

Mary Ann Barton
C-SPAN Update
400 N. Capitol St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
12/02/91

[REDACTED]
Broken Arrow. OK. 74012

Dear Ms. Barton.

I am writing with regards to your election '92 Iowa Dinner article which appeared in the December 1, C-SPAN Update periodical. In both your lead-off and then the third paragraph you mention "the" six Democratic Presidential candidates. Your lead paragraph point is this is only the third time "all" the Democratic candidates have attended the annual dinner.

An exclusion is occurring with a degree of repetition that I must not let pass with-out protest. Former Minnesota U.S. Senator Eugene J. McCarthy is recognized as a bonifide candidate for the Democratic nomination by the Federal Elections Commission with his statement of candidacy filed October 4, Mr. Shannahan deliberately excluded Senator McCarthy from the Iowa program, making the arbitrary determination he would not receive the 1% noted later in your article when discussing the 100 or so "other" candidates. We have seen some of them on C-SPAN and none of them nor any of the "six" included candidates, are of the unique stature of Eugene McCarthy. Senator McCarthy served twenty-two years in congress. As a Presidential candidate in 1968 he is credited with Lyndon Johnson's determination to not seek re-election when faced with a pending defeat in the Wisconsin Democratic primary. McCarthy won five primaries in '68, denied the nomination by an un-democratic nomination process, hence the beginning of the "campaign reform" movement. Since leaving the Senate, Senator McCarthy has remained a vital and active national political personality, the published author of 19 books, and frequent lecturer before civic and educational audiences. Iowa's Democrats have a grudge or something which should be the focus of the story. There are McCarthy supporters in Iowa who were outraged when learning of "clean Gene's" exclusion.

When you look at a Governor, in his first term, such as Doug Wilder, or you look at Bob Kerrey, with one term as Governor, and a couple years in the Senate, and say "they" are qualified or more justly deserving inclusion than Eugene McCarthy, you are missing a "real" story.

[REDACTED]

BACKGROUND

Eugene McCarthy grew up in rural Minnesota; his father was a farmer and a cattle dealer. McCarthy attended St. John's University, where he captained the hockey team, played on the baseball team -- and graduated with honors in three years. He has farmed in Minnesota; taught high school in Minnesota and North Dakota; and taught college in Minnesota, New York and Maryland.

McCarthy served in the U.S. House of Representatives for 10 years. In the House he fought for farmers and migrant workers as a member of the Agriculture Committee and worked for tax reform as a member of the Ways and Means Committee. He was also a founder of the Democratic Study Group, which in its early days was known as "McCarthy's Mavericks."

McCarthy served in the United States Senate for 12 years. His work in the Senate included service on the Agriculture, Finance and Foreign Relations Committees. He also chaired the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, which made many proposals that were adopted by the Congress.

As early as 1954, McCarthy called for better supervision of the CIA. In the 1960s, he was among the first to call for limits on American arms sales around the world. In 1968 he courageously challenged President Johnson in the Democratic primaries, becoming one of the first senators to speak out against Johnson's expansion of the Vietnam war. His campaign transformed American politics and served to open the system to large numbers of previously disenfranchised citizens.

McCarthy was the chief Senate sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment. He has long fought for the rights of minorities and the poor. He has supported universal health care since 1948.

Let's Not Get Fooled
Again!

Vote McCarthy

YES!

My check for . . .

☐ \$25 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$500

☐ \$50 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$1000

. . . is enclosed.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Home Phone _____

Business Phone _____

Occupation* _____

Employer* _____
(*required by Federal Election Commission)

Send To:

McCarthy '92
P.O. Box 2008
Washington, DC 20013
202-544-7091

Paid for by McCarthy '92, Mary Monroe, Treasurer

McCarthy '92



GENE McCARTHY for President

Gene McCarthy

INTRODUCTION

1992 may be the most crucial election year of the 20th century. Massive trade and budget deficits have grown exponentially in the Reagan-Bush years, and have eroded America's position as a world economic leader. President Bush says he wants to be the "environment president" or the "education president," yet he still refuses to take responsible positions on education, conservation, taxes, trade, employment and a host of other issues threatening our future.

As the Cold War has faded, President Bush has spoken of a "New World Order," but he has made no commitment to convert the old world military economy to a new peacetime economy. As military bases close around the Nation, little mention has been made of how to soften the blow for communities whose economies are being uprooted.

President Bush was willing to wage war for oil in the Middle East, but has been unwilling to move our country away from its excessive dependence on automobiles, or our profligate waste of natural resources. Rather than increasing the fuel efficiency of cars, George Bush is now suggesting that we destroy forever the largest wilderness reserve in the United States in search of a few years worth of oil.

While the Reagan-Bush team said they wanted to get the government off the backs of citizens, the Reagan-Bush administrations have championed new restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of political expression, and the right to privacy.

The influence of corporations in domestic and foreign policy continues to grow. Their emphasis on short term profit, on consolidation and buy-out schemes, instead of on the production of durable, high-quality products goes a long way towards explaining the nation's current economic predicament. The Savings & Loan crisis has served as testimony to the Reagan-Bush willingness to let corporations run rampant at taxpayer expense.

For many years, Eugene McCarthy has addressed our Nation's problems with eloquence, wit, courage and insight. He has fashioned a reasoned alternative to the Republican platform of protecting the rich and neglecting the poor. Eugene McCarthy is creating a new force in American politics to challenge the irresponsible, unjust policies of the Reagan-Bush era.

Gene McCarthy

SEASONED JUDGEMENT

ISSUES

◆ Emphasize economic conversion from the cold war economy to a peacetime economy.

President Bush's failure to have a contingency plan in place for American communities that have been grafted to the military/industrial complex is unjustifiable. These communities are suffering massive unemployment and are facing economic collapse. But the administration has done nothing since the fall of the Berlin Wall two years ago to prepare them for the future.

A defense tariff should be levied on nations we help defend around the world, to support American communities that are rebuilding their economies in a post-Cold War world.

◆ Increase energy conservation and develop alternative energy sources.

Our dependence on oil has led us to war and has created a series of environmental catastrophes. From the oily beaches in Valdez, Alaska to the toxic smog that hovers over New York and Los Angeles, our glut-tony for fossil fuels is destroying our environment. We must levy a tax on imported energy, raise the fuel efficiency of automobiles, expand public transportation and develop alternative energy sources -- wind, hydro and solar -- that are already in use in other developed nations.

◆ Develop economic opportunities for young Americans.

