PAGE 74 TAKING CHANGE OF AMERICA'S FUTURE

can community — from the cities to the suburbs to rural towns, from the poorest to the middle class to the wealthy.

The Bush administration pays lip service to the dangers of lead poisoning but refuses to act to protect our youth against continued exposure. This crippler of young minds and bodies rivals the proliferation of mind-numbing drugs in our schools, but there is no local dealer to blame — just water fountains, batteries, and painted walls.

Democrats believe it makes more sense to clean the lead out of the environment than to clean the lead out of our kids. We support practical preventive measures and resources to help families respond, such as informing buyers and rent-

ers of older homes about lead hazards and about steps they can take to reduce the risks to their children, ensuring that schools and day care centers do not have dangerous lead paint or drinking water hazards, and eliminating lead packaging that contaminates our food.

Getting The Government's House In Order

The federal government must provide leadership and set an example for others in protecting our environment. The federal government is the largest energy consumer and environmental polluter. It has a unique opportunity to reduce its energy use and clean up its own operations while promoting energy efficiency and source reduction measures.

For over a decade, federal facilities have ignored the environmental laws that their corporate neighbors must live by, running up a \$100 billion cleanup bill for defense production activities alone. As a result of federal mismanagement:

Government storage tanks have leaked enough plutonium into the ground to

- One American child in six has blood lead levels high enough to cause long-term brain damage and learning disabilities.
- 74 percent of all private housing built before 1980 contains some lead paint.
- 3 million tons of old lead line the walls and fixtures of 57 million American homes.
- Federal facilities emit nearly 5 billion pounds of toxic and radioactive waste into our environment — without having to report a single drop.
 - build nearly five Nagasaki-sized bombs, and
 - The Department of Defense is responsible for 14,041 toxic waste sites at 1,579 domestic facilities.

Yet no federal facility currently reports under the EPA's Toxic Release Inventory. And the Department of Justice has ruled that federal agencies do not have to comply with current federal RCRA regulations. Under Republican administrations, the federal government has operated under a "do as I say, not as I do" rule with America's working families left to foot the bill for the toxic cleanup.

Democrats believe federal agencies should not only comply with federal environmental laws, as state and local governments and the private sector do, but should set the example in environmental protection. For example, the federal government should seek every occasion to use procurement and management options to advance recycling.



SECTION I Building Prosperity page 1

SECTION II Reforming Health Care page 23

SECTION III Securing Our Communities page 39

SECTION IV Energy and Environment page 67

Stewardship of Public Lands

America's national parks and public lands contain a rich beauty and physical diversity unparalleled in the world. Our nation's natural and cultural heritage is tied to their preservation and use. Unfortunately, the Bush Administration's policy has been that America's natural resources should be developed as quickly as possible for shortterm economic gain, regardless of impact.

Democrats will pursue a policy of preservation and multiple use of America's natural resources to ensure benefits for present, as well as future generations of Americans. To this end. Democrats have designated new national parks and wilderness areas, launched new programs to protect wildlife species and increased stewardship of our natural resources.

Community Right To Know

The principle of "Community Right to Know" has ushered in a new era of environmental protection in the United States by empowering workers and concerned citizens with information about toxic chemicals in their neighborhoods. Fought every step of the way by the Republican administration, Democrats enacted legislation requiring some of America's biggest polluters to report publicly the toxic chemicals they discharge into the environment and the amount of waste they reduce at the source. Guided by the old adage that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, our Community Right to Know law and Pollution Prevention Act have changed environmental protection from expensive end-of-the-pipeline pollution controls to a system that prevents pollution in the first place. And it has proven to businesses that it can achieve environmental protection at a profit.



We're concerned that toxins

COMMUNITIES TAKE CHARGE

"Residents of Springfield, Massachusetts, used the (Right To Know) law to find out what dangers lurked in plants and warehouses adjacent to their homes ...

One company, for example, agreed to move 1,000 drums of resins containing flammable solvents from a public warehouse to safer storage...

Some companies eliminated extreme hazards, such as cyanide, and others corrected dangerous conditions.

'The neighborhood is definitely safer,' says East Springfield Neighborhood Council's Kathleen Brown."

Wall Street Journal, January 2, 1991

are more prevalent in minority and poor neighborhoods. Democrats are now leading the way in strengthening Community Right to Know by requiring all major polluters - including our own federal government - to report publicly, by expanding the list of toxic chemicals that must be reported, and by closing loopholes in the law that allow polluters to escape reporting. Democrats are committed to communities' right to know more.

Lead Poisoning

Lead poisoning is the most serious environmental threat to America's children - and it is completely preventable. One child in every six falls victim, suffering from blood lead levels high enough to cause long-term brain damage and learning disabilities. It affects every Ameri-

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

Communities have taken the lead in recycling materials that once would have been dumped in landfills. But their efforts have not been matched by the administration.

