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HEADLINE: Promises Promises // How Clinton has done

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BODY:

Here's how President Clinton performed on some major campaign promises during his first year in office. He gets a YES if the promise clearly has been fulfilled. He gets a NO when he has taken no action or where proposals have fallen short. He gets a PENDING if Congress is considering a proposal to fulfill a promise.

ABORTION

- + End the gag rule that restricts abortion counseling in federally funded clinics. YES: By executive order in January.
- + Permit federal research using aborted fetal tissue. YES: By executive order in January.
- + Name abortion rights supporters to the Supreme Court. YES: Named Ruth Bader Ginsburg in June.
- + Work to enact a Freedom of Choice Act. NO: He did not lobby for the bill.
- + Support testing of RU-486, the French birth control pill. YES: By executive order in January.

AGRICULTURE

- + Streamline USDA field offices. PENDING: Vice President Al Gore proposed streamlining in September. Congress is considering legislation.
- + End taxpayer subsidies for honey producers. YES: Subsidies were eliminated

+ Support research on a limited missile-defense system to protect the United States. YES: Money for research for limited system included in the defense budget.

+ Demand that other countries tighten their export laws regarding nuclear weapons. YES: The administration has strongly lobbied other nuclear powers to tighten controls.

ARTS

✓ + End content restrictions on federally subsidized art projects. NO: The administration has supported such restrictions in a legal fight. *The Adm. has upheld Congressional language that promotes "standards & decency" as interpreted by NEA - not content restrictions*
+ Continue federal funding for the arts. YES: Clinton asked for a modest increase to the \$ 174-million funding request, but Congress cut it by \$ 4-million.

BUDGET DEFICIT

+ Reduce the deficit by more than half in four years. NO: Clinton's budget plan would cut the deficit by only 36.5 percent over five years. But his plan promises to reduce the deficit to 2.5 percent of gross domestic product in 1998, instead of the 4.5 percent it would have been.

+ Enact a line-item veto to give presidents the authority to strike specific projects from spending bills. NO: The House passed a weak substitute. Senate balking.

CHILDREN

+ Establish a children's tax credit. NO: But the earned-income tax credit in Clinton's budget will help low-income families.

✓ + Fully fund Head Start and other preschool programs. NO: Clinton's budget approved by Congress increased Head Start funding by 20 percent but will serve less than half of all eligible children. *In the FY 94 budget, there are provisions to expand Head Start significantly by the end of the century*
+ Provide more health care for low-income women and children. YES:

Budget includes added money for low-income health programs.

✓ + Fully fund the Women, Infants and Children nutrition program. NO: The 1994 budget includes a 10 percent spending increase, but the program does not serve all eligible mothers and children. Clinton's goal is full funding by 1996. *The FY 94 budget phases in full funding of WIC; we are on track toward full funding.*

+ Set up a nationwide network of community development banks to provide small

loans to low-income entrepreneurs and homeowners in inner cities. NO: A more limited Clinton plan to provide development aid through existing institutions is being considered by Congress.

+ Create enterprise zones in inner cities that would give tax and regulatory breaks to firms locating there and hiring local workers. YES: Budget includes money for nine empowerment zones and more limited aid for 95 enterprise communities.

+ Prevent redlining and require financial institutions to invest in their communities. YES: Clinton and his appointees have produced new regulations and endorsed legislation to punish redlining and encourage community investment.

CIVIL RIGHTS, DIVERSITY

+ End the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. NO: Clinton argues that gays may legally serve under a compromise but gay rights advocates note that military gays may not declare their sexual orientation.

+ Support federal civil rights legislation for gays and lesbians, but exempt religious organizations. NO: Clinton has taken no action on this promise.

+ Lift damage caps for women, people with disabilities and religious

minorities in workplace discrimination cases. PENDING: The President endorsed a Senate bill that would keep this promise.

+ Increase the number of women and minorities in top levels of government. YES: Appointed record numbers of women and minorities.

CRIME AND DRUGS

This summer all national service grants will target public safety.

✓ + Put 100,000 more police officers on the streets through the national service plan.

PENDING: In August, Clinton announced a crime plan that would fund 100,000 officers. Money for the officers is included in a bill before Congress. *Congress has yet to pass the Crime Bill, but it provides funding for 100,000 more police officers.*

✓ + Establish community boot camps to discipline first-time nonviolent offenders.

PENDING: Some \$ 2-billion for boot camps is included in a bill before Congress. *The crime bill includes \$ 6-7b over 5 yrs for states to fund boot camps, prisons, etc.*

+ Enact the Brady bill requiring a five-day waiting period to buy handguns. YES: Clinton signed into law in November.