Millions of American children are being raised in broken homes, with dim prospects of future prosperity. We must provide these children with meaningful work and social involvement to break the cycle of poverty. We should provide internships, apprenticeships and other economic opportunities beyond delivering pizzas or selling drugs.

Gene McCarthy

Smart, Tough Leadership

◆ Correct the unfair, regressive distribution of taxes championed by the Republican party.

The top one percent of our nation controls as much wealth as one hundred million Americans at the bottom. Yet it is for this one percent that President Bush has sought tax cuts and economic opportunities. A capital levy on this top bracket would create opportunities for those the Bush Administration has ignored.

◆ Guarantee proper health care for all Americans.

Our current health care system promises aid only to those who can afford a private hospital or a personal insurance plan. It is time for the United States to join the rest of the industrial world in providing some form of universal health care for our citizens.

◆ Offer a shorter work week to manufacturing industries.

By scaling back the work week, more job opportunities would be created, while working parents would be able to spend more time with their children. The redistribution of work hours can combat the institutionalization of poverty.

◆ Commit the nation to civil rights, and an end to workplace discrimination.

The Bush administration has used race as a political weapon, playing on fears of "Willie Horton" and "quotas" to further divide Americans and to defeat strong civil rights guarantees. We must pass a new Civil Rights Act to protect all Americans from discrimination and intimidation.



"MCCARTHY FOR PRESIDENT"

**** MCCARTHY '92 **** 202/543-1968

P.O. BOX 2008
WASHINGTON D.C. 20013-2008

A COMMITTEE SUPPORTING FORMER MINNESOTA UNITED STATES SENATOR EUGENE J. MCCARTHY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, HAS FORMED IN WASHINGTON, D.C. THE COMMITTEE SEEKS SUPPORT FOR SENATOR MCCARTHY'S POSITIONS ON THE ISSUES; AND TO BUILD SUPPORT FOR EUGENE MCCARTHY'S RETURN TO THE NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY WHERE IN 1968, HIS CHALLENGE TO INCUMBENT LYNDON JOHNSON CHANGED THE SHAPE OF AMERICAN POLITICS. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS ONLY WON THE WHITE HOUSE ONCE SINCE 1968, AND SENATOR MCCARTHY'S SUPPORTERS FEEL HIS EXPERIENCE AND ABILITY WOULD BE THE STRONGEST BASE FROM WHICH TO BUILD A NATIONAL VICTORY, RESULTING IN THE DEFEAT OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH. THE FIRST EFFORTS OF THE COMMITTEE WILL BE TO BUILD SUPPORT FOR SENATOR MCCARTHY IN THE EARLY NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY. SENATOR MCCARTHY SERVED 22 YEARS IN CONGRESS FIRST ELECTED IN 1948. A CHAMPION OF LIBERAL CAUSES INCLUDING FARMER-LABOR ISSUES, UNEMPLOYMENT, POLITICAL PROCESS ISSUES, AND FOREIGN POLICY, SENATOR MCCARTHY HAS WRITTEN 19 BOOKS, AND LECTURES TO CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AROUND THE COUNTRY - ISSUES CONCERNING AMERICANS:

1. REDISTRIBUTION OF WORK-SHORTER WORK WEEK IN MANUFACTURING IN ORDER TO.
 - (A) CREATE A LARGER EMPLOYMENT BASE
 - (B) REDUCE UNEMPLOYMENT
 - (C) DEFICIT REDUCTION (LESS COMPENSATION REQUIREMENTS)
 - (D) MORE FAMILY TIME (LESS STRESS ON DUAL INCOME FAMILIES)
 - (E) GREATER REEMPLOYMENT WILL HELP FIGHT THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF POVERTY
2. YOUTH OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS-TO PROMOTE MEANINGFUL WORK AND SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT BY PROVIDING INTERNSHIPS, APPRENTICESHIPS, AND REWARDING EXPERIENCES BEYOND DELIVERING PIZZAS, OR SELLING FAST FOOD, OR BECOMING ACQUAINTED WITH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.
3. CONSERVATION AND ENERGY
 - (A) AN IMPORT ENERGY TAX
 - (B) DOMESTIC CONSERVATION TO ELIMINATE EXCESSIVE WASTEFUL OVERCONSUMPTION
 - (C) ALTERNATIVE ENERGY DEVELOPMENT
4. A CAPITAL LEVY ON THE TOP PERCENT OF OUR NATIONAL ACCRUED WEALTH.
5. EMPHASIZE OUR ECONOMIC CONVERSION FROM THE COLD WAR ECONOMY TO A PEACETIME ECONOMY. THE FAILURE OF PRESIDENT BUSH TO HAVE A CONTINGENCY PLAN IN PLACE FOR AMERICAN COMMUNITIES WHICH HAVE BEEN GRAFTED TO THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX AND ARE SUFFERING UNEMPLOYMENT AND EVEN COMPLETE COLLAPSE IS UNJUSTIFIABLE, CERTAINLY SINCE THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL TWO YEARS AGO. A DEFENSE TARIFF ON NATIONS WE ARE DEFENDING AROUND THE WORLD WOULD HELP FINANCING.
- 8 SENATOR MCCARTHY HAS SUPPORTED A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE CONCEPT SINCE 1948.

The Democratic Agenda

The Voice of the New Democrats

Volume 2, Number 2

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Fall 1991

How To Elect A Democratic President In 1992: Define The New World Order

by John Logue

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present... We must think anew and act anew." -- Abraham Lincoln

There is a widespread belief that President Bush will be unbeatable in 1992, especially if he stresses foreign policy and soft-pedals domestic issues. The conventional wisdom is that foreign policy is his greatest asset and that his Democratic opponent should spend most or all of his or her time talking about urgent domestic problems.

I believe that this conventional wisdom is wrong. If we Democrats want to win the presidency, our candidate must make a searching and constructive critique of the Bush foreign policy and propose an attractive and positive alternative to it. That is a big order.

Of course our candidate must be very strong on domestic issues and, a most important point, must stress that our domestic

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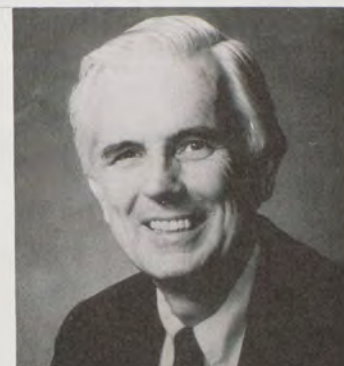
The State of Politics Today and What We Can Do About It

by Edmund G. Brown, Jr.

