

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA (4/30/92)

EVENTS THIS WEEK

The Clinton administration came closer to a decision on responding to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. President Clinton consulted with Congressional leaders, as well as former Secretary of State George Shultz. The President met with the JCS on Thursday and is scheduled to meet with his top national security advisors on Saturday to make a final decision. Because of the time it would take to arm and train the Bosnians, Anthony Lake is reported to be in favor of air strikes to hold off the Serbs in the interim. Once a decision has been made, Secretary Christopher will leave for consultations with our allies. The only option that has been ruled out is the deployment of ground troops, except in implementing a peace agreement.

The British and French appear to be softening on the question of air strikes, but seem to remain adamantly opposed to lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian government. It is reported, however, that the French have begun to redeploy some of their troops in Bosnia. According to the State Department and the U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, no additional authorization is needed from the Security Council to launch air strikes; this is not the case with lifting the arms embargo, however.

Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance announced a summit meeting on Saturday and Sunday in Athens to make yet another last ditch attempt at getting the Serbs to sign their peace plan; they are prepared to offer the Serbs more concessions. Specifically, the mediators are offering the Serbs a U.N. protected corridor to link Serb occupied lands in Croatia with Serb provinces as delineated in the Vance/Owen plan. The Presidents of Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro will attend, as well as the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic (KARE-AH-JICH) and the leader of the Bosnian Croats, Mate Boban. Milosevic claims to be putting pressure on the Bosnian Serbs. Earlier this week President Yeltsin made a strong statement telling the Serbs not to expect Russian support if they do not accept the peace plan. In contrast to Lord Owen's hype on the meeting, U.S. officials are skeptical, and have said that this meeting "does not change our plans, at all." The President said, "They've said things before and not meant it. If they mean it now, so much the better." The self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament intend to reconsider their rejection of the peace plan on Wednesday, May 5.

Meanwhile, the Serbian offensive in northwestern Bosnia continues. On Thursday, 20 tons of humanitarian aid was stolen by Serb forces. The ceasefire between Bosnian Croat and Muslim forces in central Bosnia appears to be taking hold -- this fighting seems to have arisen over local military leaders trying to take over territory under the guise of "implementing" the Vance/Owen plan's map for ethnic provinces.

TALKING POINTS

MET WITH THE PRESIDENT THIS WEEK -- NO DECISION WAS TAKEN; MANY VIEWS WITH THE ONLY CONSENSUS AGAINST GROUND TROOPS.

I WOULD SUPPORT NATO AIR STRIKES AGAINST SERBIAN MILITARY TARGETS AND THE LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST THE BOSNIANS. \$50 MILLION HAS ALREADY BEEN APPROPRIATED BY THE CONGRESS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT FOR THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT.

IF WE DON'T ACT NOW, THE WAR WILL SPREAD TO KOSOVA AND MACEDONIA WHICH WILL LEAD TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF GREECE, TURKEY, ALBANIA, BULGARIA. THERE AREN'T ANY EASY OPTIONS NOW, BUT THE LONGER WE WAIT THE MORE DIFFICULT THE OPTIONS FOR ACTION WILL BECOME.

WITH RESPECT TO THE MEETING IN ATHENS, I AM SKEPTICAL. OWEN AND VANCE ARE TRYING TO REACH A DIPLOMATIC SETTLEMENT ONE MORE TIME - BUT THE SERBS HAVE A TRACK RECORD OF SAYING ONE THING AND DOING ANOTHER. THIS HAS GONE ON FOR ALMOST A YEAR NOW. EVERY TIME THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY GETS CLOSE TO TAKING TOUGH ACTION, THE SERBS SAY THEY WANT TO TALK. UNTIL NOW, THEY HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN USING THIS DELAYING TACTIC.

THE SERBS HAVE GOTTEN 'ONE LAST CHANCE' OVER AND OVER AND OVER AGAIN. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN FOOLED BEFORE, BUT IT WON'T BE FOOLED AGAIN. WORDS ARE NOT ENOUGH; SIGNATURES ARE NOT ENOUGH; THE KILLING HAS TO STOP.

APRIL 29, 1993

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: DAN STANLEY
SUBJECT: WOMEN IN COMBAT

Here we go again...

At Clinton's behest, Secretary Aspin will be issuing a policy regarding women in combat that goes far beyond the recommendations which the commission provided after exhaustive hearings and analysis. In short, it doesn't seem to matter to Clinton what the military experts say about personnel policy, Clinton will proceed with his social experimentation within the military.

Aspin's policy will:

- Allow women to fly combat aircraft (nothing real bad about this except the POW issue & the commission generally supported this)
- Allow women on naval combat ships (goes farther than the commission -- berthing and privacy issue)
- Asks the Army and Marine Corps to show cause why women should not be allowed access to all combat missions
- Has some language that provides exceptions in cases of physical limitations or prohibitive cost to change current equipment or accommodations.

As with the gay issue, expect Congress to hold hearings. When the DoD bills come to the floor, expect amendments to place limits on the policy change.

Bob Dole

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

NEWS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
APRIL 29, 1993

CONTACT: WALT RIKER
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FIRST QUARTER STATS:

AMERICAN PEOPLE GRADE PRESIDENT WITH THEIR
POCKETBOOKS BY NOT BUYING

Washington -- Today Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole marked President Clinton's 99th full day in office with the following remarks:

Today is the 99th day of the Clinton Administration. If the latest economic figures are any indication, the next 100 days will have to be a lot better if our economy is going to get a lot better.

"GDP growth" in the first quarter was an anemic 1.8%, as reported by the Commerce Department today. That disappointing statistic should be a wake-up call at the White House that its "tax and spend" economic plan is scaring a lot of Americans: businessmen and women, consumers and investors.

After 100 days of "tax and spend", it looks like the American people are grading the President with their pocketbooks.....And they're not buying.

Frankly, I'm not surprised. For the first 100 days, Americans have heard nothing but tax and spend, tax and spend, and tax and spend from the White House.

The anemic first quarter numbers will reinforce the message you will be hearing today. For the past 100 days, Senate Republicans have challenged the President to take another course -- to listen to the people for a change; to cut spending, to cut government and to find a cure for this Administration's rampant tax fever.

That's why I am pleased to introduce my colleagues today, as they underscore why the Administration is earning poor grades all across the country when it comes to the key issues of today: the economy, budget, deficit reduction, defense and reform.

No doubt about it, President Clinton is smart, is an excellent salesman and is a hard worker. That's why I'm really disappointed in his performance. I'll give him an "E" for effort.

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April 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM TO THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FROM: David Taylor *David*
SUBJECT: Reconciliation -- UPDATE

The deadline for House Committees to comply with their reconciliation instructions is May 14th. The deadline for Senate Committees is June 18th.

While the Ways & Means and Finance Committees clearly have the most difficult assignments in this reconciliation bill, I am meeting with each of the GOP Committee staff directors to see if there are other areas where controversial items could arise.

The Ways & Means Committee is scheduled to begin marking up its non-tax reconciliation provisions in subcommittee next week. Full Committee mark-up is set to begin on May 11th. The Committee is planning to file its response on Monday, May 17th.

A summary of each Senate Committee's reconciliation instructions is attached. I hope to have a committee-by-committee forecast ready for you on Monday afternoon.

A note on the Finance Committee's reconciliation instructions is also attached.

Attachments

4/19/93

RECONCILIATION INSTRUCTIONS TO SENATE COMMITTEES

Not later than June 18th, each Committee listed below shall submit their recommendations to the Senate Budget Committee.

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION AND FORESTRY

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$118 Million	\$3,170 Million

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$128 Million	\$2,361 Million

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$401 Million	\$3,131 Million

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$1,700 Million	\$7,405 Million

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$118 Million	\$737 Million

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$13 Million	\$1,254 Million

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that provide direct spending that would reduce outlays as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$2,346 Million	\$35,157 Million

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would increase revenues as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$27,293 Million	\$272,105 Million

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$5 Million

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
\$77 Million	\$10,638 Million

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

FY 1994-8

\$345 Million

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

FY 1994-8

\$4,571 Million

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

The Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

FY 1994

\$266 Million

FY 1994-8

\$2,580 Million

April 19, 1993

RECONCILIATION INSTRUCTIONS TO FINANCE COMMITTEE

Not later than June 18th, the Committee shall report recommended changes in laws within its jurisdiction that would reduce the deficit as follows:

	<u>FY 1994</u>	<u>FY 1994-8</u>
Direct Spending Cuts (Outlays)	\$2,346 Million	\$35,157 Million
Revenue Increases	<u>\$27,293 Million</u>	<u>\$272,105 Million</u>
TOTALS --	\$29.6 Billion	\$307.3 Billion

Committee Leeway in Complying with Instructions:

Subsection 310(c)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act gives the Finance Committee some flexibility in complying with its reconciliation instructions. The Committee may report direct spending and/or revenue changes that are up to 20 percent above or below the amounts specified in its reconciliation instructions as long as "the total amount of the changes recommended by... [the] committee is not less than the total amounts of the changes... [the] committee was directed to make."

Since the deficit reduction instructions on the spending side are so much smaller than those for revenue increases, the spending cuts will be the binding constraint for the Finance Committee in producing a response that complies with its reconciliation instructions. In other words, the Committee could include additional mandatory spending cuts or adds of up to \$469.2 million in 1994 and \$7.03 billion over 5 years in its reconciliation bill. Tax increases could be altered by a commensurate amount as long as the Committee's reconciliation response achieves the total amount of changes listed above.

TODAY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FINALLY GOT THE BAD NEWS FROM BILL CLINTON -- TODAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FINALLY FOUND OUT THE PAINFUL DETAILS PRESIDENT CLINTON DIDN'T WANT THEM TO HEAR -- TODAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FINALLY KNOW WHAT'S IN STORE FOR THEM IF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S BUDGET EVER BECOMES LAW: THE BIGGEST TAX INCREASE IN HISTORY, WITH TAXES ON ENERGY, THE MIDDLE CLASS, SMALL BUSINESSES AND EVEN SOCIAL SECURITY RECIPIENTS.

IT'S A PLAN THAT WILL INCREASE SPENDING AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF DEFENSE.

IT'S A PLAN THAT WILL NOT ONLY PROMISES BIGGER TAXES AND BIGGER SPENDING, IT WILL ALSO MAKE GOVERNMENT BIGGER. IT'S A TAX AND SPEND MANDATE THAT WILL DESTROY THE ONGOING RECOVERY AND DO NOTHING TO CREATE JOBS OR REDUCE THE FEDERAL DEFICIT THE WAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAD HOPED.

IT IS A KIND OF PLAN THE VOTERS THOUGHT THEY WERE VOTING AGAINST LAST NOVEMBER WHEN THEY WENT TO THE POLLS VOTING FOR CHANGE.

THIS ISN'T CHANGE. IT'S THE SAME OLD STUFF -- TAX AND SPEND BUSINESS AS USUAL.

STILL GOING UP...UP...UP!

<u>FEBRUARY 17TH -- 'STATE OF THE UNION'</u>		<u>APRIL 7TH -- BUDGET</u>	
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● 5-YEAR NET TAXES:	\$280 BILLION	→	\$296 BILLION.	↑
● 5-YEAR USER FEES:	\$18 BILLION	→	\$20 BILLION.	↑
● 1998 DEFICITS:	\$241 BILLION.	→	\$250 BILLION.	↑

DRAFT

RELEASE OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S FY 1994 BUDGET

THIS BUDGET PLAN IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM ANYTHING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HEARD DURING THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

- O IT CALLS FOR A RECORD TAX INCREASE, MORE GOVERNMENT SPENDING, AND MORE GOVERNMENT MANDATES.
- O IT DOES NOT SOLVE THE DEFICIT PROBLEM. IT WILL NOT KEEP THE ECONOMY MOVING. AND IT WILL NOT CREATE JOBS.

REPUBLICANS SUPPORT CHANGE -- CONSTRUCTIVE, POSITIVE CHANGE.

- O CHANGE THAT KEEPS THE ECONOMY MOVING. CHANGE THAT CREATES JOBS. CHANGE THAT CUTS SPENDING AND REDUCES THE DEFICIT. THIRTY-THREE REPUBLICAN SENATORS AND ONE SENATE DEMOCRAT JOINED ME IN OFFERING A PLAN TO DO JUST THAT. IT WOULD HAVE CUT THE DEFICIT BY \$460 BILLION OVER 5 YEARS WITHOUT RAISING TAXES, BUT FIFTY-FIVE SENATE DEMOCRATS VOTED TO DEFEAT OUR VERSION OF REAL CHANGE.
- O DESPITE THE SLICK-PACKAGING AND THE GOOD-SOUNDING RHETORIC, THE PRESIDENT'S RECIPE FOR DEFICIT REDUCTION IS A MIXTURE OF TAX-AND-SPEND AND BUSINESS-AS-USUAL.

THE INFORMATION GAP

- O MOST AMERICANS WANT AN END TO GRIDLOCK IN WASHINGTON. THEY WANT US TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT A CHANCE.
- O THE PRESIDENT AND THE DEMOCRAT CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP APPLAUD THEMSELVES FOR GETTING A BUDGET RESOLUTION PASSED IN RECORD TIME. BUT, HERE ARE THE FACTS:
 - WE RECEIVED THE DETAILS -- THE LEGALLY REQUIRED DETAILS -- OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN TWO HOURS AGO, BUT WE WERE FORCED BY THE DEMOCRAT LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS TO BEGIN VOTING ON THEIR BUDGET PLAN MORE THAN TWO WEEKS AGO.
 - SINCE THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS HAVE ALREADY ADOPTED A BUDGET PLAN. THIS DOCUMENT HAS, IN MANY WAYS, BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.
 - BECAUSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S SUCCESSFUL INFORMATION BLACKOUT, MOST AMERICANS DO NOT KNOW WHAT IS IN THIS PLAN. THEY DO NOT KNOW THAT THIS ECONOMIC BLUEPRINT IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM ANYTHING THEY HEARD DURING THE CAMPAIGN LAST FALL. REPUBLICANS WANT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO KNOW THE FACTS ABOUT THIS PLAN.
- O ONCE THE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LEARN WHAT IS IN THE CLINTON PLAN, I THINK A LOT OF THOSE WHO ARE NOW GIVING THE PRESIDENT THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT ON HIS ECONOMIC PLAN WILL CHANGE THEIR MINDS.

THE FACTS ABOUT THE CLINTON PLAN, AS MODIFIED BY CONGRESSIONAL DEMOCRATS.

- O 77 PERCENT OF THE DEFICIT REDUCTION IN THE PRESIDENT'S \$440 BILLION BUDGET PLAN COMES FROM TAX AND FEE INCREASES. \$273 BILLION COMES FROM NET NEW TAXES AND ANOTHER \$18 BILLION COMES FROM HIGHER USER FEES.
- O PRESIDENT CLINTON IS ASKING AMERICAN TAXPAYERS TO "CONTRIBUTE" \$3.38 IN HIGHER TAXES AND FEES FOR EVERY DOLLAR OF SPENDING HE CUTS.
- O EVENTS IN RUSSIA OVER THE PAST MONTH REMIND US THAT THE WORLD IS STILL A DANGEROUS AND UNCERTAIN PLACE. YET, THE DEMOCRATS WANT TO GUT DEFENSE WITH \$75 BILLION IN ADDITIONAL CUTS. THAT IS \$75 BILLION ABOVE AND BEYOND THE CUTS APPROVED BY PRESIDENT BUSH AND CONGRESS LAST YEAR. UNDER THEIR PLAN, DEFENSE WOULD BE THE ONLY ACCOUNT IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET THAT WOULD ACTUALLY DECLINE OVER THE NEXT 5 YEARS.
- O ONLY THREE PERCENT OF THE SAVINGS IN THE DEMOCRATS' DEFICIT REDUCTION PLAN COMES FROM NON-DEFENSE PROGRAMS. TWO-THIRDS OF THE GOVERNMENT IS BEING ASKED TO "CONTRIBUTE" A GRAND TOTAL OF \$15 BILLION OVER 5 YEARS TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT.

THE CLINTON PLAN -- LIP SERVICE ON THE DEFICIT.

- O DESPITE ALL THE CALLS TO CUT SPENDING FIRST, THE PROPOSED TAX INCREASES WOULD START IMMEDIATELY. ACCORDING TO THE PRESIDENT'S OWN BUDGET, TAXES WILL RISE \$36 BILLION THIS YEAR. THE SPENDING CUTS COME LATER, MUCH LATER. IN FACT, MOST OF THE CUTS WOULD BE DELAYED UNTIL 1997 AND 1998.
- O THE PRESIDENT'S OWN OFFICIAL "INDEPENDENT" BUDGET SCOREKEEPER -- THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE -- CONCLUDES THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN IS -- AND I QUOTE -- NOT SUFFICIENT TO SOLVE THE LONG-RUN [DEFICIT] PROBLEM. ...UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES, THE DEFICIT WOULD DECLINE ONLY THROUGH 1997 AND THEN RESUME ITS RISE. -- END QUOTE.

THE SO-CALLED STIMULUS PLAN.

- O THE DEMOCRATS HAVE COME UP WITH A NEW NAME FOR THEIR \$19.6 BILLION DEFICIT-SPENDING STIMULUS PLAN. THIS WEEK THEY ARE CALLING IT AN "INVESTMENT PLAN" TO "ENSURE THAT THE RECOVERY IS STRONG AND DURABLE."
- O REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS HAVE A FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE. WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT THE DEFICIT. IF THESE INVESTMENTS ARE NEEDED, THEN THE DEMOCRATS SHOULD BE WILLING TO PAY FOR THEM WITH CUTS IN OTHER GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS.

