

BUSH

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NOTE: All Bush votes used in the vulnerabilities section have been cross-checked with Senator Dole's voting record. If Senator Dole took the same or a similar position to that of Bush, that vote was not used as a Bush vulnerability.

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October 8, 1987

TOPIC: ABORTION
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"Bush supports use of the (federal) funds to pay for abortions in the case of rape or incest, as well as to save the life of the mother. He opposes a constitutional amendment overturning the Supreme Court's 1973 decision, but supports an amendment giving the states the authority to decide the issue."

Congressional Quarterly
March 15, 1980

"You know, there has been -- I have to make a confession -- an evolution in my position. ... The President and I do favor a human rights amendment. I favor one that would have an exception for incest and rape, and he doesn't, but we both ... only for the life of the mother, and I agree with him on that I support the President's position."

1984 Vice Presidential Debate

"I oppose the use of federal funds to pay for abortion except when the mother's life is physically endangered."

Statement by the Vice President
Published in the National
Right-to-Life News 9/27/84

"I am opposed to abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or when the life of the mother is threatened. I support a Constitutional amendment that would reverse the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision on abortion made in 1973. I support a Human Life amendment with an exception for life of the mother, rape, and incest, and I oppose the use of federal funds to pay for abortion except when the life of the mother is threatened."

Liberty Report November 1986

"Vice President Bush said today that he favored allowing abortions in cases of rape and incest The Vice President said that he favored adoption, education and family planning and "teaching about what causes having babies."

New York Times, October 7, 1987

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Vulnerabilities:

1. CHANGE OF POSITION: WHAT IS GEORGE BUSH'S POSITION ON ABORTION?

In 1980, as a presidential candidate, Bush opposed a "Human Life" constitutional amendment to ban abortion, and supported federal funding of abortion in cases of rape and incest.

In 1984, he announced support for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion, so long as it contained a rape and incest exception but also said he supported President Reagan's position (who has always been opposed to a rape and incest exception). In addition, he appears to have dropped his support for federal funding of abortion in cases of rape and incest.

In 1986, he appears to have reaffirmed his 1984 statements supporting a rape and incest exception only in a constitutional amendment. His 1987 statements, however, appear to support a rape and incest exception under all circumstances.

2. RAPE AND INCEST EXCEPTION: BUSH HOLDS TO EXCEPTION CLAUSES FOR HUMAN LIFE AMENDMENT.

Bush's support for a rape and incest exception puts him at odds with Right to Life advocates. As Dr. J.C. Wilkie, head of the National Right to Life Committee said, after a meeting with Bush in 1984, "Mr. Bush indicated to us that he will continue to ponder the issue. We hope that this will lead him to a full right to life position and that he will drop his support for a rape/incest exception to a Human Life Amendment." 9/27/84 NRL News.

3. DRAPER NOMINATION: BUSH SUPPORTED WILLIAM DRAPER, KNOWN TO BE AT ODDS WITH PRESIDENT'S ABORTION POLICY, FOR A KEY U.N. POST.

Bush provoked the ire of conservative groups by backing Export-Import Bank Chief William Draper's nomination to head the U.N. Development Program, which has jurisdiction over the UN Fund for Population Assistance (UNFPA) Draper differed with Reagan's policy against U.S. funding for foreign population control programs that provide abortion services.

4. POPULATION CONTROL SPONSOR: BUSH JOINED LIBERALS IN ADVOCATING POPULATION CONTROL PROGRAMS WHILE IN THE HOUSE.

During his tenure in the House of Representatives, Bush was a strong advocate of international and domestic population control programs that are unpopular with conservative groups.

"I have decided to give my vigorous support to measures for population control in both the United States and the world."

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"At the same time we are rushing to increase the world's food supply, we must also seek to promote information about family planning and to provide those nations which request them with birth control devices. Such methods as the intrauterine device--IUD--and the contraceptive pill...We must make sure that these are available on a massive scale to the people who need them and want them."

"After these first necessary steps have been taken, these countries could turn to more sophisticated approaches, such as providing incentives for their people to limit the size of their families voluntarily. At the same time we should continue research into better means of birth control--such as injections and male contraceptives..."

Remarks, U.S. House of
Representatives, Tuesday, July 30,
1968

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o My position on the abortion question is quite clear. I have always supported a constitutional amendment to overturn Roe v Wade. I have always supported "Hyde" type restrictions on federal funding of abortion. I have consistently opposed exceptions for cases of rape and incest.

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TOPIC: AGRICULTURE
SUBTOPIC: FARM BILL 1985
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"I support the administration's attempt to phase out, over a reasonable period, those government subsidies that distort the agricultural market and restrict trade--if and only if, our trading partners do the same."

"I believe there are three keys to that glide path--open markets abroad, new markets at home, and development of the rural economy.

"At the same time, we should take a serious look at the focus of our agricultural research efforts. For decades, we have put our primary emphasis on increasing production. But increasing farmers' production does not necessarily increase farmer's profits. We should also concentrate on lowering the cost it takes to produce a bushel of corn."

-Statement on rebuilding rural America
7/31/87

Vulnerabilities:

1. INEFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP: BUSH WAS ON THE SIDELINES, WHILE DOLE AUTHORED AND SECURED ENACTMENT OF THE 1985 FARM BILL

1985 White House proposals for agriculture were a disaster and not taken seriously on the Hill. Dole rescued the situation by offering a more reasoned, balanced approach.

2. DOUBLE STANDARD: WHILE PROFESSING SUPPORT FOR THE '85 FARM BILL, BUSH'S SURROGATES IN IOWA ATTACKED DOLE INVOLVEMENT WITH THE BILL.

A staff memo authorized by George Wittgraff, chairman of the Bush campaign in Iowa, stated that Dole hurt Iowa farmers by cutting deals in favor of wheat producers in the 1985 Farm Bill. The "Whittgate" memo created an uproar and Bush had to publicly back away from it. As Iowa's Senator Chuck Grassley stated "The charge that (Dole) helped wheat at the expense of corn?" "It absolutely can't stick." (April 5, 1987 Kansas City Star)

The memo proved an embarrassment for Bush, who has since come out firmly in favor of the 1985 "Dole" Farm Bill. As he admitted last summer, "There is strong evidence that the farm bill is beginning to work. (Statements by VP; July 31, 1987) And more recently, he stated "I'll give Bob Dole plenty of credit for agriculture and for coming from a neighboring state, and if that's what Iowans want, I can understand that.(Des Moines Register, 10/7/87)

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Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o As a farm state Senator with years experience on the Agriculture Committee, I understand the needs of the American farmer. Instead of sitting on the sidelines, I have been a player in virtually every major piece of farm legislation passed over the past two decades. These bills weren't all perfect. But at least we tried to address the tough issues presented by the farm economy.
- o In 1985, with a Republican majority, we in the Senate were finally able to craft a balanced, fiscally responsible bill that has been successful in turning the farm economy around. Farm exports are up, farm land values are stabilizing and net cash income for farmers hit record levels last year and is expected to rise further next year.

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TOPIC: AGRICULTURE
SUBTOPIC: ETHANOL
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"But the bottom line for Iowa farmers and businessmen is economic -- would greater use of ethanol mean higher commodity prices and increased demand for local crops? The answer is yes. Instead of storing crops and taking federal payments, farmers could sell them to the energy companies that would spring up (in addition to those already in business) to convert the crops to ethanol fuel. Demand would rise, commodity prices would rise, and we wouldn't have to put Iowans out of work to satisfy some Washington bureaucrat's master plan that says how little our farmers must produce each year"

-Statement by the V.P. 3/6/1987

Vulnerabilities:

1. SUPPORT FOR METHANOL: WHILE BUSH HAS PROFESSED SUPPORT FOR ETHANOL, A TASK FORCE HE HEADED PUSHED METHANOL AS AN ALTERNATIVE FUEL SOURCE: GOOD FOR THE SAUDIS, BUT BAD FOR THE AMERICAN FARMER.

The Task Force on Regulatory Relief which Vice-President Bush headed strongly recommended development of methanol as an alternative fuel. "The purchase of 5,000 vehicles capable of running on methanol is one of a series of steps a Vice Presidential task force recommends to promote greater use of alternative fuels. This would be a good way to take the pressure off the hard-hit areas, and it's also good for the future. The task force also calls for development of kits to convert diesel transit buses to methanol." (Kansas City Star; Wednesday, July 15, 1987.