Boston, Massachusetts; October 4 --- Good Morning. I'm glad to be here in Boston today. I would like to talk to you about the state of American politics, and about what you and I can do about it. The Kettering Institute did a study on the American electorate in the past year and they came up with things like "Americans don't think that they live in a Democracy," "Americans think the system's been taken over by a professional political class and controlled by money, not by votes." People talk as though the political system has been taken over by alien beings.

But it's a cliché to say that everyone is alienated. You have to look at the fact that when half the people don't vote, that's pretty serious. At the time of the civil war, only one third of the states pulled out. Now half the people have pulled out individually from the Democratic system.

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Dr. John Logue

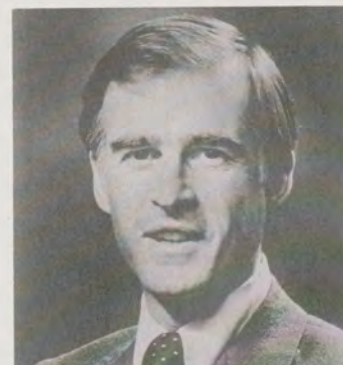
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Governor Jerry Brown

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Candidate Schedules

Gene McCarthy Schedule

December:

- 3rd - University of Notre Dame
- 5th - Madison, WI
- 6th - Kenosha, WI

Jerry Brown Schedule

November:

- 22nd - Chicago, IL: State Democratic Convention
- 23rd - Moline, IL: Illinois Public Action Committee
- 23rd - Des Moines, IA: Jefferson Jackson Day Dinner
- 24th - Los Angeles, CA: Southern California Institute of
- 25th - Boston, MA
- 27th - New Hampshire
- 28th - New Hampshire
- 29th - Boston, MA
- 30th - Boston, MA

Larry Agran Schedule

November:

- 20th - New Hampshire
- 21st - University of New Hampshire
- 22nd - Chicago, IL: State Democratic Convention
- 23rd - Iowa: Jefferson Jackson Day
- 24th - New Castle, New Hampshire
- 25th - Hampton, New Hampshire
- 26th - Los Angeles, CA

Note: Schedules may change.

ScoopCity

McCarthy Files

Gene McCarthy filed with the Federal Election Commission establishing an Exploratory Committee for a run for the Democratic presidential nomination on October 4. Since that time, McCarthy has enlisted the support of former Senators Vance Hartke and J. William Fulbright for his campaign committee. Sam Smith, *Progressive Review* editor, is heading up the Issues Committee. A formal declaration is expected in late November. (Cont. on page 5)

The No-Fault Presidency

by Eugene J. McCarthy

Harry Truman was noted for his saying, "The buck stops here." President Eisenhower accepted responsibility for the U2 flight over Russia during his administration. John Kennedy did the same for the Cuban invasion, even though it had been planned during the Eisenhower Administration. Subsequent Presidents were less ready to accept responsibility or blame.

Lyndon Johnson sought the protection of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, and noted that he was only carrying on what three Presidents before him had progressively supported in Vietnam. Richard Nixon noted that he was carrying forward, even in Cambodia, what four of his predecessors had sustained, and called the war a "Democrat War." Ronald Reagan took credit for the Grenada action, first billed as an "incursion" and then as an "invasion." There is no verb "incurse". But Reagan passed off the deaths of Marines in Lebanon as a kind of "happening". President Carter attributed failures during his administration to the "malaise" that affected the nation.

This gradual rejection of presidential responsibility is coming to full term, possibly reaching institutional status, in the Bush administration, which may be the first fully "no fault" presidency in our history.

The most recent assertion of lack of Presidential responsibility by President Bush, took place in a Houston, Texas church on Sunday, April 7, when he absolved himself, and by extension, the people of the United States of any responsibility for the condition of various Iraqi rebel and refugee groups. Whereas it is acknowledged that President Bush did encourage revolt against Saddam, he did not, he asserted, promise potential rebels any support, armed or otherwise. Moreover, the Administration has noted that any such assistance would be intervention in the internal affairs of another nation, an action not allowed by the United Nations. Had the United Nations been in existence during World War II, and had Hitler (Bush has called Saddam another Hitler) promised to give up conquered territory, suspend productions of weapons of mass destruction, and make reparations, he might then have been allowed to go on as long as he executed only German Jews.

This denial of responsibility for refugees is the last in a line of similar denials related to our involvement in the Persian Gulf War.

The deaths and destruction that resulted from the early action in the liberation of Kuwait, and the attacks on Saddam's forces were all, the president maintains, attributable to Saddam and on his conscience. The shelling and bombing of troops, tanks and trucks, etc., during the retreat of the Iraqi forces were justified, according to administration spokespersons, as allowed under the Geneva conventions. The forces had not surrendered, but were assumed to be moving to a new position from which they would resume hostilities. The President during these stages of the war insulated himself even more particularly from responsibility, by saying that he was doing what the military recommended, although claims, if not charges, of Presidential intervention in later stages of the war have begun to surface.

This amorality, or distancing of himself from responsibility, on the part of President Bush, is not a phenomenon of his war-time Presidency. There has been evidence of such a disposition on George Bush's part in earlier personal and political behavior.

Whereas Lee Atwater, formerly campaign manager of the Bush presidential campaign, in the months before his recent death, apologized for some of the things he had done to help defeat Michael Dukakis and elect George Bush, especially the exploitation of the Willie Horton case, there has been no comparable expression of regret from George Bush, the beneficiary of Atwater's work.

Although the Bush administration supported Saddam Hussein in his war with Iran, and gave him reason to believe that his dispute over border disagreements with Kuwait were of little concern to the U.S., this support continuing long after it was publicly known that Saddam had used chemical weapons against the Kurds, President Bush himself has acknowledged no fault. The explanation of the case has been left to a career foreign service person, who served as ambassador to Iraq. The ambassador's explanation of the apparent contradictions between policy and action was that the United States made the mistake of not realizing how "dumb" Saddam Hussein was, or is. She did not point out at what level in the State Department the mistake of judgment occurred or explain whether the mistake occurred because our officials were too "dumb" to realize how "dumb" Saddam was, or whether the general level of intelligence in the Administration, from the President down, is so high that it can not comprehend dumbness of the level at which it evidently exists in Saddam Hussein. This same defense undoubtedly could be applied to the selection and use of Noriega as our man in Panama.

In other areas of political and governmental actions, the President has demonstrated the same disposition to avoid or deny personal or presidential responsibility.

The budget deficit he blames on the Democratic Congress. He might have gone further and blamed it on the American electorate, since that electorate chose a Democratic Congress in 1990 despite the President's drive for the election of Republicans. He has taken no responsibility for the savings and loan difficulty, even though he might have learned of it from his son, and shown little concern for it, or for related difficulties in the banking community and in Housing and Urban Development.