BUDGET TALKING POINTS

TWO VERY DIFFERENT VISIONS OF CHANGE FOR AMERICA

- O THE DEMOCRATS' VISION OF HIGHER TAXES, MORE SPENDING AND MORE GOVERNMENT MANDATES, AND THE REPUBLICAN VISION OF SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH, LESS GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND FEWER HEAVY-HANDED WASHINGTON MANDATES.
- O WE WANT TO WORK WITH THE PRESIDENT TO KEEP THE ECONOMY MOVING, CREATE MILLIONS OF GOOD, HIGH-WAGE, PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS THAT WILL LAST. WE WANT TO HELP THE PRESIDENT ATTACK THE DEFICIT WITH REAL, ENFORCEABLE CONTROLS ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING.
- O DESPITE THE SLICK-PACKAGING AND THE GOOD-SOUNDING RHETORIC, THE PRESIDENT'S RECIPE FOR DEFICIT REDUCTION IS A MIXTURE OF TAX-AND-SPEND AND BUSINESS-AS-USUAL.
- O IT DOES NOT SOLVE THE DEFICIT PROBLEM. IT WILL NOT KEEP THE ECONOMY MOVING. AND IT WILL NOT CREATE JOBS.
- O THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW THAT THERE IS MORE THAN ONE WAY TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT. WE PUT TOGETHER A COMPREHENSIVE ALTERNATIVE THAT HAD BIPARTISAN SUPPORT. IT REDUCED THE DEFICIT BY \$460 BILLION OVER 5 YEARS WITHOUT RAISING TAXES. UNFORTUNATELY, 55 SENATE DEMOCRATS VOTED AGAINST REAL, POSITIVE CHANGE AND DEFEATED OUR AMENDMENT.

THE INFORMATION GAP

- O MOST AMERICANS WANT AN END TO GRIDLOCK IN WASHINGTON. THEY WANT US TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT A CHANCE.
- O BUT, MOST AMERICANS DO NOT KNOW WHAT IS IN THIS PLAN. THEY DO NOT KNOW THAT THIS ECONOMIC BLUEPRINT IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM ANYTHING THEY HEARD DURING THE CAMPAIGN LAST FALL. THE REASON IS SIMPLE: THE DETAILS -- THE LEGALLY REQUIRED DETAILS -- HAVE NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC.
- O THE PRESIDENT IS NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO SUSTAIN THE INFORMATION BLACKOUT FOR LONG.
- O ONCE THE FACTS ARE OUT AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LEARN WHAT IS IN THE CLINTON PLAN, I THINK A LOT OF THOSE WHO ARE NOW GIVING THE PRESIDENT THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT WILL CHANGE THEIR MINDS ABOUT HIS ECONOMIC PLAN.

THE FACTS ABOUT THE CLINTON PLAN

- O 77 PERCENT OF THE DEFICIT REDUCTION IN THE PRESIDENT'S \$440 BILLION BUDGET PLAN COMES FROM TAX AND FEE INCREASES -- \$273 BILLION IN NET NEW TAXES AND \$18 BILLION IN HIGHER USER FEES.

- O PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PLAN ASKS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO "CONTRIBUTE" \$3.38 IN HIGHER TAXES AND FEES FOR EVERY DOLLAR OF SPENDING CUTS.
- O EVENTS IN RUSSIA OVER THE PAST MONTH REMIND US THAT THE WORLD IS STILL A DANGEROUS AND UNCERTAIN PLACE. YET, THE DEMOCRATS WANT TO GUT DEFENSE WITH \$75 BILLION IN ADDITIONAL CUTS. THAT IS \$75 BILLION ABOVE AND BEYOND THE CUTS APPROVED BY PRESIDENT BUSH AND CONGRESS LAST YEAR.
- O ONLY THREE PERCENT OF THE SAVINGS IN THE DEMOCRATS' DEFICIT REDUCTION PLAN COMES FROM NON-DEFENSE PROGRAMS. TWO-THIRDS OF THE GOVERNMENT IS BEING ASKED TO "CONTRIBUTE" A GRAND TOTAL OF \$15 BILLION OVER 5 YEARS TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT.
- O THE MOST RECENT CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE ANALYSIS OF THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN CONCLUDES THAT IT IS -- AND I QUOTE -- NOT SUFFICIENT TO SOLVE THE LONG-RUN [DEFICIT] PROBLEM. BOTH CBO AND THE ADMINISTRATION ESTIMATE THAT, UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES, THE DEFICIT WOULD DECLINE ONLY THROUGH 1997 AND THEN RESUME ITS RISE. -- END QUOTE.

Bob Dole



NEWS

U.S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MARCH 24, 1993

CONTACT: WALT RIKER
(202) 224-5358

REPUBLICAN BUDGET ALTERNATIVE

GOP OFFERS FUNDAMENTAL CHOICE:

WORLD-RECORD SPENDING RESTRAINT VS. WORLD-RECORD TAX INCREASE --
DOLE UNVEILS \$460 BILLION, 5-YEAR DEFICIT REDUCTION PLAN;
REPUBLICAN PLAN WINS BIPARTISAN SUPPORT

I rise today to offer an amendment on behalf of myself, Senator Domenici, Senator Packwood, Senator Shelby, Senator Roth, Senator Gramm, and each of our Republican freshmen -- Senators Bennett, Coverdell, Faircloth, Gregg, and Kempthorne. At last count we had 35 cosponsors on the long-anticipated Republican alternative, and I am pleased to say it has bipartisan support.

There is more than one way to reduce the deficit. You can take the Clinton approach and raise taxes. Or you can take the Republican approach and control government spending. You can choose between the President's world-record tax increase, or our world-record spending restraint. It's that simple.

Fundamental Differences: Taxes vs. Spending Restraint

This amendment highlights the fundamental differences we have with President Clinton's economic program. If adopted, we believe our plan would provide real, permanent deficit reduction for America. In putting this package together, our number one priority has been to lay the groundwork for a sound economic future by controlling government spending, holding the line on taxes, and creating good, private sector jobs that will last.

We do this by asking government, not the American people, to sacrifice. This plan relies on real cuts to reduce the deficit by \$460 billion over 5 years. We take the steps that President Clinton and those who support the president's plan should have taken if they were serious about controlling the deficit.

Eliminate Clinton Spending & Tax Hikes

We eliminate all of the president's new spending -- any spending increases must be paid for with additional spending cuts. We eliminate the president's entire record \$295 billion tax increase. We eliminate \$18 billion in proposed user fees. We accept all of President Clinton's proposed mandatory and discretionary spending cuts except that we add back \$20 billion to defense over 5 years to allow for a more orderly build-down. We add a non-defense discretionary freeze that allows for a \$500 million increase -- or "investment" -- for childhood immunization and the WIC program for FY 1994, and we add a cap on Medicare and Medicaid that would limit the growth of these programs to population, plus inflation, plus an additional 4 percent each year for 4 years, and population, plus inflation plus an additional 2 percent in the 5th year.

Deficit Reduction that Lasts

The differences between our bipartisan proposal and the President's tax-and-spend plan could not be more clear. Our plan would cut the deficit from \$319 billion this year to \$168.4 billion by 1998. Because we are making real cuts, our plan would continue moving the deficit toward balance in the outyears. By contrast, the president's plan as modified by the Senate Democrats reduces the deficit to \$213.5 billion in 1998. Because their plan fails to control federal spending outyear deficits will continue to rise. That's not what the American people are hearing from the White House, and it's not what the American people expect from their government.

I am not going to go through all of the details. There are a number of senators who contributed to this plan who can speak to the details.

But, I would like to make one point.

(more)

Take away all the slick packaging. Forget all the talk about "new Democrats" and "putting people first." And look at the facts.

The Wake-up Call from Russia

Events in Russia over the past week remind us that the world is still a dangerous and uncertain place. Yet, the Democrats under the leadership of President Clinton want to gut defense with \$112 billion in additional cuts. We agree that some cuts are needed. Last year, Congress agreed to reduce spending by \$75 billion over the next five years. But, the president's plan goes too far. We provide for a more orderly build-down.

GOP Cuts \$345 Billion More than Democrats

Only two percent of the savings in their plan come from non-defense government programs. Two-thirds of the government is being asked to "contribute" a grand total of \$7 billion over 5 years to reduce the deficit. That's right, an anemic \$7 billion saved from non-defense programs over 5 years. That's just pocket change for Uncle Sam.

Republicans believe that more cuts are needed. We offer \$352 billion worth of specific savings. \$345 billion more than the Senate Democrats' plan.

Seventy-nine percent of the deficit reduction in the Democrats' plan comes from higher taxes and user fees -- \$295 billion in net new taxes and \$18 billion in higher user fees. Last week on the senate floor, the distinguished Chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Moynihan, described this plan as follows -- and I quote -- "it will be the largest tax increase in the history of public finance in the United States, or anywhere else in the world" -- end quote.

Their plan calls for \$3.86 in new taxes and fees for every dollar of spending cuts. That is Bill Clinton's idea of shared sacrifice. The President and his supporters in the Senate are putting government and taxes first. Our plan puts people and spending restraint first.

Lasting Deficit Reduction without Tax Increases

Our alternative cuts the deficit by \$460 billion over 5 years. Their plan would cut the deficit by \$458 billion over the same period. The difference is that we do it without raising one dime of taxes.

Before the president and the Democrats in Congress force the farmer, the shopkeeper, the nurse, the truck driver, and the senior citizen to reach into their pockets and make a "contribution" to deficit reduction -- before the American people are asked to send more of their hard-earned money to Washington -- we believe that every government program takes the hit it deserves and we are willing to back up our tough talk on the deficit with real cuts.

That is the message the American people have been sending us. Let's answer their call and not betray their confidence in government.

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THE DOLE/BOHNER ALTERNATIVE:

Because Government, Not People, Should Be the First To Sacrifice

* Numbers are based on CBO Capped Baseline

Drop All Proposed Spending Add-Ons: - \$124 Billion

- ✓ Drop Investment
- ✓ Drop Stimulus
- ✓ Permit new spending if paid for by added spending cuts

Eliminate Proposed Taxes: - \$295 Billion

- ✓ Drop all individual income taxes
- ✓ Drop President Clinton's proposed new energy tax
- ✓ Drop all businesses income taxes
- ✓ Eliminate Social Security tax increase

Eliminate All Proposed User Fees: - \$18 Billion

Accept All Proposed

Mandatory & Discretionary Cuts: - \$241 Billion

- ✓ Accept all Mandatory Savings
- ✓ Accept all Discretionary Savings (Defense and Non-Defense)

Restore \$20 Billion in Defense Budget: + \$20 Billion

- ✓ Specific Details Await President's Budget Submission

Freeze Domestic Discretionary Baseline: - \$92 Billion

- ✓ Freeze FY 1994 Domestic Discretionary BA except for increased funding for child immunization and WIC programs (\$500 million in 1994)
- ✓ Extend Domestic Discretionary Sequester to Enforce Freeze and Savings

Revenues:

- ✓ Pay for R&E and other investment tax incentives

Cap Non-Social Security Mandatory Spending: - \$93.1 Billion

- ✓ Total Non-Social Security Mandatory Savings: \$177 billion over 5 years
- ✓ Cap on Medicare and Medicaid Spending (CPI + Population + 4%)

Debt Savings - \$38 Billion

REAL DEFICIT REDUCTION - \$444.2 BILLION *

Sasser Assumptions on Debt Management \$16.1 Billion

TOTAL DEFICIT REDUCTION - \$460.4 BILLION

Process Reform Proposals:

- ✓ Establish discretionary spending caps for defense and non-defense domestic programs
- ✓ Create fixed deficit targets with enforcement through across the board cuts if targets breached.

* Deficit in 1998 would drop to \$168.4 billion and continue falling into the next century.

April 23, 1993

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: NINA OVIEDO *Nina*
SUBJECT: TAX STAFF MEETING -- RECONCILIATION

Lindy and I met with the GOP Finance Committee tax staff Friday morning. Lindy has outlined the discussion in a memo to Sheila and I (attached). Senator Packwood may approach you about this during the retreat.

April 23, 1993

MEMO

FROM: LINDY PAULL Work: (202) 224-4641
 Home: (703) 765-6359

TO: SHEILA BURKE AND NINA OVIEDO

COPY TO: ED MIHALSKI

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH REPUBLICAN TAX LAs

This morning I met with the Finance Committee GOP tax LAs to begin strategy sessions for the tax portion of the budget reconciliation mark-up. It was readily apparent that very little thought has been given to any strategy, and a lot of work needs to be done.

Most LAs think that their bosses believe the Clinton budget plan should be killed because of the tax increases. Although most of our members are for controlling spending, the LAs expressed alot of concern about the political downside of substituting spending cuts in the Finance Committee's entitlement programs for some of Clinton's tax increases. In addition, I sensed that our members may not be very committed to deficit reduction.

Several members think we should make the Democrats vote on the tough issues, such as the new BTU tax and the Social Security tax increase, and then vote against the bill.

A few LAs say their bosses are very concerned about trying to help improve the Clinton plan. They don't want any appearance of being in favor of tax increases.

Two of our members (Sen. Danforth and Chafee) want to work something out. They do not rule out tax increases, although they feel Clinton's plan relies too much on this. Sen. Danforth wants an alternative (I believe he has been working with Sen. Boren on something).

The big question in my mind is whether Republicans want to pursue the same strategy for reconciliation as they did for the budget resolution---i.e., substituting spending cuts for the tax increases. Perhaps the GOP Finance spending LAs---or a small group of tax, spending and budget staff---need to begin discussing this.

I know June 18th seems like its a long way away, but it really isn't. We need to start thinking creatively NOW!!!!

1 of 1

April 30, 1993

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: NINA OVIEDO
SUBJECT: BOREN BTU FIX

Senator Boren was joined by Congressmen Brewster (OK), Jefferson (LA) and Andrews (TX) in a downtown interest group meeting, Thursday, April 29, and announced a proposal to change the collection point of the Btu. The proposal modifies the provision by moving the tax on natural gas and electricity to the retail level. It moves the point of collection for the petroleum tax from the refinery gate to the terminal rack. These are fixes that the industries are pushing.

Boren is hopeful that the Administration will accept the change so that an amendment is not necessary. However, Bentsen previously said there would be no further changes by the Administration. Boren's other alternative is to have Moynihan include the modification in the Chairman's mark. According to Chuck Sanders, API, this proposal assures that Breaux and Boren won't help Republicans.

I am assured that API, NAM, IPAA and our other "Kill the Btu" supporters will continue their efforts. The API/NAM coalition "Affordable Energy Alliance" has signed up over 500 members, their goal is 1,000. Apparently they intend to raise over \$1 million for grass roots efforts.

If asked, you may want to say this is nothing but a technical correction that didn't go far enough.

April 30, 1993

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: NINA OVIEDO
SUBJECT: BTU ENERGY TAX (updated 4/2/93)

The following summarizes current law, the President's proposal, and some statistics from API.

CURRENT LAW

Current law does not impose a broad based energy tax. Excise taxes are imposed on motor fuels used for highway transportation, special motor fuels used in motor boats, diesel fuels used in trains and aviation fuel used in noncommercial aviation. Excise taxes also are imposed on coal from domestic mines and on crude oil received at domestic refineries and petroleum products entered into the U.S. Except for the motor fuels tax, these excise taxes are relatively minor revenue items.

For the most part, the revenues are deposited in various trust funds to finance specific Federal public works, environmental, or benefit programs. The motor fuels tax also has a deficit reduction portion (2.5 cents per gallon) that is not dedicated, but is retained in the General Fund.

PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL

Rates. The President's proposal imposes an excise tax on fossil fuels (coal, oil, natural gas) at a basic rate of \$.257 per million Btus. It also includes a supplemental tax on oil -- .342 per million Btus.

Fuels Covered. The tax would also be imposed on hydro and nuclear generated electricity and on imported electricity. Additionally, the tax would be imposed on imported taxable products at a rate equal to the average tax imposed equivalent domestic products. All tax amounts would be indexed for inflation after 1997.

Exemptions. Nonconventional fuels (solar, geothermal, biomass and wind), alcohol fuels (ethanol and methanol), exported taxable products and non-fuel uses of fossil and alcohol fuels, including coke and feedstocks, would be exempt. Home heating oil will be exempt from the supplemental tax on oil.

Collection Points. The collection point for the tax would be the refinery "tailgate" for oil, the "citygate" for natural gas (i.e., the local distribution company), the minemouth for coal, the utility for hydro and nuclear generated electricity and the importation point for imported electricity and imported taxable products. Exemptions and credits would be provided for nonfuel use and exports.

Effective Date. The Btu tax is phased-in. Beginning July 1, 1994 -- one-third the rate specified. Beginning July 1, 1995 -- two-thirds the rate; and the full rates beginning July 1, 1996.

REPORTS FROM API

The following are some key points noted by API.

- When fully phased-in, the BTU tax would reduce the nation's gross domestic product by some \$35 billion a year and cost American some 700,000 jobs.
- The Administration has estimated that the tax will raise \$22 billion a year when fully phased-in on July 1, 1996. API says that the estimates are far too low. Americans use 6.2 billion barrels of oil annually -- API estimates that oil alone would raise \$21.5 billion.
- U.S. industries and workers would become less competitive, especially energy-intensive industries such as steel, aluminum, lumber and agriculture.
- The differences that consumers and industries of different regions would pay are considerable. The average impact of the BTU tax ranges from \$652 a year for a four-person household in the Southwest to \$390 a year for a Mid-Atlantic family.