✓ + Make schools eligible for federal assistance for metal detectors and security personnel. PENDING: Some \$ 100-million for school security is in a bill before Congress. *Congress has already approved \$ 20 m for safe school projects, 50% may go to security measures.*

✓ + Ban assault rifles and limit access to multiple-round clips. PENDING: Congress is

Passed House + Senate - in conference.

considering legislation that would ban 19 types of assault weapons and limit access to multiple-round clips.

DEFENSE

+ Cut Pentagon spending by \$ 100-billion by the end of 1997. YES: Clinton's long-term defense plan unveiled in March would cut \$ 123-billion by 1997.

+ Cut U.S. troop levels in Europe to between 75,000 and 100,000 troops. YES: He is on target toward 100,000 by 1997 and could cut even deeper.

+ Cut the number of Navy aircraft carriers from 12 to 10. NO: The 1994 defense budget funds 12, down from 14.

+ Prohibit deployment of any massive space-based defense program such as Brilliant Pebbles. YES: Clinton has said he opposes space-based defense.

DEFENSE CONVERSION

+ Offer early retirement and a prorated pension system for military personnel with 15 to 20 years experience. NO: Clinton limited his offer of such benefits to certain personnel classes.

+ Expand the GI Bill to allow military personnel to take one-year educational leave of absence with pay before retirement. NO: Clinton took no action on this promise.

+ Increase investment in civilian high-tech research and development with every dollar cut from defense research and development. YES: Non-military research spending has grown proportionately to decline in defense research spending. + Make special conversion loans and grants available to small defense contractors. YES: There is money in the budget for such help.

DISABILITIES

+ Expand long-term care choices for people with disabilities. PENDING: Clinton's national health reform legislation includes money for home-based care as an alternative to nursing homes.

+ Increase special education, professional training and job training for people with disabilities. YES: The budget includes significant increases for these programs.

EDUCATION

+ Give every American the opportunity to borrow money for college.

✓ NO: Only 105 schools of 1,100 applicants were picked for a new direct loan program. Broad national coverage is a distant hope. *In addition to a 5-yr plan in the Nat'l Service Act significantly increasing number of schools participating,*
+ Replace the student loan program with a National Service Trust Fund. Students *Students can also get income contingent loan repayment if they engage in service*
could repay loans through community service or a portion of their income. YES: Clinton signed the National Service program into law in September. But the program serves only 20,000 out of 8.3-million college students in its first year.

✓ + Establish national standards and a national examination system in core subjects. PENDING: GOALS 2000 legislation setting up voluntary national standards and tests is before Congress. *passed & signed into law.*

+ Increase Chapter One funding for schools with low-income students. YES: Budget includes an extra \$ 186-million.

ELECTION REFORMS

+ Sign a bill requiring states to register people to vote when they apply for a driver's license. YES: Clinton signed motor-voter law in May.

✓ + Place voluntary spending caps on House and Senate campaigns and provide some public financing to candidates who abide by the caps. PENDING: Legislation now before Congress doesn't provide money for public financing. *Congress is now finalizing bill to provide partial public funding for candidates who limit*

✓ + Cut maximum political action committee contributions to a candidate from \$ 5,000 to \$ 1,000. NO: Clinton actually proposed increasing contribution limits for congressional candidates. *Pending legislation limits the amount candidates can receive from PACs. Hrs. bill differ on size of individual PAC contributions*
+ End unlimited "soft money" contributions to presidential campaigns funneled through national, state and local parties. PENDING: Legislation before Congress would limit state and national party spending on presidential campaigns.

ENERGY

+ Work to increase corporate average fuel economy standards from current 27.5

miles per gallon to 40 mpg by year 2000 and 45 mpg by 2015. NO: Clinton has taken no action.

+ Oppose increases in the federal gasoline tax. NO: Clinton's budget imposes a 4.3 cent per gallon tax on transportation fuels, including gasoline.

+ Create a civilian advanced research agency to support development of renewable technologies and fuel programs. NO: Clinton has not created a new agency but the Energy Department is shifting spending to develop renewables.

+ Charge higher fees for nuclear waste disposal. NO: Clinton has not done anything on this.

+ Encourage car-pooling and mass transit with federal aid. YES: The budget includes a big increase for mass transit.

ENVIRONMENT

+ Resolve the spotted owl controversy in the Pacific Northwest. PENDING: In July, Clinton brokered a plan to resolve owl dispute between timber industry and environmentalists. Decision from court review expected in 1994.