Other presidents and presidential candidates have been held responsible for their vice-presidents or running mates. (Franklin Roosevelt rejected vice-presidents as future running mates. Eisenhower answered for Richard Nixon in 1952, McGovern was held responsible for his choice and then rejection of Tom Eagleton. Nixon, belatedly, had to take blame for his choice of Spiro Agnew. and Mondale for Geraldine Ferraro.)

Bush, however, treats the Quayle vice-presidency, as though it were an accident or an act of nature, as something he found in the office one morning. Although Bush supported the war in Vietnam, he avoids defending that support but talks of "kicking the Vietnam Syndrome" (an action hard to visual-

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Letters

Dear Fellow New Democrats,

We have emphasized the issues that we believe should be brought forward by the Democratic Party. We believe that President Bush is far from invincible, and that there are national problems in need of urgent consideration. The Republicans have failed us nationally and do not deserve our votes. The lack of leadership has made our problems acute.

To restore leadership to our country and to win the 1992 Presidential election, we must provide the voters with a meaningful choice. At this time we are updating our positions on issues and are asking for your help.

We have recently heard from Ron Brown, Chairman of the Democratic Party assuring us of his interest in our organization.

I hope that you will send at least twenty dollars to the New Democrats so that you will receive this issue and a year's membership, and that you will send us your views on the important issues of the day.

Senator McCarthy is capable of overturning the Republicans and getting a useful debate going on the issues. He can discuss any topic from foreign policy to the economy to civil rights. His recent speeches have met with a new surge of popular appeal. He tells it like it is with his own brand of wit. He has been touring the country to speak in D.C., Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado, etc. New Hampshire is on his itinerary.

Dorothy Kaskowitz

Dorothy Kaskowitz is Vice-Chair of New Democrats.

New Way to Get the Last Word In?

When you put a Democrat and a Republican in front of a TV camera, the Democrat often takes a beating -- and it's not because the Democrat is on the "wrong" side of the issues.

Over the past few years, it seems, Republican spokespersons have mastered the tactics and ploys to use in TV interviews. They know how to deflect questions on hard issues. They deflate any serious answers with irrelevant quips. They state the Republican "message" more clearly and consistently. They use ad hominem attacks liberally (well, at least not conservatively) to put their adversaries off balance.

Impish Roger Ailes is a master of seemingly uncalculated responses to questions from reporters and news-show hosts. But if you listen closely to Ailes and others in the Bush camp, you know that the responses are well rehearsed. In the fragmented, fast-moving world of TV sound bites, good technique often prevails over good answers. Truth and logic are the first victims.

Do we need a practical handbook of techniques to help us overcome this "verbal missile gap"? Phil Murray of Knowledge Management Associates (Danvers, MA), a member of the New Democrats and a consultant in an area of online information delivery called "hypertext," has volunteered to gather contributions from NewDems and convert them into a topic-driven online hypertext document that can be delivered on floppy disk or via telecommunications.

The information would not have to be limited to debating tactics and identifying "messages" that work. Any kind of late-breaking informa-

Jerry Brown, Continued

In the 1860's when we faced our first internal crisis, Lincoln described the struggle or the idea behind the struggle as the necessity of proving that popular government is not an absurdity. I don't know how many people in this room actually believe that popular government even functions--if by popular government you mean that the majority of people exercise some control based on some thinking about what ought to be done. Because if you look at the arena of politics, it is barren. It is a flood of banalities. There's no great debate, there's no great division between different courses of action, because there's no real division between those in Washington.

I believe there are two organizations, the Republican and Democratic Parties, with different names that essentially belong to the same organization. They receive their money from the same sources and they act pretty much the same and they have a few trivial differences--I'm talking about the incumbent party. So when people present themselves as saying "George Bush is the problem," that's just not true. The problems in this country started long before George Bush assumed the mantle of power, and even before Reagan. Nothing they did was not ratified by a majority of the congress, which is controlled by the Democratic party.

So I present myself as a person who is willing by dint of character or personal history to challenge the status quo in a more fundamental way. If you don't agree with what I'm trying to say, I think you should oppose what I'm trying to do. Because I am really standing in a very fundamental sense against the way this country is being governed today. It's being governed by a dysfunctional arrangement between the Democrats and the Republicans and it's not working. It's not working economically and it's not working politically.

We know that the economy is deteriorating. There are a lot of theories about why that is and what we can do about it, but I think the first requisite is to restore integrity to the political process. In order to make that possible, I'm setting up a campaign that won't take more than \$100 from any one person. I'm doing it as a way of allowing people who are not now involved to really have a stake and a reality of ownership in this campaign.

The reason why I am limiting the contributions to \$100 is to force my campaign, and to force myself and anyone who works with me, to reach out, not to a few thousand, but to several hundred thousand, and to create the mood of insurgency that will actually cause the energy and the catalytic change that our politics requires. And I'm prepared to do it in that way. I'm also supporting term limits for Senators and Congressmen as another way to challenge the complacency.

What we've done in industries like bio-tech, computers, and technical engineering makes me believe we will solve any of the economic problems that we have. The problem is that we're not investing in schools, universal health care, alternative energy, and protecting the environment.

We want to open up the political process so that we can confront the power of the interest groups that fund the campaigns. All the other candidates running in this party are intending to fund their populist campaigns

off the same special interests that they're going to attack. These are the same candidates who can't find the time to give us a health care or energy policy, an adequate education program, or to re-direct military spending to a domestic agenda, but they can raise their pay in the middle of the night to put them at a level higher than 99 percent of the American people.

I understand that professionals such as ourselves believe we're worth \$125,000 a year, but when the per capita average income of every American is only \$22,000 and it's they whom they serve, I don't agree with that. I think that the people in Congress have to suffer a little more, and if they knew how tough it is, they would do more to solve the problems of the average person. As long as they're sitting up there at the top I don't think they're feeling the heat. If they could gear their salaries to the general index of economic well-being, that would be fine, but I don't think that they should continue to prosper at everyone else's expense.

What are the functions of the party? First, it's supposed to have a platform, an agenda. It stands for something. Then on the basis of that, it gets candidates. After it gets the candidates, it helps mobilize the voters to put them in office. And once a candidate gets in office, it holds him or her accountable to the platform that started the process in the first place. But that isn't the way it works now. The party is an appendage of the incumbents.