KEY POINTS OF MRS. CLINTON'S REMARKS

1. New system will be run at state level under Federal requirements -- serious implications for insurers who use agents to sell insurance. Virtually all insurance premiums will flow through state agencies.
2. Global budgets allocated to states on a per capita basis -- with back-up price controls. The price controls may be voluntary with backup legislative authority.
3. Mandate will be placed on all employers and employees to pay for health insurance -- through payroll tax.
4. Their estimated gross cost of "changes" to the system -- \$100 billion. They insist these "costs" will be "saved" by the system overall.
5. Uncertain what they will do to medicare, the veterans health system or the Federal employees, or long-term care.
6. Malpractice reform and anti-trust relief will be a part of their plan "in some form".
7. Their program appears to be getting frightenly close to a government controlled single payor system. Who is in and who's out in state "alliances" will make the difference. The larger the group of employers who are required to go through the state for coverage the closer we get to single payer. They may include employers with as many as 7,000 employees. The ability of employers to self insure would appear to be disappearing.
8. Financing: No VAT taxes or general revenues. They will likely use payroll taxes, sin taxes, possible meanstesting of medicare. Is this sufficient to pay for the plan? TAX CAPS, o.k., but not for revenue raising.
9. Last week, Paul Elwood (the father of managed competition) said the Clinton approach was infected with a virus that subverted market forces in a variety of ways and places. Purchasing co-ops become state health authorities. Market prices become price controls. State flexibility becomes states following federal mandates and state government control, etc.

April 29, 1993

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS FOR MRS. CLINTON

1. You told us early on that it was your intention to try to develop a bipartisan proposal, obviously that has not been the case to date as all that has occurred could only be described as briefings on your thoughts rather than in depth consultation. Do you now intend to put forward the details of your proposal rather than simply the concepts so we might actually have the opportunity to comment?
2. What is currently under consideration as to the sources of financing for your program?
3. We've heard various rumors as to your intentions regarding long term care. Do you intend to include long term care benefits in the package? How quickly and at what cost?
4. I know the idea of a cap on the tax subsidy for health insurance has been discussed. Do you intend to propose such a cap which could help alter people's behavior in selecting cost-effective health insurance. If not how can you justify taxing other industries or parts of the economy which have little or no effect on how we consume health care.
5. Do you intend to propose altering the Medicare program with respect to benefits or eligibility? If so, what will you suggest and how quickly will it be implemented?
6. Specifically, how will you integrate the Veteran's program and it's capital assets?
7. Specifically, how will you deal with the Indian health services program? Will you negotiate separately with each tribe? Will the standard benefit package apply to them?
8. Specifically, how will federal employees and DoD employees be treated? Will they have their own Alliance? Will the standard benefit package apply to them? How will you incorporate existing DoD health infrastructure?
9. What percentage of the overall health care market do you propose to include in the new health alliance purchasing groups? As I understand it, if you include employers of 1,000 or fewer you are impacting 90 percent or more of the industry?
10. Is it your intention to mandate that all employers not only offer insurance but also finance it for their employees? What is the estimated average cost per employee for your proposed benefits package?

11. What specific subsidies will you offer to small business?
How long will they be continued once the program is in place?
12. Under your proposal what percentage of the private health insurance industry do you expect to be put out of business?
13. What is your intention with respect to the treatment of union sponsored plans and large employer self-insured plans? Do you intend to require them to comply with your national benefits package or will they be permitted to retain their current plans?
14. Will you allow multiple competing health alliances (APC) within a geographic area? If so, how will you deal with risk adjustments between them? Will you require two sets of risk adjustments -- one at the Alliance level and another at the individual plan level. Will individuals choose between Alliances or do employers make that decision on behalf of its employees?
15. Do you have any confidence in our ability to make risk adjustments?
16. We have heard rumors that the purchasing cooperatives will be required to offer a fee-for-service choice -- will the same requirement apply to large insurers and how will you enforce that requirement? Will other plans be forced to subsidize a fee for service plan regardless of how expensive it is?
17. We understand you are considering allowing existing purchasing groups to continue to operate. If so, would you prohibit them from underwriting -- in other words, require them to offer coverage to any individual that wants to join that group to purchase insurance?
18. How will the Alliance's operating expenses be financed? Will there be a limit on the percentage of premium costs that can be used for operating costs?
19. Are you going to allow interstate Alliances? Is the Federal government going to review and/or certify these arrangements? How do you intend to control geographic risk selection in those areas where poor risk individuals reside in one state and good risk individuals reside in another, such as Maryland and the District of Columbia?
20. How will large multi-state employers be counted for the purposes of determining whether or not they are allowed in the purchasing cooperative -- as each subsidiary in its region's alliance or as part of the larger company?

21. How would you address the problem of individuals who reside in multiple states? For example, how would a Rhode Islander that resides in Florida in the winter get services if either state opts out of the system? Are we going to see something similar to what is beginning to happen in Canada with American insurance companies offering supplemental insurance to those who winter in the U.S. and can afford such plans?
22. Assuming that insurance plans have to meet basic insurance market reforms such as guarantee renewal, guarantee issue, non-discrimination on the basis of health status and community rating, during the transition period before universal access is achieved, would you allow an exception to community rating to avoid the disruption of the insurance market. For example, in the State of New York, 80 percent of those purchasing health insurance saw a large increase in their insurance premiums, when reforms were instituted.
23. How fast do you think the data collection you discuss can occur? Who told you it could happen that quickly?
24. Do you plan to include amount, scope and duration limitations in your standard plan? If so, are you concerned that it will freeze current reimbursement incentives in place, rather than encouraging the development of appropriate, cost efficient services?
25. Would you allow individuals who are not employed but are above any Federal subsidy level to deduct the cost of health insurance premiums?
26. Currently, individuals whose health care expenses exceed 7.5 percent of their adjusted gross income are allowed to deduct those costs. First, would you allow an individual to deduct the amount of their premium regardless of their overall health care expenses? Secondly, would they be able to deduct it a second time if their total health care expenses exceed 7.5 percent of their adjusted gross income.
27. Will you allow industries to self insure? Assuming you will, and assuming that those plans will have to meet certain standards such as the uniform benefit package, complying with quality standards, reporting and data collection requirements, who will certify the local, state or Federal government.
28. I understand that you are going to allow states to opt out of the system. Would you grandfather states with existing programs such as Hawaii or Oregon or would they have to meet new minimum Federal criteria? If so, what are those criteria and who will review the state?

29. Would providers following approved practice guidelines have a presumptive defense against malpractice claims?
30. How will you address the issue of retirees in large businesses? Currently, the employer plan is the first payer, Medicare is the secondary payer.
31. If Medicaid beneficiaries (and potentially Medicare) are included in the purchasing cooperative some believe that there will be some increase in premiums for all members. If large businesses are excluded from the purchasing cooperative, will you require some sort of contribution to help subsidize the cost to insurers for these individuals?
32. How will managed competition work if Medicare is not included -- i.e. providers will have less incentive to join networks if they know a fee-for-service system in Medicare continues to exist.
33. Are you going to encourage Medicare beneficiaries to utilize managed care providers? If so, will they go through the accountable health plans or continue in the existing TEFRA risk contracts? How would Medicare benefits have to be changed? If you aren't using the existing Medicare risk contract how would they be phased out without disrupting current enrollees?
34. How will you fix prices in the short term when it is clear that we have little or no data on private sector outpatient services?
35. Who will run the health alliances?

HEALTH CARE

The Clinton Administration is expected to go public with at least the outlines of their plan by about mid-May. We believe it will include employer mandates and some fairly specific budget controls. At the moment, explicit price controls (ala Nixon) unlikely.

Senator Chafee has indicated a strong desire to introduce a Republican proposal prior to release of the Democrat plan. There is general support for such action but we have not yet agreed upon the real details of the plan. There are those among us who would like to simply create some form of medical IRA and turn all the responsibility over to the individual -- others find this solution simplistic and unrealistic. We are working to bring folks closer together. Clearly there is no scenario under which our people support employer mandates or price controls.

Your six principles for reform follow:

1. PROTECT QUALITY -- There is a reason our health system is the envy of the world -- why people from every country in the world send their young people here to be trained, to do research; why they flock here for care -- the reason is quality. Thanks to our search for quality and excellence, we have defeated plagues, made spare parts for nearly every body organ, and can save the life of the smallest, frailest newborn. In our wish to lower costs and better manage our resources, let's not throw away our medical miracles.
2. PRESERVE CHOICE -- Consumers, not the government, should be the ones to make choices about where they get their care and from whom. At the heart of our free market system, is our ability to choose. In health care, as in no other industry, that choice is critical to maintaining quality health care for you and your family. As soon as Washington starts calling the shots on health care, we're all in deep trouble.
3. PRESERVE JOBS -- We all argue that we have to increase the number of people in the country who have access to health care and health insurance. What we don't want to do is put them out of work by mandating and taxing small business out of business. Making insurance affordable and available, creating jobs, keeping people at work and keeping our economy growing is the best prescription for better health care benefits.
4. NO GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED CARE -- Its a shame that some critics have to be reminded, but we are not Sweden or Germany or even Canada -- and we don't want to be. Yes, we've got real problems. But they require American solutions. Managed competition -- as it has been described to me -- builds on the private sector and helps people make

better choices about their families and what they need. The government should be there to help those who need it and have no other resources -- it's not there to control our lives. Americans don't want socialism but it seems this Administration is trying mightily to institute it whenever it can.

5. CONTROL COSTS NOT CARE -- Global budgets and price controls translate into reduced quality and rationed care. Controls on the prices of health care only postpones the necessary confrontation with the underlying demand that have produced their increase. Unfortunately, controls are inevitably targeted at the symptoms not the causes. Let's create an environment to reduce costs and utilization through a better, more appropriate use of services. Let's put responsibility on providers, employers and employees to use care wisely.
6. REAL TORT REFORM -- With no relief in sight from the constant threat of costly litigation, we have to find a way to finally reform the system. In no other industrialized country do health care providers confront the day-to-day threat of litigation. It's no wonder physicians find it hard to say no when a patient demands another test, or the physician simply orders another test to avoid questions later. That's no way to do business.

priority to district and local offices, and reduce headquarters and regional staff.

Credit management.—Prior to the Credit Reform Act of 1990, SBA simply sought to ensure that its revolving fund had sufficient balances to allow additional business loan commitments to be made.

Credit reform required all Federal credit programs, including those of the Small Business Administration, to be put on budget and required appropriations for subsidies. As a result, credit programs were required to compete for budgetary resources in the same manner as any other program. Further, budget authority and outlays had to be scored against discretionary spending limits in various appropriation bills. Most importantly, agencies with credit programs were required to change how they manage credit. Implicitly, this required, as with any appropriated program, that the Office of Management and Budget and credit program agencies would apportion funds to ensure that programs were maintained throughout any given fiscal year.

Based on fiscal year 1992 experience, SBA has continued to operate as though the Credit Reform Act had never occurred. The agency continued to issue additional loan guarantees without attention to its apportionment of budgetary resources. It did not provide guidance to the field to limit business loan approvals. Instead, it operated as though credit were an entitlement program. By May, SBA informed Congress that it had depleted its appropriations and would soon be out of funds and would halt all loan processing activity.

SBA's desire to meet demand for credit is noble. But, in a constrained Federal budget, it is a practice that the taxpayers and this Committee cannot afford. Because SBA did not manage its credit appropriations to last throughout the fiscal year, Congress found itself obligated to appropriate additional resources for the business loan program in June 1992. The result was that fiscal year 1993 prior-year outlays increased, since much of the outlays occur in that fiscal year. That impact is now being felt throughout the domestic discretionary programs in this bill because there are \$45,000,000 fewer outlays available to meet the program requirements of not only SBA, but also the Departments of Commerce and Justice and other independent agencies.

The Committee requests the Small Business Administration to work with the Office of Management and Budget to develop a realistic and meaningful method of apportioning (i.e., rationing) appropriated funds so business credit programs can operate smoothly throughout fiscal year 1993. The Committee requests that copies of apportionments and reapportionments be sent to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees as they are approved by the Office of Management and Budget.

OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

Appropriations, 1992	\$10,000,000
Budget estimate, 1993	13,464,000
Committee recommendation	10,000,000

The Committee recommends an appropriation of \$10,000,000 for

a freeze at fiscal year 1992 levels and is \$3,464,000 below the budget request.

BUSINESS LOANS PROGRAM ACCOUNT

Appropriations, 1992	¹ \$377,359,000
Budget estimate, 1993	192,830,000
Committee recommendation	330,046,000

¹Excludes one-time emergency supplemental appropriations made in H.R. 5132, the disaster assistance supplemental in June 1992.

The Committee recommends an appropriation of \$330,046,000 for credit subsidies and administrative costs in the "Business loans program" account. This amount is \$137,216,000 above the budget request and \$47,313,000 below the level appropriated in the fiscal year 1992 Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary and Related Agencies appropriations bill. The Congress provided a one-time emergency appropriation of \$81,325,000 in H.R. 5132, the direct emergency appropriations bill, following the Los Angeles riots. When taking that one-time funding into consideration, the Committee recommendation is \$128,638,000 below enacted levels.

The recommended level includes \$98,145,000 for administrative costs and \$231,901,000 for credit subsidies to support direct loans, microloans, and guaranteed loan programs.

The "Business loans program" account is required under the Credit Reform Act of 1990 which requires appropriations for the subsidy value of loan guarantees and direct loans.

Direct loans.—The recommendation supports \$22,400,000 in subsidy appropriations which provide for \$96,386,000 in direct loans. This includes \$5,000,000 to subsidize \$29,464,000 for the successful microloan program.

The following table compares the budget request and recommendation for direct loans:

SBA DIRECT LOANS

[BA in thousands, assumes OMB subsidy estimates]

	Fiscal year 1993 budget request		Fiscal year 1993 Committee recommendation	
	Subsidy BA	Credit level	Subsidy BA	Credit level
Handicapped			\$3,000	\$10,905
Veterans			3,000	16,042
Economic opportunity			3,000	16,077
8(a) loans	\$5,000	\$26,795	900	4,813
MESBIC			7,500	19,084
Microloans			5,000	29,465
Total	5,000	26,795	22,400	96,386

Guaranteed loans.—The recommendation supports at least \$4,119,576,000 in guaranteed loan programs according to the Congressional Budget Office estimates, and \$3,699,413,000 as estimated by the Office of Management and Budget. The Committee also assumes that approximately \$400,000,000 in section 7(a) guaranteed loans will be available as carryover from the fiscal year 1992 emergency supplemental appropriations bill. Finally,

TALKING POINTS ON THE CLINTON SPENDING STIMULUS

I. THIS IS NOT AN EMERGENCY!!

- o Under current law, we have caps on discretionary spending programs through the end of this year. Because the President's proposal increases spending above those legally capped levels, he decided to designate them as an "emergency" to avoid triggering a sequester. The problem with so-called "emergency" legislation is that it adds to our record deficit.
- o Providing aid to the victims of Hurricane Andrew last year was a legitimate "emergency". Providing money for the D.C. interest payment or Community Development Block Grants is not. The only thing in this bill that we think is a legitimate emergency is money for extended unemployment benefits. The rest of these spending increases should be paid for with cuts in other programs.
- o Overlooked in the debate -- or hidden from the public -- is the simple fact that we have approved at least \$100 billion this year for programs identified as needing further increases in this "emergency" supplemental. Taken together spending on these programs has already increased by roughly \$5 billion over last year.

II. THIS IS NOT A JOBS BILL!!

- o Republicans want to keep the economy moving and we want to help the President create jobs, but there are a number of provisions in this so-called stimulus that do not create jobs.
- o On Monday, President Clinton criticized Republicans for blocking increased funding for childhood immunizations. There is a \$300 million increase in his bill. But, increased funding for immunizations does not create jobs.
- o Republicans support an increase in spending for childhood immunizations, in the Women Infants and Children nutrition program, for highways, and other areas. But, these increases should be paid for with cuts in other programs.
- o Provisions like Pell grant funding (\$2.4 million) and the D.C. Debt payment (\$28.2 million) do not create any jobs. They should be handled in the regular appropriations process.

III. SOME OF THESE PROPOSED INCREASES ARE WASTEFUL.

- o According to the Administration's own estimates, over \$60 billion that has already been approved by Congress will not be spent this fiscal year. In other words, the government

will have over \$60 billion left over in non-defense accounts at the end of the current fiscal year.

- o The President's "emergency" supplemental would provide nearly \$100 million for the Department of the Interior to operate Indian programs. But, that program alone will have unspent and uncommitted monies totaling over \$200 million by the end of the year!
- o The President's "emergency" supplemental would provide about \$282 million for water and waste disposal grants. But, the Administration's own numbers tell us that the EPA will have nearly \$554 million in "water infrastructure" funds left over at the end of this year! Rather than add to the deficit, why not transfer money to the higher priority program.

Unobligated Balances in Selected Programs*

<u>Program</u>	<u>Percent Unobligated</u>	<u>Unobligated Balance</u>
WIC	67	\$1,930 Million
Immunization	76	260 Million
Head Start (summer)	79	2,889 Million
Summer Youth Jobs	95	652 Million
CDBG	98	3,931 Million
Highways	86	13,170 Million

* Numbers reflect obligations through December 1992.