Despite the fact that most cities are facing serious capacity shortfalls, Republicans have failed to offer a comprehensive solid waste management policy. Failure to create waste reduction incentives for American industry has resulted in unnecessary environmental damage and increased industrial costs associated with pollution technologies.

Our strategy will reward those who reduce packaging and other waste, and those who reuse and recycle resources. We will encourage the development of comprehensive recovery programs; innovative recycling technologies; robust markets for recyclable commodities; and procurement policies that favor recycled-content products.

Effective solid waste management makes good economic sense. For every one job sustained by landfilling, 14 jobs are created by recycling. Recovering and reusing waste product will also significantly reduce our energy demand. All of which makes America more competitive.

Water Quality

Americans have always counted on the purity of our water. Yet in 1992, polluted waters threaten our health, our wildlife and our economy.

Democrats have enacted critically important water clean-up and protection programs which remain virtually unenforced by Republican administrations. As a result of ten years of Republican environmental negligence:

 Our groundwater supplies are now jeopardized by hazardous contaminants; and

- 35 percent of urban and 95 percent of rural drinking water comes from groundwater supplies.
- Pesticide contamination of groundwater was first identified in 1979.
- Throughout the 1980s, the administration did nothing.
- 74 pesticides now contaminate the water in 38 states, EPA reports.
 - Our waterways, valuable recreational and economic resources, are threatened by toxic discharges and non-point source pollution, such as agricultural, chemical and urban storm water runoff, septic systems and underground storage tanks.

Democrats call for vigorous enforcement of water quality protection measures and incentives for sound water management and conservation.

The illusion of short-term gain should not blind us to the irreversible hazards of contaminating our priceless water resources. The Bush administration has proposed an irresponsible wetlands policy that is based on politics, not science. In advancing such a policy. President Bush has reneged on his "no net loss" campaign pledge. Democrats support a balanced approach that protects valuable wetlands while minimizing impact on agriculture, industry, and private property owners. Uproar has come from confusion over the wetlands policy and the administration's erratic implementation of it. Democrats want to make sure administration of the policy is clear, consistent and fair

BUILDING PROSPERITY

I FAILURE BY DESIGN, PG. 5
II SQUEEZE ON AMERICAN FAMILIES, PG. 7
III NEGLECTING OUR PLATFORM FOR PROGRESS, pg. 11
IV THE BUSH PLAN: MORE OF THE SAME, pg. 13
V. THE DEMOCRATIC PLAN FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH, pg. 17

WO GOALS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AT THE HEART OF DEMOCRATIC
ECONOMIC POLICY: KEEPING AMERICA THE MOST PRODUCTIVE
ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD, AND ENSURING THAT ALL AMERICANS ENJOY
AN EVER-INCREASING STANDARD OF LIVING AND AN IMPROVED QUALITY OF LIFE.

OUR NATION IS NO LONGER MEETING THOSE GOALS. TODAY, OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY IS BEGINNING TO STIR FROM THE LONGEST RECESSION SINCE THE

Long-term growth begins with a return to basic values. Our economy is not measured by paper profits alone but by craftsmanship as well—caring about the details because the job is important enough to do right. Our worth is not measured by income alone, but by the leadership we provide—in our families teaching our children that values count, in our neighborhoods standing with our friends, in the small acts that make our communities shine.

GREAT DEPRESSION. BUT OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARE NOT MEASURED BY THE DEPTH OF THE RECENT RECESSION ALONE. ECONOMIC RECOVERY WILL CONTINUE TO BE SLUGGISH AT BEST BECAUSE WE LACK THE RESOURCES, E.G. A HIGH RATE OF SAVING, THAT TRADITIONALLY HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE TO PROMOTE REINVIGORATED GROWTH.

INTRODUCTION

THOSE WHO WORK HARD
FOR THEIR FAMILIES AND OUR
NATION MUST BE FULL PARTICIPANTS IN REAPING THE BENEFITS OF GROWTH, THE MOST

THE CHALLENGE WITHIN

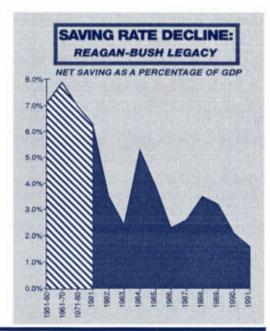
CORROSIVE LEGACY OF THE LAST TWELVE YEARS IS THE DRAMATICALLY WID-ENED DISPARITY BETWEEN THOSE AT THE TOP AND THE REST OF SOCIETY. MANY AMERICANS SENSE THAT REWARDS ARE NO LONGER RELATED TO HARD WORK.

