendment which would have protected U.S. defenses from proposed cuts by requiring that the additional \$26 billion five year cuts come from non-defense accounts.

(The measure was rejected 34-64; Robb voted against it.)

CASE STUDY: HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY

If I had been in the United States Senate on September 9, 1993, I would have opposed the Boxer Amendment which would have allowed the President solely to determine the policy of admitting homosexuals to the military without Congressional approval. (Vote 250)

(The measure was rejected 33-63; Robb voted in favor of this amendment.)

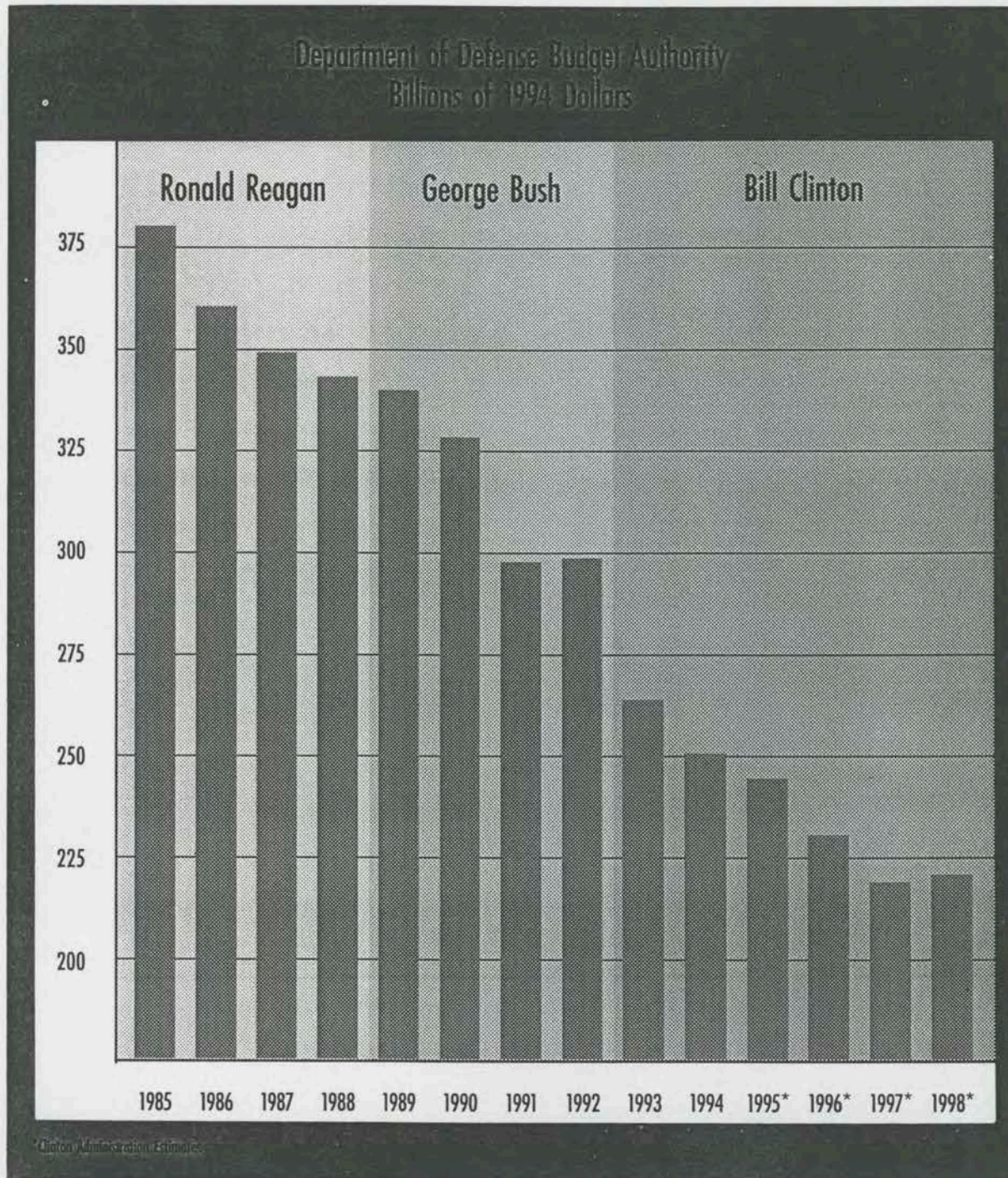
CASE STUDY: LIFTING OF VIETNAM EMBARGO/POW/MIA

If I had been in the United States Senate on January 27, 1994, I would have voted for the Smith Amendment which would have lifted the embargo on Vietnam only after the U.S. president had made the determination that Vietnam had provided the fullest possible accounting of all U.S. POW/MIA cases. (Vote 6).

(The measure was rejected 42-58; Robb voted against it.)

54. PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF AMERICA, NOT THE UNITED NATIONS:

American foreign policy has one purpose: protect our citizens, vital interests and sovereignty. We must maintain a strong and consistent foreign policy that upholds the American principles of freedom, democracy, and economic liberty. We must avoid being dragged into every conflict and allowing our national interests to be subordinated to the interests of outside forces such as the United Nations. I will fight in the U.S. Senate to maintain American sovereignty and freedom of action in international affairs, and to make sure all commitments of troops or resources are in the national interest of the United States. We owe it to the mothers and fathers of Virginians to have sons and daughters serve under American commanders, and not those of other nationalities wearing a blue United Nations helmet.



**CASE STUDY:
FUNDING FOR U.S. TROOPS
UNDER U.N. COMMAND**

If I had been a Member of the U.S. Senate on October 19, 1993 (Vote 317), I would have voted for the Nickles Amendment to prohibit the U.S. funding paying U.S. troops which were under the command of the United Nations foreign commanders.

(The measure was rejected 33-65; Robb voted against it).

**CASE STUDY:
U.N. VOTES AND U.S. AID**

If I had been in the U.S. Senate on February 2, 1994 (Vote 17), I would have voted for the Lott Amendment, which would prohibit U.S. military aid to countries that voted with the U.S. less than 25 percent of the time in the United Nations General Assembly.

(Motion to kill the amendment passed 66-34; Robb voted to kill or table the amendment).

NEWS CLIPS

AL2 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1994

Rich North's Times Dispatch

ORGAN'S NEWS LEADER

On Character

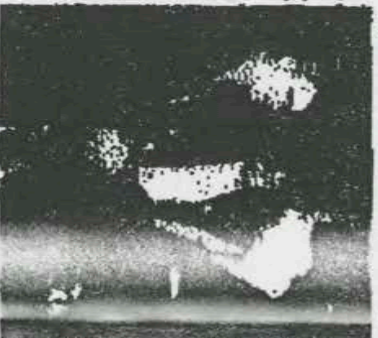
Character is — or ought to be — the central issue in every political campaign. Those candidates who fail to suffer from a discussion of it understandably groan at the very mention.

So Oliver North's right to have raised it and Chuck Robb's chief horse-holder predictably did not merit a remark as signifying his determination to take "the low road." The low road is the high road.

Character is the measure of the sort of office-holder any candidate will be. A deeper campaign discussion of character might have given us, for instance, a President other than the one who is in the White House — and we all might be the better for it, and less in the lap of characterless incompetents.

For perhaps a year, this area has very much discussed North's character: appraisals of it have appeared prominently in *The Editorial Pages*. Even this week Marshall Coleman, Virginia's own Harvard Square, visited these offices to blather about (among other things) how North's seeming lack of character impelled him to enter the Senate race — his own pretense thereby helping North (and if you are confused by that reasoning, welcome to the group!).

Discussion of Robb's character has not kept pace, so North obliged. "Chuck Robb is acting as though he were untroubled by scandal," North said Monday. "The voters on November 8 are going to show how damaging Robb's personal life is. . . . Character always counts in a campaign." Robb, he added, has a "seriously flawed" character and has a "moral force" to hold public office.



Bullseye

Members by Robb's staff categorizing their Senator's dubious Virginia Beach activities have appeared in the left margin of these pages (see *Oy/Sid Pages* of March 12 and March 20). Repeated efforts to try to convert with binoculars and decliners of the drug subculture bespeaks a man of something less than sterling character. His wife publicly runs her hands over him in touchy tenderness to her forgiveness. Yet why should the voters reverse any politician's incumbent indiscretions to them by re-clothing him to another's?

Talk about *being* Oliver North has acknowledged misleading members of a congressional committee one time (implicitly under orders, but emphatically not under oath). He has said repeatedly what he did was wrong; he has said he does not make the same mistake twice.

But for most of his life he has been a serial liar. Robb lived a lie — day after day, month after month, year after year. He has warned what he did "peccathooes" and conduct unbecoming; a married man, he violated his oath of good faith to the people of Virginia — people who would have seen most recently, at the presidential level. Character counts — as we have seen most recently, at the presidential level. In the Clintons, it is the same, the one standing above all others. And North has it all over Robb.

EDITORIAL

Speaking to Fellowes Times



LEFT

Senator Study Government But Keep Yearly Impediments

EDITOR, TIMES-DISPATCH:

I read with interest Governor Allen's proposal on shrinking the government. I could not agree more with that philosophy. I am troubled by the idea of eliminating state inspections of automobiles ("Please Drive Yearly Vehicle Inspection," August 19). I personally don't care what Maryland, D.C., or other states do in relation to automobile safety. Virginia's system is a good one. Would you fly in an airplane you did not feel had been properly maintained or have your child ride in bonds without like precautions? I don't think so.

There is no alternative way to end all traffic accidents related to mechanical failure, but if one Virginia child or adult was killed because of faulty brakes or no tail lights, there all of the cost-cutting would be in vain.

HOTLINE 8/31/94

*10 VIRGINIA: COLEMAN LASHES OUT AT MEDIA, ROBB AND NORTH
'89 GOP gov. nominee Marshall Coleman (I) called both Sen. Chuck Robb (D) and Oliver North (R) "an embarrassment" to VA and "begged reporters to cover him as a public service." Coleman, with Sen. John Warner (R) by his side, complained of a "news blackout" and said the press "has an obligation to report" on all four candidates. He "ripped" Robb who he called a "part-time senator ... who has earned more attention for troubles in his private life than accomplishments in his public life." Coleman "needled" North as a "self-described outsider who, in fact, was the ultimate Washington insider who abused the power of the White House to achieve his own political ends; a man whose credibility is challenged at every turn ... a politician who wears his defiance of Congress and the role of law as a badge of honor." Ex-Dem Gov. Doug Wilder (I) "escaped Coleman's lash." Wilder: "Marshall's a friend, and I'm not denigrating him at all, but his name just doesn't come up -- on the hustings, or with the press. The only names that come up are North, Robb and my own. Not in that particular order -- no, indeed" (8/31). W. POST's Baker writes "the issue of character remained the focus" of the race. Robb on Coleman and Wilder criticizing his personal life, rather than focus on issues like health care and crime: "I haven't seen any other rationale for their candidacies." North spokesperson Mark Merritt on Coleman: "Road kill on the campaign highway. We drove by him a long time ago." Coleman said he is "not absorbed with spending the whole fall talking about the character of those two guys" but he and Wilder are only in the race because of "complaints" about Robb and North. Wilder said "there must be a tacit understanding" between Robb and North to "try to portray the race as being between them alone" (8/31). Robb spokesperson Peggy Wilhide on Coleman's attack on Robb: "Marshall tried three times to run for statewide office, and he's been rejected each time. He had the opportunity to earn his party's nomination, but he didn't. Now he has no chance to get elected. All he's doing is helping Oliver North get elected" (ROANOKE TIMES & WORLD-NEWS, 8/31).

GOLDMAN TO THE RESCUE? W. TIMES reports that ex-VA Dem Party Chair Paul Goldman, the man behind Wilder's '89 victory, and Wilder are "talking politics again." Some Dems said Wilder "needs" Goldman's "political instincts." Wilder did not offer Goldman a job, nor did Goldman ask for one but Wilder said they "will continue talking" (8/31).

ROBB'S TOUR: Robb, on a van tour of VA, warned Dems that the "next polls may show him behind because North has been advertising on television while he has not." Robb: "The race is going to be close it's going to be tough; we are not taking anything for granted" (8/31).

MORE HASKELL: ROANOKE TIMES & WORLD-NEWS' Poole profiles William Haskell, the Vietnam vet and Iran-Contra operative starring in North's latest ad. In the ad, Haskell credits North "with saving his life" in Vietnam. What the ad "neglects to say" is that North later "recruited" Haskell as a "secret operative" in the Iran-Contra affair. North's critics "seized on the omission as an example of what they claim is North's inability to tell the truth -- or at least the whole truth." Haskell: "I don't see what the big deal is." Haskell said there "was not attempt to conceal his Iran-Contra role." Haskell said the North campaign "couldn't have hidden his Iran-Contra connections because his name had already appeared in numerous newspaper articles and books" (8/31).

Wash. Post 8/30/94

North Says Robb Lacks 'Moral Force'

GOP Challenger Raises Character Issue in Va.'s Senate Race

By Kent Jenkins Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vowing to hound Sen. Charles S. Robb of Virginia until Election Day, rival Oliver L. North charged yesterday that Robb has a "seriously flawed" character and lacks the "moral force" to hold public office.

North, appearing at an Arlington news conference with sleeves rolled up and spoiling for a political fight, vowed that Robb is "about to get an education" and for the first time referred directly to allegations that Robb has had extramarital sexual relationships. North pointedly noted

"my fidelity" to his wife and family, and said, "I don't have [the] kind of character problem" that has plagued Robb.

In some of his most acerbic rhetoric to date, Republican North called his Democratic opponent a "near-radical" liberal and promised to attack him without letup. "Chuck Robb is acting as though he were un-

stained by scandal," North said. "The voters on November 8 are going to show how damaging [Robb's personal life] is. . . . Character always counts in a campaign."

North's strongest support comes from conservatives and Christian fundamentalists, and his emphasis on family values has been a key appeal of his campaign.

Robb has acknowledged "socializing in situations not appropriate for a married man" while he served as governor in the mid-1980s, and he has apologized for hurting his wife and family.

See SENATE, A9, Col. 1



Robb Camp Responds to North Attack By Citing Challenger's Iran-Contra Role

SENATE, From A1

A Robb spokesman, Bert Rohrer, said yesterday that North "has taken the low road" by reviving the allegations. Referring to North's admission that he lied to Congress during the Iran-contra affair, Rohrer said, "Oliver North is in no position to question anyone's character."

North's news conference yesterday appears to mark the opening of a more combative phase in the Virginia Senate race, ending a summer in which Robb and North largely avoided attacking each other's key weaknesses. On Friday, Robb began a two-week tour of the state by taking a jab at North's role in the Iran-contra scandal. Independent candidate J. Marshall Coleman plans to enter the fray today, with a news conference where he plans to question the fitness of both his major-party foes.

Coleman spokesman Anson Franklin said North's remarks yesterday were like "the pot challenging the kettle's character. Just as many character problems apply to Oliver North as to Chuck Robb. That's why there are other candidates in this race."

Independent candidate L. Douglas Wilder did not return telephone calls yesterday.

North clearly intended to come out slugging against Robb yesterday, but his prepared statement focused less on Robb's character than on Robb's support of tax increases proposed by President Clinton. Questions from reporters prompted North to broaden his criticism to include Robb's personal problems.