1st Qtr. OBLIGATIONS, FY 1993
ACCOUNTS AFFECTED BY STIMULUS PROPOSALS
(in millions of dollars)

FUNCTION	SELECTED STIMULUS PROPOSALS	ENACTED	ACTUAL	OBLIGATIONS
		FY 1993	OBLIGATIONS	as PERCENT
		BA 1/	TO DATE	of BA
INFRASTRUCTURE				
<u>Defense-Civil</u>				
300	Army Corps of Engineers.....	3,667	728	20%
<u>Transportation</u>				
400	Airport Improvement program (obligation limitation).....	1,800	98	5%
400	Federal-aid highway program (obligation limitation).....	15,327	2,157	14%
400	AMTRAK Capital.....	496	180	36%
400	Mass transit (including obligation limitation).....	3,799	480	13%
<u>Veterans Affairs</u>				
700	Veterans Affairs: Fund maintenance backlog.....	14,865	3,630	24%
SUBTOTAL, INFRASTRUCTURE.....		39,954	7,272	18%

SUMMER OF OPPORTUNITY

<u>Agriculture</u>				
600	Food & Nutrition Service:			
	Women, Infants, & Children (WIC) supplemental feeding prgm.	2,860	930	33%
350	The Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP).....	165	131	79%
<u>Education</u>				
500	Pell Grant unfunded shortfalls:			
	Fund current law for 1993-94 school year without borrowing			
	from 1994 funds (\$653M) and,			
	Fund shortfall caused in prior years without borrowing			
	from 1994 funds (\$1,371M).....	7,549	2,261	30%
500	Chapter 1: 2/			
	Summer 1993 pre-school & school programs ((\$500M), and			
	Census supplemental (\$235M)	6,709	18	0%

1st Qtr. OBLIGATIONS, FY 1993
ACCOUNTS AFFECTED BY STIMULUS PROPOSALS
(in millions of dollars)

FUNCTION	SELECTED STIMULUS PROPOSALS	ENACTED	ACTUAL	OBLIGATIONS
		FY 1993	OBLIGATIONS	as PERCENT
		BA 1/	TO DATE	of BA
<u>Health and Human Services</u>				
500	Head Start:			
500	Childcare feeding (Agriculture)	2,860	1,867	65%
500	Head Start summer program	3,659	770	21%
550	Immunization.....	341	81	24%
550	AIDS: Ryan White Act 3/.....	2,584	558	22%
<u>Interior</u>				
500	BIA: Enhanced school operations, Operation of Indian Pgms.....	1,342	357	27%
<u>Labor</u>				
500	Summer youth employment 2/ 4/.....	683	31	5%
500	Community service employment for older Americans.....	390	—	—
600	Worker profiling 5/.....	N/A	N/A	N/A
600	Extend unemployment compensation.....	33,476	9,556	29%
<u>Other Agencies</u>				
990	National Service program 5/.....	N/A	N/A	N/A
750	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.....	222	49	22%
370	SBA: 7(a) loan guarantee program			
	Loan subsidy.....	178	64	36%
SUBTOTAL, SUMMER OF OPPORTUNITY.....		63,018	16,674	26%

TECHNOLOGY INVESTMENTS

<u>Commerce</u>				
370	National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST):			
	Advanced technology program.....	86	2	3%
	Networking and computer applications.....	194	41	21%
300	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA):			
	equipment acquisition 6/.....	1,583	439	28%
370	National Telecommunications & Information Admin. (NTIA):			
	"Information Highways".....	20	0	2%

1st Qtr. OBLIGATIONS, FY 1993
ACCOUNTS AFFECTED BY STIMULUS PROPOSALS
(in millions of dollars)

FUNCTION	SELECTED STIMULUS PROPOSALS	ENACTED	ACTUAL	OBLIGATIONS
		FY 1993 BA 1/	OBLIGATIONS TO DATE	as PERCENT of BA
<u>Health and Human Services</u>				
650	Social Security Admin.: Disability Insurance (DI) processing 7/..	N/A	N/A	ERR
550	National Institutes of Health: Networking and computer applications 8/.....	104	29	28%
<u>Treasury</u>				
800	Treasury: Accelerate tax system modernization.....	1,480	289	19%
<u>Other agencies</u>				
250	NASA: Networking and computer applic., R & D account total...	7,089	2,279	32%
250	National Science Foundation (NSF): Research and development (\$188M), and Networking and computer applications (\$19M).....	2,020	321	16%
SUBTOTAL, TECHNOLOGY INVESTMENTS.....		12,577	3,401	27%

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING INITIATIVE

370	Economic Development Administration.....	206	41	20%
370	Minority Business and Development Administration.....	38	1	2%
<u>Housing & Urban Development</u>				
450	Community development block grants.....	4,025	94	2%
600	Supportive housing program.....	150	—	—
<u>Other Agencies</u>				
800	District of Columbia.....	688	698	101%
SUBTOTAL, URBAN DEVELOPMENT.....		5,107	834	16%

1st Qtr. OBLIGATIONS, FY 1993
ACCOUNTS AFFECTED BY STIMULUS PROPOSALS
(in millions of dollars)

FUNCTION	SELECTED STIMULUS PROPOSALS	ENACTED	ACTUAL	OBLIGATIONS
		FY 1993	OBLIGATIONS	as PERCENT
		BA 1/	TO DATE	of BA
RURAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE				
<u>Agriculture</u>				
300	Soil Conservation Service: Watershed & conservation.....	228	47	20%
350	Agricultural Research Service: Enhanced facility maintenance....	661	4	1%
300	Enhanced natural resources protection and environmental infrastructure (Forest Service).....	1,307	398	30%
370	FmHA Low-Income Housing Repair Loans & Grants and,			
370	FmHA Single Family Housing Guaranteed Loans: Loan subsidy BA plus Grant BA for FmHA accounts.....	1,373	109	8%
550	Food Safety and Inspection Service: Additional inspectors.....	444	136	31%
450	Rural Development Admin.: Water and waste loans and grants Loan subsidy plus Grant BA.....	404	93	23%
<u>Interior</u>				
450	Economic development on Indian reservations (Not including funding/obligations for Operations of Indian Programs account included above)			
	Loan subsidy.....	10	4	41%
	Road maintenance and facility repair.....	150	14	10%
SUBTOTAL, RURAL DEVELOPMENT.....		4,576	805	18%

ENVIRONMENT/ENERGY

Energy

250	National laboratories (CRADAs).....	3,016	2,030	67%
270	Increase weatherization grants (\$47M), and			
270	Building and industrial conservation (\$19M), and			
270	Vehicle energy conversion (\$28M).....	564	99	18%

1st Qtr. OBLIGATIONS, FY 1993
ACCOUNTS AFFECTED BY STIMULUS PROPOSALS
(in millions of dollars)

FUNCTION	SELECTED STIMULUS PROPOSALS	ENACTED	ACTUAL	OBLIGATIONS
		FY 1993	OBLIGATIONS	as PERCENT
		BA 1/	TO DATE	of BA
<u>Interior</u>				
300	Enhanced natural resource protection and environmental infrastructure (Nat'l Park Service and Interior bureaus).....	1,412	513	36%
300	National Park Service: Historic preservation repair and maintenance.....	37	8	22%
<u>Other Agencies</u>				
300	Environmental Protection Agency Watershed Resource Restoration Grants (\$47M), and Green programs (\$23M), and Wastewater State revolving fund (\$845M).....	1,319	61	5%
<u>Crosscutting Option</u>				
990	Federal buildings energy efficiency..... Includes DoD and GSA portions. DOE and VA accounts are included above.	1,710	842	49%
SUBTOTAL, ENVIRONMENT/ENERGY.....		8,058	3,553	44%
<u>TOTALS, ALL CATEGORIES</u>				
SUBTOTAL, SPENDING.....		133,290	32,540	24%
LESS FORWARD FUNDED PROGRAMS.....		-7,392	-49	
TOTAL, ALL CATEGORIES.....		125,898	32,490	26%

Notes:

N/A = not available or not applicable.

1/ Enacted levels represent regular FY 1993 Appropriations for the entire account total unless otherwise noted. BA levels in such cases are lower than totals of affected accounts.

2/ These programs are forward funded. Funds provided in the Current Fiscal year are not normally used until the summer of the next fiscal year.

3/ Amount in FY 1993 actually devoted to purposes similar to stimulus proposal is \$348 million.

4/ BA amount is programmatic, not account total. Obligation data is for the whole account.

5/ Stimulus proposals represent new programs -- no analogous funding in FY 1993.

6/ Amount in FY 1993 actually devoted to purposes similar to stimulus proposal is \$87 million.

7/ BA for the portion of the accounts devoted to Social Security claims processing is \$1,896 million. Obligational data for that portion is not yet available.

8/ Amounts shown are BA and obligation data for the portion of the account devoted to National Library of Medicine. Actual amount in FY 1993 devoted to purposes similar to stimulus proposal is \$4 million.

White House stimulus

IRS funds really for Clinton team

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton included a little something for the White House in his controversial economic stimulus bill — \$1.4 million to be transferred from an Internal Revenue Service project as soon as Congress funds it, The Washington Times learned yesterday.

Clinton administration spokesmen would not confirm the intention to divert stimulus funds, but analysis of proposed transfers to three White House accounts from six other accounts showed partial funding from the \$16.3 billion stimulus bill.

The money is part of an \$11.9 million transfusion from law enforcement and tax-collection accounts for additional White House salaries and equipment, divided among the president's office, the vice president's office and the White House Office of Administration. A portion of the transfers was first reported Saturday by The Washington Times.

Administration budget spokesman Barry Toiv denied that any money being shifted to the White House comes from the stimulus program or a lessening of law enforcement.

"That money is coming out of rent, rental of facilities they've decided they're not going to need this year. There is no impact on law enforcement," insisted Mr. Toiv, a spokesman for the Office of Management and Budget, who said he was passing on the response from a specialist.

Yesterday, during the annual Easter Egg Roll on the White House lawn, the president focused on a \$300 million provision to vaccinate children at government expense, even if their parents can afford care.

"You can look out there at those

see BUDGET, page A10

BUDGET

From page A1

kids; they are the hostages of the Senate filibuster on the program," Mr. Clinton said, adding in a partial sentence, "All this hot-air rhetoric about how this money is being wasted and that money is being wasted..."

Aside from extending unemployment benefits, immunization is one of the few programs on which Democrats and Republicans might agree, and Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole stressed that \$137 million remains unspent for vaccinations.

"It looks like the president has egg on his face," Mr. Dole said in a statement released by his office.

Detailed tables in the budget appropriations bill show the money being transferred from IRS accounts, including the \$1.4 million from an IRS appropriation proposed in the Feb. 22 stimulus package. The other \$4.8 million comes from the Office of National Drug Control Policy, the Space Council and the Critical Material Council being shut down by Mr. Clinton, who told Congress that would save money.

Rep. Ernest J. Istook, a GOP member of the House Appropriations Committee who sharply questioned White House officials at a recent hearing, said in an interview that the complicated transactions appear intended to blur the truth.

"If you're trying to make the public think you're doing one thing when

you're doing another, you don't want to get the trail behind," said Mr. Istook. The Oklahoma Republican said there is "a mismatch between the administration's public record and what the documents show."

The matter is so sensitive that an IRS spokesman — who yesterday morning said the money was needed to accelerate the expansion of a Tax System Modernization (TSM) program — would not discuss it once he learned what was involved.

"It is not our decision. ... It is inappropriate for us to comment on high-level decisions being made by the White House," IRS spokesman Henry Holmes said after looking into questions about why \$1.4 million already was earmarked for the White House from TSM money included in the stimulus program.

He said the money would be "\$7 million from what we expected to spend in the '93 budget." Some of the money he referred to has not yet been appropriated, however, and is part of the stimulus request for which Mr. Clinton is fighting.

Mr. Istook said that even including the \$148.4 million TSM item in the stimulus package was controversial because a General Accounting Office study considered it premature.

Mike Dolan, acting IRS commissioner, testified Feb. 23 in support of the full request.

"Our position on that remains intact. It's primarily to accelerate the acquisition of technology," Mr. Holmes said in his earlier comments.

The president maintains that his \$16.3 billion stimulus program would spur creation of private-sector jobs in an economic recovery he calls anemic. He has been angry that the program is stalled in a filibuster by Senate Republicans who question its economic value and the worth of many deficit-spending proposals.

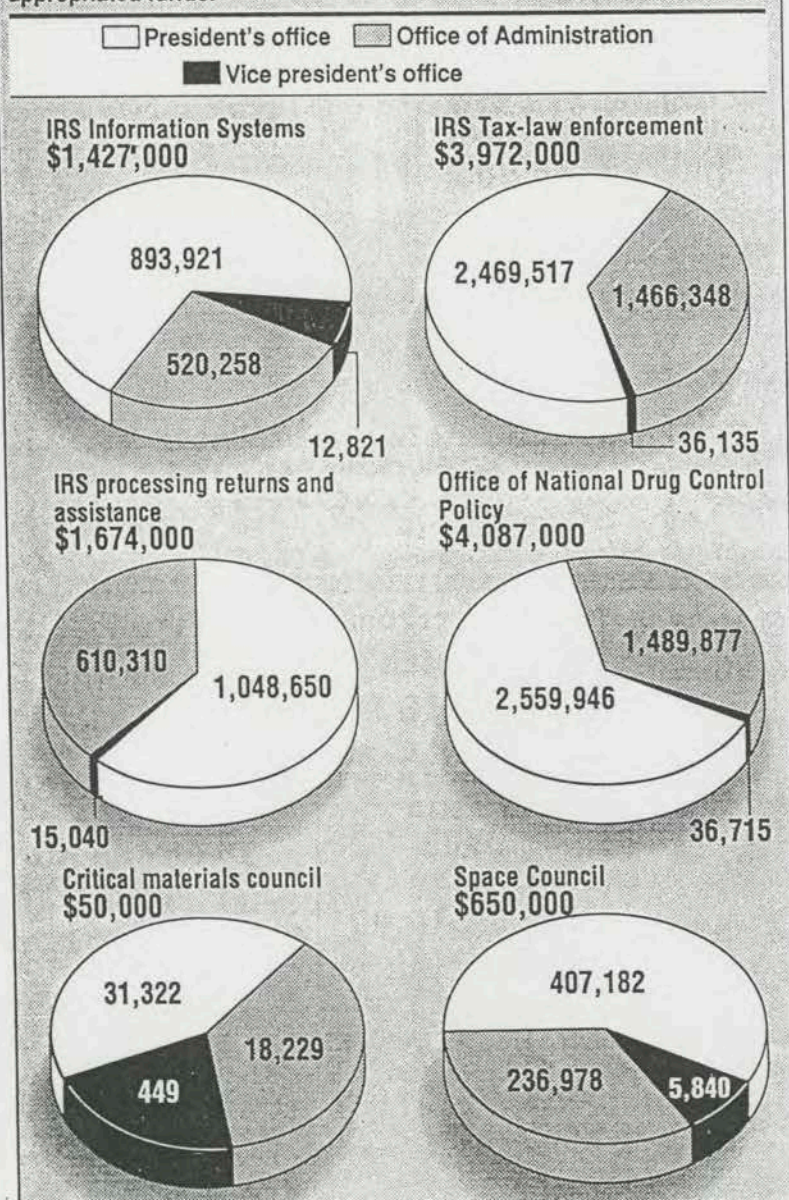
During an afternoon speech by satellite to a defense-technology conference in New York, Mr. Clinton said passage of the program "will help put Americans back to work and provide the kind of short-term relief that New York and New England need."

He has emphasized the tens of thousands of summer jobs in conservation and other programs that would be created, but budget documents also show that some of the jobs being created will be in the federal bureaucracy.

Among them are at least the equivalent of 435 full-time federal jobs this year and twice that many in fiscal 1994, which begins Oct. 1. They would include 80 weather forecasters, 160 meat inspectors, 100 jobs at the National Institute of Standards and Technology and 125 enforcement workers at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

ONE FOR ME, AND ONE FOR...

As part of his official budget, President Clinton transferred \$11.9 million from law enforcement and IRS accounts to the White House. Of the additional money, \$1.5 million is to come from the president's stalled \$16.3 billion economic stimulus bill; the rest from already appropriated funds.



The Washington Times

TALKING POINTS ON SUPPLEMENTAL

- 0 OUT HERE WITH REAL PEOPLE THE MESSAGE IS CLEAR -- AMERICANS WANT US TO CUT SPENDING FIRST, NOT RAISE TAXES OR INCREASE THE DEFICIT. THEY ARE TIRED OF THE SAME OLD SPEND, SPEND, SPEND, TAX, TAX, TAX ROUTINE. IT IS TIME TO START PAYING FOR NEW SPENDING WITH CUTS IN OTHER PROGRAMS.
- 0 REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE HAVE DRAWN A LINE IN THE SAND ON PRESIDENT CLINTON'S \$19.5 BILLION PHONEY JOBS BILL. WE DON'T THINK THIS BILL SHOULD PASS UNTIL THE UNNECESSARY SPENDING IS KNOCKED OUT AND THE REST IS PAID FOR. SOME MIGHT CALL THAT GRIDLOCK, BUT I CALL IT "PORK-LOCK".
- 0 NOW WE ARE STARTING TO GET SUPPORT FROM SOME OF OUR DEMOCRAT COLLEAGUES. SENATOR BREAUX IS SHOPPING A SCALED-BACK PACKAGE THAT DROPS 34 NON-EMERGENCY PROGRAMS FROM THE BILL SAVING A TOTAL OF \$3.5 BILLION. THAT IS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, BUT NOT FAR ENOUGH FOR REPUBLICANS. MY PLAN ELIMINATES 54 PROGRAMS FROM THE PACKAGE SAVING A TOTAL OF \$10 BILLION.
- 0 THE \$9 BILLION REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE WILL CONTAIN FIVE ITEMS -- UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, SUMMER JOBS, IMMUNIZATION, AND HIGHWAY AND MASS TRANSIT FUNDING. THESE ITEMS ARE EITHER TIME SENSITIVE, GENUINELY CREATE JOBS, OR ARE URGENTLY NEEDED.
- 0 THIS LEANER, MEANER ALTERNATIVE CUTS OUT THE FAT. NO GOLF COURSES, NO SWIMMING POOLS, NO AMUSEMENT PARKS, NO BEACH PARKING LOTS -- NO PORK, NO POLITICAL FAVORS, NO FOOLING AROUND WITH THE TAXPAYERS DOLLARS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, THIS ALTERNATIVE IS PAID FOR WITH ACROSS THE BOARD CUTS IN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS -- THINGS LIKE TRAVEL AND OFFICE SUPPLIES.
- 0 WHAT THE ALTERNATIVE? THE CLINTON PACKAGE COSTS AMERICAN TAXPAYERS MORE THAN THE \$15 BILLION IN DOMESTIC SPENDING THE DEMOCRATS SAVE IN THEIR FIVE YEAR DEFICIT REDUCTION PACKAGE. MOST OF THOSE SAVINGS WON'T EVEN OCCUR UNTIL 1998. SOUNDS LIKE SPEND AND TAX TO ME.
- 0 BUT WHAT ABOUT ECONOMIC STIMULUS? A COMMENTATOR AT THE ULTRA-LIBERAL VILLAGE VOICE AGREES, "[A]S TO CLINTON'S \$30 BILLION JOBS PROGRAM, IN A \$6 TRILLION ECONOMY THAT'S NOTHING BUT A JOKE."
- 0 THE ADMINISTRATION CLAIMS 219,000 JOBS WILL BE CREATED BY THE \$19.5 BILLION EMERGENCY STIMULUS PACKAGE -- THAT'S A COST OF \$89,041 PER JOB. THOSE 219,000 JOBS ARE EQUAL TO THE NUMBER OF JOBS CREATED BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN ONLY 17 DAYS OF FEBRUARY, A MONTH IN WHICH THE ECONOMY GENERATED 345,000 JOBS AT NO COST TO THE GOVERNMENT.
- 0 MANY OF THE PROGRAMS IN PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PACKAGE --

REDUCING D.C.'S DEBT BY \$28 MILLION, A DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WORKER PROFILE STUDY -- CREATE FEW, IF ANY JOBS. OTHER
PROGRAMS, LIKE HEAD START, WHICH HAS SEEN A 125% INCREASE
SINCE 1989, ARE HAVING PROBLEMS ABSORBING ALL THEIR EXTRA
MONEY.