You can run a dog for Congress, it doesn't make a bit of difference. You don't need candidates anymore, they're totally redundant. Candidates can only say what their pollster tells them to say. When you spend \$200,000 on polls and focus groups, and you sit behind the two-way mirror to hear what people say, and you know the buzzwords, you're not going to say what you feel. You don't even know what you feel anyway after you've been in this process for a few years. So you say the words. You become a synthetic construct of campaign consultancy. That's what I want to challenge. The language, the system and the arranging. That has to be broken up before we can get to child care and taxation and environment.

I believe that my fundamental mistake was not that I advocated a space program in the state of California or went to Africa with Linda Ronstadt or that I did or didn't do a few other things. My mistake was that I didn't follow through on my original insight that the political system was too corrupt and had that it had gotten to the point where it no longer worked.

Our political system has become ritualized and embedded in a system of lies. I believe that describes the condition of contemporary politics. And I intend in this campaign to tell the truth, whether it be about our own party or about Bush or even about politics. I think on that basis we can generate the kind of energy and commitment that a healthy democracy requires.

Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr. served two terms as governor of California. He recently served as Chair of the Democratic Party in California for two years. Governor Brown recently abandoned a race for the U.S. Senate from California. He is contemplating a run for the Democratic nomination for president. These remarks are excerpted from a speech in Boston on October 4, 1991. To comment or contribute, please call 1-800-426-1112.

tion useful to candidates and others who have to deal with the new Republican rhetoric could be included, since online hypertext documents can be updated very quickly.

Give Phil your thoughts and suggestions at (508) 777-8007 (days) or via CompuServe mail (CompuServe ID number 72401,231). The project will be undertaken only if there is sufficient interest among members.

ScoopCity (Cont.)

Brown Opens NH Office

Jerry Brown is opening his New Hampshire headquarters in late November. Here's the address:

Brown for President
1087 Elm St.
Manchester, NH 03103-1853
603-647-9200

Tsongas Wins Straw Poll

A straw poll held at the New Hampshire Young Democrats state convention on November 16 yielded these results:

Tsongas: 53% Kerrey: 24%
Brown: 8% Agran: 2%
McCarthy: 2% Wilder: 2%
Harkin: 1% Clinton: 1%

Quayle Aide Tells Lesbian Joke

David Beckwith, Dan Quayle's press secretary, apparently wasn't satisfied with the press attention Senator Kerrey got over his lesbian joke. So he told one of his own. "The good news is that the lesbians are upset with Kerrey. The bad news is that they'll be coming our way to support us." Beckwith later claimed in a phone conversation that his gay and lesbian friends did not find the remark particularly humorous.

Candidate Update

An Exploratory Committee has been formed to explore a possible presidential candidacy by our Advisory Chair, former Senator **Eugene J. McCarthy**. For more information, write:

McCarthy '92
P.O. Box 2008
Washington, D.C. 20013-2008
202-544-7091

Make checks payable to
MCCARTHY 1992 EX-
PLORATORY COMMITTEE.

Larry Agran, former mayor of Irvine, California and also a member of the NEW DEMOCRATS Advisory Board, announced on August 22 that he is running for the Democratic presidential nomination. For more information, write:

Agran for President '92
P.O. Box 159
Irvine, CA 92650
(714) 250-8087

Make checks payable to AGRAN
FOR PRESIDENT 92.

Former California governor **Jerry Brown** announced on September 3 that he has formed an Exploratory Committee to explore a Brown presidential candidacy. For more information, write:

Brown for President
2121 Cloverfield
Santa Monica, CA 90403
213-449-1992 (Headquarters)
800-426-1112 (Comments)

To contribute, make checks payable to BROWN FOR PRESIDENT. The Brown campaign is not accepting contributions of more than \$100.00.

Editorial

There are now a number of well-qualified and strong liberal candidates in the race for the Democratic nomination. Two members of the New Democrats Advisory Board, Eugene McCarthy and Larry Agran, are presidential candidates. Jerry Brown, who has enlisted the support of some members our Executive Committee, is expected to announce the third week in October. A number of other candidates, including Tom Harkin and Robert Kerrey, have taken stands we as New Democrats can back.

One reason liberal and progressive candidates have lost in the past is that the liberal vote has been divided among a number of candidates. For example, in 1968 it was divided among McCarthy, McGovern, and Kennedy. In 1984, it was divided between McGovern and Hart. The effect of this is to weaken the total liberal vote and make it more difficult to mount a winning campaign in the general election. A multicandidate strategy would allow the liberal vote to be accumulated, to be spent where it counts: at the Democratic National Convention. Typically, when the liberal vote has been split among the candidates, a compromise candidate has been named, resolving the convention stalemate, but—in some cases—alienating the voters.

Will the Democratic candidates compete for and divide the liberal vote in the primaries, leaving a weakened nominee, or will they cooperate in the nomination process, thereby increasing the chance that a liberal will be nominated?

We propose that the candidates who are most closely allied with us, Gene McCarthy, Larry Agran, and Jerry Brown, adopt a multicandidate strategy during the nomination process to maximize their impact and, hopefully, to insure that one of them will be nominated. In particular, we propose cooperation in the following ways:

1. In the nomination process, candidates should run in the states in which they are strongest. This would enable candidates who cannot mount a full-fledged national campaign to run a strong campaign in selected states. It would enable each campaign to target those states where the candidate has a reasonable chance of victory without spreading resources too thin over all 50 states.

2. In the issues development process, the candidates could find a set of issues they agree on and run on those issues. The areas of disagreement would define the differences in these candidates. In each state, however, a vote for that candidate could be construed in part as a vote for that set of issues. The candidates could then cooperate to get those issues they agree on written into the Democratic Party platform. Possibly we as New Democrats could draft a document that formulates areas of agreement.

3. The McCarthy, Agran, and Brown campaigns should cooperate by sharing resources during the primary campaigns. Elsewhere in this newsletter is a proposal to develop a handbook for Democrats speaking in public or facing the press who need guidelines on how to respond to Republican at-

tacks. Why not develop this guidebook and circulate it among the liberal candidates?

4. Encourage the development of favorite son candidates to increase the possibility of choice at the convention.

5. At the convention, liberal candidates can see which liberal candidate has gathered the most strength and support that candidate.

At the beginning of a campaign, each candidate may think that he or she can "win it all." Hence, the candidates may hesitate to adopt this strategy at the beginning of the campaign. As the primary season wears on, however, this strategy may seem more appealing as a way to insure that each candidate controls a bloc of delegates.

If the idea of having candidates cooperate during the primary season sounds unlikely, it is less unlikely than what has already occurred in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. If we cooperate, we can **win for a change** in 1992.