After vowing that "I'm going to chase Chuck Robb all over Virginia"

to confront him on issues, North questioned whether damaging publicity regarding Robb's personal life had limited his legislative effectiveness. "Has he been distracted by other things?" North asked. "I would suggest you put those questions to him."

North then pointed out his adult son, Stuart, who was attending the event, and said, "I know how I deal with my family. [Stuart] knows of my fidelity to him, his mother and his sisters." North said the election is in part about whether "Chuck Robb is going to be the moral

force" Virginians want to represent them.

After Robb left the governor's mansion in 1985, a former Miss Virginia USA, Tai Collins, alleged that he had an affair with her. Robb acknowledged only that he received a nude massage from the woman in a New York hotel room.

In a March interview where he responded to a memo from his staff recounting allegations that he had sexual intercourse or oral sex with a half-dozen young women, Robb said, "I previously said I hadn't slept with anyone. . . . I clearly did not limit anything more than that."

Rohrer, Robb's spokesman, said yesterday that North's tactic was an effort to divert attention from philosophical differences between the two candidates.

"Oliver North knows he can't beat Senator Robb on the question of service to Virginia," Rohrer said. "He has been silent about character before. Now that we have engaged the real issue of mainstream versus extreme, he has changed the subject."

The North-Robb exchange set the stage for what observers say is likely to be a brutal fall campaign, with North saying he relishes the prospect of a fight.

"I'm headed right in there after him from here until November 8," North said. "I will chase him all over, hill and dale, city and county, block by block, if I have to, all over Virginia."

HOTLINE 8/30/94

*11 VIRGINIA: NORTH TURNS UP THE HEAT ON ROBB

"Almost overnight" the race has gotten "a lot hotter."
"Clearly stung" by Sen. Chuck Robb (D), Oliver North (R) changed
"tactics and attacked Robb's character" at a press conference he
held "to kick off the real general election campaign." North:
"[Robb is] trying to convince the people of Virginia that he's
Chuck Robb of yesteryear, unstained by scandal and unbought by
the left wing of his ultra liberal party." North said the
"scandal" referred to Robb's personal life. Robb's campaign
"didn't flinch at North's attack." Robb spokesperson Peggy
Wilhide: "Oliver North's in no position to talk about character."
North spent "most of his time" denouncing Robb on fiscal matters.
* North: "Chuck Robb votes like he's from Massachusetts. It's very
much like this is the Ted Kennedy of Virginia." Robb's campaign
said North was trying "to construct a straw man to run against"
and emphasized Robb had taken "numerous reasonable steps to
reduce the federal budget deficit" (Hardin, RICHMOND TIMES-
DISPATCH, 8/30). W. TIMES' Kellman: "Virginia's political summer
vacation is over. With a week before the traditional election
season begins, the names are flying." North: "Chuck Robb
described me as something I am not. It is Chuck Robb who is an
extremist." '89 GOP gov. nominee Marshall Coleman (I)
spokesperson Eric Peterson: "They're both extremists" (8/30).
Anson Franklin, another Coleman staffer, said North's remarks
were like "the pot challenging the kettle's character": "Just as
many character problems apply to Oliver North as to Chuck Robb.
That's why there are other candidates in this race." Ex-Dem Gov.
Doug Wilder's (I) campaign could not be reached for comment.
North: "I will chase [Robb] all over, hill and dale, city and
country, block by block, if I have to, all over Virginia"
(Jenkins, W. POST, 8/30).

PARTY DISCIPLINE: 8th CD Dems voted to "oust fellow member
Marilyn Hutton because she openly supports" Wilder. Hutton: "The
message here is that there's a price you have to pay if you
support Doug Wilder. Clearly Doug Wilder is likely to get
support from the African-American community." Dem Second Vice
Chair Ray Colley: "We've all supported Doug Wilder in the past,
but he chose not to run as a Democrat this year. This has
nothing to do with her rights, and it has nothing to do with
race. We did what the party plan told us to do." The "spat" was
what state party leaders "had hoped to avoid because they didn't
want to put off black voters -- 18 percent of the electorate --
by offending supporters of the former Democratic governor."
Hutton said she will appeal the decision at the State Central
Committee meeting and may consider legal action (Kellman, W.
TIMES, 8/30). Hutton called the vote a "slap at both her and
Wilder and 'totally unnecessary.'" According to a local

activist, some Dems have resigned from local party cmtes in VA in recent months "to avoid conflicts" (Bates, W. POST, 8/30).

HOTLINE 8/29/94

*12 VIRGINIA: GETS AGGRESSIVE; INDIES FIND TOUGH GOING

"After months of languid campaigning, an energized" Sen. Chuck Robb (D) began a 100-stop, 2 week tour of VA in which he "vowed to 'differentiate between the mainstream and the extreme ... between ideology and reality.'" Robb said his campaign will concentrate on Oliver North (R) and referred to ex-Dem Gov. Doug Wilder (I) and '89 GOP gov. nominee Marshall Coleman (I) as being unable to "compete at the same level" since they lack party backing and resources. Robb, on North: "It's a difference between the long-term slug-it-out, make-the-system work approach, and a sound-bite approach." Robb also "trumpeted his support" for Pres. Clinton's crime bill: "I can understand if you have sold arms to the Ayatollah, why you might not be quite as sensitive to the need to get assault weapons off our streets. My opponent talks a lot about freedom. And yet he doesn't want to allow the freedom to make the most fundamental choice to 99 percent of the women. I have consistently supported a woman's right to choose" (Allen, RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, 8/27). North deputy manager Mark Merritt on Robb's reference to North as an "extremist": "For once Chuck Robb has it right. What he hasn't figured out yet is that in Virginia he's the extremist. People in this state can't understand how their senator would help Bill Clinton impose his liberal agenda." Roanoke TIMES & WORLD-NEWS' Poole: "Robb's speech signaled the end of a long summer in which the incumbent was so absorbed in his congressional obligations that North was allowed to define the race on his own terms" (8/27). W. POST's Jenkins: "The senator's newfound aggressiveness comes after complaints by senior Democrats that his campaign has lacked direction and that North has seized strategic control of the race" (8/27). VCU's Bob Holsworth: "There's a new conventional wisdom that [Robb] didn't want to run from the front of the pack. He wanted North up there so he could take shots at him" (TIMES & WORLD-NEWS, 8/29).

FOR INDIES, THE GOING GETS TOUGH: W. POST's Baker reports that for Wilder and Coleman, "money has trickled in; longtime friends are joining enemy camps; and the polls have been less than encouraging." UVA's Paula McClain: "A lot of people will vote strategically. They may in fact vote to stop someone rather than to vote for someone, and that dynamic is going to make it difficult for either Coleman or Wilder to pull in the votes." Baker: "The troubles of August, of course, may be meaningless in October. Their strategists hope that as long as either Wilder or Coleman seem credible near the end, voters will remember why they dislike Robb and North so much and gravitate to one of the independents. The trick, though, is staying alive long enough to be the beneficiary" (8/28). Ex-Dem Party Chair Paul Goldman says the problem with Coleman's campaign is that it is "essentially

negative" (Yancey, TIMES & WORLD, 8/29).

ABORTION: NARAL President Kate Michleman said North "deserves the 'gold medal' for political hypocrisy for criticizing pro-choice groups like NARAL as 'extremists' while he embraces those who advocate violence against women and physicians." Merritt said North is on "the record as denouncing violence against abortion clinics and physicians" (Poole, Norfolk VIRGINIAN-PILOT, 8/25). A North release calls for a "renewed focus on abortion alternatives such as adoption" (8/26).

THE NORTH FACTOR: Paul Goldman: "North is beatable. But a contested four-way race does work to his advantage. ... Virginians opposed to Oliver North hold the balance of power in this fall's Senate election. If his support continues to grow, those voters determined to stop him may no longer be able to indulge themselves in a four-way race" (TIMES-DISPATCH, 8/29).

THIS ATTACK ON NORTH HASN'T
STUCK.

HOTLINE 8/25/94

*12 VIRGINIA: DOES OLLIE'S NEW AD LEAVE OUT SOMETHING?

Oliver North (R) features Bill Haskell, who fought with North in Vietnam, as the star of his new ad (see HOTLINE 8/23). However, the ad, produced by Mike Murphy, does not mention that Bill Haskell is "William C. Haskell, who testified for North at his criminal trial following the Iran-Contra affair and is said to have helped North set up a secret Costa Rican airstrip." RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH's Allen: "The revelation is damaging because so many people have reservations about North's honesty. They may wonder what else he isn't telling them." But, Allen writes the "bottom line" is that North is spending \$200,000 to air it. Allen: "Score Round 2 for the war hero Oliver North" (8/24). North dep. manager Mark Merritt: "Bill Haskell's service during that episode was patriotic. He's very proud of his service, as we are. It's one more example of his patriotism" (TIMES-DISPATCH, 8/24). Murphy: "We think Haskell's story is pretty impressive and we don't run from Iran-Contra." Glenn Davidson, manager for ex-Dem. Gov. Doug Wilder (I): "It again begs the question, What else hasn't Ollie North revealed to the public?" Ex-GOP AG Marshall Coleman (I) said North's "lack of candor demonstrates why 'the overriding issue (in the race) is character'" (Jenkins, W. POST, 8/24). Sen. Chuck Robb (D) on North's ad: "It was a little naive to do it without contemplating exactly what reaction would occur. I don't think it served his purpose" (Allen, TIMES-DISPATCH, 8/25).

PRESIDENT WILDER? North and Wilder found common ground: "Come Oct. 1, only two candidates will be left in the Senate race -- and one will be North." North said he is now only running against Robb and made the "bold claim" that he can get "50 percent, plus one vote." He also predicted that the Clinton admin., "in an effort to hold the Senate seat for a Democrat would 'offer Doug Wilder something he'll accept,' taking him out of the race." Wilder, calling North's assertion "wistful thinking": "You are right. There's something the Clinton administration could come up with. And that is, to appoint me to the vice presidency, and have Gore resign, and have the president resign, and I'd be president. And I will promise to pardon everyone that need to be pardoned." On a more serious note, he said he would be there in November -- "nothing could be offered to me." Coleman: "I think North is protesting too much. To start out with 50 percent negatives would take a lot of cabbage to ever affect that. ...If he's doing so good, how come the most popular figure in his party -- Sen. (John) Warner -- is leading the crusade against him?" (Allen, TIMES-DISPATCH, 8/25).

HOW ROBB WANTS TO PLAY THE GAME: Robb called a "rare press conference" to "support crime legislation and undercut North's recent endorsement by the VA State Lodge of the Fraternal Order

of Police." Robb's appearance "helped him get news media attention at a time that some supporters have been uneasy about his campaign schedule." North spokesperson Merritt: "We're obviously in a winning position" (Hardin, TIMES-DISPATCH, 8/25). Robb on how he intends to campaign: "A lot of people have said I ought to go down and make floor speeches that are related to the campaign and do all kinds of things. That's not the way I play the game. ... I have always tried to turn the other cheek, but at some point, I run out of cheeks. I am simply trying to postpone that point as far as I can, and I'm going to stick to that. When I change that, it will be at a time of my choosing." Mary Washington College's Mark Rozell: "Chuck Robb has never been in a campaign like this in his life. He can't afford to let the perception be created that he's not serious about it. That could be fatal" (W.POST, 8/25).

WST 6-7-94 Mad as Hell in Virginia

By Max Boot

RICHMOND, Va.—It was a grand, gaudy, glorious show of the kind no longer seen in national politics—a political convention that actually chose a candidate instead of merely ratifying a decision made in the primaries. More than 14,000 delegates from all over Virginia pinned on funny buttons (my favorite was "Hope Isn't in Arkansas—It's in 1996") and packed into the Richmond Coliseum to choose between their heads and their hearts.

The candidate of the head was James C. Miller III, a no-nonsense former budget director who, according to the polls, could easily dispatch Democrat Charles Robb in the general election. The candidate of the heart was Oliver L. North, the Iran-Contra figure who has sky-high negatives and who even supporters concede probably cannot win a two-way race. As so often happens in politics, the heart won over the head and Mr. North cruised to easy victory in Saturday's balloting.

Mr. North's triumph can best be understood as a primal scream from the electorate against the policies of the Washington establishment, for which they hold Democrats and Republicans almost equally responsible. Like the Peter Finch character in "Network," the voters are still mad as hell and they're not going to take it anymore. But the Virginia events of the weekend reflected a certain *kind* of primal scream—call it the scream of the newly powerful Christian conservatives.

On the surface, the Virginia convention seemed to be a standard political fight for a big out-of-power party: two candidates slinging mud at each other and both claiming the anti-politician mantle. Mr. Miller ran a good campaign, but he couldn't overcome Mr. North's star quality, superior political skills and deeper wallet.

But something bigger than the Senate race was going on here last weekend. To attend the event in Richmond was to see how potent and mainstream a force evangelicals are becoming nationwide—and how that unduly frightens many in the political establishment. Many reporters and Sen. John W. Warner (R., Va.), the *bete noire* of the convention delegates, are prone to describe Ollie's Army as "zealots."

Before coming to Virginia, I had talked with G. William Whitehurst, a former GOP congressman from Virginia, who warned me that these folks don't listen to reason and

would turn the convention into a "dog-fight." So it was something of a relief to find that none of the delegates (none that I saw, anyway) displayed horns or hoofs. They didn't even froth at the mouth or claim that God had endorsed their candidate.

By and large the North delegates were middle-class or lower-middle-class folks, many from the rural southern part of the state, who have been drawn into politics because they're concerned about a certain set of issues. Some are worried about gun control, others about higher taxes, many about crime. "We're not just a fringe group—we represent a broad coalition," says Michael Meredith, a "pro-life" leader organizing delegates for Mr. North.

What ties them all together is an unfashionable belief in old-style values and two-parent families. Contrary to the critics, most of them aren't trying to impose a fundamentalist vision on America; they're merely trying not to get run over by what they see as the ascendant forces of liberalism and secularism.

"People are concerned about the safety and well-being of their children," says Mike Farris, the GOP's failed nominee for lieutenant governor last year who remains one of the most popular evangelical leaders in Virginia (many of the delegates sported "I STILL Like Mike" buttons). "These are people who prefer Bill Bennett's 'Book of Virtues' to 'Heather Has Two Mommies.'" (The former is a best-selling compilation of moral tales, the latter a book explaining homosexuality to young children.)

Evangelicals are gaining power in the GOP the old-fashioned way—walking precincts, handing out pamphlets, showing up at party functions. It's a strategy that has worked not only in Virginia but elsewhere; evangelicals are now on the verge of gaining a big say in the running of the Texas and Minnesota parties.

Though the evangelical movement is big, it's also diverse. No organization commands the loyalty of most of these activists—not even Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, which claims 70,000 mem-

bers in Virginia. As Mr. Farris puts it, this is a "bottom up" movement that can be "channeled for a candidate who stands up for principles we believe in."

Most of the evangelicals saw Mr. North as that candidate (although some backed Mr. Miller). "Ollie" appealed to them because of his obvious and deep-seated antipathy toward what a North campaign brochure calls "Washington Insiders and wealthy fat cats." Never mind that Mr. North himself lives in a \$1.17 million mansion and once worked in the White House. At a North party on Friday night, where supporters drank nonalcoholic beer and waited in long lines to shake hands with the former Marine, some delegates belted out a telling song: "Ollie North is a very fine man/But the media is doing all they can/To make you think he's not fit for the job/We've got to Chuck Robb and elect Ollie North."