REVOLUTIONS IN TECHNOLOGY AND COMMUNICATIONS HAVE CHANGED THE WORLD MARKETPLACE. NEW IDEAS MOVE QUICKLY ACROSS BORDERS, AND JUST AS QUICKLY FROM THE LAB BENCH TO THE PRODUCTION LINE. CAPITAL MOVES INSTANTANEOUSLY FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER IN PURSUIT OF NEW OP-PORTUNITIES. TO COMPETE TODAY, A COUNTRY HAS TO BE STRUCTURED TO WELCOME CHANGE.

COMPETING FOR TOMORROW'S JOBS REQUIRES A FLEXIBLE WORKFORCE ABLE TO MOVE EASILY AMONG DIFFERENT TASKS. STRONG PUBLIC INVESTMENTS IN THE INFRASTRUCTURE THAT SPEEDS NEW IDEAS AND NEW PRODUCTS INTO

THE MARKETPLACE, AND PRIVATE INVESTMENTS IN THE TECHNOLOGIES OF TOMORROW.

A RETURN TO VALUES THAT STRENGTHEN OUR SENSE OF COMMU-NITY - PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY AND SHARED COMMITMENT - WILL STRENGTHEN OUR ECONOMIC PROWRESS IN THE YEARS AHEAD. TO COMPETE IN THE NEW WORLD MAR-KETPLACE, AMERICA NEEDS A LONG-TERM INVESTMENT STRATEGY THAT INTEGRATES THE COMPONENTS OF OUR STRENGTH - OUR SCHOOLS,



ommunities across America are facing their stiffest environmental challenges ever. Our cities and towns are be-

ing buried in an avalanche of garbage, we can no longer trust the quality of our tapwater, and lead poisoning continues to take a stunning toll on our children.

Our environmental crisis calls for a renewed partnership among industry, communities, and government. For too long, the administration has stalled action and fought change, falsely believing that progress on the environment undermined economic growth. Democrats offer a comprehensive approach that enlists businesses to reduce waste, communities to recycle trash, and government to vigorously enforce sensible regulations that protect our families from environmental hazards.

Solid Waste

Our communities are in the midst of a solid waste crisis. Getting rid of the nation's trash now costs more than \$30 billion a year. Last year, Americans generated 180 million tons of trash, or 4 pounds of garbage per person per day, and those amounts are grow-

Meanwhile, the number of landfills able to accept waste has plummeted from 20,000 to 3,500 in the last 12 years, either because they were full or they threatened the surrounding environment. Municipal landfills now account for twenty-one percent of priority Superfund sites.



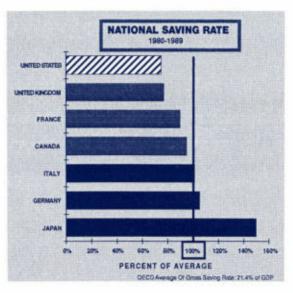
NEGLECTING A RESOURCE

Government can stimulate new markets for recovered materials by rewarding businesses that utilize products with recycled content.

"In Seattle, one of America's most zealous recycling communities, Donald Kneas looks out his office window at the crest of a 25-foot mound of crushed glass in the distance. It contains 6,000 tons of the stuff, collected at curbside from 170,000 homes. The company Mr. Kneas works for owns the glass and can't get rid of it ... "

Wall Street Journal, January 17th, 1992

- II 15 million households and thousands of businesses participated in curbside collection programs in 1991.
- New York City's municipal asphalt plant used 38,000 tons of crushed glass in 1990.



OUR WORKPLACES, OUR COMMU-NITY — INTO A PLATFORM FOR SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT LOOKS OUT TO THE YEAR 2000 AND BEYOND.

OUR FUTURE GROWTH
DEPENDS ON THE PRODUCTIVE
INVESTMENTS WE MAKE TODAY.
THE MASSIVE NEW TAX INCENTIVES OF THE 1980S AND THE
HIGH REAL INTEREST RATES DID
NOT PROVIDE THE ADDITIONAL
SAVING NEEDED TO RAISE IN-

VESTMENT. IN FACT, THE NATIONAL SAVING RATE FELL FROM AN AVERAGE OF OVER 7 PERCENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE DECADE TO LESS THAN 3 PERCENT AT THE END OF THE DECADE.

NEARLY HALF THE DROP WAS DUE TO LOWER PRIVATE SAVINGS, WHILE THE EXPLOSION OF THE FEDERAL DEFICIT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE REST. OUR FAMILIES, OUR CORPORATIONS, AND OUR GOVERNMENT ARE BURDENED WITH TOO MUCH DEBT.