- 0 THE BOTTOM LINE IS THIS ISN'T A ECONOMIC STIMULUS PACKAGE AS
MUCH AS IT IS A POLITICAL STIMULUS PACKAGE. THIS PACKAGE IS
A BIG PAY OFF TO MANY OF THE LIBERAL GROUPS AND LABOR UNIONS
WHO SUPPORTED PRESIDENT CLINTON DURING THE ELECTION.

April 5, 1993
12:25 p.m.

	<u>BA</u> (millions)	<u>1993</u> (millions)	<u>1994</u> (millions)	<u>93 JOBS</u>
<u>UI</u>	4,000	4,000	0	0
<hr/>				
* Highways	2,976	140	1,823	13,100
* Summer Jobs	500	14(330**)	330(170**)	55,800
* Immunization	300	144	126	250
* SBA	141	42	99	3,021
* Older Americans	32	6	24	5,600
* Natural Resource Protection	314	133	180	10,000
* Mass Transit	200	10	85	1,300
RDA Water/Waste Grants	282	3	23	84
NET	<u>4,745</u>	<u>492</u>	<u>2,690</u>	<u>89,071</u>
TOTAL	8,745	4,492	2,690	89,071

*Programs Included in Breaux/Boren

**OMB estimates.

With the exception of UI, all spending paid for in 1993 with reductions in administrative costs -- out years covered under the out year caps.

This proposal subject to House agreement.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2502

April 28, 1993

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

Dear Mr. President:

We have noted with great concern statements in the press by Leon Panetta, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, declaring that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is "dead."

We believe that passage of the NAFTA is of critical importance to the future of the United States. It will eliminate trade barriers to exports of U.S. goods and services, and strengthen the protection of U.S. intellectual property rights. It offers tremendous opportunities for job creation and economic growth throughout our country.

We commend you for your support of the NAFTA and your Administration's stated determination to see the agreement implemented this year. We stand ready to work with you to accomplish this important goal. We support the trade agreement as negotiated and urge you to complete quickly the supplemental agreements on labor and the environment so that Congress may consider implementing legislation as soon as possible.

However, we are concerned that the supplemental agreements may undermine the benefits of the NAFTA if they place significant new regulatory burdens on the U.S. economy. NAFTA is first and foremost a trade agreement. It cannot and should not be viewed as a means of solving all environmental and labor problems in North America. In particular, the creation of tri-national commissions with broad investigatory and enforcement powers may be too much for the agreement to bear.

We urge you to use extreme caution in negotiating these supplementary agreements. Perhaps the most significant action that can be taken to improve enforcement of environmental and labor laws throughout North America is implementation of the NAFTA. In our opinion, the sooner the better.

The President
April 28, 1993
Page 2

Again, we stand ready to assist you in promoting economic growth and new jobs in the U.S. through passage of the NAFTA. Thank you for your consideration of our views.

Sincerely,

Jack Walcott

Bob Dole

John H. Cluskey

Frank Colton

Mike Staben

Steve H. Lerner

Rick Lind

Karen Lambert Basselman

Phil F.

Ann Coit

John Gregg

Robert F. Bunker

Malcolm Wilby

Bob Beckwood

Larry Pessler

Art Simpson

Richard E. Logan

Paul Damblyer

The President
April 28, 1993
Page 3

For Mrs
C. Hatch

Don Voth
Chuck Grassley

Mike McConnell

John W. Mc

NAFTA

Ross Perot has launched an all-out attack on NAFTA and its chances for passage are weak.

The Clinton Administration couldn't make up its mind on what it wanted in the three "side agreements" to NAFTA, whether to break new ground or simply put together some language and bureaucracy to satisfy NAFTA opponents, particularly in the environmental and labor sectors.

Clinton now appears to be going for the latter -- setting up environmental and labor commissions from the three countries which will meet, talk, issue papers, etc. but not have the authority to do anything.

The Administration's current schedule calls for the three side agreements to be finished in May with the entire package coming to Congress in the Summer and a possible vote in the Fall.

John Z.

Perot Steps Up Attack on Clinton and Trade Pact

By KEITH BRADSHER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — Sharpening his attacks on the Clinton Administration, Ross Perot told the Senate Banking Committee today that he no longer believed that the North American Free Trade Agreement could be fixed through side agreements, as the Administration plans.

Mr. Perot also said that he would produce at least one and probably several half-hour television commercials criticizing the pact — and implicitly, Mr. Clinton — to be broadcast in the coming months.

Mr. Perot has emerged as a self-appointed gadfly on the trade pact, chastizing the Administration before Congressional committees. He has emphasized his split with Washington's political establishment by condemning the pact, which is supported by leaders of both parties, and appears to have struck an uneasy alliance with organized labor and conservative advocates of a more self-sufficient economy.

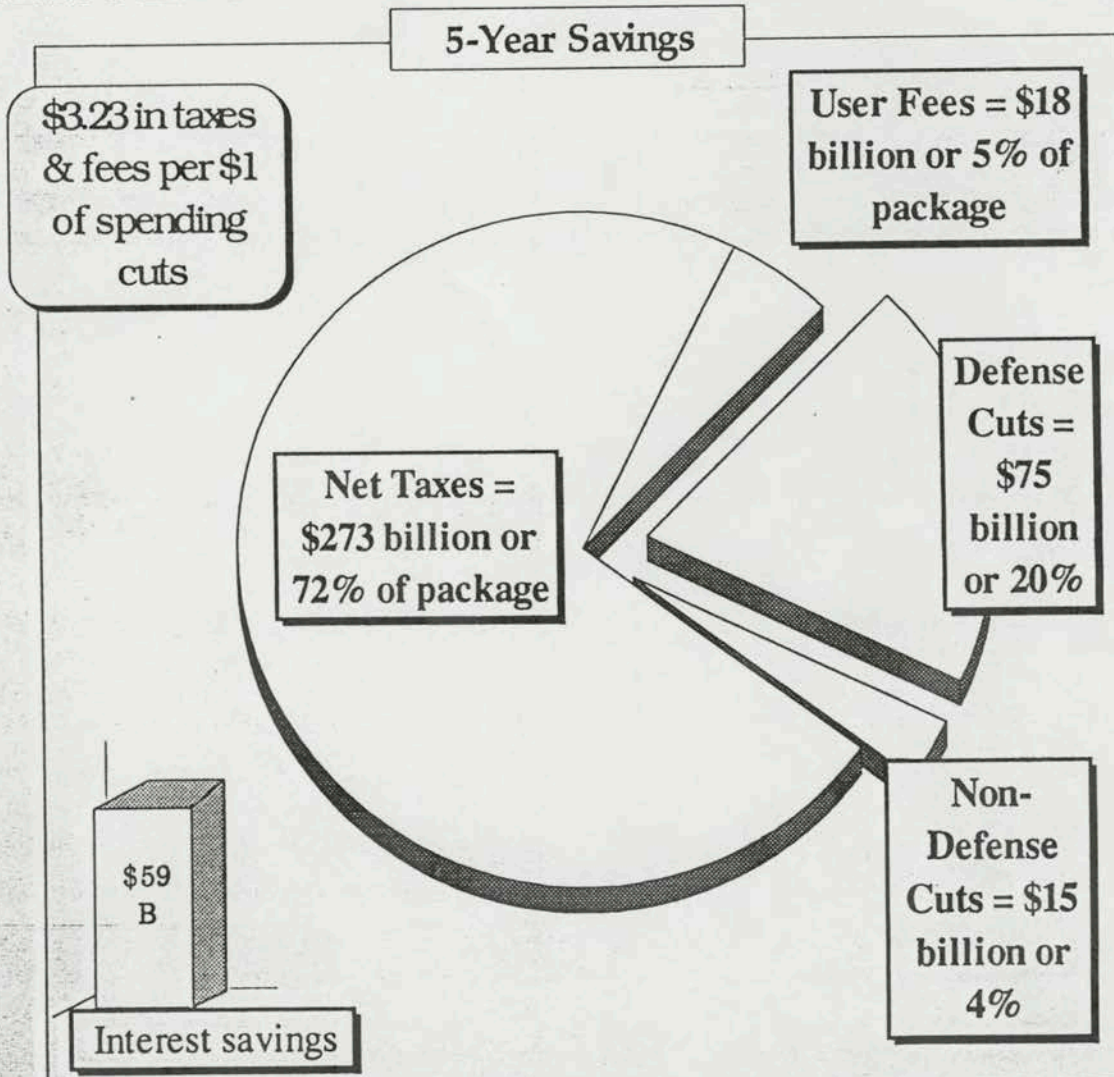
His opposition to the trade pact, and apparent willingness to spend money, threatens to make a daunting political battle even tougher for the White House. Labor and environmental groups have been campaigning against the pact, contending that it would encourage American companies to move factories to Mexico to take advantage of low wages there and to avoid pollu-

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Distribution of Clinton's \$440 Billion Deficit Reduction Plan

Conference Report on H.Con. Res. 64

	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>
DEFENSE SAVINGS	\$75 B.	20%
NON-DEFENSE SAVINGS	\$15 B.	4%
NET NEW TAXES	\$273 B.	72%
USER FEES	\$18 B.	5%

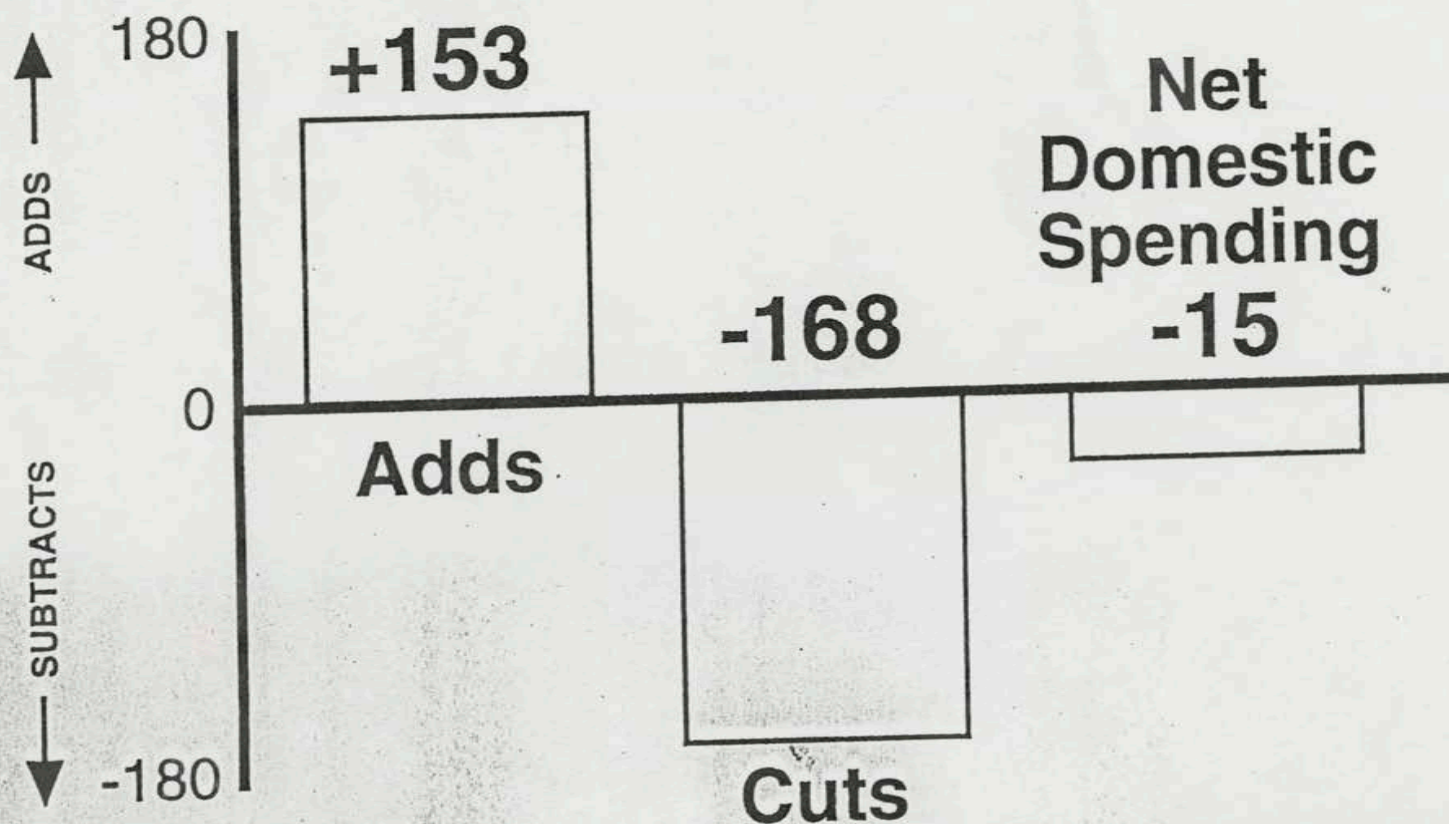


Source: Senate Budget Committee, Minority Staff. CBO "capped" baseline. March 31, 1993

Clinton Budget Plan

Domestic Spending Impact*

\$ in Billions
1994-1998



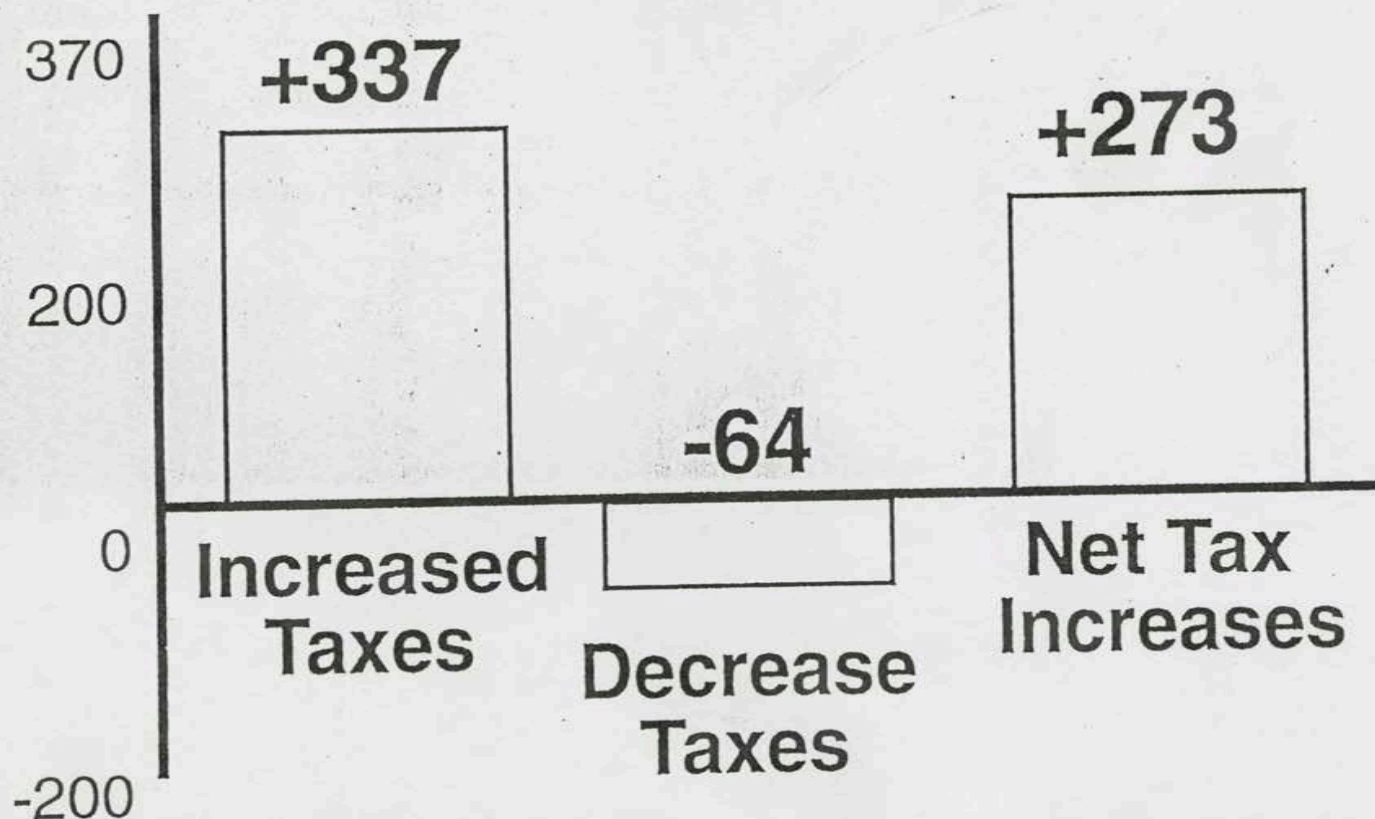
Note: Using CBO Capped Baseline
Clinton's plan, as reestimated by CBO,
and modified by the Budget Conference Agreement (4-1-93)
*Excludes Defense

Senate Budget Committee, Minority Staff

Clinton Budget Plan

Tax Proposal

\$ in Billions
1994-1998



Note: Clinton's plan, as reestimated by CBO,
and modified by the Budget Conference Agreement (4-1-93)

Senate Budget Committee, Minority Staff

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM--April 29, 1993

Although the Administration has not sought Republican input on campaign finance reform, we have a pretty good idea what the Administration package will include:

1. **Spending Limits.** A \$600,000 spending limit for House candidates and limits ranging from \$1.6 million to \$8.9 million for Senate candidates, depending on state population. Rigid spending limits inhibit competition. In the past, you have supported "flexible fundraising targets," which cap the "bad money" (PACs, out-of-state contributions, personal money) and place no restrictions on the "good money" (in-state individual contributions).