That was music to the ears of Charles Raynor, a Richmond paint contractor wearing a slightly ratty-looking sports coat. He says he is a former Perot supporter who was "turned off by the political process" until Ollie North announced his Senate campaign. He views his candidate as a "true blue" military hero whose election will send a message that "we're tired of politics as usual."

Of course, for every person like Mr. Raynor there's someone like Brenda Raine. Mrs. Raine, a deeply tanned delegate wearing a bright red pantsuit, says she's "just your average Mercedes-driving Republican voter" who's upset by the "far right" taking over the party.

The good news for Mr. North is that he may not need the support of folks like Mrs. Raine in November. With two independent candidates preparing to get into the race, Mr. North may be able to win by relying on his hard-core support—about a quarter of the electorate. But even if their favorite candidate crashes and burns, the right's Christian soldiers are prepared to march forward, fighting for the issues they believe in. "We can take the hits and move on," says Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition. "The energy and activism and enthusiasm of the Republican Party are in the evangelical community."

Mr. Boot is an assistant features editor of the Journal editorial page.



Oliver North

WASH. POST

In SW Virginia, a Warm Welcome for North

Response From Some in GOP Remains Chilly as Candidate Begins Statewide Tour

By Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

MARION, Va., June 6—Those Washington insiders whom Oliver L. North loves to hate may have been heckling him today, but at the Exxon station here, Virginians loved him.

Marion (pop. 6,600), in far Southwest Virginia and closer to Tennessee than to Richmond, where North won the GOP Senate nomination Saturday, was a bus stop on the first full day of his statewide victory tour.

At the gas station was Linda Harris, who works at a plant that manufactures Christmas figurines. She put a North bumper sticker on her big Chevrolet and said, "I like the man and I believe in USA-made."

Alan Rabara, a 45-year-old ex-Marine, told North, "I like what you have to say." He got an autograph and accepted a "Veterans for North" sticker for his equally large American-made car.

Behind the counter, Ruth Sharitz, a 57-year-old mother of five, called it "my lucky

day" because she had just returned from a vacation. "I'm not much on politics," she admitted, "but I think he's a fine fellow."

If North was worried about the cool response he was getting from some national leaders of his party, such as GOP Senate leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), he didn't show it.

On Sunday, Dole said he was not sure he could support North. Today Dole issued a statement that appeared to back off a bit. But about the same time, former Republican president Gerald R. Ford was saying he could not support the retired Marine lieutenant colonel because of his role in the Iran-contra affair.

North got backhanded support from one of his potential Senate colleagues, Republican Charles E. Grassley, of Iowa, who said Dole should "bite his tongue" and show respect for the Virginia party's nominating process.

"The bottom line is there have been a lot of nuts elected to the United States Senate, and they've come out of this system," Gras-

sley said, according to the Associated Press. "Ollie North might be a nut. I don't know."

Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour said too much was being made of Dole's original comments. Still, he said Republicans should not do anything to encourage the likely independent Senate candidacy of another Republican, former state attorney general J. Marshall Coleman, AP reported.

"The effect of Marshall Coleman running would be to greatly enhance the prospects of Democrats squeaking by and keeping that seat," Barbour said.

When party leaders "actively engage themselves" in his candidacy, North said, they will find that they need him for at least three reasons: his "core conservative" followers, the GOP's desire to take control of the Senate next year and the realization that "I can raise a ton of money" for fellow candidates.

The news from Washington relayed to North by cellular phone wasn't all bad.

See NORTH, C4, Col. 1



Oliver L. North, who won Virginia's Rep with an unidentified potential support

Supporters Go Out in Full Force as North Begins Statewide Tour

NORTH, From C1

"Jack Kemp called and volunteered to do anything he can," North said, and Barbour pledged financial support from the national party. Televangelist Pat Robertson offered encouragement in a brief phone call.

"Are my expectations going to be fulfilled?" North wondered aloud. "I don't know."

North took pride in a report that President Clinton found time during the D-Day celebration to single him out for criticism.

In an ABC News television interview, Clinton said North's nomination marked a clear victory for the "radical right."

Clinton predicted that North would prove to be tough competition for Democratic incumbent Sen. Charles

S. Robb. But, Clinton said, "my guess is that the people of Virginia, once they see what their stark choices are, will choose Senator Robb."

North's response was that while Clinton and others may feel he is unfit for Congress, "a lot of people feel the same way about [Clinton] being in the White House."

As his 34-foot Winnebago, refueled with 75 gallons of premium, headed

for the next stop in Bristol, North argued that he is "within the mainstream of the Republican Party [and] in the mainstream of the body politic of the United States of America."

Conversely, the "liberal media" tagging along on his campaign—"waiting to quote that one person who is negative"—are the ones out of touch, he said.

But even as he continued to ham-

mer that theme at rallies before fawning fans in Danville and Roanoke, reporters traveling with him were shown a kinder, gentler North.

"This is not mortal combat," the Vietnam veteran said of politics.

As for the principal target of his campaign, North said, "I ran into Chuck Robb in the airport the other day, and we shook hands. He's a human being."

CHILD MODEL SEARCH

MISCELLANEOUS

◆
Oliver L. North

Republican Candidate for the U. S. Senate

invites you to a dinner with our special guest

Senator Bob Dole

Senate Republican Leader

September 12th

at the

Richmond Marriott

500 East Broad Street

◆
6:00 Private reception with photo op - \$500 per person

7:00 Dinner- \$50 per person

RSVP by calling Jennifer Hodges at (703) 802-6600 or faxing the completed form to (703) 802-6639 by September 9th

I will attend the private reception at 6:00 pm. Please reserve ___ spaces at \$500 per person.

I will attend the dinner at 7:00 pm. Please reserve ___ seats at \$50 per person.

Print the following information:

the Oliver North for U. S. Senate Committee. Contributions are not deductible for federal income tax purposes. Corporate contributions are prohibited. Federal
s po committees to report the name, mailing address, occupation and name of employer for each individual whose contributions aggregate in excess of \$200
ar year.

Employer: _____
ing this RSVP form along with your check made payable to Oliver North for U. S. Senate Committee to the Richmond Marriott on
er 12th.

Paid for by Oliver North for U. S. Senate Committee



RNC NEWS RELEASE

Haley Barbour
Chairman

Jeanie Austin
Co-Chairman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, September 9, 1994

CONTACT: ANNE GAVIN
(202) 863-8550

STATEMENT BY RNC CHAIRMAN HALEY BARBOUR REGARDING CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON TERM LIMITS

The Clinton Administration yesterday announced it had filed to intervene in a Supreme Court case so it can oppose term limits as unconstitutional. This should not surprise anyone.

The issue of term limits is one that clearly shows the difference between Republicans and Democrats. Bill Clinton and Democrat leaders like House Speaker Tom Foley are now trying to win in court what they cannot win at the ballot box.

Republicans support term limits. On September 27th House Republicans and Republican candidates for Democrat seats will meet at the Capitol and enter into a "Contract with America." One of the 10 bills Republicans will push in this "Contract with America" will be for term limits.

On November 8th voters can choose which party they agree with on term limits and other crucial issues. Republicans and other term limits supporters look forward to that opportunity.

####

September 9, 1994

TO: Senator Dole
FROM: Mike Torrey
SUBJECT: Virginia trip

They have 3 issues of concern.

PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS...The Republicans have strongly supported Private Property Rights. The most recent action was your amendment attached to the Safe Drinking Water Act which required agencies to conduct "Takings Impact Assessments" when promulgating regulations. Meanwhile, the League of Private Property voters have conducted their assessment of 10 Senate votes this Congress which deal with Private Property Rights. Chuck Robb scored a 0. (Warner scored 80% and you scored 100%).

GATT -- PEANUTS...Under the Uruguay Round agreement, the U.S. will reduce imports of peanut butter while providing increased access for edible peanut imports.

Section 22 import quotas for peanuts will be replaced by high ad valorem tariffs, which will be reduced by the minimum 15% in equal annual installments over 6 years, beginning in 1995.

U.S. producers will likely gain, according to the ag department, because the net effect is expected to be lower peanut-equivalent imports compared to baseline projections of imports without the Uruguay Round.

TOBACCO...Virginia is the 5th largest tobacco producing state in the country. The continued assault on tobacco by this Administration has many farmers concerned. You have said before that we can only tax tobacco so long and eventually that tax will run out.

Camp. Finance

September 9, 1994
CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

The Senate bill passed in June of 1993. The House passed a bill in November of 1993. And now, tenth months later, we still don't have a conference report. This is Democrat gridlock.

The House Democrats should agree with the Senate position that PACs should be abolished. Instead, House Democrats are insisting that the PAC status quo be maintained. House Democrats are also insisting on tax-payer financing of campaigns -- up to \$200,000 per candidate - per election.

July 22
~~June 27~~, 1994
CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Conferees have not yet been appointed.

After the Senate passed a campaign finance reform bill last year, seven Republican Senators wrote to you, reaffirming "nine key principles" and stating that "if the House of Representatives passes legislation that creates different standards for itself and fails to address any of the nine original principles..., we will take any step necessary to prevent this bill from becoming law." The seven Republican Senators are Chafee, Cohen, Durenberger, Jeffords, Kassebaum, McCain, and Pressler. To my knowledge, none of the seven have been approached by the Democrats.

The House and Senate have passed bills creating different standards for each body. For example:

- Big Sticking Point
- * The Senate bill eliminates all political action committees (with a \$1,000 fall-back if the PAC-ban is declared unconstitutional). The House bill maintains the current \$5,000 PAC contribution limit with a very flexible aggregate cap of \$200,000.
 - * The Senate bill prohibits candidates from accepting out-of-state contributions at any time prior to the 2-year period immediately preceding an election. The House bill does not distinguish between in-state and out-of-state contributions.
 - * The Senate bill bans bundling. The House bill bans bundling, except by PACs that are not connected to groups that lobby Congress. This exception effectively exempts "Emily's List."

One of the nine principles cited by the Republican Senators reads as follows:

"Avoid taxpayer financing of campaigns. At a time when the federal government is calling on Americans to make sacrifices to reduce the deficit, Congress shouldn't create a new entitlement program for politicians. We are not opposed to spending limits, but it might not be necessary to swallow the bitter pill of taxpayer financing to get them. Now is the time for creative proposals that test the boundaries of Buckley v. Valeo and provide for voluntary spending limits without dipping into the federal Treasury."

The House bill violates this principle by allowing each House candidate to receive up to \$200,000 in the form of "voter communication vouchers." The House bill does not specify how these vouchers will be financed.

D. Shea

Defense Issues

SEPTEMBER 9, 1994

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: DAN STANLEY
SUBJECT: DEFENSE ISSUES IN VIRGINIA

Virginia is the 4th largest state as a function of defense spending. The Norfolk area has a lot at stake:

- Norfolk Naval Base
- Norfolk Naval Air Station
- Naval Training Center
- Oceana Naval Air Station
- Dam Neck Training Center
- Norfolk Naval Shipyard
- Newport News Shipyard
- Langley Air Force Base
- Little Creek Amphibious Base
- Ft. Story
- Various other minor commands and detachments and thousands of related jobs

Defense cuts are a hot issue in general -- but the particular concern is BRAC '95 and how Navy shipyards fare. There will be a big tug-of-war between Portsmouth, NH, Mare Island, CA, and Norfolk Naval. The mix between carrier work and submarine work is at issue.

University studies on the job impact of the Clinton defense cuts projects that Virginia could lose 140,000 direct jobs -- the multiplier being much higher.

Foreign Policy

September 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Dole
FROM: Randy Scheunemann
SUBJECT: Cuban Migration Deal

A US-Cuban deal has been reached on migration issues. It includes:

- 0 Cuba agrees to stop "irregular departures"
- 0 Cuba agrees to accept the return of Cuban emigrants who desire to return rather than remain in "safe havens" (less than 300 out of 20,000 so far).
- 0 The U.S. agrees to accept 20,000 legal immigrants, and to immediately resolve the waiting list of legal applicants (about 6000).

There is great irony (and not a little tragedy) in the U.S. position: asking a totalitarian communist state to restrict the freedom to emigrate, a freedom the U.S. spent many years trying to achieve in other communist states (Jackson-Vanik and the Soviet Union being the most notable example).

Also, the legal route has been subject to great harassment by the Cuban government. Applicants are watched by the secret police, they are fired from their jobs, their children are kicked out of school, etc.

FOREIGN POLICY UPDATE (9/9/94)

HAITI

The Administration immediately leaked word that President Clinton's first order of business after vacation was meeting with the national security team on Haiti. All the cards are in place: token contingents from Caribbean countries, supply ships on their way, plans for the post-invasion occupation, recruiting new police from the Haitian detainees at Guantanamo. No one is optimistic that this latest -- and most serious -- muscle flexing will induce Cedras, Francios and Biambly to step down. An emissary may travel to Haiti with one final ultimatum; it is not yet decided whether a public deadline will be proposed.

The key issue for Congress is whether to force an authorization vote. It would be a relatively simple matter to modify the resolution authorizing the use of force in the Persian Gulf to the Haiti situation. Since no Democrat is likely to introduce such a resolution, the question is whether an invasion opponent will do so. The argument is straightforward, as you had in your Thursday statement: if a vote is successful, the Administration's hand is immeasurably strengthened; if a majority vote is not successful, it's a clear signal the U.S. should not invade.

- IN NOVEMBER, 1990, I CALLED ON PRESIDENT BUSH TO COME TO CONGRESS AND SEEK AUTHORIZATION FOR WAR IN THE PERSIAN GULF.
- IN NOVEMBER 1990, MAJORITY LEADER MITCHELL SAID: "IF THE PRESIDENT DECIDES TO ATTACK IRAQ, HE MUST COME TO CONGRESS AND ASK FOR A DECLARATION. IF HE DOES NOT GET IT, THEN THERE IS NO LEGAL AUTHORITY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO GO TO WAR."
- IN 1991, PRESIDENT BUSH CAME TO A DEMOCRATICALLY-CONTROLLED CONGRESS AND SOUGHT AUTHORIZATION BEFORE USING FORCE TO LIBERATE KUWAIT.
- I THINK WE OUGHT TO BE CONSISTENT -- NO MATTER WHICH PARTY IS IN THE WHITE HOUSE. NEWS REPORTS INDICATE PRESIDENT CLINTON MAY NOT COME TO CONGRESS BECAUSE HE WOULD NOT WIN A VOTE. TO DUCK THE CONGRESS BECAUSE THE GOING MAY BE TOUGH IS THE WORST POLICY FOR A U.S. PRESIDENT.
- WHAT IS THE PRESIDENT AFRAID OF: HIS PARTY HAS A COMFORTABLE MAJORITY IN BOTH HOUSES. AND IN ANY EVENT, ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE SHOULD NOT BE PARTISAN.
- IF VIETNAM TAUGHT THE COUNTRY ANYTHING, IT WAS THE NEED FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR A WAR EFFORT TO BE SUSTAINABLE.

- HAITI IS NOT GRENADA (AN EMERGENCY RESPONSE WHERE AMERICAN LIVES WERE THREATENED BY AN EXPANSIONIST COMMUNIST REGIME).
- HAITI IS NOT PANAMA (AN INDICTED DRUG TRAFFICKER WHO HAD ORDERED BEATINGS AND MURDERS OF AMERICAN SERVICEMEN, IN A COUNTRY WITH THE CANAL).
- ANY INVASION WILL UNLEASH FORCES OF VENGEANCE. WHAT IS THE U.S. PLAN IF ARISTIDE'S FOLLOWERS -- PERHAPS INCITED BY ARISTIDE -- DECIDE TO MARCH ON WEALTHY HAITIANS WITH TIRES AND GASOLINE?