We Need Your Help

Please see the last page of this newsletter for a form to use to send back comments and contributions. We need your contributions to keep our newsletter coming. If you would like to join one of our committees, check the appropriate box.

If you feel frustrated with the contribution limit on the Brown for President campaign, send the Brown campaign \$100 and give the rest to the New Democrats. By contributing to the New Democrats, you help support all the liberal candidates, not just one. And you help with issues development, campaign coordination, and voter education.

Welcome

We would like to welcome the following members to our growing list of Founding Members and Sustaining Members:

Founding Members:

Barbara Barron
Karl Gruhn
Dorothy Kaskowitz
John Logue
Charles McCafferty
Eugene McCarthy
Jeffrey Platt
Jared Schutz
Stanley Yoder

Sustaining Members:
Robert Crump

Democratic Agenda Provides an Alternative

In his January 24, 1991 University of New Hampshire speech, George McGovern said "I want the Democratic Party...to challenge President Bush with a **clear alternative agenda**." On April 11, Paul Tsongas spoke to the National Press Club and challenged the Democratic Party to **redefine its agenda**. In response, we are pleased to present *The Democratic Agenda*. Help us write the Democratic Agenda by submitting your comments, letters, and articles. Call or write to:

New Democrats
P.O. Box 360
Reading, MA 01867
508-664-2500
508-664-2599 (Fax)

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Editor: Jesse L. Yoder

Associate Editor: Darcy Richardson.

Assistant Editor: Victoria Tuck;
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Executive Committee: Eugene J. McCarthy, Darcy Richardson, Dorothy Kaskowitz, Jesse Yoder, Jared Schutz, Kate Neiswender, Jeffrey Platt

Advisory Board: Eugene J. McCarthy, Larry Agran, Zolton Ferency, Dennis Kucinich

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Campaign Reform... Again

By Jeffrey C. Platt

Again, a new elections reform "package" is being cut and pasted around the corridors of Capitol Hill. One bill by Oklahoma Representative Mike Synar is called the "Clean and Fair Act of 1992." Most of these measures call for spending limits by campaigns and contribution limits by supporters. These limitations on campaigns are to be voluntary, in order to merit certain benefits such as free or cheap media and mailing access. Some proposals would provide government funding of congressional campaigns. All of the proposals would increase the size and authority of the Federal Elections Commission.

Few could fault the stated objectives of the reformers: to increase citizen participation and confidence in our political processes. The "problem" stumping most reformers is our 200-year-old Constitutional Bill of Rights. The methods considered to "level" the political playing field often run roughshod over somebody's political rights of speech and assembly or commercial-media concepts of fair market value, as well as create an unseemly (if not improper) involvement by government in its own selection.

Most of this thinking is an evolution from the Federal Elections Acts of the 1970s which created serious constitutional frictions of an authoritarian model. The popular new approach taken by generally disgruntled short-stick-ends is the "term-limits" approach. This creates an artificial mechanism to do the voting for us. If the bums are to be thrown out, I would submit it would be more satisfying to have defeated them at the ballot box. A

John Logue, Continued

proposals are deeply rooted in American history and American values. But Democratic hopefuls cannot and must not ignore foreign policy. To do so would be fatal.

Many Americans are proud, very proud, of America's role in the Gulf War. They give President Bush much credit for it. They are glad that a number of other nations helped fight that war and/or pay for it. They are glad that the war was endorsed by Congress and by the United Nations. But they are also troubled by the war, especially by the survival of Saddam Hussein but also by the great destruction and heavy Iraqi casualties. They sense that the nations who helped us defend the world's oil supply against Saddam Hussein may not join us in defending areas less vital to their national interests. If they won't, will we? Should we? If they won't and we won't, what will happen to George Bush's "rule of Law"? Who will keep the peace?

Americans are aware that the anarchic world of the nineties has many urgent and dangerous problems: ethnic rivalries, a debt crisis, drug trafficking, the U.S. debt and deficit, protectionism, the gap between rich and poor nations, the qualitative arms race in conventional weapons, and, perhaps most important, the many faceted environmental crisis. What is clear is that these problems are interdependent. They must be treated that way. But that is almost impossible in what may soon be a world of 200 sovereign states.

Most Democrats sense that they have to discuss foreign policy. But they will be tempted to be selective rather than comprehensive in their approach and negative rather than positive. There will be potshots before limited audiences, flirtations with isolationism and protectionism and, we can be sure, a belittling of President Bush's record in foreign policy. Democrats **should** spend some time, but not **much** time, critiquing that policy and pointing out that many of the good things that happened on Bush's watch were the result of the policies of his Democratic--and Republican--predecessors, e.g., containment, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin airlift, NATO, the removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba.

But the Democrats, who voted overwhelmingly against the Gulf War, will probably get little mileage out of selective critiques of specific Bush foreign policies. In any case, Bush's stock appears to be going up as he faces down Hussein on the nuclear weapons issue and begins to drastically reduce our arsenal of nuclear weapons and to take many weapons off alert status.

What we Democrats can and should do is to make a broad and constructive critique of Bush's foreign policy and propose a sound and comprehensive alternative foreign policy. President Bush has given us a magnificent opportunity to do so by repeatedly talking about a "new world order" but refusing to define it. What we should do is to grab Bush's phrase, define it and, like General Schwarzkopf, run with it. By taking the initiative, we will command public and media attention. We will unite ranks and inspire our workers. And we will have a good shot, a very good shot, at winning the Presidency in 1992 and keeping it for some years to come.

Some Democrats mock the concept of a new world order. They shouldn't. Most Americans sense that a new world order requires effective

international structures. Opinion polls show that majorities want the existing UN to be strengthened. They know that it is poor, unrepresentative and hobbled by the veto. They know that if and when the UN enforces decisions it must use the sledgehammer of war rather than the gavel of a judge.

A restructured and empowered UN would change that. It would use war only as a last resort. It would deal with a Saddam Hussein the way the U.S. government deals with state governors who defy federal law: it insists on individual responsibility for state misconduct. If, in August 1990, the UN had had the authority and the power to pick up and try Saddam Hussein and, if necessary, imprison him, 100,000 lives would have been saved and billions of dollars, perhaps 100 billion dollars, in military expenditures and property and environmental damage would have been avoided.

It is becoming increasingly clear that a new world order requires a new United Nations, a United Nations with the power, authority, and funding to carry out its declared purposes, a UN without a veto, without a one nation-one-vote system, a UN not dependent on national governments for its funding. This kind of U.N. would make many "insoluble" problems, e.g., the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, soluble.