Farmers fear that methanol will "crowd-out" ethanol production. It would be good news for the Saudis however. With the price per gallon of natural gas from Saudi Arabia at 24¢ and from domestic sources at 36-37¢ a significant portion of the natural gas used for methanol production would come from foreign sources.

2. C. BOYDEN GRAY: A KEY BUSH ADVISOR ATTEMPTED TO AID ETHANOL IMPORTS AT THE EXPENSE OF DOMESTIC PRODUCERS.

A federal Judge of the U.S. Court of International Trade stated that C. Boyden Gray, a key Bush advisor, attempted to undermine domestic ethanol producers by trying to influence the Customs Service on behalf of a Louisiana importer of low cost ethanol from Brazil. (Des Moines Register; June 14, 1986)

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This effort by Gray contradicts Bush's public stance that "ethanol and methanol can be made here--from surplus grain, surplus natural gas, and, hopefully, our vast stores of coal. (Remarks by V.P. August 4, 1987

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o I have been a supporter of ethanol use for a long time -- 17 years. In fact, I cosponsored the original legislation to exempt ethanol from the gasoline sales tax back in 1978 and every increase and extension since.
- o I introduced a bill with Sen. Grassley and members of the Iowa House delegation to extend the exemption through the year 2000. The bill would also make half a billion dollars available over five years to foster the growth of the U.S. ethanol industry.
- o I also led successful efforts last year to close tax loopholes that were allowing foreign ethanol to come into the U.S. through the Caribbean basin. A big advantage to development of ethanol as an alternative fuel is to help end our reliance on foreign energy sources. It just doesn't make sense to encourage imported alternative fuels.

December 5, 1987

TOPIC: BUDGET
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"These deficits are a result of over-spending, not under-taxation. The Reagan-Bush Administration has submitted one budget after another that shows the congress how to make the cuts necessary to balance the budget without raising taxes. Our F.Y. 1987 budget is a blue print for cutting unnecessary federal spending and balancing the budget."

Liberty Report
November, 1986

"But we should work to balance the budget not by raising taxes but by cutting spending. And we will fight a tax increase every step of the way. And yes, again for the faint of heart, give us the Balanced Budget amendment and the Line Item veto, and watch those deficits come down.

-Speech, Des Moines, Iowa
May 30, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

1. INCONSISTENT POSITIONS: BUSH HAS SAID HE WANTS TO BE REMEMBERED AS THE EDUCATION PRESIDENT, YET HE HAS EMBRACED ADMINISTRATION BUDGETS THAT WOULD CUT BILLIONS FROM THE EDUCATION BUDGET.

The Administration proposed to cut \$5.5 billion from education in 1988 despite wide consensus on the need to improve our schools. (NOTE: On November 24, 1987 at the Republican Governors Association meeting, George Bush stated, "I can say unequivocally that I will not support any further cuts in total federal funding for education." We can spend more wisely, but we must not spend less." Despite this claim, Bush has failed to address questions as to how he could support White House budgets that included substantial cuts in education.)

2. RECKLESS CUTS: BUSH STANDS PROUD ON THE REAGAN BUDGETS EVEN THOUGH THEY CONTAINED DISPROPORTIONATE CUTS IN PROGRAMS WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FEEL MUST BE A NATIONAL PRIORITY.

Administration budget proposals have included the following:

- o an increase in medicare premiums from 25% of program cost to 35%, a move which would raise premiums \$10 per month for 30 million elderly and disabled recipients
- o a fixed cap on total medicaid spending that would reduce care for poor and sick Americans
- o a 12% cut in 1988 funding for critical medical research at the NIH

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- o reductions in the number of persons receiving social security disability benefits with the result that many truly disabled individuals lost their federal aid
- o termination of eight soil and water conservation programs greatly favored in the farm belt.

3. UNWORKABLE WHITE HOUSE BUDGET: BUSH'S "BLUEPRINT" FOR DEFICIT REDUCTION -- THE ADMINISTRATION'S BUDGET -- CANNOT PASS THE CONGRESS.

All of the White House budget proposals since 1982 -- Bush's blueprints for cutting unnecessary federal spending and balancing the budget -- have been Dead on Arrival to Congress. In addition, the CBO estimated that the 1987 budget fell almost \$100 billion short of Gramm-Rudman goals. The Congress drafted and passed a significantly different budget.

4. FLIP-FLOP ON BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT: IN THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, BUSH OPPOSED A CONSTITUTIONAL BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

Bush took a position in opposition to a balanced budget constitutional amendment as a 1980 Presidential candidate, and instead advocated achievement of a balanced budget through statutory measures. (Congressional Quarterly, Nov. 17, 1979)

5. BUSH IS NOT TELLING IT LIKE IT IS ON THE BUDGET DEFICIT.

Bush has said he supports balancing the budget. At the same time, he has promised that he will not raise taxes, that he will lower the tax rate on capital gains, and that he will push for programs that will cost more money in the areas of education, narcotics enforcement, alternative fuels subsidies, and a trust fund for recreation programs and land aquisition. He has also called for a greater defense budget to overcome the imbalances in conventional forces.

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o As Chairman of the Finance Committee and Republican Leader of the Senate, I have been a key player in every major deficit reduction package that has passed Congress over the past six years. I have stood up to the special interests and made the hard choices required to reduce the deficit.
- o We have to be realistic when it comes to the budget deficit. Some candidates are promising to spend more, lower taxes even further and still say they can reduce the deficit. They simply aren't telling it like it is.
- o The next President will need to push the Congress and push it hard to impose further restraints on spending. People can complain all they want about Congress' spending too much money, but the fact is, without Congress' cooperation,

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there's not much the President can do to achieve significant reductions in spending levels.

- o Rather than singling out specific proposals for large, disproportionate cuts as the Administration has proposed in years past, I would propose a budget plan that required everyone -- save society's vulnerable -- to contribute a little. What's more, my experience in Congress convinces me that this type of plan -- one that is fair and evenly distributed -- is the only kind that can pass Congress.

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October 21, 1987

TOPIC: CRIME/DRUGS
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

To date, Vice President Bush has not made crime a major theme in his campaign. He has cited the fact that he headed a Task Force on South Florida's drug crime, has spoken out against drug abuse, and has suggested that the death penalty may not be "unreasonable" for drug pushers.

On October 16, 1987, the President sent an executive communication to the Congress outlining the Administration's proposed Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1987. The Act centers on three measures: Exclusionary rule -- under the bill, evidence would be admissible if an officer acted in an objectively reasonable belief that his conduct was lawful; Habeas corpus -- the bill would curb the abuse of habeas corpus by imposing reasonable limits on its scope and availability; Capital punishment -- establish an enforceable capital sanction for crimes of aggravated murder, espionage, and treason. Substantially similar proposals were included in the Administration's Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1983.

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o I have done more than study law enforcement's ongoing battle with drug crime. I was the principle sponsor of the 1986 Anti-Drug Act, which committed an additional \$850 million to drug enforcement.
- o In addition, as a former member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I was integrally involved in the development of the 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control Act which toughened federal bail, sentencing, and forfeiture laws for drug offenses -- all of which have significantly strengthened law enforcement's hand in the fight against drugs.

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TOPIC: DEFENSE
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

SDI:

"So, we have a fundamental question to answer: will we --can we--continue to rely on nuclear weapons as the foundation of our deterrence capacity? The President's answer to that question is, 'No, we should not continue our present degree of reliance on nuclear means--if there is an alternative.' But there is such an alternative. Maybe not in the short term, but in the long term, SDI will be an effective deterrent. The approach I favor is to shift away from total reliance on offensive retaliation toward greater reliance on strategic defenses. Our vigorous SDI program is helping us answer the questions we must have answered before we can make such a shift. Isn't it better, as we move forward in the nuclear age, to put weapons at risk, not people? This is the natural underlining of our program."

Naval Academy Commencement Address
May 20, 1987

Conventional Defense:

"We have a massive conventional forces imbalance. And if we can get a deal on conventional forces that is a good one, we can spend less. But we don't have that deal and we cannot continue to endure significant cuts in the muscle of defense."

Bush on Meet the Press
December 13, 1987

"I think (military spending) ought to keep going, and it will, go up. And it should go up, we're in an expanding economy, we're in expanding budgetary times."