CUBA

The "low-level" talks in New York dragged for six days, and recessed when the Cuban negotiator left to consult with Castro. As predicted, the Cubans tried to broaden the agenda but publicly bristled at the mere suggestion democracy was an issue. No progress was made on U.S. issues -- return of prisoners left from Mariel in 1980, and slowing of the outflow of refugees. There is great irony (and not a little tragedy) in the U.S. position: asking a totalitarian communist state to restrict the freedom to emigrate, a freedom the U.S. spent many years trying to achieve in other communist states (Jackson-Vanik and the Soviet Union being the most notable example).

The so-called legal immigration solution -- allowing up to 20,000 Cubans in through regular immigration channels -- can only work if the Cuban government changes its policies. Cubans who dare to apply to exit visas at the U.S. interests section are harassed, fired, have their children thrown out of school, etc.

Foreign Minister Robaina met with 3 Cuban exile "moderates" in Spain; all 3 have long advocated dialogue with Castro. Meanwhile, the refugee numbers were slowly dropping from 1000/day earlier in the week to 600 on Thursday.

- NOW WOULD BE THE WORST TIME TO EASE THE EMBARGO ON CUBA. IN FACT IT SHOULD BE INTERNATIONALIZED TO HASTEN THE DEMISE OF CASTRO. IT IS THE LACK OF DEMOCRACY IN CUBA WHICH IS THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEM.
- THE FACT IS, WE ARE TALKING WITH CUBA (ON MIGRATION ISSUES) CASTRO AND HIS NEGOTIATORS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WILL NOT EVEN DISCUSS POLITICAL OPENINGS -- THEIR IDEA OF NEGOTIATION IS TO DEMAND AN END TO THE EMBARGO AND GET NOTHING IN RETURN.
- IT IS NOT AMERICAN TOURISTS -- AND THEIR DOLLARS -- WE SHOULD SEND TO CASTRO, IT IS MESSAGES OF FREEDOM ON RADIO AND TV MARTI, AND IT IS MESSAGES OF HOPE TO CUBAN FREEDOM-SEEKERS.

- THE UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CUBA HAS NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO ENTER THE COUNTRY FOR THREE YEARS. CASTRO SHOULD LET HIM IN.
- THE U.S SHOULD DEMAND THAT AN ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES HUMAN RIGHTS TEAM BE ALLOWED INTO CUBA TO ASSESS CONDITIONS. INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVERS -- SUCH AS AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL -- SHOULD BE ALLOWED IN.
- THE U.S. MAY EVEN WANT TO CONSIDER SENDING IN PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS TO TEACH ENGLISH AND SMALL BUSINESS SKILLS.
- ALL OF THESE IDEAS ARE A BETTER PLACE TO FOCUS OUR ENERGIES THAN ON GIVING IN TO CASTRO'S "REFUGEE BLACKMAIL". IT WOULD BE A TERRIBLE IRONY FOR THE U.S. TO GIVE CASTRO WHAT HE WANTS NOW, JUST AS HIS FAILURE IS SO CLEAR.
- IT IS TRUE THE COLD WAR IS OVER -- ALMOST EVERYWHERE. BUT THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNISM ARE BEING FELT EVERY DAY BY THE LONG-SUFFERING CUBAN PEOPLE. THERE IS NO REASON TO LET CASTRO OFF THE HOOK NOW.

BOSNIA

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic agreed to accept international observers to monitor the trade embargo he imposed on the Bosnian Serbs. In return, the members of the "contact group" have said they'll move to ease sanctions on Serbia as early as next week. The Milosevic-imposed embargo has been in place for a month, when the Bosnian Serbs rejected the contact group's peace plan. The plan calls for 200 civilian monitors along the border.

In addition, the Pope, bowing to pressure from U.N. security officials, canceled a planned visit to Sarajevo on Thursday. Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic stated that the Pope had been deceived. He went on to say that Yasushi Akashi had shown consistent hostility toward the interests of Bosnia and that the Bosnian Government would like to see him replaced. The decision to cancel followed heavy fire from mobile 76mm mountain guns, an incident that was referred to by a U.N. military spokesman as the most flagrant violation of the U.N.-imposed ban on heavy-arms fire. Bosnian and Croat Serbs launched a major offensive against the Muslim-held enclave of Bihac in what has been termed as the largest military action in 7 months.

- WE SHOULD NOT BE LIFTING SANCTIONS ON SERBIA, WE SHOULD BE ENFORCING U.N. RESOLUTIONS AND MAKING BOSNIAN SERBS PAY A PRICE FOR THEIR ACTIONS.

4

- THE CANCELLATION OF THE POPE'S VISIT SHOWS, ONCE AGAIN, HOW LIFE AS A U.N PROTECTORATE IS. AKASHI CALLS THE SHOTS, THE SHELLS CONTINUE TO FALL, AND THE U.N. DOES NOTHING.
- NOW IS THE TIME FOR LEADERSHIP: END THE ARMS EMBARGO, ALLOW BOSNIA TO DETERMINE ITS OWN DESTINY, AND KEEP SERBIA ISOLATED -- JUST AS APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA WAS ISOLATED.

NORTH KOREA

"Expert-level" talks are scheduled to begin Saturday between the U.S. and North Korea on establishing liaison offices. Talks scheduled for Berlin are to cover the delivery to Pyongyang of light-water reactors to replace North Korea's graphite-moderated reactors. Assistant Secretary of State Galluci is scheduled to open high-level talks on September 23 in Geneva to further discussion about international inspection of North Korea's nuclear program. There is still disagreement over Washington's demand to send the 8,000 fuel rods to a third country and the presence of international inspectors at nuclear waste sites. In addition, Secretary of State Christopher met with South Korean Foreign Minister Han Sung Joo on Wednesday in an attempt to demonstrate continued close cooperation between the U.S. and South Korea to the South Korean public.

TALKING POINTS

- THE U.S. HAS BEEN SO BUSY MAKING CONCESSION TO NORTH KOREA, THAT OUR LONG-TIME ALLIES IN THE SOUTH GOT WORRIED. WE SHOULD PAY A LITTLE MORE ATTENTION TO THE SOUTH, AND TAKE A LITTLE HARDER LINE WITH THE NORTH.
- THE U.S. NEEDS TO WORK WITH SOUTH KOREA AND FORM A UNITED POSITION ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE.
- U.S. POLICY TO DATE HAS BEEN MUCH TOO TRUSTING OF THE NORTH, . IT IS VERY PREMATURE TO SET UP LIAISON OFFICES -- ESPECIALLY WHEN WE GET NOTHING IN RETURN.
- OUR GOAL SHOULD BE THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOLUTION -- COMPLETE DISMANTLEMENT OF ALL NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. ANYTHING LESS, IS A BAD DEAL.
- IF NORTH KOREA WANTS AID FOR ITS ENERGY PROBLEMS, WE CAN TALK ABOUT CLEAN COAL TECHNOLOGY, BUT WE SHOULD NOT BE IN THE BUSINESS OF REWARDING VIOLATIONS OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY.

U.N. POPULATION CONFERENCE

The U.N. population conference in Cairo, scheduled to conclude on Tuesday, appears to be reaching an agreement on acceptable abortion language. The Vatican has succeeded in watering down references to abortion, but agreement on a U.S.-sponsored version is imminent. The Vatican will most likely refuse to endorse the final document. While some say the Vatican overplayed its hand, the reality is that a left-wing anti-growth agenda was pushed to the hilt by the administration (Bella Abzug, for example, was an official consultant to the U.S. delegation).

- WITH ALL THE FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS FACING THIS ADMINISTRATION, I AM NOT SURE IT MADE SENSE TO PICK A FIGHT WITH MUCH OF THE CATHOLIC AND MUSLIM WORLD OVER INTERNATIONAL ABORTION POLICY.
- THIS ADMINISTRATION SHOULD SPEND A LITTLE MORE TIME ON ISSUES OF AMERICAN NATIONAL INTEREST -- IN NORTH KOREA AND CUBA -- AND A LITTLE LESS ON POPULATION CRUSADES.

OTHER ISSUES

Talbott is in Russia preparing for the Clinton-Yeltsin summit in Washington from September 27-28 (Congressional breakfast pending for Wednesday, Sept. 28 at 8:30).

The U.S. role in Rwanda has been criticized by some pro-UN types as being too limited, and too cautious. Clearly Shali and Perry got the message of the Byrd amendment (out by October 7). Withdrawal should be complete by then.

The final U.S. French, and British troops pulled out of Berlin, Germany on Thursday ending one of the last symbols of the Cold War. Occupation had been constant since 1945.

In Israel Prime Minister Rabin publicly stated he had offered a limited withdrawal from the Golan Heights for a three year trial period. It is unclear whether this is an opening position, an effort to defuse Likud, or Rabin's real position.

The accord on Northern Ireland, really an IRA declaration of a cease-fire, appears to be holding despite 3 Protestant paramilitary attacks in the eight days of the cease fire. There are still questions about whether IRA and Protestant extremists will be able to scuttle the accord.

A "new" Taiwan policy was announced by the Clinton administration after a long review -- in a very anti-climatic statement, the Taiwan office in the U.S. changes its name, and there would be consideration of high-level U.S. visits. Senator Hank Brown immediately denounced the policy as far too little.

The New York Times, November 12, 1990

"And I think the President has a real obligation here," he added, "to explain why liberating Kuwait is in our vital interest."

Role of Congress Asserted

Mr. Nunn said that Congressional leaders were notified before the Administration decided to send massive reinforcements to the Gulf and were not consulted until the decision to end rotation and send more than 150,000 additional troops was made. He said that he and other Congressional leaders would meet with Mr. Bush and Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney this week.

Senator Nunn and Representative Aspin agreed that the Administration should seek Congressional approval if it decided to wage war against Iraq.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, the Maine Democrat, said that the Administration had informed him that no decision has been made to attack Iraqi forces. The Senator added that any such action would require a formal declaration by Congress.

If the President decides to attack Iraq, Senator Mitchell said, "he must come to Congress and ask for a declaration."

"If he does not get it, then there is no legal authority for the United States to go to war," he added.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 12, 1990

Press Alt-H for Help or Alt-Q to Quit.

NYT 9/8/94

A Vacation Ends: The Burden of Bosnia on Clinton

By DOUGLAS JEHL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7 — Even as the Administration tries in talks with Cuba to put one crisis to rest, senior aides to President Clinton say he faces more troubles abroad this fall, with tensions over Bosnia about to jump back to center stage.

News Analysis The officials say they harbor no illusion that the forces that have pulled the United States toward a more prominent role in Bosnia can be kept dormant much longer. They cite a volatile mix of Serbian stubbornness in resisting peace plans, Russia's independence in easing its pressure on the Serbs and a desire in Congress to end the arms embargo on the Bosnia Government — all of which could increase the pressure for American action, pressure that will only intensify as the November elections near.

"We can find ways to manage Cuba and Haiti," a senior Administration official said. "But Bosnia is the one that could really trap the United

States in a significant military confrontation, and there are a lot of forces right now that are flowing in that direction."

First Things First

When Mr. Clinton returned today from a 13-day vacation, he convened a meeting of his foreign-policy advisers as his first order of business. The session was expected to focus on planning for a possible invasion of Haiti, but his aides say developments in Bosnia are forcing the President to review priorities once again.

With the Bosnian Serbs still showing no sign of accepting a peace settlement drafted by the Western allies and Russia, Mr. Clinton's advisers fear Moscow may no longer be willing to maintain a united front to compel the Serbs to do so.

For months, as a way to induce the Serbs to agree to the peace terms, members of a "contact group" — Russia, Britain, France, Germany and the United States — have held out the possibility of jointly opening the way for arms shipments to the Bosnian Government. But Russia made clear last week that it could never go along with such a step, and Britain reiterated its opposition today.

At the same time, the Serbian forces in Bosnia have continued to act with defiance, driving thousands of Muslims from their homes in recent days and resuming shelling around Sarajevo. Security concerns have forced Pope John Paul II to delay a planned trip to Sarajevo.

These developments threaten to make things very difficult for Mr. Clinton, who has said he would favor a lifting of the embargo to allow the

Muslim-dominated Bosnian Government to fight on equal terms with their more heavily armed Serbian foes, and is now under strong pressure from Congress to do just that.

Already Mr. Clinton has promised that unless the Serbs accept peace terms by Oct. 15, he will seek Security Council approval for an end to the United Nations trade embargo against Bosnia. If he fails to win worldwide support by Nov. 15, he has told Congress, he will break the embargo on his own.

That second step is one that Mr. Clinton and his aides hope never to take, because if the United States alone opens the gates to arm the Bosnian Government, it must be prepared to accept the responsibility for the wider war that would follow.

Some Administration officials say it is increasingly likely that even initial steps by Mr. Clinton to seek an end to the embargo would lead to a politically embarrassing round of haggling among the allies. Worse, they say, it could lead Britain and France to make good on their threats to pull their peacekeeping troops out of harm's way, perhaps even by late October, which could allow a resumption of fierce fighting.

A Warning From Moscow

That was exactly what Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister, Vitaly I. Churkin, warned about earlier this week. Calling a unilateral lifting of the embargo by Washington "the worst thing that could happen," Mr. Churkin said Russia would withdraw its 1,500 peacekeeping troops if Mr. Clinton took that step, and he warned that "all the U.N. peacekeeping activ-

ities in Yugoslavia and Bosnia may break apart."

While officials will not say so for the record, the White House is plainly hoping that Congress will reconsider its demands that Mr. Clinton seek an end to the arms embargo. Legislation that would make the step mandatory is being reviewed by a House-Senate conference committee, and a senior

The President's promise to help the Muslims may backfire.

Administration official said this afternoon, "We hope that Congress will really look very hard at what they're about to adopt."

Some officials clearly believe that a successful invasion of Haiti to oust the military rulers there could help overcome public doubts about Mr. Clinton's resolve. But that could also backfire if an invasion goes awry, and some aides to Mr. Clinton said today that any such benefit was bound to be diluted by the increasingly evident dangers of a wider involvement in Bosnia.

"What changes is the temperature," a senior White House official said today of the problems presented by the 29-month-old war in the Balkans. "But Bosnia is definitely a problem that hasn't gone away."

Clinton Plans Ultimatum

for Top Haiti Military

Caribbean: U.S. considering when, how to issue warning. Move would be in hopes of avoiding invasion.

By DOYLE McMANUS and JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—President Clinton plans to issue a public ultimatum to Haiti's military leaders to step down or face a U.S. invasion—but not just yet, officials said Thursday.

Clinton and his top aides reached "a general consensus" in favor of sending an ultimatum during a White House meeting this week, but they are still considering when and how to do it.

Although the officials refused to say when the ultimatum might be sent, their comments indicated that any military action in Haiti is several weeks away at least.

"These are all measures we might take at the end of the line, and we're probably not at that point yet," one senior official said.

A probable course, one official said, would be to send the Haitians a private message first—through U.S. diplomats in Haiti, intelligence agents or indirect contacts—followed by a public ultimatum with a short deadline, perhaps as short as 24 or 48 hours.

"[We] might give them a little time to think about it—a very little time," one official said. "We've been warning them for three years now, so they shouldn't need much."