There is no evidence that President Bush wants any major changes in the UN. He is so opposed to UN restructuring and empowerment that he has become a lawbreaker. For over two years he has been violating a law signed by President Reagan, requiring him to appoint by May 1989 four members to a bipartisan U.S. Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the UN. The Democrats can take an important step toward a worthwhile new world order by insisting that the president make his appointments to the U.S. Commission and insisting that the already appointed members begin their work of holding hearings, quizzing experts, and making recommendations. The Democrats can take another important step toward a new world order by endorsing a proposal for an International Commission on Global Governance made in Stockholm last April and endorsed by Willy Brandt, Jimmy Carter, Václav Havel, Edward Heath, and Eduard Shevardnadze.

American politics is very volatile in times of change. It is very susceptible to new ideas or old ideas posing as new ones. If Democrats have the right new ideas they can elect a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress in 1992.

I believe that the American people are waiting for their leaders, Democratic and Republican, to tell them the price of world peace, liberty, prosperity and environmental sanity. The price is not George Bush's Pax Americana, but a new world order based on a new United Nations along the lines sketched above. I believe the American people are ready to pay that price. It is unlikely that President Bush will ask them to do so. Will the Democratic candidate ask them?

Dr. John Logue, Director of the Common Heritage Institute, is Emeritus Professor of Political Science at Villanova University. He has served on the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Democratic State Committee and run for the U.S. Senate. His most recent (1991) book is Strengthening the United Nations.

defeated Nixon or Reagan would have been healthier than a forced resignation. The Republicans certainly enjoyed defeating McGovern and Mondale.

I propose we advocate the position recommended by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, letting the federal courts deal with the F.E.C. and the related "reform" measures, and look at producing a more equitable distribution of representation in how our electoral college is selected:

1) First, end the winner-take-all state allocation of electors. It is a method that both major parties recognize within their own nomination processes is a poor form of representation.

2) Have the electors represent either congressional districts with the state popular winner taking the additional two votes or have a national redistricting of the electoral college so the electors could represent numerically smaller districts, something like 2,000 districts nationwide. This would equalize the value of every district in America and not give such an advantage to big electoral states in presidential elections. It would also open up and keep alive the prospect for a wider general election choice as a viable option, should either or both major party nominees fall way short of popular expectations in the course of the campaign (ala Gary Hart--had the flap occurred after he won the nomination--or George Bush being discovered as the "brains" behind Iran/Contra).

This would improve popular participation in congressional contests by being an additional district-style, functioning, federal role. If I am correct, the elector holds a federal

Cont. on Page 10

Jeffry Platt, Continued

position and cannot be a member of Congress. Therefore, citizens who become a representative elector are possible future congressional candidates with a constituency. An elector can and should actively campaign for the position of representing the public in the electoral college. She or he could be seen as delegates functioning within the party conventions.

The arguments made for abolishing the electoral college are not as good as arguments for abolishing party conventions that in no fashion offer direct or largest popular vote discernments in nomination processes. A greater institutional role for the elector, which is constitutional, is preferable to the constitutionally up-in-the-air bureaucratically based measures Congress thinks of when it attempts to force a reform that completes, as Eugene McCarthy called it at his March 25 address at George Washington University, "a totalitarian circuit."

Gene McCarthy Wins Hands Down

Gene McCarthy won *The Democratic Agenda's* 1992 Presidential Preference Poll with 44 percent of the vote. George McGovern came in second with 18 percent.

The poll was conducted during May and June, 1991 and was open to all New Democrats. Jesse Jackson and Mario Cuomo each received 9 percent of the vote. Lloyd Bentsen, Bill Bradley, Al Gore, Richard Lamm, and Paul Tsongas each received 4 percent of the vote.

Larry Agran Joins Advisory Board; Announces Presidential Bid

Larry Agran, former chair of the 1992 McGovern for President Exploratory Committee, has joined the New Democrats Advisory Board. A former mayor of Irvine, California, Mayor Agran announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for president on August 22, 1991.

Agran is calling for a "New American Security." He promises "deliverance from 45 years of Cold War thinking and Cold War politics," and an end to "the days of Democratic Party complicity in Cold War priorities."

Mayor Agran is calling for the removal of all U.S. forces from Europe and Japan by December 31, 1994. He would cut \$10 billion from the foreign military aid budget, cancel all weapons testing, and cancel the B-2 bomber and Star Wars. He believes that \$150 billion per year is a "fully adequate defense budget."

Biography

Larry Agran has forged an unconventional political career as a successful Democratic official in Orange County, California.

While he was the mayor of Irvine, the editors of *The New York Times* wrote, "though a liberal Democrat, Mr. Agran thrives as a maverick in Republican territory." *The Los Angeles Times* concurred, noting that "Observers near and far marveled at how this progressive Democrat managed to dance on the head of a pin in the heart of conservative Orange County."

Today, as opinion polls continue to insist that President Bush is personally popular but his policies are not, Larry Agran steps forward to address the issues which are bringing America's cities, states and counties to their knees--issues which have been lost in the rhetoric of past campaigns.

Throughout the 1980s, Larry Agran was not only a member of the Irvine City Council, but also a recognized national leader in local public policy.

From 1978, when first elected to the city council, until he left office in 1990 as Irvine's first directly elected mayor, Agran brought global acclaim to this city of 110,000 people. Irvine is now famous worldwide as a leading example of master planning--what *The New York Times* said may be "the American future."

Preaching the message "Think globally, act locally," Agran has repeatedly taken the lead in shaping policy in the new age of international cooperation. He has:

- authored a 1987 U.S. Conference of Mayors resolution calling on Congress and the President "to redress the imbalance between military spending and important domestic spending"

- organized the conference's landmark study, "A Shift in Military Spending to America's Cities," which found that "a five-year shift of \$150 billion from the military budget" would create jobs, increase personal income, and improve the quality of life
- convened a 1990 Roundtable Conference on Economic Diversification at Irvine City Hall which brought together local aerospace executives, trade union officials, economists, federal and state representatives, and local elected officials. One idea generated by the gathering was the conversion of high-technology industries from military weaponry to mass transit
- authored the nation's strongest and most comprehensive municipal ordinance to eliminate chlorofluorocarbons and other compounds destroying the earth's ozone layer, for which the city was honored with the United Nation's Environment Programme's coveted award for environmental achievement.

Agran headed a city council described by *The New York Times* as "a crucible of municipal innovation." To address the everyday needs of his constituents, Agran:

- initiated a child care policy that committed Irvine to the universal availability of safe, affordable, quality child care declared a "national model" by the *Los Angeles Times*
- led the effort to adopt a city Human Rights Ordinance banning discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodations--including discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation
- developed and funded a transportation system for elderly and disabled citizens--earning the city an award for national leadership in promoting the rights of the disabled.