Washington Post, December 12, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

See budget section, p. 9

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TOPIC: DEFENSE
SUBTOPIC: ARMS CONTROL
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"This President, I believe, will be the first President in the nuclear age to achieve a significant reduction, if not elimination, of one category of nuclear weapons. I think I'd be better than any Republican or Democrat running for President to build on that and add to it and get reductions in strategic weapons and hopefully to ban chemical weapons--a treaty I put on the table in Geneva three years ago."

-Bush on Arms Control, WP 7/18/87

"George Bush drew a line in the political sand yesterday, challenging his rivals for the GOP Presidential nomination to declare themselves on the arms-control pact being negotiated with the Soviet Union. ... 'I think we are going to get an arms-control agreement, and I want to press my opponents in this race to say whether they are for or against it ... or are going to be off trying to find some excuse not to be for it,' Mr Bush said."

- "Bush Defies the Right Wing on
Arms Issue," Washington Times
October 14, 1987

During the Firing Line debate, Bush said, "I'm just back from Europe, and . . . they all support the (INF) agreement. Of course, they want to read the treaty. I like an agreement that takes out 1,600 Soviet warheads for 400 of ours. I believe it will be verifiable. I believe our country wants it. I know Europe wants it. (T)his is the first time in the nuclear age that we are getting rid of an entire generation of nuclear weapons, and that's good for my grandchildren and the rest of the world."

- from Firing Line debate transcript

Though Bush touts his foreign policy expertise and influence, the Vice President told a high school audience that he didn't know what his role would be in the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit. Moreover, Bush implied that his campaign was his number one priority as Vice President.

"I don't know what my role will be. I'd like to take part, but I've got to continue to do what I need to do every day . . . to win this nomination."

- Washington Post, November 1, 1987

"On arms control, Mr. Bush has laid out an agenda touching virtually every area of U.S.-Soviet competition. He says he expects the Reagan administration to wrap up an agreement for 50% cuts in strategic, or

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long-range, nuclear weapons before leaving office. Then, Mr. Bush tells audiences, he will push for negotiated reductions in conventional forces."

Wall Street Journal 12/31/87

Vulnerabilities:

1. INF TREATY: BUSH'S EARLY BACKING OF INF NEGOTIATIONS HAS LOCKED HIM INTO A CONTROVERSIAL TREATY, POSITIONED HIM AGAINST CONSERVATIVES, AND REINFORCED THE PERCEPTION THAT HE IS A WEAK LEADER AND REAGAN ADMINISTRATION CHEERLEADER."

Bush's blind loyalty to the INF treaty -- before it has even been finalized -- puts him on the wrong side of many conservatives who have raised substantial questions about the treaty focusing on verification and links to START and reductions in conventional forces. It also reinforces the perception that he simply follows the Reagan lead, instead of staking out his own position, and conservative fears that, as President, he could be overly accomodating toward the Soviets.

2. WEAK LEADERSHIP: BUSH'S IMAGE AS LACKING ASSERTIVENESS AND INDEPENDENCE OF WILL, COMBINED WITH HIS FOREIGN POLICY GAFFES AND APPARENT LACK OF INFLUENCE ON ADMINISTRATION FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS, RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW EFFECTIVELY HE WOULD DEAL WITH THE SOVIETS.

Bush's Iran-Contra affair alibis, coupled with his apparent lack of influence in most major foreign policy matters, underscore his image as a weak leader and raise questions about his effectiveness in dealing with the Soviets. (See Foreign Affairs, Subtopic Leadership for further commentary on leadership weakness.)

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o Meaningful nuclear arms reductions is at the top of my policy agenda. Negotiating with the Soviets requires strong, leadership and a firm hand. Sending mixed signals or showing any sign of weakness can spell disaster.
- o The American people know this. Polls show arms control to be a top priority for most Americans. They also show that the American people don't trust the Soviets.
- o Over twenty-five years in Congress, coupled with my leadership positions in the Senate, have taught me how to be tough -- too tough according to some Democrats. I've stood up to Senate liberals on things like SDI, aid for the contras, the balanced budget amendment, gun control, and Reagan judicial appointments.
- o During the course of my career, I have also had some dealings with the Soviets on things like trade and human rights. They are hard-nosed negotiators -- in dealing with them, you can leave nothing to faith. That is why I took the time to read the document before announcing my support for it. And that is why I firmly believe we in the Senate can improve the treaty -- without requiring renegotiation -- in such areas as verification and compliance, as well as others.

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TOPIC: EDUCATION
SUBTOPIC: FINANCIAL AID FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"I want to be remembered as the 'education President.' That's what I want to be remembered for on the domestic side. I think the best answer to many of the problems we're beginning to talk about here is an educated America."

- from Firing Line debate transcript

Education is a central topic in Bush's stump speeches. He considers financial aid for higher education one of the most important items on the "unfinished agenda." Bush asserts that education is our best weapon against poverty and our most effective tool to improve America's competitive edge in world markets.

"I believe a college education should be financed in three stages--with money saved by the parents before the college years, with work and student aid during college, and with loans to be paid off after graduation."

"Now I believe that the time may be right to consider these proposals at the federal level. One that I particularly favor is creation of a college savings bond...Such a program would address only part of the problem, however. Economic access to college would remain a hurdle for those who lack the ability to save any amount at all. For such families, I would support additional help at the federal level--continued funding of the College Work-Study program, expansion of the Income-Contingent Loan program, and Contingent Loan program, and continuation of grants to low-income students."

-Remarks by Bush at National Conference
of State Legislatures,
Indianapolis 7/28/87

Some of these things (education proposals) can be done at little or no cost -- assigning more homework, for example. Others will cost money -- some of it federal money -- and that is a problem as we grapple with the deficit. But I can say unequivocally that I will not support any further cuts in total federal funding for education. We can spend more wisely, but we must not spend less.

- Remarks by Bush at the Republican
Governors Association,
Santa Fe, New Mexico, 11/24/87

Mr. Bush has laid out his most detailed new agenda in education. For starters, he pledges to spend more money on it than has the administration he now serves. He has called for added financing for Head Start and other programs for needy preschoolers and wants to

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maintain financing for Pell college-student grants, which the administration has tried to cut. He endorses competence tests and merit pay for teachers.

Wall Street Journal, December 31, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

1. JOHNNY COME LATELY: THOUGH BUSH HAS CLAIMED THE IDEA AS HIS OWN, SENATOR DOLE HAS BEEN PROPOSING INCENTIVES FOR COLLEGE EDUCATION SAVINGS SINCE THE 95th CONGRESS.

As early as the 95th Congress, Senator Dole proposed the idea of a college savings bond. Since then, he has introduced a variety of "education savings account" proposals in an effort to find a cost effective, consensus approach on this issue.

2. INCONSISTENCY: THOUGH BUSH HAS GIVEN LIP SERVICE TO THE PROBLEM OF HIGH COLLEGE COSTS, THE WHITE HOUSE BUDGET PROPOSALS HE HAS EMBRACED WOULD HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY CUT HIGHER EDUCATION AID.

George Bush has embraced the White House's 1987 Budget plan as his "blue print" for deficit reduction. This budget, however, called for substantial cuts in college student assistance, including \$1.1 billion from the Guaranteed Student Loan Program. As reported in Congressional Quarterly, this budget would cut the number of students receiving federal financial aid from 5.6 million in FY '86 to 4.3 million in 1987 -- a significant drop of 1.3 million students. (Feb. 8, 1986)

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o My attitude toward education is heavily influenced by my upbringing. My parents were hard-working people, but times were tough. Neither of them had finished high school, so they valued education as the primary means for their children to get ahead. They made sure we studied hard and they held us to account if we didn't.
- o There is a lot wrong with America's education system today. Thirty-two percent of our high school students do not know that Columbus discovered America before 1750. Twenty percent do not know when, where, or by whom the first atom bomb was used.
- o What's needed most? Not more federal spending. Rather, first and foremost, we need to get back to basics -- to return to the kind of basic skills and values that our parents instilled in us.
- o Clearly, there are other things we also need to do. My own priorities include: promoting programs of proven effectiveness like merit pay and magnet schools; putting greater emphasis on technical skills; and making college education more affordable through tax incentives for college savings accounts.
- o Unfortunately, there are limits to what many programs can accomplish if kids have failed to master skills in basic courses like English, science, and math. Getting back to basics should be our top priority -- and that's just a matter of basic common sense.