The private message, another official said, might include a concrete offer to the top Haitian military officers of safe transportation into exile for themselves and their families.

Officials gave two reasons for giving the Haitian leaders a final, formal warning: to increase the chance that they will give up power peacefully and avoid a U.S. invasion, and to make clear to both the American public and other countries that the United States sought every possible non-military solution to the Haitian problem.

But after debating the issue, Clinton and his aides agreed that issuing the ultimatum now—or setting a deadline well in advance—was a bad idea.

The Pentagon fears that setting a specific date for U.S. military action might eliminate any element of surprise and limit its flexibility in conducting military operations, one official said. U.S. diplomats fear that giving a deadline would merely encourage the Haitians to ignore the threat for a few weeks more.

And Haitian opposition leaders say they have been warned that in the event of an ultimatum, the regime's forces will murder them in a final act of retribution or take them hostage in an effort to forestall an invasion.

The Administration has already warned the military regime that any roundup of opposition leaders could touch off a "hair-trigger" U.S. invasion. But Haitian democrats say they are increasingly concerned that the mounting rhetoric from Washington, coupled with the lack of action against the regime, is putting their lives in peril.

The Administration continued to increase pressure on the military regime Thursday

with a series of public and not-so-public statements.

At the White House, spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers repeated earlier warnings that Clinton's patience with Haiti's military dictators "is wearing thin."

"The coup leaders' days are numbered . . . and those coup leaders will leave one way or another. It's up to them now to decide how," Myers said.

She added that the Administration is "moving toward the end game in this policy."

In a bit of saber-rattling, a senior official told reporters that the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. John M. Shalikashvili, met this week with Haiti's exiled president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to brief him on U.S. invasion plans.

"We are reviewing military planning, and it was appropriate to include the constitutional president of Haiti in the process," the official said, adding that Shalikashvili's briefing included maps and charts.

And the Pentagon announced that it has activated seven large cargo ships for transporting weapons and supplies to support a Haiti invasion force.

A Pentagon spokesman, Air Force Col. Doug Kennett, said the seven "roll-on, roll-off" ships from a fleet of ships kept in mothballs for short-notice deployment would be ready for loading in four days.

Activating the ships is "part of preparations for potential operations in Haiti should they be needed," Kennett said.

The ships, which are 600 feet to 700 feet long and carry a crew of about 30, are capable of carrying tanks, artillery and other heavy military gear needed to support an invasion force. They are currently

in ports in Baltimore; Jacksonville, Fla.; Wilmington, Del., and Beaumont and Orange, Tex.

Once they are ready to sail, they will be loaded at ports near the military installations housing the troops that would lead the invasion.

White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers said Clinton intends to consult with members of Congress about his intentions toward Haiti, but he does not plan to seek a vote formally authorizing the use of U.S. troops there.

"It is important to the President that he work with Congress, which is why he's done that throughout this policy, not just on Haiti but across the board on foreign policy," she said. "He believes that there ought to be outreach to both sides of the aisle, to Republicans as well as Democrats, and that's something that he'll continue to do."

Former President George Bush also contended that he did not need congressional approval for the much larger Persian Gulf War, but sought a formal endorsement from Capitol Hill to demonstrate American resolve on the eve of the invasion of Iraq.

Clinton has little congressional support for military action in Haiti, except from the 38-member Black Caucus, which has long advocated intervention against the military junta that overthrew elected President Aristide nearly three years ago.

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole again on Thursday demanded that Congress be permitted to debate and vote on any proposed invasion of Haiti.

Clinton Administration officials have spent weeks lobbying the United Nations and Caribbean nations, Dole said in a statement, "but they have yet to make a convincing case to Congress or the American people."

"If President Clinton makes his case to the Congress, authorization will greatly strengthen his hand. If he cannot make his case here at home, American troops should not be put in harm's way in Haiti," Dole said.

House Republican Leader Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said Clinton has the authority to order an invasion, but called it "the wrong thing to do."

"If he's going to do it, he ought to do it competently so we won't look foolish in the world," Gingrich said. White House officials said Clinton is preparing a major effort to educate the American people about the national interest in restoring democracy to Haiti and to persuade the public that the task is worth spending American lives.

Clinton may give a televised address in the next two weeks to spell out the rationale for U.S. military involvement in the poor Caribbean nation, but he has not yet decided on the timing or format for such a speech, aides said.

GATT

MEMORANDUM

DATE: September 9, 1994
FROM: Rolf Th. Lundberg, Jr. *Rolf*
TO: Senator Dole
SUBJECT: Talking Points For Call To Sec. Bentsen

- I THINK WE WOULD AGREE THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IS FAST-TRACK NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY. I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A SUPPORTER OF FAST-TRACK BECAUSE I BELIEVE IT ENABLES THE U.S. TO NEGOTIATE FAR STRONGER AGREEMENTS WITH OUR TRADING PARTNERS. BUT I WILL VIGOROUSLY OPPOSE ANY FAST-TRACK AUTHORITY THAT SEEKS TO LINK TRADE WITH EXTRANEOUS, NON-TRADE-RELATED OBJECTIVES.

- THE "AGREEMENT" THAT THE ADMINISTRATION REACHED BEFORE THE RECESS WITH HOUSE MEMBERS ON FAST-TRACK SEEMS TO ALLOW FOR LABOR/ENVIRONMENT LINKAGES TO TRADE IN FUTURE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO ALLOW THE IMPOSITION OF TRADE SANCTIONS FOR OTHER COUNTRIES' LOW LABOR OR ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS.

- AMBASSADOR KANTOR HAS EVEN SAID PUBLICLY THAT SANCTIONS WILL BE POSSIBLE. THIS IS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE FOR SENATE REPUBLICANS.

- ALL REFERENCES TO LABOR AND ENVIRONMENT MUST BE ELIMINATED FROM ANY FAST-TRACK AUTHORITY GRANTED IN THE IMPLEMENTING

BILL. OTHERWISE, NO FAST-TRACK NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY CAN BE GIVEN FOR ANY PURPOSE.

- IT WOULD ALSO BE A REAL MISTAKE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO GAMBLE ON THIS ISSUE. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO SUBMIT A BILL THAT CONTAINS A FAST-TRACK AND LABOR/ENVIRONMENT PROVISION, DESPITE OUR REJECTION OF SUCH A PROVISION DURING THIS MOCK-CONFERENCE PROCESS. SINCE THE IMPLEMENTING BILL CAN BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS ONLY ONCE, THIS WOULD SACRIFICE THE ENTIRE URUGUAY ROUND AGREEMENT FOR THIS ISSUE.

- THE FUNDING PACKAGE DOES NOT TRULY PAY FOR THE AGREEMENT EVEN IN THE FIRST FIVE YEARS. IT RELIES ON \$2.7 BILLION "PAY-GO BALANCE" MONEY, AND \$1.7 BILLION IN AGRICULTURE SAVINGS. THE PAY-GO BALANCE MONEY IS MAKE-BELIEVE. AND SOME OR ALL OF THE AG SAVINGS MAY NOT BE REALIZED BECAUSE OF PRESSURE TO APPLY THOSE SAVINGS TO OTHER AG PROGRAMS.

- WE CANNOT SIMPLY KEEP ADDING TO THE DEFICIT AND HOPING FOR THE BEST. -- WE MUST ABIDE BY ESTABLISHED BUDGET RULES. THE ADMINISTRATION MUST PAY FOR THE AGREEMENT IN THE FIRST FIVE YEARS, WITHOUT RELIANCE ON PAY-GO BALANCES, AND MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT THE AG SAVINGS WILL NOT BE USED FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

- IN ADDITION, THE PBGC PROVISIONS IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE VERSIONS OF THE FUNDING PACKAGE HAVE AROUSED CONSIDERABLE OPPOSITION AMONG INDUSTRY GROUPS. WITHOUT THESE PROVISIONS, THE FUNDING PACKAGE FALLS FURTHER SHORT OF THE REQUIRED AMOUNT.

- WITHOUT AN ACCEPTABLE FUNDING PACKAGE, THE ENTIRE BILL WILL BE SUBJECT TO A 60-VOTE POINT OF ORDER ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE.

- ON ANTIDUMPING AND COUNTERVAILING DUTIES, THERE ARE MANY CONTENTIOUS AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND SENATE VERSIONS OF THE BILL -- 32 SPECIFIC ITEMS OF DISAGREEMENT IN ALL. I BELIEVE THE CONFEREES WILL BE ABLE TO WORK THESE DIFFERENCES OUT, BUT IT WILL NOT BE EASY. IT MAY TAKE SOME TIME. FOR SOME REPUBLICANS, THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNFAIR TRADE LAWS IS A CONDITION OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE IMPLEMENTING BILL AS A WHOLE. WE WILL NEED THE CONSISTENT COOPERATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO SAFEGUARD OUR UNFAIR TRADE LAWS AS WE WORK OUT THESE DIFFERENCES.

- ON THE TEXTILE AND APPAREL RULE OF ORIGIN, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH A COMPROMISE THAT WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. I WILL WORK TO FIND SUCH A COMPROMISE, IF IT CAN BE DONE, AND I HOPE THE ADMINISTRATION WILL HELP IN THIS EFFORT.

Religious Bigotry

Bob Dole



NEWS

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Wednesday, June 22, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY

AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL REJECT LATEST DEMOCRAT CAMPAIGN TACTIC; JUDGE AMERICANS ON ISSUES, NOT RELIGION

Sixty six years ago this November, Democrat Al Smith's campaign for the presidency was buried under an avalanche of anti-Catholic bigotry.

Thirty four years ago this November, Democrat John Kennedy was narrowly elected to the presidency, but only after dealing with accusations that he would be installing a hot line to the Vatican.

It is now 1994. And except for the occasional anti-Semitic rantings of fringe candidates like Lyndon Larouche, I thought that religious bigotry had long since been retired from the political arena. Apparently, I was wrong.

Yesterday, Congressman Vic Fazio, Chairman of the Democrat Congressional Committee held a press conference to continue his attack on what he has termed the "fire-breathing Christian radical right."

Democrat Losses

Given the fact that the Democrats have lost every major competitive election since President Clinton took office, I can understand their desire to try and find some tactic that might work.

But by suggesting that being a Christian should exclude someone from becoming involved in politics is a tactic I simply don't understand, and one that I believe will be quickly rejected by the American people.

The American people are much smarter than Congressman Fazio and the Democrats give them credit. They care about where a candidate stands on issues. They aren't concerned with whether or not a candidate is Catholic, Jewish, Episcopalian, Methodist, or Evangelical.

I've searched the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and I can't find anything that states that people who go to church should be banned from the political process.

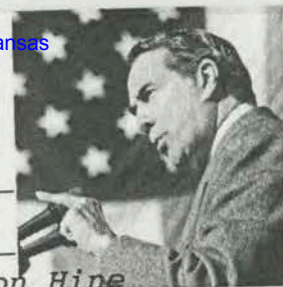
In fact, Mr. Fazio might be interested to note that the very first sentence of the first amendment to the Constitution guarantees freedom of religious expression. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Judge People on Issues

I would also remind my Democrat friends that both President and Mrs. Clinton have spoken about the importance of religion, and attend church regularly--and I don't hear any Democrat questioning their right to participate in the political process.

I hope that Mr. Fazio and the Democrats will rethink this latest foray into religious bigotry. I hope they will judge people by the stands they take on issues, and not where they kneel to worship.

Bob Dole



NEWS

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Thursday, June 23, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY: GOP LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

ALL 44 REPUBLICAN SENATORS URGE PRESIDENT TO
REPUDIATE RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY CAMPAIGN TACTICS

WASHINGTON -- Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole today made the following remarks on the floor of the United States Senate:

With the increasing unpopularity of the Clinton health care plan, confusion over American leadership on the world stage, and a long string of Democrat electoral losses, it's becoming increasingly clear that some members of the Democrat party are resorting to campaign tactics based on religious bigotry to divert attention from these failings. That's regrettable. The essence of democracy is participation, and using terms such as "fire-breathing Christian radical right" to label Americans who happen to go to church and go to the polls -- to question their participation on religious grounds -- only cheapens our democracy. These are the kinds of comments that bring to mind the unpleasant attacks faced by Al Smith in 1928 and John F. Kennedy in 1960.

As I said yesterday, the American people are much smarter than the Democrats who resort to these tactics realize. They care about where a candidate stands on the issues. They aren't concerned with whether or not a candidate is Catholic, Jewish, Episcopalian, Methodist, or Evangelical.

In my view, the American people will reject these appeals to religious bigotry, and I hope the President of the United States will do so, as well. President Clinton has spoken eloquently about the need for tolerance in our nation, and the importance of religion in the lives of Americans. Accordingly, all 44 Senate Republicans sent a letter to the President today asking him to join us in repudiating the remarks of those in his party who have resorted to this strategy of religious bigotry.

Republicans look forward to a healthy debate this campaign season on the challenges facing our nation. The American people will cast their votes this November based on the issues and the quality of the candidates, not on manufactured political hysteria.

The text of the letter signed by all Senate Republicans follows:

Dear Mr. President:

As the November elections draw closer, Americans will be looking to Republican and Democrat candidates to discuss their positions on the challenges facing our country. And we believe that a frank debate of our differences on issues like health care, taxes, crime, and foreign policy is the essence of a healthy democracy, and will be good for America.

What is not good for America, however, is questioning a candidate's fitness for office because of his or her religious beliefs. And that is precisely what several prominent members of your party have done in recent days, making comments that

CRIME

Bob Dole

NEWS

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Wednesday, August 24, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

CRIME BILL: RED HERRING ON GUNS

DOLE SETS RECORD STRAIGHT ON CRIME BILL & HOUSE PROCEDURE

WASHINGTON -- Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole late today issued the following statement:

"The argument has been made that the Dole resolution on the crime bill conference report, even though it has no effect on the gun ban, would open up the issue on the House floor.

"The House, unlike the Senate, has a germaneness rule. This rule could only be avoided by going to the Rules Committee, dominated by the Democrats nine to four.

"Therefore, those who charge that this is some back door attempt to eliminate the gun ban are firing blanks."

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Bob Dole

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER



NEWS
FROM:

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, August 12, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

CRIME BILL

HOUSE DEFEAT AN OPPORTUNITY TO DRAFT TOUGH, NO-NONSENSE CRIME-FIGHTING PLAN

Yesterday's House vote on the crime bill shouldn't be viewed as a defeat for President Clinton, but rather as an opportunity. An opportunity to go back to the drawing board and draft the kind of tough, no-nonsense crime-fighting plan the American people deserve.

A tough crime bill would strip out the billions and billions of dollars in wasteful, 60's-style, social-welfare spending. The most effective crime-prevention measure is not the pork-barrel, but the prison cell.

A tough crime bill would increase funding for state prisons to the \$13 billion level passed by the House last April and would condition at least half of this funding on the adoption of truth-in-sentencing laws for first-time violent offenders.

A tough crime bill would plug the so-called mandatory minimum "safety valve" that could result in the early release of as many as 10,000 convicted criminals.

A tough crime bill would restore the mandatory minimum penalties for those who use a gun in the commission of a crime.

A tough crime bill would mandate restitution to the victims of violent crime. Unbelievably, this proposal was dropped by the crime conferees.

And a tough crime bill would require that the public be notified of the whereabouts of violent sexual predators living in their communities. Congress must pass the "Megan Kanka" law...and must do so now.