2. **Public Financing.** House candidates will be eligible for public funding up to \$200,000, and Senate candidates will be eligible for public funding up to 20% of the applicable spending limit. Although it's still up in the air, public financing will probably take the form of broadcast vouchers. These vouchers will be financed by eliminating the tax deduction for lobbying expenses and with a voluntary \$5 checkoff. Senate Republicans oppose using taxpayer funds to finance Congressional campaigns.

3. **PACs.** The limit on individual PAC contributions will remain at \$5,000 for House candidates and \$2,500 for Senate candidates. The cap on aggregate PAC contributions will be \$200,000 for House candidates and 25% of the spending limits for Senate candidates. Senate Republicans support a full PAC-ban.

4. **Soft Money.** The Administration package will not touch labor soft money.

5. **Effective Date.** We expect that the effective date of the Administration package will be delayed until 1996.

- * PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID THAT HE WOULD "CHANGE WELFARE AS WE KNOW IT." WELL, HE'S DELIVERED ON HIS PROMISE: WITH HIS PUBLIC FINANCING PROGRAM, THE PRESIDENT HAS ENDORSED WELFARE FOR POLITICIANS.
- * THE ADMINISTRATION IS KIDDING ITSELF IF IT BELIEVES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SUPPORT THE USE OF TAX DOLLARS TO FINANCE CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS. JUST LOOK AT THE PRESIDENTIAL TAX CHECK-OFF, WHERE THE PARTICIPATION RATE HAS DROPPED TO AN ALL-TIME LOW--17%.
- * DURING THE CAMPAIGN, PRESIDENT CLINTON PROMISED TO REDUCE THE PAC CONTRIBUTION LIMIT TO \$1,000. NOW, HE'S BACKTRACKING ON THE PROMISE, MAINTAINING THE SAME \$5,000 LIMIT FOR HOUSE CANDIDATES AND PROPOSING A \$2,500 LIMIT FOR SENATE CANDIDATES. REPUBLICANS ARE THE REAL REFORMERS, SUPPORTING A COMPLETE BAN ON PACS.

April 26, 1993

The Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

To the Editor:

A more apt title for your recent editorial "Bob Dole Versus Political Reform (April 25)" would have been "The New York Times Versus the Truth."

Nowhere in the editorial do you mention that Senate Republicans have introduced their own comprehensive campaign finance reform proposal--one that bans political action committees, restricts both party and non-party "soft money," prohibits the practice of bundling campaign contributions, and improves political competition by allowing the political parties to give early "seed money" to viable challengers. The Republican proposal accomplishes all of these reform goals without asking the taxpayers to contribute a single dime.

You are dead wrong when you suggest that Americans are willing to support public financing of Congressional campaigns. Just look at the Presidential tax check-off system, where the participation rate has fallen to an all-time low of 17.7%. Quite simply, the American people want to cut federal spending, not increase spending with an entitlement program for politicians.

Will President Clinton be making a big mistake if he insists on public financing? You bet. Unfortunately, the President has chosen not to consult with Congressional Republicans as the Administration puts the finishing touches on its own campaign finance proposal, a legislative strategy of exclusion that no doubt helped sink the so-called stimulus package.

Republicans have always been willing to sit down and negotiate a package of reform proposals on which there is broad agreement. Recognizing the need for bipartisanship, I recently told the Senate Rules Committee: "If Congress is to restore its credibility with the American people, then passing comprehensive campaign finance reform must be a top priority this year. And to ensure that the credibility of reform is in no way diminished, its crafting must be done on a bipartisan basis. The American people don't want a political document. They want a document they can trust--one that enjoys broad bipartisan, and nonpartisan, support."

Perhaps you were referring to this statement when you

denounced my "rhetoric" as amounting to "shilling for a corrupt status quo."

I would have welcomed the opportunity to clarify my position if you had bothered to contact my office before printing the editorial, which regrettably resorted to personal attacks among its barrage of falsehoods and guesswork. Apparently, when there is an honest disagreement, The Times would prefer name-calling to civility.

Finally, it appears that The Times does not always practice what it preaches. A young aide in my office recently ran for Congress from New York's 7th Congressional District, covering portions of both Queens and the Bronx. Although the race occurred right in your own backyard, The Times did not give his candidacy a single word of coverage nor did it allow him to come before the Editorial Board for a candidate interview. The Editorial Board gave him the stiff-arm treatment, claiming that his candidacy was "not viable," even though he received 44% of the vote on Election Day, a higher percentage than Bill Clinton received nationwide.

You know as well as anyone that free press coverage is the lifeblood of underfunded challengers and invaluable to levelling the political playing field. Now, when I read your editorials pontificating about the need to make politics more competitive, one word immediately comes to mind: Hypocrisy.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to set the record straight.

Sincerely,

BOB DOLE

BD/ds

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

S. 3, THE DEMOCRAT CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM BILL, WAS ORDERED REPORTED OM MARCH 18. DEMOCRATS ARE CONSULTING WITH CLINTON TO FORM A CONSENSUS PACKAGE WHICH THEY WILL OFFER AS A SUBSTITUTE ON THE FLOOR. THIS PACKAGE WILL PROBABLY MOVE AWAY FROM CLINTON'S CAMPAIGN PROMISE TO LIMIT INDIVIDUAL PAC CONTRIBUTIONS TO \$1,000 AND LOOSEN UP S. 3'S RESTRICTIONS ON PARTY SOFT MONEY.

LAST FLOOR ACTION: ON APRIL 30, 1992, THE CONFERENCE REPORT PASSED THE SENATE BY A VOTE OF 58-42. 40 REPUBLICANS OPPOSED THE CONFERENCE REPORT, AS DID SHELBY AND HOLLINGS. THREE CURRENT GOP MEMBERS SUPPORTED THE CONFERENCE REPORT: DURENEBERGER, JEFFORDS, AND MCCAIN. THE VETO WAS SUSTAINED ON MAY 13, 1992, BY A VOTE OF 57-42. THE SAME THREE REPUBLICANS VOTED TO OVERRIDE. HOLLINGS AND SHELBY VOTED TO SUSTAIN.

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

102nd Congress
2d Session

Vote No. 88

May 13, 1992, 6:01 p.m.
Page S-6586 (Temp. Record)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE/Veto

SUBJECT: Congressional Campaign Spending Limit and Election Reform Act of 1992 . . . S. 3. Passage, upon reconsideration, the President's objections notwithstanding.

ACTION: VETO SUSTAINED, 57-42

SYNOPSIS: On May 23, 1991, the Senate passed S. 3, the Campaign Finance Bill, by a vote of 56-42, and on November 25, 1991, the House passed H.R. 3750 by a vote of 273-156. The House then began consideration of S. 3, substituted the provisions of H.R. 3750, and on November 25, 1991, passed it by voice vote. The conference report to accompany S. 3 was approved by the House, 259-165, on April 9, 1992, and by the Senate, 58-42, on April 30, 1992. On May 9, 1992, President Bush vetoed S. 3.

S. 3, the Congressional Campaign Spending Limit and Election Reform Act of 1992, creates a system of spending limits and taxpayer-funded benefits for Congressional election campaigns. Specifically, it will provide for the following:

Campaign spending limits:

- To be eligible for public assistance and Government-mandated private assistance, Senate candidates will have to limit their general election campaign spending (General Election Expenditure Limit, or GEEL), based on the number of people in the State in which they are running, though, at a minimum, each candidate will be able to spend \$950,000, and the maximum each candidate will be able to spend will be \$5.5 million. Primary limits will be set at 67 percent of the applicable GEEL, with a \$2.75 million maximum limit, and runoffs will be set at 20 percent of the applicable GEEL. Candidates in States with only one Very High Frequency (VHF) television station will be able to spend more per person in their States than other candidates. Ten percent of the funds candidates raise will have to be from contributions of \$250 or less from individuals in their home States, and they will have to meet specified administrative requirements in areas such as recordkeeping. The above limits will be indexed to inflation and adjusted annually, with the base year being 1992.

- To be eligible for public assistance and Government-mandated assistance, House candidates will have to abide by a \$600,000 GEEL (though numerous exceptions are provided for), at least 10 percent of which will have to be raised from contributions of \$250 or less from individuals. Exceptions that will not count against the limit include legal fees,

(See other side)

YEAS (57)			NAYS (42)			NOT VOTING (1)	
Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (54 or 96%)		Republicans (40 or 93%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (1)
Durenberger	Adams	Inouye	Bond	Kasten	Hollings		
Jeffords	Akaka	Johnston	Brown	Lott	Shelby		Metzenbaum ³
McCain	Baucus	Kennedy	Burns	Lugar			
	Bentsen	Kerrey	Chafee	Mack			
	Biden	Kerry	Coats	McConnell			
	Bingaman	Kohl	Cochran	Murkowski			
	Boren	Lautenberg	Cohen	Nickles			
	Bradley	Leahy	Craig	Packwood			
	Breaux	Levin	D'Amato	Pressler			
	Bryan	Lieberman	Danforth	Roth			
	Bumpers	Mikulski	Dole	Rudman			
	Burdick	Mitchell	Domenici	Seymour			
	Byrd	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson			
	Conrad	Nunn	Gorton	Smith			
	Cranston	Pell	Gramm	Specter			
	Daschle	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens			
	DeConcini	Reid	Hatch	Symms			
	Dixon	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond			
	Dodd	Robb	Helms	Wallop			
	Exon	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Warner			
	Ford	Sanford					
	Fowler	Sarbanes					
	Glenn	Sasser					
	Gore	Simon					
	Graham	Wellstone					
	Harkin	Wirth					
	Heflin	Wofford					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

102nd Congress
 2d Session

Vote No. 82

April 30, 1992, 3:39 p.m.
 Page S-5866 (Temp. Record)

CAMPAIGN FINANCE CONFERENCE REPORT/Passage

SUBJECT: Conference report to accompany the Congressional Campaign Spending Limit and Election Reform Act of 1992 . . . S. 3. Agreeing to the conference report.

ACTION: CONFERENCE REPORT AGREED TO, 58-42

SYNOPSIS: The conference report to accompany S. 3, the Congressional Campaign Spending Limit and Election Reform Act of 1992, creates a system of spending limits and taxpayer-funded benefits for Congressional election campaigns. Specifically, the report will provide for the following:

Campaign spending limits:

- To be eligible for public assistance and Government-mandated private assistance, Senate candidates will have to limit their general election campaign spending (General Election Expenditure Limit, or GEEL), based on the number of people in the State in which they are running, though, at a minimum, each candidate will be able to spend \$950,000, and the maximum each candidate will be able to spend will be \$5.5 million. Primary limits will be set at 67 percent of the applicable GEEL, with a \$2.75 million maximum limit, and runoffs will be set at 20 percent of the applicable GEEL. Candidates in States with only one Very High Frequency (VHF) television station will be able to spend more per person in their States than other candidates. Ten percent of the funds candidates raise will have to be from contributions of \$250 or less from individuals in their home States, and they will have to meet specified administrative requirements in areas such as recordkeeping. The above limits will be indexed to inflation and adjusted annually, with the base year being 1992.

- To be eligible for public assistance and Government-mandated assistance, House candidates will have to abide by a \$600,000 GEEL (though numerous exceptions are provided for), at least 10 percent of which will have to be raised from contributions of \$250 or less from individuals. Exceptions that will not count against the limit include legal fees, accounting fees, taxes, and up to 5 percent of fundraising costs. Further, if an opponent exceeds the \$600,000 spending limit, the Government will provide assistance to match the excess over this limit.

(See other side)

YEAS (58)			NAYS (42)			NOT VOTING (0)	
Republicans (3 or 7%)	Democrats (55 or 96%)		Republicans (40 or 93%)	Democrats (2 or 4%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (0)
Durenberger	Adams	Johnston	Bond	Kasten	Hollings		
Jeffords	Akaka	Kennedy	Brown	Lott	Shelby		
McCain	Baucus	Kerrey	Burns	Lugar			
	Bentsen	Kerry	Chafee	Mack			
	Biden	Kohl	Coats	McConnell			
	Bingaman	Lautenberg	Cochran	Murkowski			
	Boren	Leahy	Cohen	Nickles			
	Bradley	Levin	Craig	Packwood			
	Breaux	Lieberman	D'Amato	Pressler			
	Bryan	Metzenbaum	Danforth	Roth			
	Bumpers	Mikulski	Dole	Rudman			
	Burdick	Mitchell	Domenici	Seymour			
	Byrd	Moynihan	Garn	Simpson			
	Conrad	Nunn	Gorton	Smith			
	Cranston	Pell	Gramm	Specter			
	Daschle	Pryor	Grassley	Stevens			
	DeConcini	Reid	Hatch	Symms			
	Dixon	Riegle	Hatfield	Thurmond			
	Dodd	Robb	Helms	Wallop			
	Exon	Rockefeller	Kassebaum	Warner			
	Ford	Sanford					
	Fowler	Sarbanes					
	Glenn	Sasser					
	Gore	Simon					
	Graham	Wellstone					
	Harkin	Wirth					
	Heflin	Wofford					
	Inouye						

Compiled and written by the staff of the Senate Republican Policy Committee — Don Nickles, Chairman

Republican Alternative

S. 7, THE COMPREHENSIVE CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM ACT

SPECIAL INTEREST INFLUENCE

PAC BAN

Eliminates all "special interest" political action committees (corporate, union, and trade association PACs). Also bans all non-connected or ideological PACs and all "leadership" PACs. [Note: if a ban on non-connected PACs is determined to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, the legislation will subject non-connected PACs to a \$1000 per election contribution limit.]

SOFT MONEY BAN

Bans all "soft" money from being used to influence a federal election. "Soft" money is defined as the raising and spending of political money outside of the source restrictions, contribution limits, and disclosure requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act and its regulations.

POLITICAL PARTIES

Establishes new rules for political party committees to ensure that "soft" money is not used to influence federal elections, including:

- (1) the requirement that national, state and local political parties establish a separate account for activities benefiting federal candidates and a separate account for activities benefiting state candidates;
- (2) the requirement of full disclosure of all accounts by any political party committee that maintains a federal account; and
- (3) the establishment of minimum percentages of federal funds which must be used for any party building program (e.g. voter registration, get-out-the-vote, absentee ballot, ballot security) which benefits both federal and state candidates.

Exempts certain organizational activities (research, GOTV, voter registration) from coordinated or other limitations; requires disclosure and allocation for these activities; and retains the same coordinated expenditure limits for media expenditures. Maintains the limit on total contributions to Federal party accounts at \$20,000; limits to \$50,000 per calendar year the total amount of contributions an individual or other entity may make to national, state and local party accounts combined.

LABOR SOFT MONEY/EMPLOYEE PROTECTIONS

Codifies the Supreme Court decision in Beck v. Communications Workers of America and provides certain rights for employees who are union members.

501(c) SOFT MONEY RESTRICTIONS

Prohibits tax-exempt, 501(c) organizations from engaging in any activity which attempts to influence a federal election on behalf of a specific candidate for public office. Extends to all 501(c) organizations the current prohibition on campaign activity which applies to 501(c)(3) charities. Restricts tax-exempt organizations from engaging in voter registration or GOTV activities (which are not candidate-specific) if a candidate or Member of Congress solicits money for the organization.

STATE PACS CONTROLLED BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES

Restricts federal activities by state PACs created by Members of Congress.

INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION LIMITS

Reduces from \$1000 to \$500 the maximum allowable contribution by individuals residing outside of a candidate's state. Indexes the individual contribution limit (\$1000 per election for in-state contributions or \$500 per election for out-of-state contributions) for Congressional candidates using the Consumer Price Index; adjustments would be rounded to the nearest \$100.

BUNDLING

Prohibits "bundling" by registered lobbyists, unions, trade associations, corporations, and other employers. Bundled contributions which are permitted must be made payable to the candidate and disclosed to the candidate and the Federal Election Commission.

INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES

Requires all independently-financed political communications to disclose the person or organization financing it; requires that disclosure be complete and conspicuous; and requires timely notice to all candidates of the communications' placement and content. Defines "independent expenditure" to prohibit consultation with a candidate or his agents; requires the FEC to hold a hearing within 3 days of any formal complaint of collusion between an independent expenditure committee and a candidate. Creates an expedited cause of action in federal courts for a candidate seeking relief from expenditures which are not "independent".

CAMPAIGN COST REDUCTION

BROADCAST DISCOUNT

Allows Presidential and Congressional candidates to purchase non-preemptible time at the lowest unit rate for preemptible time, in the last 45 days before a primary and the last 60 days before the general election.

COMPETITIVENESS

CHALLENGER SEED MONEY

Permits political party committees to use a special coordinated expenditure fund to "match" early, in-state contributions by challengers to help begin a campaign. Party committee matching funds would be permitted to a maximum of \$100,000 for any House or Senate candidate who is a challenger.