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TOPIC: ENERGY
SUBTOPIC: OIL
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"Lower energy prices benefit everybody but at some point, they could jeopardize the national security of the United States by making the United States dependent on foreign oil" He said deregulation of natural gas and changes in the windfall profits tax are needed "to restore a certain degree of incentive to the industry."

-Speech in Iowa as reported in Des Moines Register

Vulnerabilities:

1. SAUDI TRIP: BUSH ASKED SAUDIS TO NOT REDUCE OIL PRICES.

During a 1986 trip to Saudi Arabia, Bush made a controversial call on the Saudis to "shore-up" falling oil prices. Though polls at the time showed that Bush's support for keeping oil prices high was popular in oil producing regions, it was unpopular in those areas that were benefitting from lower prices. In fact, one headline in a Detroit paper read, "George Bush to Detroit: Drop Dead." Political commentators at the time also suggested that the comment hurt Bush with the elderly and homeowners who benefit from lower heating costs.

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o The energy crisis is still with us. It really never went away. Now with the recent collapse in oil prices -- largely caused by OPEC manipulation -- energy consumption is rising, domestic production is declining and oil imports are increasing.
- o It is absolutely essential to the economic health of the United States to have a reliable and reasonably priced supply of energy. If we have to take action to shore up oil and gas prices, let's do it in a way that will benefit our domestic producers, not OPEC members. Repeal of the so-called windfall profits tax and eventual decontrol of natural gas incentives are examples of steps that we should take.

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TOPIC: ENVIRONMENT
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

According to the Washington Post, Bush "has praised a report on the outdoors that called for a national system of scenic byways and 'greenways' and establishment of a \$1 billion trust fund for recreation programs and land aquisition."

Washington Post, 11/16/87

U.S. News and World Reports stated that "Vice President Bush, eager to put distance between himself and President Ronald Reagan's controversial policies on acid-rain control, toxic-dump cleanup and global warming, will try to stitch together a bipartisan coalition on the environment. . . He is even soliciting help from former Carter administration officials."

USNWR 11/23/87

Vulnerabilities

Under review

Dole Position -- Positive Points

As majority leader and a senior member of the Senate Finance Committee, I played a key role in persuading the President to sign the 1986 Superfund reauthorization, and I have a record of support for a fiscally responsible fund at key junctures in its legislative history.

- o This summer I cosponsored legislation to protect the ozone layer from further erosion by halon and chlorofluorocarbons.
- o I intend to include acid rain provisions in the reauthorization of the Clean Air Act, which is awaiting Senate action. We've studied this problem enough. We know there is a problem -- the evidence is there in dying forests, lakes devoid of life, buildings and monuments that have been corroded. This is a controversial issue, but it's time to reach agreement and act.

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TOPIC: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBTOPIC: ISRAEL:
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"There is much that holds us together, of course, and not just old history and shared values. You know as I do that the moral element, Israel's moral right to exist, is the transcendent fact on which we agree. And there is the shared commitment to Democracy and Democratic principles--and the sheer bottom line strategic considerations: we need Israel, we Americans, and Israel needs us. This mutual dependence is good, not bad."

-Remarks by Bush at council of Jewish
Federations; November 15, 1986

In regard to the White House statement chastising Israel, and the Administration's decision to abstain from voting in the United Nations Security Council, thus permitting passage of a resolution censuring Israel for the way it handled the Palestinian demonstrations, the New York Times wrote, "Most presidential candidates except for Vice President Bush and Senator Dole, are critical of President Reagan's policy on the West Bank and Gaza strip. . . Mr. Bush defended the Administration's stance. Mr. Bush . . . said he recognized 'Israel's responsibility to restore law and order' but thought 'more humane ways' could be found to control the demonstrations in the West Bank and Gaza."

New York Times, December 31, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

1. CRITICISM OF WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS: THOUGH BUSH HAS ACTIVELY WOODED U.S. JEWISH GROUPS, HIS QUESTIONING OF THE LEGITIMACY OF WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS IN 1980 COULD STILL PROVE TO BE A SORE SPOT.

In the 1980 presidential campaign, Bush distanced himself from other Republican hopefuls by saying "I don't think they should go ahead and just continue to build settlements on the West Bank."
(From Issues and Answers Interview)

The LINK
January/February 1980

October 8, 1987

TOPIC: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBTOPIC: SOUTH AFRICA
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

Mr. Bush said he shared the "indignation" many blacks have about the situation in South Africa. But he said he differed over whether total economic and political isolation of that country was the only way to achieve change. "The state of emergency must be lifted...restrictions on a free press and free expression must go. Apartheid must end."

-New York Times 77th Annual Convention
of NAACP July 4, 1986

Vulnerabilities:

None identified at this point.

October 8, 1987

TOPIC: FOREIGN AFFAIRS
SUBTOPIC: LEADERSHIP ISSUES
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Bush has touted his foreign policy credentials as one of his great strengths as a Presidential candidate. As he told the Post in a July 5, 1987 story, "I think I know more about foreign affairs because I did that, because I was at the U.N., because I ran the CIA."

The Iran/Contra affair, however, combined with his apparent lack of influence on major Administration foreign policy decisions, gaffes during overseas trips, and image of weakness, all suggest that if anything, foreign policy is one of his great vulnerabilities. Attached are: a sampling of quotes by influential foreign policy figures and commentators about the Vice-President's role in foreign policy during the Reagan years; a list of some of the major foreign policy gaffes committed by Vice-President Bush; and summaries of his involvement in the Iran/Contra affair.

QUOTES RE BUSH'S LACK OF FOREIGN POLICY INFLUENCE

"Mr. Bush is seldom viewed by lawmakers as important in resolving substantive disagreements with the White House, even in foreign affairs, Mr. Bush's strong suit as a former head of the CIA. 'It didn't occur to me' to line up the vice president's support,' said former Senate Foreign Relations chairman Richard Lugar. 'In terms of congressional interplay in developing Central America, South Africa, arms control policy or what have you, George Bush has really not been a player,' the Indiana Republican said."

WSJ August, 12, 1987

"Richard Haas, a former State Department official, in an attempt to praise the vice president for his efforts during his trip to NATO countries in early 1983 (concerning the deployment of missiles) could only suggest that "he carried the mail very well."

WSJ August, 12, 1987

"Bush has seized few initiatives as vice-president and made few issues his own. There have been no kitchen debates with Russians, and on most of the great issues of the Reagan years, Bush's role is a mystery. Richard Perle does not know whose side Bush took in the battles between Caspar Weinberger and George Shultz over U.S.-Soviet Relations and arms control."

New Republic, March 30, 1987

October 8, 1987

Lack of leadership was also an issue in the 1980 campaign. Following the flap over the Nashua, New Hampshire debate -- wherein Reagan forces infuriated Bush forces by switching the format from a Reagan-Bush debate to a forum with all of the candidates -- Bush was criticized for his refusal to yield to the change and his reluctance to cross the publisher of the Nashua Telegraph. An unnamed Republican candidate was quoted after the affair as saying, "If Bush can't handle some publisher from Nashua, how could he deal with the Russians?"

In subsequent commentary, Morton Kondracke wrote,

"I think this anonymous candidate was on to something about Bush's character. At whatever job he's held, Bush never imposed strong personal control on any of the organizations he headed or bucked the system he was appointed to supervise. Rather, he eagerly carried out the orders of his superiors--Nixon, Kissinger, Ford--and acted as a cheerleader for his subordinates. When the CIA was criticized for not being tough enough in analyzing Soviet intentions, Bush simply appointed an outside team to deliver a hawkish second report, leaving it to the president to choose which was correct."

New Republic, March 8, 1980

There was barely any mention of Bush in the Tower Commission Report. Bush was not an influential player. As Tower commission member Brent Scowcroft stated:

"(Bush) wasn't a player, just an adviser to the President. There was no evidence on him at all, other than attendance at a couple of meetings, and sometimes people weren't even sure he was there. Given that, we just left him out."

New Republic, March 30, 1987

"Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams said Bush had 'no visible impact' on Central American policy. 'Nobody goes to him for help.' 'He's never mentioned as a player. Maybe silence is consent.'"