+ Prohibit drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. YES: No drilling has been allowed.

+ Acquire new federal park lands and recreation sites. YES: Money

for three major acquisitions is included in the budget.

+ Allow citizens to sue federal agencies that ignore environmental laws. NO: Administration promises to include such provisions in four major environmental laws up for renewal next year.

+ Mandate public reporting of toxic chemicals used and produced. YES: Clinton signed an executive order requiring federal facilities to report toxic emissions and the EPA greatly expanded the list of toxic chemicals that companies must publicly report.

+ Restore U.S. funding for U.N. population-control efforts. YES: Some \$ 40-million, the first funding since 1985, is in the budget.

ETHICS

+ Make all top appointees pledge not to lobby their government agencies for five years after leaving office. YES: Signed an executive order in January.

+ Prohibit senior officials in the administration from serving as lobbyists for foreign governments. YES: Signed an executive order in January.

+ Prohibit government trade negotiators from subsequently acting as lobbyists for foreign interests. YES: Signed an executive order in January.

✓ + Require all special-interest groups to register with the Office of Government Ethics within 30 days of contacting a federal official. PENDING: A Clinton-backed bill ~~is~~ before Congress. *has passed both houses + will soon be in conference.*

FOREIGN AID

+ Provide more aid to Israel to help resettled Jews from the former Soviet Union. YES: Clinton budget includes first \$ 2-billion of a \$ 10-billion, five-year loan program.

+ Expand food aid overseas to assist emerging democracies and developing nations. YES: Aid to such nations has been expanded, according to officials at the Agency for International Development.

FOREIGN POLICY

+ Tighten the economic embargo of Haiti. YES: In October, Clinton sent ships to enforce a tighter U.N. embargo and froze U.S. financial assets of military leaders.

+ Link continuation of trade breaks for China with improvements in political and human rights. YES: Clinton promises to end most-favored-nation trade status this spring if China fails to improve its human rights record.

+ Insist on full accounting of all POWs and MIAs before normalizing relations with Vietnam. YES: In September, Clinton insisted on full accounting of POWs before lifting trade embargo.

HEALTH CARE

+ Require employers to provide health insurance for employees. PENDING: Proposed in national health reform legislation introduced in Congress in November

+ Cap national spending to control health-care costs. PENDING: Proposed in national health reform legislation introduced in Congress.

+ Guarantee to all a basic health benefits package that includes ambulatory physician care, in-patient hospital care, prescription drugs and basic mental health services. PENDING: Proposed in national health reform legislation introduced in Congress.

+ Require businesses with more than 50 workers to provide up to 12 weeks of unpaid "family leave." YES: Signed into law in February.

+ Prohibit insurance companies from denying coverage to individuals with pre-existing conditions. PENDING: Proposed in national health reform legislation introduced in Congress.

+ Eliminate tax breaks for drug companies that raise their prices faster than Americans' incomes. NO: Tax breaks were not eliminated.

HOUSING

+ Permanently extend the tax credit for developers who build low-income housing. YES: Signed into law as part of tax package in August.

+ Hold a Housing and Homelessness Summit with urban leaders. NO: Clinton has not held a summit himself. A top HUD official has met with local leaders around the country.

IMMIGRATION

+ Allow Haitian refugees to make a case for political asylum in the United States. YES: The INS is allowing them to make the case in Haiti and here.

+ Reduce backlogs for visa approvals for family members. NO: Clinton has proposed no legislation to do this.

LABOR

+ Increase the minimum wage to keep pace with inflation. NO: Labor Secretary Robert Reich favors and plans to propose next year.

+ Enact legislation forbidding companies from permanently replacing striking workers. NO: Legislation was blocked in the Senate this year. Clinton says he will sign if it passes in 1994.

+ Provide extended unemployment benefits to workers during recession. YES: Clinton signed legislation extending benefits this fall.

MEDICARE, SOCIAL SECURITY

+ Require recipients with incomes above \$ 125,000 to pay more for Medicare Part B premiums. PENDING: Proposed in national health reform plan introduced in Congress in November.

+ Lift the Social Security earnings test limitation. NO: Clinton has not acted on this.

TAX CUTS

+ Give middle class taxpayers a choice between a children's tax credit or a significant reduction in their income tax rate. NO: Clinton did not give middle class taxpayers either. He raised income taxes for the richest 1.2 percent of Americans.

+ Provide a targeted investment tax credit for businesses to encourage investments in new plant and equipment. NO: Clinton proposed one as part of his defeated

stimulus plan.