MILLIONAIRE'S LOOPHOLE

Requires Congressional candidates to declare upon filing for an election whether they intend to spend or loan over \$250,000 in personal funds in the race; raises the individual contribution limit to \$5000 per election from \$1000 for all opponents of a candidate who declares such an intention. No limits would apply to individual contributions and expenditures by party committees if a candidate spends more than \$1 million in personal funds. Also prohibits candidates from recovering personal funds or loans used in their race from contributions raised after the election.

FRANKED MAIL

Prohibits franked "mass mailings" during the election year of a Member of Congress, and requires more disclosure of the use of the frank for unsolicited mailings.

GERRYMANDERING

Requires new standards for Congressional reapportionment and redistricting, including the full and fair enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. This provision would: (1) codify current case law and maintain previous statutory requirements that Congressional districts be of equal population, and be contiguous and compact in form; (2) repeal current statutory provisions permitting multi-member Congressional districts and require single-member Congressional districts; and (3) limit the division of county and political subdivision boundary lines, as well as redistricting egregious partisan gerrymandering.

MISCELLANEOUS

ENHANCED FEC ENFORCEMENT

- o Eliminates the "reason to believe" standard. The Commission, upon receiving a complaint, will have to investigate a complaint if the identity of the complainant is known, and the complaint is sufficient on its face.

- o Provides the FEC the authority to seek injunctive relief to stop certain violations or an impending violation. Reduces the time period by which the Commission must act on a complaint from 120 to 60 days. Streamlines the administrative procedures for a complaint brought by the Commission by eliminating the minimum waiting period of 30 days and lowering the maximum period for post-probable cause conciliation bargaining to 60 days.

- o Increases the penalties for knowing and willful violations which are resolved informally and requires these penalties to be mandatory. Increases the penalty for violations that must be resolved in court and requires the penalty to be mandatory.

- o Permits a candidate, or a person authorized by a candidate, to sue on a complaint whenever the Commission declines to pursue an alleged violation by a tie vote. Increases the penalties for knowing and willful violations resolved in court.

- o Increases the fines for violations of the confidentiality requirement. Increases the penalties for violations of the election laws where the Attorney General separately prosecutes.

- o Implements procedural recommendations proposed by the 1990 Mitchell/Dole Panel on Campaign Finance Reform. Provides the Commission with more authority to: informally resolve investigations before any determination by the Commission; provide respondents with more access to documents

provided by third parties; provide respondents with access to any report submitted to the Commission by the General Counsel; and provide respondents with the right to present oral arguments before a Commission finding of probable cause. Also eliminates the ability of the Commission to routinely require admissions by the respondent that a violation has occurred; and establishes time limits for investigations, requiring the Commission to publish an index of all investigations which have been concluded.

o Repeals the shortened 3-year statute of limitations for violations of the Act and returns to the general 5-year statute of limitations. Also permits the Attorney General to have access to FEC compliance files pursuant to a criminal investigation or trial.

ELECTION FRAUD/PUBLIC CORRUPTION

Creates a new public corruption statute which codifies current case law and increases the authority of the U.S. Justice Department to combat election fraud at all levels of government.

DRAFT/EXPLORATORY COMMITTEES

Defines "contribution" to include donations made to draft or exploratory committees advocating that a clearly identified individual becomes a candidate for federal office.

SEVERABILITY

Provides that if any portion of this Act is found to be invalid, then the remaining portions of the Act shall continue in full force and effect.

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STRIKER REPLACEMENT

HEARINGS IN THE LABOR SUBCOMMITTEE WERE HELD ON THIS BILL (S 55) ON MARCH 30. NEXT ACTION: FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP NOT YET SCHEDULED.

LAST FLOOR ACTION: 2D ATTEMPT TO INVOKE CLOTURE FAILED 57-42 ON 6/16/92. IN LATE FEBRUARY, OUR STAFF CONTACTED APPROPRIATE STAFFERS FOR THE GOP MEMBERS WHO VOTED AGAINST CLOTURE, AND THE NEW MEMBERS AS WELL. WE ASKED WHETHER THEIR BOSS HAD MADE ANY RELEVANT PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THE ISSUE---PRESS RELEASE, CONSTITUENT LETTER---OR WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY CONFIRMATION TO THE STAFFER THAT NO CHANGE HAD OCCURRED. 38 GOP MEMBERS VOTED AGAINST CLOTURE (HELMS DIDN'T VOTE--BUT ANNOUNCED "NO"). 33 ARE STILL HERE. NONE INDICATED A CHANGE. HOWEVER, MEMBER CONTACT IS SUGGESTED FOR JEFFORDS, COHEN, DURENBERGER, DANFORTH. GORTON'S OFFICE DIDN'T RESPOND. ALL 5 GOP FRESHMEN INDICATED OPPOSITION TO THE BILL. THERE ARE 4 DEMOCRATS WHO OPPOSED CLOTURE: BOREN, BUMPERS, PRYOR, AND HOLLINGS. 5 GOP MEMBERS VOTED FOR CLOTURE: D'AMATO, HATFIELD, PACKWOOD, SPECTER, AND STEVENS. BASED ON LABOR'S SUPPORT FOR AUCOIN--PACKWOOD MAY HELP. STEVENS ANNOUNCED TO THE AFL-CIO THAT HE WOULD VOTE TO INVOKE CLOTURE ON STRIKER REPLACEMENT. (SEE ATTACHED FROM DOLE'S OFFICE).

STRIKER REPLACEMENT

In 1938, the Supreme Court handed down the Mackay decision, which put striking employees into two categories: 1) unfair labor practice strikers, and 2) economic strikers. Unfair labor practice strikers are employees who are striking to protest their company's violation of the National Labor Relations Act. Such violations might include failure to bargain in good faith, refusal to bargain, or firing workers for union activity. Economic strikers are employees who are striking for higher wages and benefits.

Under the Mackay doctrine, economic strikers may be permanently replaced, while unfair labor practice strikers may not be permanently replaced.

The striker-replacement bill (S. 55) would eliminate the Mackay distinction by prohibiting the permanent replacement of both economic and unfair labor practice strikers. The bill would require the reinstatement of economic strikers once the strike had ended.

Hearings

The Senate Labor Subcommittee has already held hearings on the bill. The full Labor Committee will probably not hold hearings, but will mark-up the bill sometime in May.

Senate Votes

Last year, the following five Republicans voted to invoke cloture: D'Amato, Hatfield, Packwood, Specter, and Stevens. The following five Democrats voted against cloture: Boren, Bumpers, Hollings, Pryor, and Sanford.

- * Hatfield is the only Republican cosponsor of the bill.
- * Packwood offered a compromise amendment last year, which was denounced by the Oregon chapter of the AFL-CIO. He is allegedly bitter about the experience.
- * Stevens recently announced at an AFL-CIO meeting that he would vote to invoke cloture on striker replacement, but that he was uncertain as to whether he would support the bill on final passage.

Possible Compromise

Staff for Senators Cohen and Durenberger have been meeting with David Westfall, a Harvard Law professor and someone who has publicly opposed the striker replacement bill, to discuss possible compromise proposals.

D. Shea

GAYS IN THE MILITARY

HEARINGS HAVE BEGUN IN THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE. GOP UNITY FORCED A VOTE ON THIS ISSUE DURING CONSIDERATION OF THE FAMILY LEAVE BILL. 35 REPUBLICANS (THURMOND WAS ABSENT AND WOULD HAVE MADE 36) AND 2 DEMOCRATS (HEFLIN AND SHELBY) VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE DOLE AMENDMENT. GOP MEMBERS OPPOSED: CHAFEEE, D'AMATO, DURENBERGER, HATFIELD, JEFFORDS, PACKWOOD, AND SPECTER.

APRIL 22, 1993

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: DAN STANLEY
SUBJECT: GAYS IN THE MILITARY -- UPDATE

Armed Services Committee has held two non controversial hearings to date. The next is expected on April 29th on the subject of homosexuals in foreign militaries.

I am told that the votes do not exist to lift the ban in Committee, thus some sort of compromise is expected to be offered in the DoD Authorization Bill markup. This would probably resemble the following:

- Don't ask the question during enlistment
- Retain the proscription against sodomy and discharge gays caught engaged in homosexual behavior or declaring that they are gay
- Restrict "witch hunts" against gays and lesbians

A confrontation is likely to occur in mid July. Aspin is developing an "implementation plan" which will be announced on or about 15 July. The hearings are due to wrap up about the same time, but no final legislative action is likely before the fall. The question will be whether Clinton will wait for the Congress to act or whether he will proceed with the "implementation plan". That plan could resemble the compromise listed above or it could end up being more radical.

Gay groups will not be satisfied with anything short of a total lifting of the ban, thus it will be curious to see if Clinton will veto a defense bill that falls short of his announced goal.

TALKING POINTS

- THE ISSUE IS NOT DISCRIMINATION BUT MILITARY COHESION AND EFFECTIVENESS
- THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP OPPOSES OPEN HOMOSEXUALITY, THE ENLISTED PEOPLE OPPOSE OPEN HOMOSEXUALITY, IT SEEMS TO ME WE SHOULD LET THE MILITARY EXPERTS DETERMINE PERSONNEL POLICY.
- CLINTON DOES NOT HAVE THE VOTES TO LIFT THE BAN.

TO: AKS
FR: DAVE
RE: GAYS IN THE MILITARY
DT: 23 APR 93

READ & TOSS

** FYI **

Senator Nunn and the Armed Services Committee began conducting hearings on the issue of Gays in the Military in late April. Two hearings have been conducted. The hearing structure is set up in four phases:

1. History of the ban.
2. The effect lifting the ban will have on troop cohesion.
3. How other countries have implemented the lifting of the ban.
4. Field hearings at military posts along with top military leadership viewpoints.

The next hearing has not been scheduled but will cover the third phase of the issue.

During the first two hearings, government officials -- including Lawrence Korb, the Reagan Defense official who reinstated the government's position on the ban in 1983 -- said that they no longer feel the ban is necessary. Other officials such as Admiral Crowe have said it is time for the ban to "go along the wayside."

George Stephanopolous said last week at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, that it is not the government's position to endorse any type of lifestyle, but it is the government's duty to stop discrimination against a group of people such as homosexuals.

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE\Freeze Homosexual Military Policy

SUBJECT: Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 ... S. 5. Mitchell motion to table the Dole substitute amendment No. 19 to the Dole amendment No. 17, as amended.

ACTION: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO, 62-37

SYNOPSIS: As reported, S. 5, the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, will require private-sector businesses employing 50 or more people to give their employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for illness, the birth or adoption of a child, the placement of a foster child, or the care of a sick child, spouse, or parent. Federal civil service, State government, and congressional employees will also be covered. Employees on leave will be entitled to receive health benefits under the same terms and conditions as if they were on the job, and they will be permitted to return to their previous positions or to equivalent positions with no loss of benefits. Employees may take this leave intermittently with employer permission, or without permission when "medically necessary." Violations of this Act will be pursued by the Department of Labor administratively and in State and Federal courts. Individuals may also file suit separately in Federal and States courts. Injunctive relief will be provided, and double actual damages, equitable relief, attorney fees, and other costs will be awarded.

The Dole first-degree amendment, as amended by the Mitchell substitute amendment (see vote No. 8), would state that it is the sense of the Congress that the Secretary of Defense will conduct a review of current policy regarding the service of homosexuals in the military, and will report the results of such review, along with recommendations, to the President and to the Congress no later than July 15, 1993. Additionally, it would be the sense of the Congress that the Senate Armed Services Committee will also conduct hearings on the military policy regarding homosexuals, and will conduct oversight hearings on the Secretary of Defense's recommendations on this matter.

The Dole second-degree substitute amendment would: codify Department of Defense policy concerning homosexuals in effect as of January 1, 1993; call for congressional study of such policies; and establish those procedures by which such policies could be amended. Specifically, all Executive orders, Department of Defense directives, and regulations of the military departments concerning the appointment, enlistment, and induction, and the retention, of homosexuals in the armed forces would be reviewed

(See other side)

REPUBLICANS			DEMOCRATS		NOT VOTING	
Voting Yea (7 or 17%)	Voting Nay (35 or 83%)		Voting Yea (55 or 96%)	Voting Nay (2 or 4%)	Republicans (1)	Democrats (0)
Chafee	Bennett	Helms	Akaka	Kerrey		
D'Amato	Bond	Kassebaum	Baucus	Kerry	Heflin	
Durenberger	Brown	Kempthorne	Biden	Kohl	Shelby	
Hatfield	Burns	Lott	Bingaman	Krueger		
Jeffords	Coats	Lugar	Boren	Lautenberg		
Packwood	Cochran	Mack	Boxer	Leahy		
Specter	Cohen	McCain	Bradley	Levin		
	Coverdell	McConnell	Breaux	Lieberman		
	Craig	Murkowski	Bryan	Mathews		
	Danforth	Nickles	Bumpers	Metzenbaum		
	Dole	Pressler	Byrd	Mikulski		
	Domenici	Roth	Campbell	Mitchell		
	Faircloth	Simpson	Conrad	Moseley-Braun		
	Gorton	Smith	Daschle	Moynihan		
	Gramm	Stevens	DeConcini	Murray		
	Grassley	Wallop	Dodd	Nunn		
	Gregg	Warner	Dorgan	Pell		
	Hatch		Exon	Pryor		
			Feingold	Reid		
			Feinstein	Riegle		
			Ford	Robb		
			Glenn	Rockefeller		
			Graham	Sarbanes		
			Harkin	Sasser		
			Hollings	Simon		
			Inouye	Wellstone		
			Johnston	Wofford		
			Kennedy			

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

HEALTH CARE

The Clinton Administration is expected to go public with at least the outlines of their plan by about mid-May. We believe it will include employer mandates and some fairly specific budget controls. At the moment, explicit price controls (ala Nixon) unlikely.

Senator Chafee has indicated a strong desire to introduce a Republican proposal prior to release of the Democrat plan. There is general support for such action but we have not yet agreed upon the real details of the plan. There are those among us who would like to simply create some form of medical IRA and turn all the responsibility over to the individual -- others find this solution simplistic and unrealistic. We are working to bring folks closer together. Clearly there is no scenario under which our people support employer mandates or price controls.

Your six principles for reform follow:

1. PROTECT QUALITY -- There is a reason our health system is the envy of the world -- why people from every country in the world send their young people here to be trained, to do research; why they flock here for care -- the reason is quality. Thanks to our search for quality and excellence, we have defeated plagues, made spare parts for nearly every body organ, and can save the life of the smallest, frailest newborn. In our wish to lower costs and better manage our resources, let's not throw away our medical miracles.
2. PRESERVE CHOICE -- Consumers, not the government, should be the ones to make choices about where they get their care and from whom. At the heart of our free market system, is our ability to choose. In health care, as in no other industry, that choice is critical to maintaining quality health care for you and your family. As soon as Washington starts calling the shots on health care, we're all in deep trouble.
3. PRESERVE JOBS -- We all argue that we have to increase the number of people in the country who have access to health care and health insurance. What we don't want to do is put them out of work by mandating and taxing small business out of business. Making insurance affordable and available, creating jobs, keeping people at work and keeping our economy growing is the best prescription for better health care benefits.
4. NO GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED CARE -- Its a shame that some critics have to be reminded, but we are not Sweden or Germany or even Canada -- and we don't want to be. Yes, we've got real problems. But they require American solutions. Managed competition -- as it has been described to me -- builds on the private sector and helps people make

better choices about their families and what they need. The government should be there to help those who need it and have no other resources -- it's not there to control our lives. Americans don't want socialism but it seems this Administration is trying mightily to institute it whenever it can.

5. CONTROL COSTS NOT CARE -- Global budgets and price controls translate into reduced quality and rationed care. Controls on the prices of health care only postpones the necessary confrontation with the underlying demand that have produced their increase. Unfortunately, controls are inevitably targeted at the symptoms not the causes. Let's create an environment to reduce costs and utilization through a better, more appropriate use of services. Let's put responsibility on providers, employers and employees to use care wisely.
6. REAL TORT REFORM -- With no relief in sight from the constant threat of costly litigation, we have to find a way to finally reform the system. In no other industrialized country do health care providers confront the day-to-day threat of litigation. It's no wonder physicians find it hard to say no when a patient demands another test, or the physician simply orders another test to avoid questions later. That's no way to do business.

RUSSIAN AID

There are now 2 aid packages: the \$1.6 billion Vancouver package, of which \$900 million was Bush Administration programs, and the \$1.8 billion Tokyo package, announced with very little fanfare or explanation.

After first saying new legislation was not needed, then saying it was, the Administration now seems to be leaning toward the no new legislation approach.