New Republic, March 30, 1987

"Patrick Buchanan underscored Bush's lack of political leadership stating, 'Everybody (at the White House) respects him as an individual, but do they see him as a decisive political figure? You'll find question marks around the building, based on observation.'"

New Republic, March 30, 1987

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BUSH FOREIGN POLICY GAFFES

Bush's Faux Pas Over Soviet Mechanics.

Following a meeting with 16 NATO ambassadors, Bush was asked by reporters what he had learned that was "new?" In response, Bush said he was informed that the Soviets staged a military operation recently involving 350 tanks and they "never had a mechanical breakdown." Following this he added, "when the mechanics who keep those tanks running run out of work in the Soviet Union, send them to Detroit because we could use that kind of ability." Bush's comments angered union leaders and sent his aides scrambling to prevent political damage. Bush's faux pas also undermines his efforts to use his Poland trip to appeal to the large Polish-American community around Detroit.

Following the trip, Bush referred to the gaffe, stating, "I thought I was trying to be funny and obviously it didn't work very well. I wish I'd never said it because it's controversial and I have to explain and I'm very, very sorry about it. If I offended anybody I'm very sorry because I didn't intend to do it. I'm one who has had great respect for the way our automotive people have moved forward in quality."

Despite his apology, Bush incurred the wrath of Owen Bieber, president of the United Auto Workers union. In a written statement Bieber said, "It was plain wrong and inaccurate for the vice president to say that U.S. workmanship is poor, but to then suggest that Soviet mechanical abilities are superior adds injury. (Bush) should be spending his time abroad supporting this nation's industries and promoting made-in-America quality."

European Tour

Many Journalists perceived the Vice President's European tour as a mere prelude to his Oct. 12 announcement as a formal candidate. Bush was questioned throughout the tour about the presence of a camera crew supplied by his presidential campaign.

Picking up the theme of politics over substance, the New York Times noted that "the solemn occasion (at the Birkenau concentration camp) was disturbed by herds of security officials, Bush staff aides and reporters, who recorded the Vice President's moves. At several points, aides positioned members of Mr. Bush's entourage out of the angle of television cameras to enable the film crews to get clear shots of the Vice President arriving at the camp, walking toward the Wall of Death, and along the driveway leading to the monument at Birkenau."

In addition, though the Vice-President insisted that his trip to Europe had been "all substance and no politics," Bush admitted that he hired a campaign crew "to take good pictures of me in Poland" and

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said, "I hope it helps me with everybody." (Washington Post, 9/30/87) Solidarity's Lech Walesa gave Bush high praise during the tour, which was spoiled by Bush's comment "How many relatives does he (Walesa) have in Iowa? That's the only thing I want to know."

Phillipines

When Bush was sent to Manila for Ferdinand Marcos' inauguration in 1981, he was expected to express general support for an ally. Instead, Bush went far beyond that, telling Marcos "We love your adherence to democratic principles and processes." (American Politics, May 1986)

Andropov

In 1982, following his funeral visit to the Soviet Union, Bush stated, "I have no reason to believe that Andropov (the then-newly selected USSR leader) as a person would break his word. (S)ome people make this KGB thing sound horrendous." (Richard Viguerie, Letter to the Editor, Wall Street Journal, 3/12/86)

Lebanon

In the 1984 Vice Presidential debates, Bush falsely stated that Democratic candidates had suggested that the United States marines killed in Lebanon had "died in shame." (New York Times, 10/15/87)

China

During an August 1980 trip to China, then-Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan sent his running mate George Bush to the People's Republic of China to explain his position on Taiwan. During the trip, Bush was embarrassed by the fact that Reagan was making statements supporting resumption of government relations with Taiwan. According to a report that appeared in Newsweek, Bush tried to mollify then-Deputy Prime Minister Deng Xiaoping by "(r)ecalling Deng's visit to the United States last Year, Bush ad libbed: 'That was a very successful trip. If you ran for election in the U.S., you could be elected Mayor of Houston.'"

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THE IRAN/CONTRA AFFAIR

George Bush and the Iran Initiative

"I was aware of our initiative and I support the President's decision."
George Bush, Dec. 3, 1986

"The President told me simply that the Vice President did express reservations to him, but always supported the policy and the decisions."

Marlin Fitzwater, White House Spokesman

"Mistakes were made in executing the policy. As (New York Mayor Fiorello) LaGuardia once said, 'When I make a mistake, I make a beaut' . . . Yes, a hurricane is swirling around the president now. Some may run for cover or turn their backs on this president for political gain. Let me be clear where I stand. I stand with the president."

George Bush, Remarks made at Iowa Law Enforcement Academy, December 19, 1986

"I wish it hadn't happened. I think everybody, to the degree there were mistakes, I think everybody should share in the blame. . . you can't go running for cover. You can't take the good and , you know, filter out the bad. . . I would be perfectly glad to accept whatever my share of responsibility is."

Interview with reporters, December 19, 1986. Reported by WP, February 13, 1987

"If I'd have sat there and heard Shultz and Cap express it (opposition) strongly, maybe I would have had a stronger view. But when you don't know something, it's hard to react . . . We were not in the loop."

George Bush, WP, 8/6/87

Though the White House log records an August 6 meeting between McFarlane, the President, the Vice President, Secretaries Shultz and Weinberger, and Regan, Craig Fuller, Bush's chief of staff stated, "We have provided all of the facts we have available to use and neither our records nor recollections suggest the vice president participated in that particular meeting."

Quote taken from WP, 11/20/87

"Well, if I had had a lot more knowledge of what was going on, I would have said, 'Don't do this.' Or if I'd have been sharp enough to see into the future that a program that started as not having been for arms for hostages turned into that, I'd have said, 'Don't do that.' And if I'd have been a little more, you know, perceptive about the future, I would have said, 'Let's convene the National Security

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Council to be sure that everybody who has a different opinion is heard so the president can benefit by the advice of everybody.' I didn't do that."

Bush on Meet the Press, December 13, 1987

Responding to press inquiries on the recently released memo linking Bush to Iran arms deal, Bush stated, "I've been saying all along that I stood with the President. The conclusion that I heard said (the memo) didn't change anything. We stand with the report. I expressed reservations."

Quote from Washington Times, 12/18/87

Bush claims that he was out of the loop and that he might have lodged protests if he had heard good arguments against the initiative.

Despite Bush's acknowledged support of the president's ill-fated Iran initiative, the Vice President told David Broder in an interview that his judgment in the affair cannot be fairly criticized, for he had been "denied information" about what was going on. Bush stated further that he had not advised the President against selling arms to Iran, in part because he never heard strong objections to that policy. "If I'd have sat there and heard George Schultz and Cap (Weinberger) express it (opposition) strongly," Bush said, "maybe I would have had a stronger view. But when you don't know something it's hard to react -- we were not in the loop."

Bush not only failed to provide helpful objections to Reagan, but he fully supported the arms for hostage deal.

A February 1 White House memo reveals that Bush's statements on his role in the Iran-contra affair have been equivocal and deceptive. Contrary to Bush's claims that he was out of the loop and that he had expressed reservations regarding the Iran initiative, a memo written by Poindexter to McFarlane indicated that Bush joined Reagan in fully supporting a "risky operation" to trade arms for hostages. Moreover, even if we were to believe that Bush was out of the loop, the memo proves that Bush poorly advised the President on an issue that he had not fully studied.

Why was George quiet?

Bush's alibi -- that he was out of the loop -- contrasts sharply with his self-proclaimed image as a Vice-President with in-depth experience in foreign affairs and intelligence matters, and with direct influence and access to the President. Thus, it is puzzling why the Vice President was not more deeply involved in one of the most significant foreign policy ventures of his Administration. Why didn't he utilize his foreign policy background in a more effective and influential manner?

Bush was in fact present at meetings detailing Iran initiative.

Bush establishes his alibi in part on his absence from an important December 7, 1985 meeting (he was attending the Army/Navy football game) wherein objections to the Iran initiative were made by Weinberger and Shultz. Yet the White House log and testimony by McFarlane prove that Bush attended an August 6, 1985 meeting on the Iran arms sales with President Reagan, Shultz, Weinberger, McFarlane and Regan. At the meeting, following McFarlane's presentation of the arms-for-hostage swap, Shultz and Weinberger voiced strong

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objections. Bush also attended a series of critical meetings in January of 1986 during which President Reagan agreed to sell additional TOW anti-tank missiles directly to Iran.