This isn't the time for finger-pointing. Playing the "blame game" won't get us anywhere. The crime bill failed yesterday not because of the so-called "gun issue," as President Clinton would have us believe, but because the American people saw the crime bill for what it really was: an over-hyped, multi-billion dollar boondoggle that emphasized social theory over law enforcement.

If President Clinton is serious about passing a tough, no-nonsense crime-control plan, then Republicans are prepared to work with him. But the President must understand that resurrecting the crime bill must be a bipartisan effort. No behind-the-scenes meetings. No secret conclaves. No one-party drafting sessions.

If Republicans have real input, if our ideas are considered and accepted, then there's a chance--a chance--that Congress will be able to pass a real crime bill later this year.

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*Remarks delivered on the Senate floor, approximately 11:05 AM.

Bob Dole



NEWS

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Thursday, August 11, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

CRIME BILL-HOUSE VOTE

WASHINGTON -- Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole today issued the following statement regarding the House of Representatives procedural vote on the crime bill conference report:

"I congratulate the House of Representatives for its bipartisan courage in defeating the bloated, soft-on-crime conference report.

"Now, it's time to get back to work and craft a real crime bill for America, one that emphasizes the prison cell, rather than the pork-barrel, as the most effective way to prevent violent crime."

###

Bob Dole



NEWS

U.S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Wednesday, August 10, 1994

Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

CRIME BILL UPDATE

SENATORS CALL FOR IMPROVEMENTS TO CRIME BILL:
STRIP PORK & RESTORE GET-TOUGH PROVISIONS; PRESIDENT SHOULD
ASK CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS TO RECONVENE CRIME CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON -- Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole and the four Senate Republican members of the crime bill conference committee today sent the following letter to President Clinton urging him to call on the Senate and House Democratic Leadership to immediately reconvene the crime bill conference so that specific improvements to the bill can be made, including stripping pork-barrel spending, and restoring tough-on-crime provisions. The letter was co-signed by Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Strom Thurmond (R-SC), Al Simpson (R-WY), and Chuck Grassley (R-IA).

Dear Mr. President:

Congress has an historic opportunity to pass anticrime legislation that can make a real difference in the lives of all Americans.

While the crime conference report now pending before Congress contains a number of worthy provisions, it is unfortunately deficient in several critical areas: It provides too few resources for state prison construction and operation. It fails to promote a real truth-in-sentencing plan for America so that violent criminals are kept behind bars where they belong. It permits the early release of as many as 10,000 federal prisoners as a result of a mandatory minimum "repeal" provision. And it needlessly increases the federal budget deficit.

billions and billions of

This document is held by the Dole Archives, but it has not been scanned in its entirety. If you would like more information, please contact us at dolearchives@ku.edu.



Republican
National
Committee

Haley Barbour
Chairman

August 29, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES

FROM: HALEY BARBOUR

SUBJECT: REPUBLICANS AND CRIME FIGHTING

The American taxpayer got an expensive lesson last week and a reminder of just what is wrong with Washington. What was a reasonable crime-fighting measure last fall in the Senate became an unrecognizable, pork-laden slush-fund to be doled out at the virtually unfettered discretion of Clinton Administration appointees. The measure at hand was ostensibly a crime bill, but a quick review of the details shows how far removed from fighting crime it got.

Pork, Patronage and "Prevention"

Despite Republican success in the House of Representatives to cut out some of the fat, Democrats slipped into the crime bill nearly \$7 billion in social welfare spending under the guise of "crime prevention." In large part, these spending programs consist of pork and patronage to be handed out at the discretion of Clinton Administration officials. Many of these programs such as the now-famous "midnight basketball" have no connection with crime fighting. Indeed, under the "National Community Economic Partnerships" program, \$270 million is to be given out by the Department of Health and Human Services to community development corporations "to improve the quality of life." The "Model Incentive Grant Program" will give away \$625 million to 15 cities -- hand-picked by the administration -- for any purpose loosely tied to crime reduction. The "Local Partnership Act" will have the Department of Housing and Urban Development distribute \$1.6 billion for three stated purposes: education, drug treatment and job programs.

Republicans fought hard to cut this sort of wasteful spending and we will continue the fight next year. This fall, the voters should be given a clear understanding of which candidate believes fighting crime means getting tough on criminals and which one thinks more social welfare spending will make our streets and neighborhoods safer.

100,000 Police Officers

Of all the pervasive myths about the crime bill none is more demonstrably bogus than the claim that this bill would put 100,000 more police on the street. Democrats in Congress concocted a crime bill which they claimed would put 100,000 police on the streets at a cost of \$8.8 billion over six years. That works out to a cost of \$14,667 per year per officer. But according to the San Francisco Police Department, it costs \$70,000 a year to put a single officer on the street. To reach 100,000 would actually cost \$42 billion -- with the difference having to be picked up by local law enforcement. As the Chief of Police of Kansas City, Missouri, pointed out this week, if he had the money to do *that* -- he would have already hired more officers.

Republicans believe that more officers are needed "on the beat," but cities and local communities don't need bureaucrats in Washington telling them how to do it. Right now unfunded federal mandates cost cities and local communities billions of dollars -- money that could be kept and used locally to fund additional law enforcement needs on a permanent basis. Under this crime bill, local law enforcement will have to assume an increasing share of the cost of these additional officers with no relief from other federally imposed costs. This crime bill's cops are slated to be only temporary troops in the war against crime.

Prisons

One of the more subtle sleight-of-hand tricks pulled off by the Democrat-controlled conference was to effectively gut truth-in-sentencing requirements for states to receive prison grant funds. Republicans understand that 95 percent of all crime is handled at the state and local level. We know that only when states get tough on violent repeat offenders -- putting them and keeping them in prison -- will we begin to see real crime reduction. Currently, convicted felons serve on average, less than a third of their sentence. Truth-in-sentencing means requiring convicted felons serve at least 85 percent of their sentences, putting teeth back into our laws. Republican proposals had used prison funding as a carrot to move state criminal justice systems toward truth-in-sentencing, getting more "bang-for-the-buck" with federal prison dollars. This was watered down significantly by the Democrat conference.

The language contained in the crime bill leaves major loopholes which would allow prison funding to go to a whole host of "alternative" programs and facilities. To make matters worse, the bill requires state grant recipients implement a costly "comprehensive correctional plan" including "drug diversion programs," "job skills programs," and even "post-release assistance." Money that should go to building prisons will be diverted to these alternative programs.

Punishment

Nowhere did the Democrats' instinctive "coddling" of criminals more clearly show through than in the watered-down punishment provisions of this crime bill. The Democrats in conference stripped out tough Senate crime bill provisions that would have enhanced the mandatory minimum sentences for criminals convicted of selling drugs to minors; imposed mandatory minimum sentences for felons convicted of using a gun in a violent crime or drug offense; expedited deportation of illegal aliens who have committed a crime in this country; and imposed stiff penalties for violent street gang crime. Even the highly touted "three strikes you're out" provision was so denuded that it will only apply -- at most -- to a few hundred felons. This, in a country where there are over 20,000 murders a year. Democrat rhetoric aside, there is no way the American people will swallow this bill as a serious attack on criminals. Indeed, the Democrats' gun ban solution to violent crime is extremely hypocritical when matched up against their elimination of mandatory penalties for use of a gun in a crime.

The Republican-backed provisions stripped from the bill reflect the Republican view that criminals -- not society -- should be held responsible for crime. Stiff punishment serves to reduce crime not only by deterrence, but also by incapacitating (in prison) those who commit crime so they cannot be out committing further crimes.

Police, punishment and prisons are Republican priorities. Bill Clinton and his allies in Congress have tried to appropriate the language of crime-fighting from Republicans -- they get the words right -- while appropriating billions from taxpayers for social spending. They just can't seem to get the tune right.



RNC NEWS RELEASE

Haley Barbour
Chairman

Jeanie Austin
Co-Chairman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Thursday, August 25, 1994

CONTACT: ANNE GAVIN

(202) 863-8550

STATEMENT BY RNC CHAIRMAN HALEY BARBOUR REGARDING THE CRIME BILL

Today's vote on the budget point of order to the crime bill is a classic example of what is wrong with Washington, and it makes clear why Americans are demanding a change in Congress and the way it operates. The issue has never been whether there would be a crime bill.

The issue has always been whether President Clinton and the Democrats in Congress would force the American taxpayers to pay nearly \$7 billion for social welfare spending as the price of a crime bill.

With only one Democrat siding with the taxpayers, the Senate answered that question today. Taxpayers will be saddled with \$6.9 billion for midnight basketball, interpretive dance and other pork barrel spending for projects that would have no chance of passage if they had to stand alone.

This is what the voters hate about Congress. As taxpayers, they get stuck with \$7 billion of indefensible federal spending that could go to deficit or tax reduction. Instead Democrats jammed this pork through on the back of a crime bill everyone knew must pass.

I am very proud of Bob Dole and the Republican Senators who stood on principle and with the taxpayers in trying to strip the pork out of the crime bill. I also applaud Bob Michel, Newt Gingrich and the House Republicans who first blew the whistle on this fraud and who succeeded in cutting the pork by \$3.3 billion.

We Republicans will continue to fight Bill Clinton and the Democrats whenever they try to slip through more taxes, more spending and more government.

In November, Americans will have a chance to vote for or against the Members of Congress who think the answer to our crime problem is spending billions more for social welfare on top of the scores of billions we already spend. Democrats won't like the answer.

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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

What Is an Assault Weapon?

The World's Greatest Deliberative Body has tied itself in knots over the crime bill. The bill's opponents worry about the \$33 billion cost, but its defenders say that's all a smoke screen for the National Rifle Association. The most important business of the Republic, they say, is banning assault weapons. So it might be fair to ask, what's an "assault weapon," anyway?

Now, the weapons in question are not machine guns; automatic weapons have been illegal in this country since 1934. Rather, they are semi-automatics, capable of firing shots as fast as the shooter can pull the trigger. But most modern rifles are semi-automat-



ics, and no one yet admits a desire to confiscate hunting rifles. So someone has to decide which semi-automatics are dreaded assault weapons. They tell by looking at the weapon; an assault weapon is in the eye of the beholder.

If you think we jest, we refer you to Senator Dianne Feinstein, the WGDB's leading expert on aesthetics and semantics. The Feinstein amendment, passed by the Senate last November and now part of the pending legislation, spelled out which weapons to ban. She and her aides rifled through their picture albums, picked out 19 weapons they especially didn't like and banned them by name.

One is the Colt AR-15, pictured here along with the Ruger Mini-14, which would remain legal. The two are both semi-automatics firing the same 5.56 mm ammunition. In the hands of a criminal, they could each do the same damage; no more, no less. The difference between the two? The AR-15 looks more menacing because it has a plastic stock and a pistol grip; that's it.

After listing the 19 aesthetic offenders, the Feinstein brain trust apparently cross-tabulated its critical judgments to draw up a checklist of five aesthetic markers: a folding stock, too large a pistol grip, a bayonet mount, a flash suppressor and a

zens don't have much need for bayonet mounts, but on the other hand, do you know anyone who was mugged with a grenade launcher? Statistics from around the country suggest that few criminals are deranged or dimwitted enough to call attention to themselves by lugging around military-looking paraphernalia.

So-called assault weapons are used in only a tiny, tiny fraction of the violent crimes. In 1990, Florida's Commission on Assault Weapons reported that over the previous three-year period, assault weapons were used in 0.14% of violent crimes. In New York City, police confiscated 16,378 firearms in 1988, only 80 of which could be called assault weapons. Even a liberal such as Richard Cohen pointed out in a recent Washington Post column that according to the 1992 Uniform Crime Report, "more people were beaten to death that year (1,114) than were killed by rifles of any kind (698)."

But perhaps the best commentary came from Joseph Constance, deputy chief of police in Trenton, New Jersey. He told the Senate Judiciary Committee last August: "Since police started keeping statistics, we now know that assault weapons are/were used in an underwhelming 0.026 of 1% of crimes in New Jersey. This means that my of-

From the proposed crime bill:

(B) a semiautomatic rifle that has an ability to accept a detachable magazine and has at least 2 of ...

- (i) a folding or telescoping stock;
- (ii) a pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action of the weapon;
- (iii) a bayonet mount;
- (iv) a flash suppressor or barrel having a threaded muzzle, and
- (v) a grenade launcher

ficers are more likely to confront an escaped tiger from the local zoo than to confront an assault rifle in the hands of a drug-crazed killer on the streets."

The real question is why the Senate wants to tie itself into knots over so frivolous an issue. Both sides of the gun-control debate see an assault-weapons ban as the first step toward confiscating all firearms, we suppose, and that in turn evokes the ultimate liberal-conservative division over whether the root cause of crime is original sin. This remains in the realm of symbolism, and perhaps the WGDB



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After listing the 19 aesthetic offenders, the Feinstein brain trust apparently cross-tabulated its critical judgments to draw up a checklist of five aesthetic markers: a folding stock, too large a pistol grip, a bayonet mount, a flash suppressor and a grenade launcher. Two strikes and it's an assault weapon, the WGDB decided; either a grenade launcher or a bayonet mount is OK, but not both.

Now, we'd agree that ordinary citi-

firearms in 1988, only 80 of which could be called assault weapons. Even a liberal such as Richard Cohen pointed out in a recent Washington Post column that according to the 1992 Uniform Crime Report, "more people were beaten to death that year (1,114) than were killed by rifles of any kind (698)."

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REPUBLICAN OFFER--CRIME CONFERENCE REPORT

1. Drop \$10 million university grant sponsored by Representative Jack Brooks.
2. Increase Prison Funding and Strengthen Truth-in-Sentencing. Restore full House funding for prisons (\$13.5 billion), eliminate the "reverter provision," tighten language so that prison funds are actually used to build and operate prisons, and restore truth-in-sentencing for first-time violent offenders.
3. Cut one-half of the social spending, including but not limited to, spending on the Local Partnership Act, the Model Cities Intensive Grant program, and the Youth Employment and Skills Grant program. In addition, all such funding should be consolidated into block grants, and categorical programs should be eliminated.
4. No cuts for the FBI and DEA. Exempt FBI and DEA from federal personnel cuts, based on the FBI Director's opposition to these cuts, or restore funding to hire FBI and DEA agents to the level when President Clinton took office.
5. Mandatory Minimum "Reform" Provision. Eliminate conference language weakening mandatory minimum sentencing for drug offenders.
6. Add the following provisions adopted by the House:
 - admissibility of evidence of prior sex offenses (Dole-Hatch-Molinari-Kyl)
 - strong sexual predator/community notification provisions (Gorton-Dunn-Zimmer)
 - death penalty procedures (Gekas)
7. Add the following provisions adopted by the Senate:
 - mandatory minimums for those who use a gun in the commission of a crime (Gramm)
 - mandatory restitution for the victims of violent crime (Nickles)
 - deportation of criminal aliens (Simpson)
8. Local Option. Give localities more flexibility over how to use the \$8.8 billion in funding for new police hires.

PROPOSED TEN REPUBLICAN AMENDMENTS--August 25, 1994

- * Four amendments striking approximately \$5 billion in "social spending" from the conference report (excluding Violence against Women Act and funding for federal and state prison drug treatment).