For Larry Agran, "Thinking Globally" comes naturally. He:

- served for eight years as executive director of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, a non-profit "think tank" dedicated to the constructive participation of citizens and cities across the world in international affairs
- visited Mexico and Japan to establish Irvine's sister cities relations, and established an international affairs program that capitalized on Irvine's place on the Pacific Rim, as well as the city's multinational, multicultural population
- travelled to Vietnam in 1989 as part of a delegation to press for the release of the father of a Vietnamese refugee living in Irvine. Where the State Department had failed, the delegation succeeded. The family was reunited.

U.S. Health Care and the New Democrats

By Stephen C. Shannon

The United States is the only industrialized nation--other than South Africa--that fails to guarantee all citizens access to medical care. We have the most expensive system in the world. The U.S. spends 11.5 percent of its GNP on health care--much more than our nearest similar neighbor, Canada, which spends only 8.5 percent. In Canada all citizens have equal access to health care, whereas in the U.S., despite our expenses, there are over 37 million Americans uninsured, and millions more underinsured.

Much of the problem is a result of the structure of our health care reimbursement system. Unlike systems with a single-payer health insurance source (like in Canada), in the U.S. hundreds of health insurance organizations generate thousands of forms requiring tens of thousands of person-hours for health care cost reimbursement. The result is dollars wasted on administrative and overhead costs that could be providing health care in the U.S.

The lack of a single-payer source of insurance and reimbursement builds in incredible inefficiency. For instance, a typical Canadian hospital has three people in its billing office who use a single personal computer. A comparable American hospital employs 50 billing clerks and a \$2 million billing computer. The cost of administering health insurance (overhead and profits) is 12 percent of total insurance costs in the U.S., but only 2.5 percent in Canada. Overhead for physicians is 45 percent of gross earnings in the U.S., but 36 percent in Canada. And hospital administration in the

Stephen Shannon, Continued

U.S. is 18 percent of total hospital expenses, but only eight percent in Canada.

Why? Because a necessity like health insurance is organized like a marketplace commodity service in the U.S. Rather than single-source for payment of health care, U.S. patients, providers, and hospitals face a multitude of competing financial entities, each with its own profit margins, administrative costs, and differing requirements. It is like having a number of companies from which to purchase one's electricity, each with different wiring requirements in your house, ways of calculating cost, and forms to fill out for each electricity use. And each also having its own profit, administrative, and advertising budget to be funded from your pocket. It just does not make sense, and most Americans recognize that it doesn't.

A broad range of citizens and organizations have become supporters of national health insurance in recent years. Even traditional roadblocks to such reform, such as corporations (Chrysler) and physicians (American College of Physicians), have endorsed a Canadian-style national health plan. The fact is that the politicians in both parties are behind the American people on this issue. Poll after poll demonstrates U.S. dissatisfaction with the current system, and desire for basic reform. It is time to display some real leadership here, and the New Democrats can use this issue to do so.

Stephen Shannon is a member of the New Democrats Steering Committee from Maine.

Remember--You saw it first in
The Democratic Agenda.

Eugene McCarthy, Continued

ize) and saying that he would not do it again, or that if he did, he would do it differently.

What seems to be indifference to responsibilities, or an amoral attitude towards such responsibilities is indicated in Bush's personal behavior and language. The vacation taken by the President in the early stages of the Gulf War was defended on the grounds that the president was not "re-creating" but something different pronounced "rek-creating". The President recommends the same indulgence for all citizens. In the midst of a critical press conference, or a press conference on a critical matter (such as the one he gave from a golf cart as the war was intensifying) he interrupts or terminates the conference by saying, "Gotta run now..."

Peggy Noonan, in her book about the Reagan Administration, "What I Saw At The Revolution" makes several observations about George Bush that help to explain his detachment or flight from responsibility. According to Ms. Noonan, who did some speech writing for candidate Bush, he hated to say "I." If she wrote an "I" in a speech for him, he would, she writes, drop the phrase containing the pronoun or drop the whole sentence rather than use the personal pronoun. She accommodated her writing for him. Instead of writing "I moved to Texas" she would write "moved to Texas." Instead of "We joined the Republican Party" she wrote "joined the Republican Party." And, she writes, she imagined him at his oath taking at the Presidential inaugural not saying, "I solemnly swear," but uttering phrases like "solemnly swear", and "will preserve and protect." The pronoun "we" was more acceptable to him possibly because it denotes shared responsibility in the manner noted by Mark Twain, who said that no one should use the collective "we" excepting the king (or queen) of England, the archbishop of Canterbury (or the pope, one can assume) or someone with a tapeworm.

Ms. Noonan suggests that this disposition to avoid the use of the pronoun "I" had its beginning in his stern mother's admonishing him when he was a boy not to use it. This may be true but whatever its origin the inclination could very well have been nurtured by three of the political offices held by George prior to his election to the Presidency.

First, during his chairmanship of the Republican Party (an office not recommended for character building), George Bush accomplished little; neither did he define or redefine the function of that office. The second office held by him, which might have blunted his sense of personal responsibility, was his service as head of the C.I.A. And the third was his eight years of service as Vice-president. He entered that office, after having denounced Reagan's "Voodoo economics" and emerged as a most enthusiastic advocate.

Well, as President Bush might say at this point, "Gotta run now."

Former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy is Chair of the New Democrats Advisory Board. He served in Congress for 22 years, and has been a presidential candidate four times. He is considering a bid for the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination. This speech is taken from remarks given in Sacramento, California on May 16, 1991.

Volunteer for a Committee

If you would like to be an **active participant** in the 1992 presidential race, sign up for a **New Democrats** committee! We will contact you with more information.

Committee Descriptions:

Campaign: Plan and implement 1992 campaign strategy.

Fundraising: Plan and hold **New Democrats** fundraising events.

Membership: Build organization membership at the state and national level.

Positions: Formulate organization positions; write position papers.

Publicity: Help write and distribute press releases; publicize **New Democrats**.

Structure: Update bylaws as needed.

Student: Coordinate with student groups around the country.

I'd like to serve on the **New Democrats** committee(s) I've checked:

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Send me _____ Positions Brochures. Send me _____ *Democratic Agendas*.

_____ I'd like to be a contact in my state.

Comments and names & addresses of other interested persons.

Yes! It's time for new solutions. Enclosed is my contribution to **New Democrats** (circle one).

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