On January 7, 1986, Bush attended the full NSC meeting with the President, Shultz, Meese, Regan, Casey, Poindexter, and Weinberger. According to the Iran-Contra committee's report, "while Secretaries Weinberger and Shultz continued to object strenuously, all others favored the plan or were neutral." Furthermore, on January 17, 1986 Bush was present at a morning meeting at which Reagan approved the secret intelligence "finding" on the missiles to Iran.

The upshot of Bush's involvement is clear: He was aware of the proceedings, of the objections, and did not raise any serious reservations. The evidence does not support the idea that Bush was uninformed. Even if it did this hurts him since it contradicts the image he likes to portray as a White House insider and foreign policy expert. Simply put, despite his plea of ignorance, Bush knew about and failed to oppose the initiative in the face of strong dissents by Schultz and Weinberger.

Bush's approval of arms-for-hostages deal does not square with recommendations of his own Task Force on Terrorism.

Although the Vice President knew the United States had sent missiles to Iran, Bush continued to articulate the official policy against dealing with terrorists. On March 6, he issued the public report of his terrorism task force, which said the U.S government will "make no concessions to terrorists. It will not pay ransoms, release prisoners, change its policies or agree to other acts that might encourage additional terrorism." Iran is listed officially by the State Department as a nation that exports terrorism. Clearly, the shipment of arms was in direct violation of U.S statements concerning terrorism, hostages, and those countries that deal in terrorist activities.

Bush and the Contra Re-Supply Effort

"I was not aware of and I oppose any diversion of funds, any ransom payments or any circumvention of the will of the Congress."

George Bush, Dec. 3, 1986

George Bush's plea of innocence notwithstanding, evidence mounts that Bush had knowledge of Contra re-supply efforts when such efforts were prohibited by Congress. On several occasions, Bush or his top staff met with Felix Rodriquez -- a retired CIA agent who went to El Salvador in 1985 with Bush's assistance and who was heavily involved in contra resupply efforts and the airlift. Evidence surrounding three of those meetings strongly suggests that the resupply came to Bush's attention.:

1. Shortly after his first meeting with Bush, Rodriquez states that his primary commitment is to help the Contras.

Bush's first meeting with Rodriquez was on Jan. 22, 1985. Bush has maintained that to the best of his recollection, Rodriquez only

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discussed El Salvador. However, a month later, Rodriquez met with General Paul Gorman and told him that his "primary commitment" in Central America was helping the Nicaraguan Contras.

2. A staff briefing memo for the second meeting with Bush mentioned contra re-supply efforts.

Bush's second meeting with Rodriquez was on May 1, 1986. A staff memo dated April 30, 1986, prepared in anticipation of that meeting, mentioned the contra re-supply efforts as an agenda item to be discussed. (The memo was made public Sept. 8, 1987 by the Iran/Contra Committee staff.) Specifically, under a section titled "Purpose," the document states:

"Felix Rodriquez, a counter-insurgency expert who is visiting from El Salvador, will provide a briefing on the status of the war in El Salvador and re-supply of the Contras."

Donald Gregg, Bush's national security advisor, testified that there was no intention to discuss Contra re-supply, nor was the Contra re-supply discussed in the May 1 meeting. Nevertheless, Gregg can give no explanation as to why the memo included any mention of the Contra re-supply effort.

3. During a third meeting with top Bush staff, Rodriquez discussed the re-supply effort.

On August 8, 1986, Rodriquez met with Col Samuel Watson, a national security aide to Bush and Gregg. During that meeting, Rodriquez complained about the quality and trustworthiness of people retained by Lt. Col. Oliver North to run the Contra re-supply operation. (Gregg first denied that he had ever talked to Rodriquez about the Contras, but after evidence of this meeting was uncovered by Iran/Contra Committee investigators, he acknowledged that the conversation took place.)

Asked why neither Gregg nor Watson told Bush about their suspicions of North's operating an illegal operation, Steve Hart, Bush's acting press secretary, said that the two men felt the Vice-President didn't need to know. The V.P who "did not need to know," is the same V.P who told David Broder that "if he became President, he would instruct aides to withhold no information from him in the interests of assuring his "plausible deniability." However, the Vice-President's choice to keep both Gregg and Watson aboard suggest that Bush does not mind being protected from the facts.

ADDITIONAL NOTE: Bush was first to be notified after the downing of the Contra re-supply plane.

After a C123 cargo plane carrying military supplies to the Contras was shot down in Nicaragua on October 1986, George Bush's office was the first in the Reagan Administration to be notified via a telephone call from Felix Rodriquez. (Washington Post, August 20, 1987)

November 20, 1987

TOPIC: GOVERNMENT DEREGULATION
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

The President's task force on regulatory relief, chaired by the Vice-President, spearheaded substantial changes in federal regulations affecting businesses and individuals and put all federal agencies on a "paper work budget," that has reduced the burdens on the public by 650 million hours.

-George Bush for President
Accomplishments of the Reagan-Bush
Team: The First Six Years

Vulnerabilities:

1. INEFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP: IT IS QUESTIONABLE WHETHER BUSH'S TASK FORCE ON REGULATORY RELIEF ACCOMPLISHED ANYTHING OF SUBSTANCE.

As noted in the Washington Post 10/28/86 profile of Bush, "the task force folded in 1983, a year that saw the administration's regulatory policies enmeshed in controversy. ... Murray Weidenbaum, Reagan's first chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, later wrote that the Bush task force should get high marks for its early efforts, but said it 'exerted little independent leadership in terms of initiating reviews of existing rules or identifying needed changes in basic regulatory statutes.'"

According to an article in the Washington Post shortly after the Bush task force disbanded, "...today this deregulatory movement has nearly run aground. Bush's task force folded last August. Regulatory reform legislation, poised for passage early in the administration, is hopelessly stalled. Efforts to rewrite major environmental and health-and-safety laws have been shelved in the face of congressional resistance and public suspicion. Even the business community now is advocating a go-slow approach, fearing loss of the momentum for deregulation laboriously built up in the Nixon, Ford and Carter administrations." (Washington Post, January 31, 1984)

2. JOHNNY COME LATELY: ONE THING THE TASK FORCE DID DO WAS IMPLEMENT A DOLE PROPOSAL FOR A COST/BENEFIT ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS.

In the 96th and 97th Congresses, Senator Dole introduced a regulatory reform bill to require the federal government to conduct a

cost-benefit analysis of agency rules before their implementation. One of the reasons the Bush Task Force was set up in the first place was to provide a centralized authority for conducting this analysis. (Task Force Report, pp. 2 and 19)

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o In the 96th and 97th Congresses, I introduced a regulatory reform bill that would have required agencies to conduct a cost-benefit analysis on proposed rules prior to implementation. The purpose of the bill was to put an end to agency rules and regulations that imposed excessive costs on individuals and business with only marginal benefits.
- o I am pleased to say that early in the Reagan Administration, OMB adopted this cost-benefit analysis approach. And I want to thank Vice-President Bush for heading the Task Force that assisted with setting up a coordinated system for conducting such an analysis.

December 10, 1987

TOPIC: HEALTH/AIDS
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

AIDS Education: "The most important thing we can do is to tell our people the facts about AIDS and what they can do to protect themselves...We've got to put into the hands of parents and students and people throughout America essential facts about AIDS in a thoughtful, sensitive manner...I don't want the federal government to mandate some insensitive educational program."

"Most schools now offer some kind of sex education during the Junior High or Middle School years. Depending on local standards and after a meeting of the minds with parents and school officials, education about AIDS should be incorporated into the curriculum. If the curriculum is well-planned and thoughtfully carried out, we can teach children the facts about Sexually Transmitted Diseases--and AIDS in particular."

-Speech to AIDS Conference June 1, 1987

AIDS Testing: "...The federal government will soon require testing for prisoners, immigrants and aliens seeking permanent residence. Tests are already being conducted in the military and the foreign service. Additionally, we are encouraging the states to offer routine testing for those who seek marriage licenses and for those who visit sexually transmitted disease or drug-abuse clinics. We are also encouraging states to require routine testing in state and local prisons."

-Speech to AIDS Conference June 1, 1987

AIDS Research: "We're spending a billion dollars in federal money on AIDS research."