--**Amendment One:** Strike Local Partnership Act

Savings: \$1.62 billion

--**Amendment Two:** Strike Model Intensive Grants

Savings: \$625.5 million

--**Amendment Three:** Strike Local Crime Prevention Block Grants; Family and Community Endeavor Schools; Community-Based Justice Grants; Urban Recreation; Assistance for Delinquent and At-Risk Youth; and Police Recruitment

Savings: \$734.5 million

--**Amendment Four:** Strike National Community Economic Partnership; Community Schools; Ounce of Prevention; Family Unity Demonstration Project; Gang Resistance Education and Training; and Drug Courts

--**Savings:** \$1.99 billion

- * Tighten prison language:

--elimination of reverter clause, thereby ensuring that funds remain allotted for truth-in-sentencing

--elimination of "correctional plan" language that unnecessarily burdens state prison administrators

--ensure that prison funding will go to build "brick-and-mortar" prison cells, not just prison "alternatives"

--truth-in-sentencing for first-time violent offenders

- * Simpson amendment expediting criminal alien deportation.

Adopted by
Unanimous Consent

- * Gramm/D'Amato mandatory minimum penalties for gun crimes.

- * Mandatory minimum penalties for selling drugs to minors.

- * Mandatory minimum penalties for employing minors to sell drugs.

Adopted
58-42

- * Drop mandatory minimum repeal. Substitute Senate-passed proposal with a requirement that federal prosecutors have a role in the decision to deviate from the mandatory minimum.

Close-Up

August 23, 1994

Democrats Have Used the Budget Point Of Order To Block Legislation 26 Times in the 103d Congress

- For enforcement tools, the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 and related budget acts contain points of order, many of which require a three-fifths majority (60) vote of the Senate to waive. By now, it is no secret that the crime bill conference report violates section 306 of the Budget Act. As reported from conference, the crime bill contains language to modify the Budget Act's enforcement provisions and to reduce the discretionary spending caps set forth in the Budget Act. Section 306 requires that any such changes to the Budget Act must first be considered by the House and Senate Budget committees prior to floor consideration in the respective bodies. These provisions were never subject to review in the Senate Budget Committee.
- Any attempt by Republicans to raise this point of order, however, is likely to be met with charges of "obstruction" from the Democratic side of the aisle. In anticipation of a new round of complaints, this paper sets the record straight. Namely, that Budget Act points of order have been raised much more frequently by Democrats than by Republicans in the 103d Congress.
- So far in the 103d Congress, the Senate has voted on waiving the Budget Act 33 times. These 33 votes were the result of 26 points of order raised by Democrats -- only seven Budget Act points of order have been raised by Republicans. Thus, of the Budget Act points of order raised in the 103d Congress, 79 percent have been raised by Democrats. A full 20 of the 26 Democrat-raised points of order were against Republican initiatives -- the remaining six were Democrat against Democrat.
- Republicans raised budget points of order in only 7 of the 33 occasions that resulted in votes in the 103d Congress, or 21 percent of the time.

- A number of major Republican initiatives have been killed by Budget Act points of order including :
 - requiring the President to submit a timely budget (Domenici, RVA #22, 1993);
 - giving the President enhanced rescission authority (McCain, RVA 27, 1193);
 - creating binding discretionary spending caps (Gramm, RVA#120, 1993);
 - tax incentive and jobs package (Roth, RVA #160, 1993);
 - deficit reduction package (Dole, RVA #165, 1993);
 - re-creating a separate spending cap for defense (Domenici/Nunn, RVA #175, 1993);
 - prohibiting retroactive tax increases (Burns, RVA #186 and Hutchison, RVA #327, 1993);
 - reducing government overhead (Hutchison, RVA #188, 1993);
 - eliminating the Social Security Earnings Test (McCain, RVA #338, 1993); and
 - dealing with disaster aid (Durenberger, RVA #243, 1993, and Murkowski, RVA #38, Durenberger, RVA #41, and Dole, RVA #43, each in 1994).

- Of the 33 votes described above, the Senate succeeded in waiving the Budget Act only on three occasions.
 - One was following a point of order raised by Senator Riegle against a Bumpers Amendment to the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1993.
 - The second successful vote was on a Moynihan motion to waive section 12 of the Concurrent Budget Resolution for 1994 (i.e., enforcement of the pay-as-you-go procedures), after a Nickles point of order, for consideration of the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Extension Act.
 - And the third, and most recent, occasion was on a Gorton motion to waive the Budget Act, following a point of order raised by Senator DeConcini, for consideration of an amendment to the FY95 Treasury, Postal Appropriations bill. (See addendum for details.)

Staff Contact: Judy Gorman and Jack Clark, 224-2946

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Page 113 of 127

SENATOR BOB DOLE

CRIME

AUGUST 25, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT, I WANT TO BEGIN BY THANKING MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE FOR THEIR EFFORTS LAST WEEKEND ON THE CRIME BILL.

RESTORING THE KEY "PUBLIC NOTIFICATION" PROVISION OF THE "MEGAN KANKA LAW;" PREVENTING THE RETROACTIVE REPEAL OF MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCES FOR DRUG OFFENDERS; CUTTING SOME SPENDING-- THESE ARE ALL STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION...AND HOUSE REPUBLICANS DESERVE CREDIT FOR HANGING IN THERE AND MAKING A BAD BILL A LITTLE BIT BETTER.

BUT, MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT DOES IT SAY ABOUT THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS WHEN HOUSE REPUBLICANS HAVE TO RESORT TO LEGISLATIVE TRENCH-WARFARE TO PREVENT 16,000 CONVICTED DRUG DEALERS FROM GETTING OUT OF JAIL EARLY?

WHAT DOES IT SAY ABOUT THE TOUGHNESS OF THE SO-CALLED "CRIME BILL" WHEN REPUBLICANS HAVE TO FIGHT TOOTH-AND-NAIL TO ENSURE THAT THE PUBLIC IS NOTIFIED WHEN VIOLENT SEXUAL PREDATORS ARE LIVING IN THEIR COMMUNITIES?

AND WHAT DOES IT SAY ABOUT OUR CRIME-FIGHTING PRIORITIES WHEN THE "NEW AND IMPROVED" CRIME BILL STILL EARMARKS A STAGGERING \$7 BILLION NOT FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT, BUT FOR A GAGGLE OF SOCIAL-SPENDING PROGRAMS.

YES, THE CONFERENCE REPORT HAS BEEN IMPROVED...BUT IT STILL FALLS FAR, FAR SHORT OF THE TOUGH CRIME-FIGHTING PLAN THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE DESERVE.

SO, MR. PRESIDENT, REPUBLICANS HERE IN THE SENATE WANT TO BE HELPFUL. JUST LIKE OUR HOUSE COLLEAGUES, WE WANT TO IMPROVE THE CRIME BILL...MAKE IT STRONGER, TOUGHER, BETTER...AND THAT'S WHY WE WOULD LIKE TO OFFER A SERIES OF TEN TOUGH-ON-CRIME AND TOUGH-ON-PORK AMENDMENTS. FIRST, THERE'S STILL TOO MUCH SOCIAL SPENDING, NEARLY SEVEN BILLION DOLLARS WORTH...WHICH HAPPENS TO BE THREE BILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN THE AMOUNT OF SOCIAL SPENDING CONTAINED IN THE CRIME BILL PASSED BY THE SENATE LAST NOVEMBER. YES, THERE WAS SOME PORK IN THE SENATE BILL...TOO MUCH PORK...AND, TO BE FAIR, REPUBLICANS HAVE TO CONFESS THAT WE, TOO, PARTICIPATED IN THE SPENDING-SPREE LAST NOVEMBER.

BUT WE'VE DONE SOMETHING UNUSUAL AROUND HERE...WE'VE GONE BACK HOME AND LISTENED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND THE MESSAGE WE'RE HEARING LOUD-AND-CLEAR IS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DON'T WANT A PORK BILL, THEY WANT A CRIME BILL...A TOUGH-ON-CRIME BILL.

ALL THE FANCY ARITHMETIC CAN'T HIDE THE FACT THAT WHEN THE CRIME BILL PASSED THE SENATE LAST NOVEMBER IT WAS A \$22 BILLION MEASURE. THE CONFERENCE REPORT, AS IT NOW STANDS, IS STILL A \$30 BILLION PACKAGE, NEARLY A 40% INCREASE. SO, OBVIOUSLY, SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY, THE CRIME BILL WAS HIJACKED BY THE BIG-DOLLAR SOCIAL SPENDERS.

THAT'S WHY REPUBLICANS ARE PREPARED TO STRIKE OUT NEARLY ALL OF THE SOCIAL SPENDING, ALL OF THE PORK, NEARLY 5 BILLION DOLLARS' WORTH...SO WE CAN PASS A LEAN AND MEAN, 100% FAT-FREE

CRIME BILL.

WE CAN START WITH THE \$1.6 BILLION LOCAL PARTNERSHIP ACT. THIS BILL WAS ORIGINALLY INTRODUCED IN 1992, NOT AS A CRIME-FIGHTING MEASURE, BUT AS A WAY TO PUMP FEDERAL DOLLARS INTO THE INNER CITIES. AND GUESS WHAT? THE LOCAL PARTNERSHIP ACT HAPPENS TO REWARD THOSE CITIES WITH HIGH TAX RATES AND HIGH RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT. SO, IF YOU'RE A PLACE LIKE WICHITA, KANSAS, THAT HAS MANAGED TO KEEP ITS ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER, YOU'RE OUT OF LUCK. AND TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THERE HASN'T BEEN A SINGLE HEARING--NOT ONE--ON THIS MEASURE...EVEN THOUGH IT PROPOSES TO SPEND NEARLY \$2 BILLION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MONEY.

THEN, THERE'S THE \$1 BILLION DRUG-COURT PROPOSAL THAT FUNDS HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION, HOUSING PLACEMENT, CHILD CARE...ANYTHING, IN OTHER WORDS, BUT CRIME CONTROL. AND AGAIN, NO HEARINGS.

ANOTHER GOODIE IS THE "NATIONAL COMMUNITY ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIPS," A \$270 MILLION PROGRAM ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES TO PROVIDE GRANTS TO LOCAL COMMUNITY GROUPS IN ORDER TO, AND I QUOTE: "IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE." THERE ISN'T EVEN THE PRETENSE OF TRYING TO LINK THE SPENDING TO FIGHTING CRIME.

AND, LET'S NOT FORGET THE \$625 MILLION MODEL INTENSIVE GRANT PROGRAM, WHICH THROWS FEDERAL MONEY AT FIFTEEN LUCKY CITIES HANDPICKED BY THE ADMINISTRATION. FUNDING UNDER THIS PROGRAM CAN BE USED TO ADDRESS SUCH CRIME PROBLEMS AS THE "DETERIORATION OR LACK OF PUBLIC FACILITIES," "PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION," AND "STREET

LIGHTING."

THESE ARE JUST SOME OF THE BIG-TICKET ITEMS...AND THERE ARE LITTLE ITEMS AS WELL.

TAKE THE "COMMUNITY-BASED JUSTICE PROGRAM," WHICH SOUNDS GREAT IN THEORY UNTIL YOU READ THE FINE PRINT. THIS \$50 MILLION PROGRAM ADOPTS THE "CRIMINAL-AS-A-VICTIM-OF-SOCIETY" APPROACH, REQUIRING PROSECUTORS TO, AND I QUOTE: "FOCUS ON THE OFFENDER, NOT SIMPLY THE SPECIFIC OFFENSE, AND IMPOSE INDIVIDUALIZED SANCTIONS [SUCH AS] CONFLICT RESOLUTION, TREATMENT, COUNSELLING AND RECREATION PROGRAMS." THE PROGRAM DEFINES YOUNG VIOLENT OFFENDERS AS INDIVIDUALS UP TO 22 YEARS OF AGE "WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES OF VIOLENCE, WEAPONS OFFENSES, DRUG DISTRIBUTION, HATE CRIMES, AND CIVIL RIGHTS VIOLATIONS."

THERE'S ALSO THE \$5 MILLION URBAN RECREATION PROGRAM, WHICH IS DESIGNED TO "IMPROVE RECREATION FACILITIES" IN OUR CITIES. THERE'S THE OUNCE OF PREVENTION PROGRAM, WHICH IS MORE LIKE A \$90 MILLION POUND OF PORK. THERE'S SOMETHING CALLED THE FAMILY AND ENDEAVOR SCHOOLS PROGRAM, WHICH PROVIDES \$243 MILLION IN GRANTS FOR SPORTS, ARTS AND CRAFTS, SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, AND DANCE PROGRAMS.

AND, OF COURSE, THERE'S MIDNIGHT BASKETBALL, WHICH IS NOW HIDDEN IN THE LOCAL CRIME PREVENTION BLOCK GRANT PROGRAM.

MR. PRESIDENT, IF YOU THINK ALL THESE PROGRAMS WERE ADDED TO THE CRIME BILL JUST TO GIVE KIDS SOMETHING TO "SAY YES TO," AS PRESIDENT CLINTON LIKES TO CLAIM, YOU'RE WRONG. THEY'RE DESIGNED NOT TO FIGHT CRIME, BUT TO PLACATE THE MOST LIBERAL

MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY, WHO'VE INSISTED ALL ALONG THAT WITHOUT THE PORK, THERE WILL BE NO CRIME BILL.

OF COURSE, IT'S A VERY HIGH PRICE TO PAY. ACCORDING TO THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CURRENTLY RUNS 154 JOB-TRAINING PROGRAMS WITH AN ANNUAL COST OF \$25 BILLION. HERE'S THE REPORT. [WAVE REPORT] G.A.O. ALSO ESTIMATES THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDS MORE THAN \$3 BILLION ANNUALLY ON 266 PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO CURB JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. HERE'S ANOTHER REPORT--PREPARED BY THE CHARLES STEWART MOTT FOUNDATION--THAT LISTS SOME OF THESE PROGRAMS. [WAVE SECOND REPORT]

SO, MR. PRESIDENT, THE FEDERAL EFFORT IS ALREADY THERE. WE DON'T NEED MORE PROGRAMS, MORE DUPLICATION, MORE RUNAWAY SPENDING, MORE DEBT FOR OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

WE'VE SPENT TRILLIONS AND TRILLIONS OF DOLLARS ON THE GREAT SOCIETY AND THE WAR ON POVERTY, AND YET, DURING THE PAST THIRTY YEARS, VIOLENT CRIME HAS INCREASED BY A STAGGERING 500%. APPARENTLY, WE STILL HAVEN'T LEARNED.

FROM DAY ONE, REPUBLICANS HAVE ARGUED THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE PREVENTION PROGRAM IS NOT THE PORK BARREL, BUT THE PRISON CELL. TOO OFTEN, CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, SENTENCED, AND CONVICTED HAVE SLID THROUGH THE REVOLVING PRISON DOOR--LEGALLY, AND WITH TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES. THAT'S WHY REPUBLICANS HAVE INSISTED THAT STATE PRISON GRANTS BE CONDITIONED ON THE ADOPTION OF TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING LAWS: IF A CRIMINAL RECEIVES A 15-YEAR SENTENCE, HE SHOULD SERVE 15 YEARS, NOT FIVE

OR TEN YEARS, AS IS SO OFTEN THE CASE.

UNFORTUNATELY, WHEN IT COMES TO KEEPING VIOLENT CRIMINALS BEHIND BARS, THE CONFERENCE REPORT FLUNKS THE CREDIBILITY TEST.