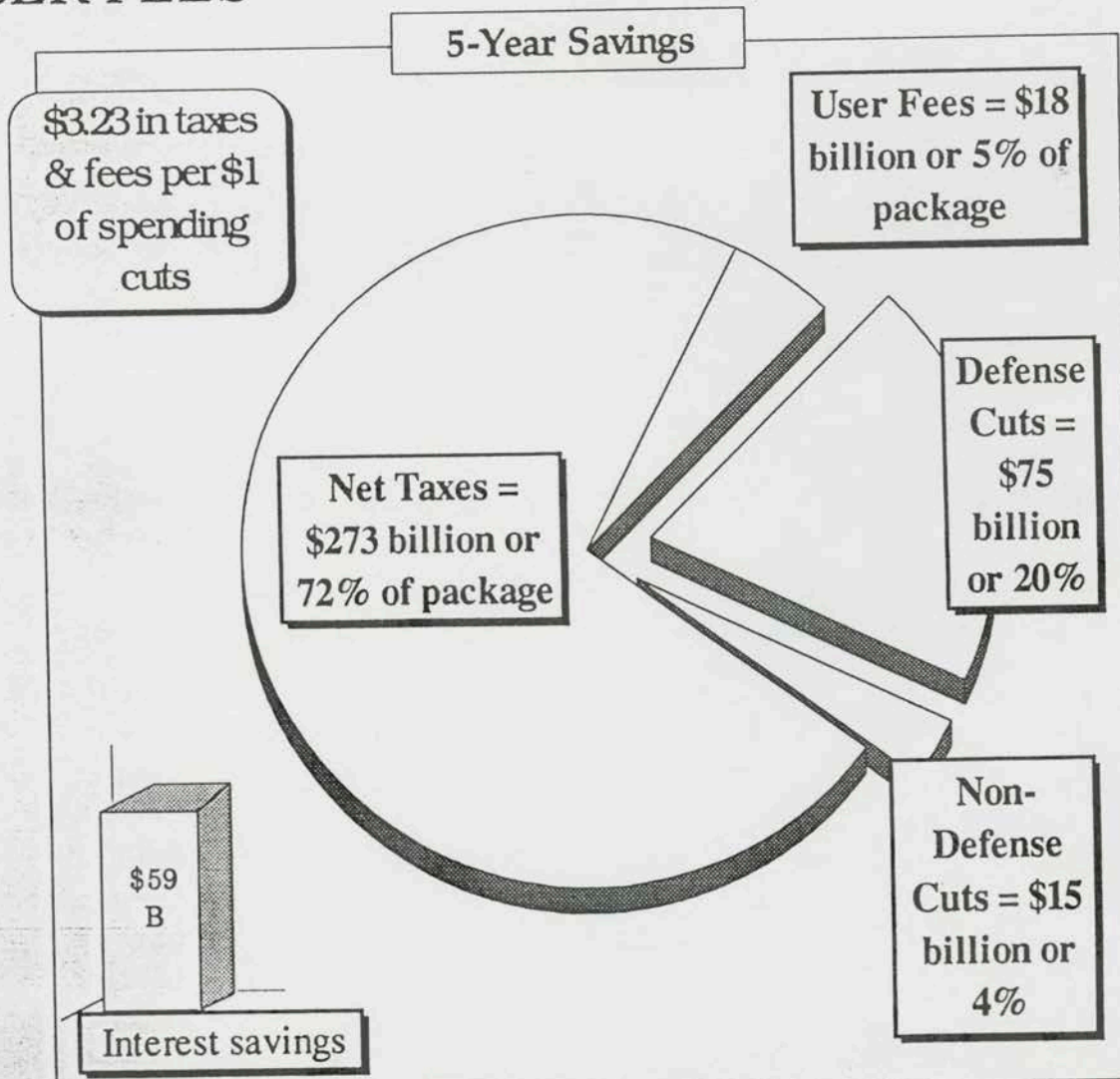
Still unanswered is where to find the \$1 billion to \$1.3 billion in outlays the two packages seem to require.

The White House is also expected to announce a review, with the bipartisan leadership of Congress, of the Cold War, e.g. Jackson-Vanik, laws which impede bilateral trade and investment. The main issue here is the some 2000 Russian Jews reportedly denied emigration visas. Yeltsin promised Clinton in Vancouver to look into this.

Distribution of Clinton's \$440 Billion Deficit Reduction Plan

Conference Report on H.Con. Res. 64

	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>
DEFENSE SAVINGS	\$75 B.	20%
NON-DEFENSE SAVINGS	\$15 B.	4%
NET NEW TAXES	\$273 B.	72%
USER FEES	\$18 B.	5%

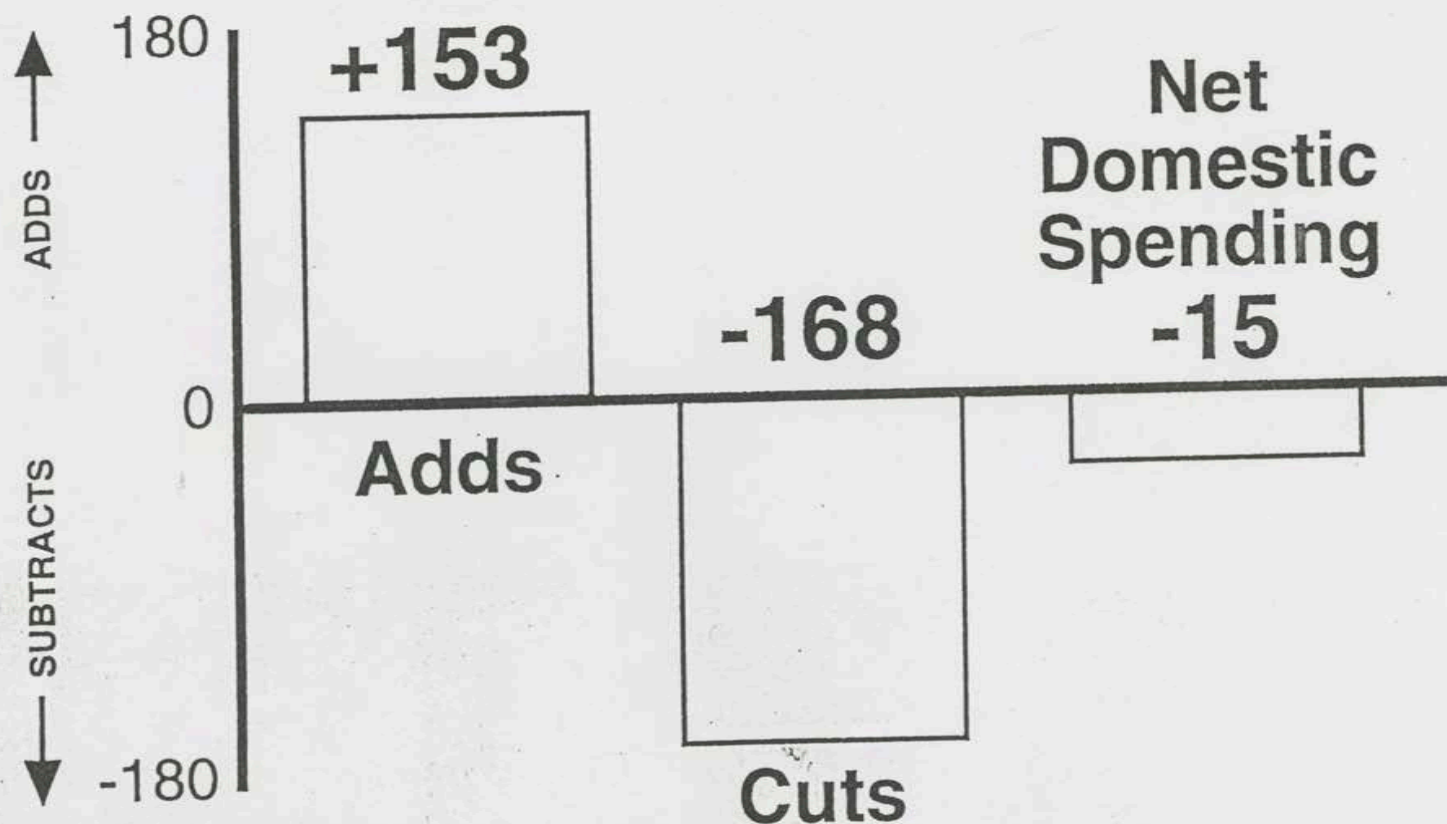


Source: Senate Budget Committee, Minority Staff. CBO "capped" baseline. March 31, 1993

Clinton Budget Plan

Domestic Spending Impact*

\$ in Billions
1994-1998



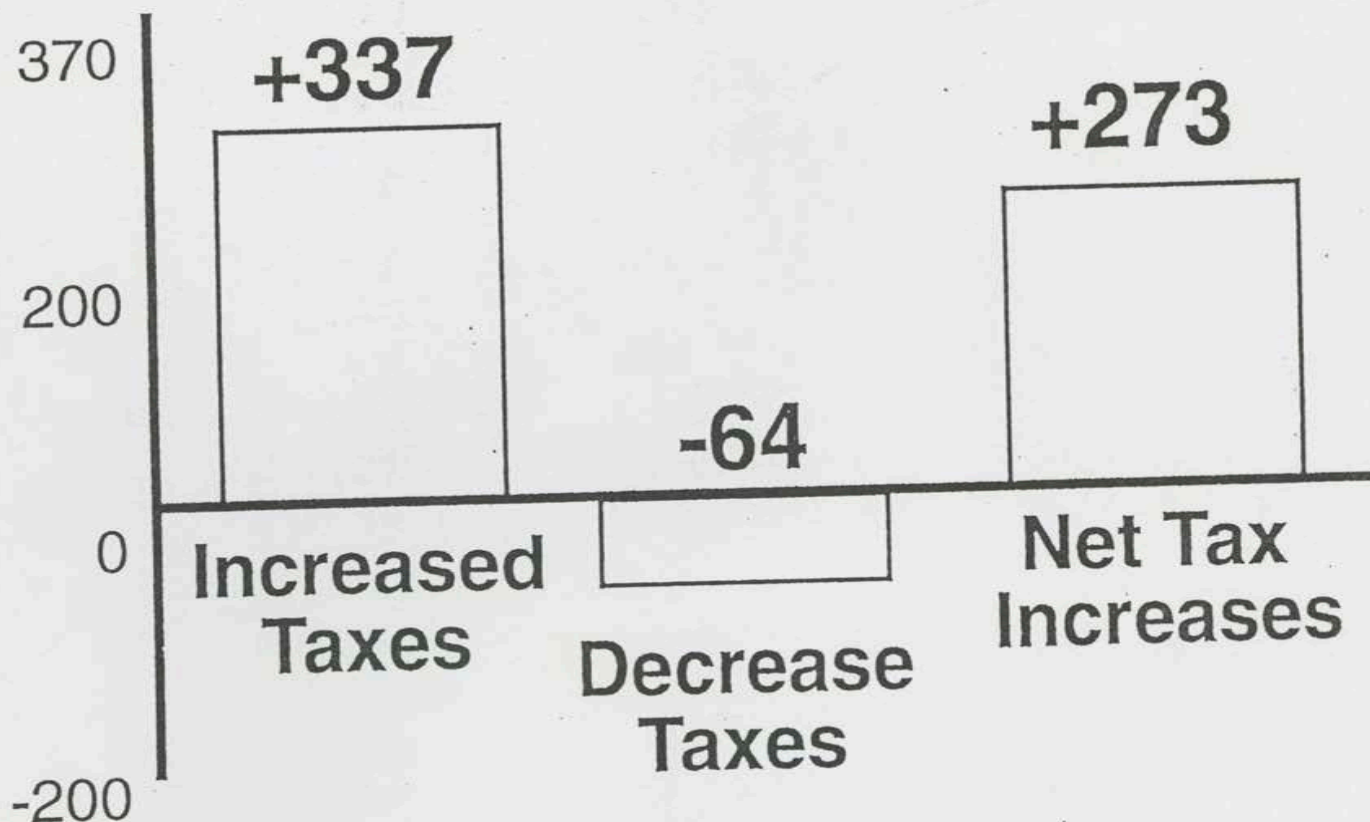
Note: Using CBO Capped Baseline
Clinton's plan, as reestimated by CBO,
and modified by the Budget Conference Agreement (4-1-93)
*Excludes Defense

Senate Budget Committee, Minority Staff

Clinton Budget Plan

Tax Proposal

\$ in Billions
1994-1998



Note: Clinton's plan, as reestimated by CBO,
and modified by the Budget Conference Agreement (4-1-93)

Senate Budget Committee, Minority Staff

**AMENDMENTS CONSIDERED DURING
DURING THE FY 1994 BUDGET RESOLUTION, S. CON. RES. 18
MARCH 18TH THROUGH 24TH, 1993**

Roll Call Vote #	Amend- ment #	Senator	Purpose	Result	Republican Yeas	Democratic Yeas	Republican Nays	Democratic Nays
#39	181	HARKIN	Sense of the Senate Inland waterways	Adopted 88 to 12	41	47	2	10
#40	182	NICKLES	Eliminate the Energy Tax	Rejected 46 to 53	43	3	0	53
#41	183	KENNEDY	Assumption Funding for Head Start	Adopted 84 to 12	29	55	12	0
#42	184	GRASSLEY	Freeze non-defense discre- tionary spending across- the-board for five years	Tabled 54 to 42	4	50	37	5
#43	185	DECONCINI	Assumption regarding BA and outlays for community policing	Adopted 56 to 44	0	56	43	1
#44	186	WELLSTONE	Sense of the Senate Energy tax and nonconven- tional fuels	Rejected 48 to 52	11	37	32	20
#45	188	BINGAMAN	Sense of the Senate Grazing and mining fees	Adopted 54 to 45	2	52	41	4
#46	189	NUNN	Sense of the Senate Defense COLA	Adopted 69 to 30	31	38	12	18
#47	192	NUNN	Sense of the Senate Defense savings to deficit	Adopted 56 to 43	42	14	1	42

Roll Call Vote #	Amend- ment #	Senator	Purpose	Result	Republican Yeas	Democratic Yeas	Republican Nays	Democratic Nays
#48	194	WALLOP	Energy Committee Reconciliation instructions	Tabled 59 to 40	5	54	38	2
#49	196	BROWN	Reduction of administrative overhead	Tabled 51 to 48	0	51	43	5
#50	198	DOMENICI	Defense spending consistent with Clinton's campaign promises	Tabled 58 to 41	6	52	37	4
#51	202	LEAHY	Assumption Funding levels for the WIC programs	Adopted 82 to 15	27	55	15	0
#52	209	GORTON	Inland waterways	Tabled 55 to 44	2	53	41	3
#53	203	MURKOWSKI	BTU tax and aviation fuels	Tabled 55 to 44	0	55	43	1
#54	215	BINGAMAN	Assumption Defense conversion	Adopted 70 to 29	15	55	28	1
#55	210	PRESSLER	Sense of the Senate Small business and taxes	Tabled 52 to 47	0	52	43	4
#56	217	SIMON	Assumption Education funding	Adopted 56 to 43	1	55	42	1
#57	240	LOTT	Strike the increase in the Social Security tax	Tabled 52 to 47	0	52	43	4

Roll Call Vote #	Amend- ment #	Senator	Purpose	Result	Republican Yeas	Democratic Yeas	Republican Nays	Democratic Nays
#58	242	LAUTENBERG	Sense of the Senate regarding Social Security	Adopted 67 to 32	12	55	31	1
#59	249	GRAMM	Taxes and spending	Tabled 55 to 44	0	55	43	1
	226	DECONCINI	Deficit Reduction Trust Fund	Adopted Voice Vote				
#60	258	DOLE/ DOMENICI	Substitute	Rejected 42-57	41	1	2	55
#61	254	KENNEDY	Sense of the Senate BTU tax and home heating oil	Adopted 62 to 37	15	47	6	9
#62	256	KRUEGER	Sense of the Senate Savings from streamlining government	Adopted 96-3	40	56	3	0
#63	257	BAUCUS	Sense of the Senate BTU and the agriculture industry	Adopted 93-6	40	53	3	3
#64	262	SASSER	Sense of the Senate Savings from entitlements	Adopted 95 to 4	39	56	4	0
#65	263	NUNN	Savings from entitlements	Tabled 51 to 47	1	50	42	5
#66	190	BURNS	Exempt off road fuel use from BTU tax	Tabled 54-44	0	54	42	2
#67	197	CRAIG	Davis-Bacon repeal	Tabled 69-29	13	56	29	0

Roll Call Vote #	Amend- ment #	Senator	Purpose	Result	Republican Yeas	Democratic Yeas	Republican Nays	Democratic Nays
#68	222	DUREN- BERGR	Exempt ethanol from BTU tax	Tabled 55 to 43	2	53	40	3
#69	234	STEVENS	Elimination reductions in Federal civil service survivors' annuity	Tabled 54 to 44	0	54	42	2
#70	204	MURKOWSKI	Exempt home heating oil	Tabled 52 to 46	0	52	42	4
#71	193	WARNER	Sense of the Senate, recon- sider the defense budget in case of international conflicts	Tabled 50 to 48	0	50	42	6*
	206	HATFIELD	Sense of the Senate concerning medical research	Adopted Voice Vote				
#72	233	MCCAIN	Restore military pay level to current law	Tabled 54 to 44	2	52	40	4
#73	243	THURMOND	Add \$11 billion to defense fro military pay raises	Tabled 55 to 42	2	53	39	3
	235	SPECTER	Sense of the Senate regarding health care reform	Adopted Voice Vote				
#74	227	KASSEBAUM	Reduce reconciliation instruc- tions to Senate Labor Comm.	Tabled 51 to 47	1	50	41	6
#75	264	BRADLEY	Sense of the Senate regarding line-item veto	Adopted 73 to 24	38	35	4	20

Roll Call Vote #	Amend- ment #	Senator	Purpose	Result	Republican Yeas	Democratic Yeas	Republican Nays	Democratic Nays
#76	208	BROWN	To eliminate unemployment benefits for individuals with incomes over \$120,000	Tabled 53 to 46	1	52	42	4
#77	195	KEMPTHORNE	Reducing budget authority for the legislative branch	Tabled 56 to 43	2	56	41	2
#78	200	COHEN	Sense of the Senate regarding expedited rescission authority	Failed to table 34 to 65	2	32	41	24
#79	246	GRAMM	Exempting partnerships and Subchapter S Corps. from individual income tax rates	Tabled 54 to 45	0	54	43	2
#80	253	BOND	Regarding the implementation of the line-item veto	Tabled 57 to 42	3	54	40	2
	250	SPECTER	Sense of the Senate relating to illegal drugs	Adopted Voice Vote				
#81	205	MURKOWSKI	Reduce the Energy Committee reconciliation instructions relating to mining law reform	Tabled 61 to 38	7	54	36	2
	224	COHEN	Sense of the Senate relating to funds for NASA	Adopted Voice Vote				
#82	223	CRAIG	Excluding Hydroelectric power from the new energy tax	Tabled 57 to 41	4	53	38	3
#83		FINAL PASSAGE		Adopted 54 to 45	0	54	43	2

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