-NBC Debate, December 1, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

BUSH OVERSTATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO AIDS' RESEARCH: BY GIVING AN INFLATED LEVEL OF COMMITMENT TO AIDS RESEARCH DURING THE NBC DEBATE, BUSH AVOIDED CRITICISMS THAT INSUFFICIENT ATTENTION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE AIDS EPIDEMIC.

Fact: In 1987, the federal government spent at most \$425 million on AIDS research. The Public Health Service, including the FDA, received \$318 million, the Department of Defense was given \$74 million that may have been allocated for research, and the Veterans Administration received \$33 million that may have been spent on research.

Fact: For F.Y. '88, the Senate approved \$630 million to the Public Health Service for AIDS research, while the House called for \$596 million. Monies targeted to other agencies of the federal government -- D.O.D. and V.A. -- that may be used for AIDS research total approximately \$119 million. Thus, total approximate funding for AIDS research in F.Y.'88 will not exceed \$750 million.

December 31, 1987

BUSH LACKS HEALTH EXPERTISE: ON MEET THE PRESS, BUSH COULD NOT SPEAK ACCURATELY ABOUT HEALTH ISSUES.

Questioned on Meet the Press by Washington Post columnist David Broder, the Vice President did not know approximately how many Americans are without health insurance coverage. The vice president misspoke again when he stated that he favored "categorical" rather than catastrophic health care.

October 13, 1987

TOPIC: JUDICIARY
SUBTOPIC: CIVIL RIGHTS/AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Opponent's Position:

Bush has not made civil rights a major campaign theme. He has reaffirmed his support for the open housing law (which he voted for in 1968.) During a 1986 speech before the NAACP, he also endorsed Affirmative Action goals in apparent conflict with Justice Department policy on the issue. "Let me just say in regard to Affirmative Action that I support Affirmative Action," Bush said. "I do not support quotas, but I do support Affirmative Action with goals, and that is what I think is needed out there right now."

-Washington Times Bush Remarks at NAACP
Convention 7/7/86

Vulnerabilities:

1. 1970 STANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRESS: IN HIS 1970 SENATE CAMPAIGN, BUSH WENT ON RECORD STATING THAT THERE WAS NO NEED FOR FURTHER MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION.

In 1970, Bush stated as a Senate candidate: "Civil Rights legislation has caught up with the conscience of the country. No more major legislation is needed now.

As reported in Congressional Quarterly,
11/17/1979

2. BUSH ACCEPTED SUPPORT OF ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY: IN HIS 1964 SENATE CAMPAIGN, BUSH WELCOMED ANY SUPPORT FROM THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY, THOUGH PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE BARRY GOLDWATER REPUDIATED THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY.

In 1964, candidate Bush said that he took "no position" on the ultra-conservative John Birch Society, but welcomes the support of its members. Bush added that "(t)he society is not an important element in Texas politics. But I want their support."

Houston Post, Oct.11, 1964

Bush's opponent, Sen. Ralph Yarborough, stated that "Barry Goldwater and his running mate, Bill Miller, repudiated the John Birch Society when they saw it dragging down the Republican party. But not George Bush. He clasped it to his bosom." Yarborough concluded, "Why has my opponent refused to repudiate this extremist group?"

The Dallas Morning News, Oct. 28, 1964

3. IN 1964, BUSH CAMPAIGNED AGAINST CIVIL RIGHTS BILL: IN HIS 1964 SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN, BUSH STATED THAT THE PROPOSED 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS BILL VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS.

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Bush stated that the civil rights bill violates the constitutional rights of all the people and transcends civil rights.

The Dallas Morning News, June 5, 1964

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o I am proud of my civil rights record. I have supported every major civil rights law, including the landmark Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- o But I have done more than make speeches and cast votes when it comes to civil rights. For instance, I authored the consensus proposal that led to the 1982 extension of the Voting Rights Act. I also managed the Martin Luther King Holiday bill on the floor of the Senate.

October 8, 1987

TOPIC: JUDICIARY
SUBTOPIC: WOMEN' ISSUES
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

ERA: "I am deeply committed to equal rights and equal opportunities for women, and I support the enforcement of all laws which ensure those rights. The administration has taken a number of steps, primarily through the Task Force on Legal Equity for Women established by the President in 1981, to accomplish this goal."

"However, I am opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution as an unnecessary and inappropriate means of enforcing women's rights and eliminating discrimination on the basis of sex. I am particularly concerned that it will create serious problems with respect to interpretation and assumption of legislative powers by the court."

-Liberty Report, Nov. 1986

Equal Pay: "I'm sure you all heard about the Census Bureau report that women who work full-time earn about 70% of what men do. Now, that's up from 62% just since 1979 -- but it's not good enough. I have a little message for the business leaders of this country: We've had enough excuses. It's time we had equal pay for equal work."

-Bush Remarks before the Federation of
Republican Women, Sept. 19, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

None identified at this point.

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o I've done more than give lip service to equal rights and opportunities for women. I am proud of my record of support for civil rights protections for women and the role I have been able to play as Chairman of the Finance Committee and Republican Leader of the Senate on economic equity issues:

- I've supported the major anti-sex discrimination laws, including the Equal Pay Act, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, and civil rights laws prohibiting sex discrimination in education and employment;

- I've been at the forefront of efforts to secure pension equity for women;

- As Chairman of the Finance Committee, I worked hard for the enactment of legislation to strengthen child support enforcement;

- I have also helped secure many of the changes in the tax code enacted since 1980, such as repeal of the "widow's tax" on estates and raising the standard deduction for families headed by a single parent.

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- o I am also proud of my record in hiring and promoting women. Both my Chief of Staff and Legislative Director are women, as are my communications, research and committee services directors at the campaign. When I was elected Republican Leader of the Senate, I appointed women to the posts of Secretary of the Senate and Deputy Sargeant-at-Arms, both firsts in Senate history.

October 22, 1987

TOPIC: TAXES
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"Presidential hopeful George Bush asserted yesterday that Ronald Reagan is being reckless in his advocacy of a major income tax cut.

Washington Post March 29, 1980

"Since 1981, the Reagan tax cuts saved the average American about 4,400 dollars in taxes from what could have been expected under the 1980 tax laws, given actual rates of inflation. The U.S. now has one of the most economically favorable tax systems and the lowest Individual and Corporate Income Tax rates of any industrialized nation in the world."

G. Bush for President.
Accomplishments of the Reagan-Bush
Team: The First Six Years.

Discussing President Reagan's upcoming spending proposals for the fiscal year that begins Oct. 1, 1986, Bush said, "the way we look at tax increases, only after all possible spending cuts have been wrung out of the system, and then and only then will this administration, this president, support a tax increase."

Herald Journal 1/23/86

"I am not going to raise your taxes."

G. Bush Announcement Speech.
Houston, Tex. Oct, 13, 1987

"What I have said is if I were convinced that all spending that could possibly be constrained or cut had taken place, then and only then would I consider a tax increase. "

Washington Post, Oct. 15, 1987
(taken from CNN interview in Atlanta)

Bush told supporters in Chicago, Cedar Rapids, and Atlanta that he would not support reducing the deficit through a tax increase. He also noted that Congress and the President had to "sit down and make a deal" on a way to reduce the deficit.

New York Times, October 20, 1987

October 27, 1987

Following Black Monday, Bush stated that "he would oppose new taxes as part of any solution to remedy the budgetary and trade deficit problems."

Miami Herald, Oct 23, 1987

The New York Times reported that "Mr. Bush's aides have made it clear that if Mr. Reagan agreed to increase taxes, Mr. Bush would go along. Asked whether this seemed a contradictory position, a top aide to Bush replied, 'It'd look funnier if he didn't support the President'."

New York Times, Oct. 27, 1987

Capital Gains

"In a speech describing the 'American solution' to increasing international competition, Mr. Bush said: 'We should cut the capital gains from 28% to 15% on investments held for at least a year.' ... a spokesman, Stephen Hart, said Mr. Bush was talking about personal taxes, not corporate taxes. ... In the speech, Mr. Bush said legislation passed by Congress in 1978 that eased the tax rates on capital gains at the time 'has shown that such an incentive would not cost the government money. It would gain additional revenue by stimulating growth.'"