+ Provide a 50 percent capital gains exclusion for long-term investments in new small businesses. YES: Included in the budget.

+ Create greater tax incentives for renewable energy use. NO:

Clinton has taken no action on this.

TAX INCREASES

+ Create a 36 percent tax bracket beginning for families with adjusted gross incomes above \$ 200,000. YES: Included in the budget.

+ Increase the alternative minimum tax for individuals. YES: Included in the budget.

+ Impose a 10 percent surtax on taxable income in excess of \$ 1-million. YES: Budget measure applies surtax to taxable income above \$ 250,000.

+ Cap corporate deduction for salaries of CEOs at \$ 1-million. YES: Included in the budget.

+ End incentives for opening plants overseas. YES: Budget tightens tax loopholes for overseas investments/earning.

+ Increase fines and taxes for corporate polluters by \$ 10.1-billion over four years. NO: Clinton has taken no action yet.

+ Restrict tax deductions for bonuses to top executives unless bonuses also given to other employees. NO: Clinton has taken no action on this yet.

TRADE

+ Support North American Free Trade Agreement, but work to improve its terms for protecting workers and the environment. YES: Clinton pushed NAFTA through Congress with deals on workers and the environment.

+ Move to open markets closed to U.S. goods. YES: Clinton has been pushing other world leaders to open markets, most notably in Japan and China. Successfully concluded seven-year GATT negotiations in December.

TRAINING

✓ + Require businesses to spend 1.5 percent of their payroll for continuing education and training. NO: Clinton abandoned this proposal. — *accurate*

- ✓ + Create a Youth Opportunity Corps to match teens who drop out of school with adults to develop self-discipline and skills. NO:

Clinton has taken no action on this, although mentoring is part of pending School-to-Work program. *It's also an important part of welfare reform proposal and measures in the crime bill.*

- + Establish national parenting programs to help disadvantaged parents work with their children. YES: In August, Clinton signed into law Family Preservation and Services program that provides family counseling and other services.

TRANSPORTATION

- + Create a "Rebuild America" fund to spend \$ 20-billion a year on transportation, a national information network, environmental technology and defense conversion. YES: Budget included increased spending on highways, the national information highway and defense conversion.

- + Allow a greater share of transportation funds to go to mass-transit systems; encourage light rail systems. YES: Budget includes 21 percent increase in spending for mass transit and light rail systems.

VETERANS

- + Oppose serving non-veterans in Veterans Administration hospitals. YES: Veterans Affairs Secretary Jesse Brown has reiterated this position.

- + Fund mental health programs for post-traumatic stress syndrome and similar illnesses. YES: Budget provides increased spending.

WELFARE

- + Offer increased education and training for welfare recipients; then require them to take public or private jobs after two years on the rolls. NO: Expected in welfare reform plan in 1994.

By Angie Cannon and Robert A. Rankin

Knight-Ridder national correspondents

This material was assembled from federal agencies, public interest groups, White House and congressional aides.

GRAPHIC: BLACK AND WHITE CHART, Knight-Ridder Tribune / JEFF DIONISE and JUDY TREIBLE; BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO; Chart illustrating how President Clinton performed on some major campaign promises during his first year in

May 23, 1994

The following is an outline of The New Yorker's misrepresentations of the health care reform effort:

1. Health Care: HRC's choice

- "Hillary Clinton decided to lead health-care reform" (80)

2. Task force/working groups: Structure of Process

- "The real labors were carried out by a separate, elephantine structure of working groups, which Magaziner told me he developed in close consultation with Hillary." (82)
- "disarray was so endemic that even Magaziner wryly acknowledged it." (82)
- "an irrational process...not well thought out, not well organized, and its purpose was not clear." (anonymous quote, 82)
- "I think what they were doing was creating the illusion of participation." (Sara Singer, Enthoven's special assistant, 85)

3. Secrecy

- "The attempt to keep the proceedings secret was very damaging to the initiative." (82)
- "The secrecy was very alienating to the whole country" (anonymous quote, 82)
- "[The effort] was cut off not only from the public and the press but largely from Cabinet officers." (82)
- "[Magaziner] told me that he now believes several aspects of the process to have been mistakes. All, interestingly, related to its extreme insularity. He said he thought that he should have consulted more with members of Congress who are on key committees. He wished that all the Cabinet members on the task force had been included earlier." (82-3)
- "[Magaziner] believed that the attempt at secrecy was a very harmful one...[he] volunteered that the decision to conduct a secret process was not his. On being asked whose it was, he said he did not want to 'point a finger'." (83)