FOR STARTERS, THERE'S NO GUARANTEE THAT A SINGLE DIME OF THE MONEY ALLEGEDLY EARMARKED FOR PRISONS WILL BUILD A SINGLE BRICK-AND-MORTAR PRISON CELL. AS CURRENTLY DRAFTED, ALL OF THE FUNDING CAN BE USED FOR BOOT CAMPS, HALF-WAY HOUSES, AND OTHER PRISON "ALTERNATIVES." SO, READING THE FINE PRINT IS CRITICAL...AND REPUBLICANS WANT TO OFFER AN AMENDMENT THAT WOULD CLEAN THIS LANGUAGE UP.

IN ADDITION, 50% OF THE STATE PRISON GRANTS AREN'T CONDITIONED ON ANY TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING REQUIREMENT AT ALL. AND THE OTHER 50% IS CONDITIONED ON A WATERED-DOWN VERSION OF TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING, ALLOWING STATES TO RECEIVE THE GRANTS IF THEY REQUIRE THAT SECOND-TIME--NOT FIRST-TIME--VIOLENT OFFENDERS SERVE AT LEAST 85% OF THEIR SENTENCES.

THE CONFERENCE REPORT ALSO CONTAINS SOMETHING CALLED THE "REVERTER CLAUSE." UNDER THIS LOOPHOLE, ANY FUNDS ALLOTTED FOR THE WATERED-DOWN VERSION OF TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING, REMAINING AVAILABLE AT THE END OF THE FISCAL YEAR, WILL BE DUMPED INTO THE NON-TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING POT FOR THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR. THIS MEANS THAT STATES THAT DON'T WANT TO ADOPT A TRUTH-IN-SENTENCING LAW MAY BE ABLE TO DELAY THEIR GRANT APPLICATIONS UNTIL THE FOLLOWING YEAR AND RECEIVE THE PRISON FUNDS WITH NO STRINGS ATTACHED.

YET, WHEN THERE ARE "STRINGS ATTACHED," THEY ARE GREASED

WITH WHAT CAN ONLY BE DESCRIBED AS "GREAT SOCIETY" MUMBO-JUMBO. FOR EXAMPLE: IN ORDER TO RECEIVE A PRISON GRANT, STATES MUST IMPLEMENT SOMETHING CALLED A "COMPREHENSIVE CORRECTIONAL PLAN." THE PLAN MUST INCLUDE "DRUG DIVERSION" PROGRAMS AND "APPROPRIATE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR CORRECTIONS OFFICERS IN DEALING WITH...PRISONER REHABILITATION AND TREATMENT PROGRAMS, PRISONER WORK ACTIVITIES, AND JOB SKILLS PROGRAMS."

SO, MR. PRESIDENT, AS IF THEY DON'T HAVE ENOUGH TO DO ALREADY, STATE PRISON OFFICIALS WILL BECOME SOCIAL WORKERS, AS WELL...COURTESY OF THE GREAT MINDS IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

AGAIN, REPUBLICANS WANT TO CORRECT THESE PROBLEMS THROUGH THE AMENDMENT PROCESS, BUT OUR COLLEAGUES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AISLE HAVE PRECLUDED US FROM DOING SO.

OTHER TOUGH-ON-CRIME PROPOSALS WERE LEFT ON THE CUTTING-ROOM FLOOR: MANDATORY MINIMUM PENALTIES FOR THOSE WHO USE A GUN IN THE COMMISSION OF A CRIME; NEW FEDERAL PENALTIES FOR GANG VIOLENCE; SENATOR SIMPSON'S PROPOSAL TO ENSURE THAT CRIMINAL ALIENS ARE SWIFTLY DEPORTED ONCE THEY HAVE SERVED OUT THEIR SENTENCES; EVEN MANDATORY RESTITUTION FOR THE VICTIMS OF VIOLENT CRIME. ALL EMBRACED BY THE SENATE. BUT ALL DROPPED BY THE LIBERAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

AND LET'S NOT OVERSELL THE SO-CALLED 100,000 COPS ON THE STREET PROPOSAL. IF YOU READ THE FINE PRINT, THE STATES AND LOCALITIES WILL BE PICKING UP MOST OF THE POLICE-HIRING TAB. IN FACT, ONE EXPERT--PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR JOHN DI IULIO, A REGISTERED DEMOCRAT AND A GUN-CONTROL ADVOCATE--ESTIMATES THAT

THE CRIME BILL FULLY FUNDS ONLY 20,000 COPS, AND ONLY 2,000
AROUND-THE-CLOCK POLICE OFFICERS.

SO, MR, PRESIDENT, WHO'S KIDDING WHOM?

I WANT TO PASS A CRIME BILL, AND MY REPUBLICAN
COLLEAGUES WANT TO PASS ONE, TOO. BUT IF THE CRIME BILL IS
SERIOUSLY FLAWED, AS IT SURELY IS, THEN IT'S OUR RESPONSIBILITY--
NOT AS REPUBLICANS BUT AS MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE--TO
FIX WHAT'S WRONG AND MAKE THE CRIME BILL EVEN STRONGER.

AND CONTRARY TO WHAT SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES ON THE OTHER
SIDE OF THE AISLE ARE SAYING, THE BUDGET POINT OF ORDER IS NOT
SOME "PROCEDURAL TRICK" THAT REPUBLICANS HAVE ONLY RECENTLY
DISCOVERED. SENATE DEMOCRATS HAVE RAISED BUDGET POINTS OF ORDER
AT LEAST 26 TIMES IN THE 103RD CONGRESS--26 TIMES--INCLUDING
AGAINST SENATOR HUTCHISON'S INITIATIVE TO REPEAL THE RETROACTIVE
TAX INCREASE.

AGAIN, MR. PRESIDENT: WE'RE PREPARED TO OFFER TEN
AMENDMENTS. WE'RE PREPARED TO AGREE TO TIME LIMITS ON DEBATE.
BUT WE'RE NOT PREPARED TO STAND BY IDLY AS CONGRESS STICKS THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH A \$30 BILLION PORK-BARREL JUGGERNAUT THAT IS
MORE HYPE THAN TOUGH-ON-CRIME SUBSTANCE.

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**U.S. Senate
Republican Policy
Committee**

Don Nickles, Chairman
Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director

Issue Update

August 25, 1994

The Pork Papers on Crime, #1

\$3 Billion May Not Be "Pork" But It Sure Ain't Hay

The Senate passed its crime bill last November. Since then, the bill has been to conference twice. The first time, the conference added more than \$10 billion. The second time, the conference added nearly \$8 billion.

The conference report is one-third more expensive than the Senate-passed bill.

The conferees gave a boost to "prevention" that is four times larger (92%) than the boost they gave to law enforcement (22%).

The conference report increased law enforcement by \$4.1 billion (22%); it increased "prevention" by \$3.3 billion, almost doubling the Senate bill.

Authorization Levels (billions of current dollars)

	Senate-Passed Bill (Nov. 1993)	First Conference Report (failed)	Second Conference Report (passed House)
Law Enforcement	19.2	24.4	23.3 (22% over Senate)
"Prevention"	3.6	9.0	6.9 (92% over Senate)
Totals	22.8	33.4	30.3 (33% over Senate)

[Details may not add to totals because of rounding.]

[Source: Preliminary Review prepared by the Republican staff of the Senate Budget Committee, August 23, 1994.]

The average annual authorization in the Senate bill was about \$4.56 billion for *five* years. The average annual authorization in the second conference report is about \$5.05 billion for *six* years. Of course, multipliers are not irrelevant: Six times \$5.05 billion is nearly \$8 billion more than five times \$4.54 billion.

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**U.S. Senate
Republican Policy
Committee**

Don Nickles, Chairman
Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director

Issue Update

August 25, 1994

The Pork Papers on Crime, #2

A Billion Here and a Billion There And Pretty Soon You're Talking New Priorities

When the Senate passed its crime bill last November, 84% of the money was dedicated to law enforcement. The conferees thought that was too much. Now, the bill authorizes 77% for law enforcement.

Last November, the Senate authorized 16% for "prevention" programs. Now, the conference report authorizes 23%.

If the conference report had kept the "prevention" programs at 16%, the conference report would now authorize about \$4.8 billion in "prevention" programs, not \$6.9 billion. That leap from 16% to 23% amounts to more than \$2 billion in prevention programs of dubious value.

One or two percent here, and one or two percent there, and pretty soon you're talking about real money. With the crime bill, a priority shift of just 7% amounts to more than \$2 billion.

Authorization Levels and Percentages (billions of current dollars)

	Senate-Passed Bill (Nov. 1993)	First Conference Report (failed)	Second Conference Report (passed House)
Law Enforcement	19.2 (84%)	24.4 (73%)	23.3 (77%)
"Prevention"	3.6 (16%)	9.0 (27%)	6.9 (23%)
Totals	22.8 (100%)	33.4 (100%)	30.3 (100%)

[Details may not add to totals because of rounding.]

[Source: Preliminary Review prepared by the Republican staff of the Senate Budget Committee, August 23, 1994.]

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**U.S. Senate
Republican Policy
Committee**

Don Nickles, Chairman
Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director

Issue Update

August 25, 1994

The Pork Papers on Crime, #3

Second Conference Cut Funny Money, Mostly

The second conference committee did cut about \$3.1 billion from the first proposal, but \$2.8 billion of that sum probably represents just ink on paper, not real money, and not real "pork."

The authorization levels in the second conference report are indeed about 10% (\$3.1 billion) below the levels of the first report, but those vaunted cuts come primarily from authorizations that were outside of the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund. There is great doubt that those authorizations were ever going to result in any actual money being appropriated. The *Washington Post* said the conference had made "a fake cut in a phantom authorization."

**Authorization Levels
With Trust Fund and Non-Trust Fund Aggregates
(billions of current dollars)**

	Senate-Passed Bill (Nov. 1993)	First Conference Report (failed)	Second Conference Report (passed House)
Law Enforcement			
Trust Fund	19.2	22.0	23.3
Non-Trust Fund	zero	2.4	zero
Total	19.2	24.4	23.3
"Prevention"			
Trust Fund	3.6	8.6	6.9
Non-Trust Fund	zero	0.4	**
Total	3.6	9.0	6.9
Grand Totals			
(Trust & Non-Trust)	22.8	33.4	30.3

** = \$35 million

[Details may not add to totals because of rounding.]

[Source: Preliminary Review prepared by the Republican staff of the Senate Budget Committee, August 23, 1994.]

**U.S. Senate
Republican Policy
Committee**

Don Nickles, Chairman
Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director

Issue Update

August 25, 1994

The Pork Papers on Crime, #4

Conference Report and Senate Bill Almost Same; Schwarzenegger and DeVito Almost Twins

On the floor of the Senate this week, there has been some talk about the second conference report on the crime bill being just as frugal as the original Senate bill. The conference report's authorization level of \$30.3 billion, when properly understood, is just about the same as the Senate bill's authorization level of \$22.8 billion -- or so the argument goes.

We think this argument is being made by persons who believe that Arnold Schwarzenegger must be Danny DeVito's twin brother.

Which is not to say that Schwarzenegger and DeVito don't have much in common -- biceps, for example. Perhaps it is this commonality of people and money that explains how a person with a calculator can take \$30.3 billion and slice it and dice it and make it appear like \$22.8 billion, or even less.

American taxpayers are not going to fall for it.

It is true that the Senate-passed bill authorized funds for *five* years, and the second conference report authorizes funds for *six* years. This is interesting, of course, but the mathematics cannot be amended even by the most powerful legislature in the world: 6 multiplied by 5 is still a lot more than 5 multiplied by 4-1/2.

Statutory Trust Fund Authorization Levels By Fiscal Year
(in millions of current dollars)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Senate bill	720	2423	4267	6313	8545	-0-	-0-
2nd conf. rpt.	-0-	2423	4287	5000	5500	6500	6500
Difference	-720	-0-	+20	-1313	-3045	+6500	+6500

[Source: section 1353 of the Senate bill (H.R. 3355 as passed by the Senate on Nov. 19, 1993) and section 310001 of the second conference report (to accompany H.R. 3355, H. Rept. No. 103-711). These are the actual amounts authorized for transfer into the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund.]

**U.S. Senate
Republican Policy
Committee**

Don Nickles, Chairman
Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director

Issue Update

August 25, 1994

The Pork Papers on Crime, #5

Conference Report Adds \$13 Billion To Deficit Unless Firm Statutory Hope Restrains Spending

Some budget experts say that, while the Senate-passed crime bill paid for itself, enacting the second conference report on the crime bill will result in \$13 billion of deficit spending in fiscal years 1999 and 2000. They probably are right, even though the conference report contains a very firm statutory hope that there will be no deficit spending.

The Senate-passed bill authorized spending for fiscal years 1994 through 1998, years for which spending caps are in place. The conference report authorizes spending for fiscal years 1995 through 2000, but for 1999 and 2000 there are no spending caps. The conference report puts nearly 40% of its total authorizations in the final one-third of its life, which isn't particularly unusual but is slightly suspicious because there are no spending caps for those years.

The firm statutory hope may be found in section 310002 of the conference report wherein this Congress encourages future Congresses to behave themselves in fiscal years 1999 and 2000. Perhaps it will work.

Statutory Trust Fund Authorization Levels By Fiscal Year (in millions of current dollars)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Senate bill	720	2423	4267	6313	8545	-0-	-0-
2nd conf. rpt.	-0-	2423	4287	5000	5500	6500	6500
Addendum: outside of discretionary spending limits						6500	6500

[Source: section 1353 of the Senate bill (H.R. 3355 as passed by the Senate on Nov. 19, 1993) and section 310001 of the second conference report (to accompany H.R. 3355, H. Rept. No. 103-711). These are the actual amounts authorized for transfer into the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund.]

**U.S. Senate
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Kelly D. Johnston, Staff Director

Issue Update

August 25, 1994

The Pork Papers on Crime, #6

\$1.6 Billion To Test Proposition That Crime-Fighting Programs Ought To Be Designed To Fight Crime

The second conference report on the crime bill which is now pending before the Senate contains--

- **\$245 million** for Family and Community Endeavor Schools,
- **\$625 million** for Model Intensive Grants,
- **\$1.622 billion** for the Local Partnership Act, and
- **plenty of other programs** that were not in the Senate bill.

These programs all have noble intentions. Nobody quarrels with their stated goals; the goals are glorious. The quarrel is with the cost, the duplication, the waste — and whether the stated goals have any connection with real-world results.

Take the Local Partnership Act (LPA), for example, a program that is listed as a "crime prevention" measure and which accounts for \$1.622 billion or about 20% of all spending on "prevention." But, the LPA was *never* designed to fight crime; it was designed a couple of years ago to stimulate a stagnant economy.

The LPA's formula for distributing money uses population, the "general tax effort factor," the "relative income factor," and the unemployment rate.

LPA money is going to be distributed according to a formula that has nothing to do with crime rates or police presence or prison overcrowding. Localities that need its money to fight crime are not going to get it because the LPA ignores crime.

Las Vegas, Nevada and Birmingham, Alabama have about the same population (260,000 persons), but Las Vegas has 50 percent more crime. Under the LPA formula, however, it appears that Birmingham will get more than \$6 for every \$1 that Las Vegas receives.

Dallas, Texas and Detroit, Michigan are about the same size (more than 1,000,000 persons), but Dallas has more crime. Under the LPA formula, however, Detroit will get about \$13 for every \$1 that Dallas receives.

Can a program that wasn't designed to fight crime succeed in fighting crime? The LPA is an expensive experiment to find the answer to that question. Millions of taxpayers believe the experiment is unnecessary.