Washington Times, Oct. 15, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

1. WHAT IS GEORGE BUSH'S POSITION ON TAXES?

In 1980 Bush assailed Reagan's 30% across the board individual tax cut program as "reckless" and "voodoo economics" His own plan favored a 10 billion dollar corporate tax cut.

In his Presidential bid, however, he has waffled badly, singing the praises of the Reagan tax cut and adamantly avowing not to raise taxes (as he did in his announcement speech), while at the same time, suggesting that he would support a tax increase if all possible spending cuts had been made. Despite Reagan's new openness to tax increases, Bush reaffirmed his own anti-tax position. But according to the Vice President's staff, Mr. Bush would support the President if he chose to raise taxes.

His pronouncement in favor of restoring a special capital gains tax for individuals, while insisting that there would be no revenue loss because it would stimulate economic growth, is pure and simple supply side economics.

October 8, 1987

Dole Position -- Positive Points

- o I have favored fiscally responsible tax stimulus programs. As early as 1975, I supported the Ford Administration's plan to stimulate the economy and create badly needed jobs. As Chairman of the Finance Committee in 1981, I led the charge to secure enactment of the tax cut legislation that formed the backbone of President Reagan's economic agenda.
- o I have also been a long time proponent of tax reform, having helped lead the effort to close unnecessary loopholes and special interest tax breaks in 1982. As Republican Leader and member of the Finance Committee, I also helped lead the fight to secure enactment of President Reagan's historic tax reform bill of 1986.
- o As a member of the Senate Finance Committee in 1978, I supported reducing the capital gains rate from 49% to 28%, and as Chairman of that body in 1981, I shepherded to enactment legislation which included a further reduction in the rate to 20%. Reducing the special capital gains tax rate is an idea I've always supported, but let's face it, it's old.

October 8, 1987

TOPIC: TRADE
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

"This country is currently experiencing a protectionist fervor that is a reflection of fear. It's a defeatist attitude that we can't solve our problems, so we'll just hide behind the government's skirts and point the finger at the other guy."

"Certainly there are unfair trading practices out there. And we must do all in our power to guarantee free and fair trade and to see that our trading partners play by the rules."

"But if every unfair trade practice in the world were lifted tomorrow, it would reduce our 166 billion trade deficit by only 10 or 15 billion dollars."

"Protectionism is fool's gold. It won't save jobs. It won't cure our trade deficit. And protectionism, as sure as night follows day, will invite retaliation and, mark my words, the first area to be hit will be agriculture."

"I believe we can compete successfully without protectionism. I believe Americans want to compete rather than hide."

-Bush Remarks at Waldorf College
Commencement May 9, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

Still under review.

October 27, 1987

TOPIC: STOCK MARKET
OPPOSITION CANDIDATE: BUSH

Opponent's Position:

In a campaign visit to Miami, following Black Monday, "Vice President Bush called for federal regulations that would protect the financial markets against 'wild fluctuations,' possibly including single day limits on price swings."

Miami Herald, October 23, 1987

Vulnerabilities:

1. BUSH'S RX FOR STOCK MARKET IS INSUFFICIENT: THE VICE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO REGULATE FINANCIAL MARKETS AGAINST WILD FLUCTUATIONS SIDESTEPS THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF THE BUDGET DEFICIT AND THE TRADE IMBALANCE.

2. BUSH'S STOCK MARKET REMEDY CALLS FOR UNWISE REGULATION: MR. BUSH'S SUGGESTION TO SET LIMITS ON PRICE SWINGS COULD USHER IN INCREASED PANIC SELLING AND FURTHER MARKET INSTABILITY.

Tokyo's decision to close down the Japanese markets in the face of sliding prices gave birth to a downward explosion the following week. The construction an artificial floor sent a shockwave of uncertainty and panic throughout the investment world.

3. BUSH SUGGESTION PUTS FREE MARKET AT RISK: THE VICE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO REGULATE FINANCIAL MARKETS AGAINST WILD FLUCTUATIONS WOULD PREVENT STOCK MARKET FROM TAKING A FREE AND NATURAL COURSE.

Free market exchanges -- the basis of our economy -- would be endangered by proposals to restrict the flow of trading.

October 13, 1987

Summary of Tie-Breaking Votes cast by the Vice-President

As President of the Senate, George Bush cast seven tie-breaking votes. Five of these votes have been defense related. The Vice-President has sided with Senator Dole on every vote. Below is a summary of each tie-breaking vote:

Record Vote Number: 259
Bush/Dole: For

A vote "For" favored preventing an 800 million dollar cut in the SDI program.

Date:	8/22/1987		
Total For:	51	37 Rep.	13 Dem.
Total Against:	50	9 Rep.	41 Dem.

Record Vote Number: 184
Bush/Dole: Nay

A vote "Nay" was against Pryor amendment to delete funds for production of the "BIGEYE" chemical bomb.

Date:	8/07/86		
Total For:	50	14 Rep.	36 Dem.
Total Against:	51	39 Rep.	11 Dem.

Record Vote Number: 162
Bush/Dole: Nay

A vote "Nay" was against Byrd motion to reconsider the June 26 vote confirming the nomination of Daniel A. Manion to be a federal judge for the 7th Circuit court of appeals.

Date:	7/23/86		
Total For:	49	5 Rep.	44 Dem.
Total Against	50	47 Rep.	2 Against.

Record Vote Number: 72
Bush/Dole: For

A "For" vote was in favor of an amendment which substituted a revised version of the Senate GOP-White House budget package approved April 30, by cutting 17.7 billion dollars more in defense spending and 15.7 billion more in domestic spending for FY 86-87.

Date:	5/09/85		
Total For:	50	48 Rep.	1 Dem.
Total Against:	49	4 Rep.	45 Dem.

Record Vote Number: 132
Bush/Dole: For

A "For" vote favored the motion to table an amendment to produce no additional MX missiles in F.Y. 1985.

Date:	6/14/84		
Total For:	49	43 Rep.	5 Dem.
Total Against:	48	10 Rep.	38 Dem.

Record Vote Number: 342
Bush/Dole: For

A "For" vote was in support of an amendment to add to the DOD bill \$124 million for production of binary chemical munitions.

Total For	47	33 Rep.	13 Dem
Total Against	46	17 Rep.	29 Dem

Record Vote Number: 184
Bush/Dole: For

A "For" vote favored tabling an amendment which called to prohibit the production of lethal binary chemical munitions.

Total For	50	35 Rep.	14 Dem
Total Against	49	17 Rep.	32 Dem

October 22, 1987

Ratings

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
<u>Bush's Congressional Quarterly Study Scores:</u>				
Presidential				
Support:	54%	53%	64%	46%
Opposition:	44%	34%	34%	12%
Conservative Coalition				
Support:	87%	78%	78%	41%
Opposition:	13%	6%	13%	14%
Party				
Unity:	79%	67%	69%	40%
Opposition:	20%	9%	18%	22%
Voting Participation	96%	78%	90%	56%
<u>Chamber of Commerce:</u>	90%			83%
<u>American Security Council:</u>				100%
<u>Americans for Constitutional</u> <u>Action:</u>	83%	70%	69%	58%

October 22, 1987

Biography

Name: George Herbert Walker Bush
Age: 63

Occupation: Vice President of the United States

Former Positions: Elected Vice President of U.S. in 1980; Republican candidate for President 1980; Director of Central Intelligence 1976; chief of U.S. liason office in People's Republic of China 1974 to 1975; chairman of Republican National Committee 1973 to 1974; U.S. ambassador to the United Nations 1971 to 1973; U.S. Congressman 1966 to 1970; unsuccessful candidate for Senate 1964 and 1970; Harris County (Houston) GOP Chairman 1963; Founded Zapata Offshore Company 1954; Salesman with Dresser Industries in Texas 1948-50

War Experience: Enlisted in Navy on his 18th birthday, youngest Navy combat pilot in World War II, awarded Distinguished Flying Cross and three Air Medals

Education: Phillips Academy Prep School; Yale University, graduated Phi Beta Kappa 1948

Personal:

Family: Married 42 years to Barbara, five children
Birthplace: Greenwich, Conn.
Residence: Vice President's mansion, home in Kennebunkport Me.,
official voting residence in Houston, Tx.

Major campaign themes: Arms Control, Education, Environment, Continue Reagan revolution.