4. Detailed bill versus simple bill/complexity

- "[there was a decision] to draft a full bill rather than send a rough precis to the Hill to be refined and hammered out there." (84)
- "[Dingell said] 'they should have produced a simple bill, leaving room enough for horse-trading.'" (84)
- "Pat Williams...commented, 'The President rejected -- on the First Lady's advice -- our advice that they send us concepts and we draft a bill.'" (84)
- "Hillary had felt very strongly that they should send a fully drafted bill, and she had her way." (annon. source, 84)
- "The complexity of the Clinton plan -- not just in its layers of detail but in its over-all structure -- may be its most serious flaw." (85)
- "Paul Ellwood, president of the Jackson Hole Group, ... wrote, 'In the intricacies of his proposal may lie mechanisms that can achieve national goals, but even those of us who have spent our careers pursuing health care reform cannot fully comprehend it'." (85)
- "They did not calculate the cost of its complexity." (annon. participant, 85).

5. Alliances

- "The alliances would...be performing such a plethora of functions that they seemed to dwarf any existing domestic bureaucratic entity." (84)

6. Cooper Bill

- "[Hillary] began denouncing a rival health-care proposal drawn up by Representative Jim Cooper." (86)
- "The CBO delivered [its] report on the Cooper Bill, saying, among other things, that it would cover fifteen million people who now have no insurance, bring the number of insured from eighty-five per cent of the nation's population to ninety-one per cent. While there were problems -- the CBO conclude that if the benefits package were as generous as the one proposed by the Clinton Administration the plan would not raise enough money to pay all the subsidies promised, and it would result in a three-hundred-billion-dollar increase in the federal deficit over ten years -- some lawmakers seemed favorably impressed by it." (86)

- "[Moynihan was quoted] as saying, "With this fairly minimal bill, 90-plus percent of the population would be insured within eighteen months. That's pretty impressive." (87)

- "'I have supported mandates,' Packwood said. 'But if you can get what we pretty much all agree is universal coverage -- none of us think we are going to get a hundred per cent ... why have the compulsion?" (87)

6. Attempts to risk NAFTA

- "health care was effectively put aside at the White House so that everything could be geared to passing the NAFTA, in November. This is said to have caused Hillary considerable consternation." (87)

- "[O]n two occasions in the intensive NAFTA period Hillary took actions that seemed at least to two White House strategists, to come from the left field and to risk undermining their NAFTA efforts." (87)

- "fierce counterattack on the insurance industry" (87)

- "Hillary's attacks on Cooper were 'ill-advised.'" (87)

7. Lack of Flexibility

- "The President had made comments [at the NGA conference] that signalled far more flexibility on health care than either he or Hillary had expressed before. Governors told the press that he was not so committed to global budgets, and that it might be possible for alliances to be voluntary, not mandatory." (89)

- "[Said Michael Bromberg], 'He told the governors that he wished he didn't have to put price controls in...She says there are no price controls.'" (89)

- "The CEO of the Mayo Clinic said "she said, 'There are no price controls.' I said, 'How are we going to reach a compromise if we can't even agree on what the facts are? It seems we have a language barrier'." (89)

- "Hillary's penchant for attacking on this issue bore the telltale marks of her personality, not Bill Clinton's. (89)

8. Abortion

- "There is coverage for 'pregnancy-related services' -- which, Hillary has stated, includes abortion. That stand has won the Clintons some strong advocates; many women's groups have come out in favor of the Clinton plan and lobbied against rival plans that do not specify those

benefits. However, I was told that at a strategy meeting at which the question of abortion came up, Hillary said, 'We're going to go put it in the bill. Then it will go up to the Hill, They're going to take it out. And we will be back to where we are now. But we're not going to lose health care over this.' (Her apparent willingness to trade this issue would probably come as a surprise to Representative Louise Slaughter, of New York, a Democrat, who described herself as 'a great fan of Hillary Clinton,' and has told me when I asked about the provision on abortion in the Clinton plan, 'It's got to stay'." (89-90)

9. Veto Threat Re: Universal Coverage

- "Inasmuch as universal coverage appears to require mandates, the President's non-negotiable position is said to extend to an employer mandate as well." (90)
- "Others...have worried that [the veto threat] could eliminate the chance for tremendously beneficial, if incremental, reforms. And there has been much speculation that Hillary was behind this inflexibility." (90)
- "[The President said], 'Hillary argued that since we all felt that we wouldn't have done it right if we didn't do this, that in this case it was worth making the veto threat. And to the best of my knowledge, it's the only time I've done it since I've been President'." (90)