OUR PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN THE INFRASTRUCTURE THAT TIES OUR ECONOMY TOGETHER HAS DECLINED BY HALF AS A PERCENTAGE OF GDP SINCE 1981. WHILE WE INVEST JUST FOUR TENTHS OF ONE PERCENT OF GDP, THE JAPANESE ARE INVESTING ALMOST 6 PERCENT AND ARE REAPING THE REWARDS IN ECONOMIC GROWTH.

AMERICA CAN REASSERT ITS LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD. OUR ECONOMY
DID NOT SLIP BY ACCIDENT — IT WAS MANAGED FOR DECAY. IF WE REVERSE



THE POLICIES THAT PRODUCED DECLINE, AMERICA CAN GROW AGAIN. WE HAVE THE SKILLS, TECHNOLOGY AND CAPITAL — WE LACK ONLY THE LEADERSHIP.

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WERE NOT CREATED IN A YEAR AND WILL NOT BE SOLVED BY A SPEECH OR CURED IN TWELVE OR EVEN EIGHTEEN MONTHS.

AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THIS, AND REJECT BAND-AID APPROACHES THAT DO NOT ADDRESS UNDERLYING ECONOMIC WEAKNESSES. AMERICANS WANT TO WORK TOGETHER AS ONE COMMUNITY IN SUPPORT OF A LONG-TERM PLAN OF INVESTMENT THAT PUTS OUR COUNTRY BACK ON THE TRACK OF STEADY ECONOMIC GROWTH.

IT DOES NOT REQUIRE SOME CONVOLUTED ECONOMIC THEORY TO DEFINE THE PROBLEMS IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. THE STANDARD IS SET IN THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE BY THE SCORECARD AT THE END OF EACH DAY. AMERICANS KNOW THAT OUR COUNTRY FACES NEW CHALLENGES FROM ABROAD AND IS NOT FULFILLING ITS POTENTIAL AT HOME— WE ARE NO LONGER THE UNDISPUTED WORLD ECONOMIC LEADER.

WE NEED LEADERSHIP FOR THE FUTURE WHICH IS GROUNDED IN TRADITIONAL AMERICAN VALUES. WE MUST INVEST IN OUR FUTURE—OUR CHILDREN,
OUR INFRASTRUCTURE, OUR INDUSTRIES, INCLUDING THE MOST BASIC INVESTMENT OF REDUCING THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. WE MUST ENSURE THE RIGHT OF
EACH WORKING FAMILY TO SHARE IN THE REWARDS OF GROWTH AS AMERICA
BEGINS TO MOVE FORWARD AGAIN.

GOVERNMENT SHOULD ENCOURAGE OUR COMPANIES AND OUR COMMUNITIES TO WORK TOGETHER TO PROTECT OUR ENVIRONMENT. OUR PROGRAM IS DRIVEN BY ECONOMIC INCENTIVES TO INDUSTRY TO USE COST-EFFECTIVE WAYS TO PREVENT POLLUTION AND BY STIFF PROSECUTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL CRIMES. DEMOCRATS PROMOTE USING ALTERNATIVE FUELS FOR PRODUCTION AND TRANSPORTATION TO PROTECT OUR NATION'S SECURITY AND ENVIRONMENT. DEMOCRATS RECOGNIZE THAT PRO-ACTIVE ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES CAN MEAN COST-SAVINGS AND INCREASED EFFICIENCY FOR AMERICAN INDUSTRY. NEW ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGIES AND DOMESTIC ENERGY PRODUCTION OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR JOB GROWTH. UNDER DEMOCRATS, THE UNITED STATES WILL RECLAIM ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN PROTECTING THE EARTH.

THE COMPETITIVENESS COUNCIL

The Administration's Council on Competitiveness was set up in June, 1990 with Vice President Quayle as chairman. Rather than develop a comprehensive strategy to sharpen our competitive edge, the Council assumed the regulatory review role of the Task Force on Regulatory Relief which George Bush had headed as Vice President.

- It's activities are secretive: it does not operate under the same rules of openness as other governmental bodies.
- The Council pushes agencies to change regulations it dislikes, often ignoring scientific expertise and shunning public scrutiny. The Environmental Protection Agency and Department of Health and Human Services are favorite targets.

Case In Point: In one brief meeting, the Council killed a cost-efficient EPA requirement that would have cut incinerator emissions, encouraged recycling, and stopped the burning of lead batteries.

SHORT-TERM OUTLOOK, LONG-TERM DECLINE

The Bush Administration has proposed an irresponsible energy policy which emphasizes increased production and use of scarce, non-renewable resources in a way that damages the environment.

- The Administration refuses to enforce environmental protection laws and has delayed, in many cases for years, issuing environmental regulations mandated by Congress.
- It pursues policies which make it easier for industries to pollute and which favor taxpayer bail-outs of corporate polluters.
- It pays lip service to many environmental threats but refuses to provide the leadership or the funding necessary to address them adequately.
- The Bush Administration has embarrassed the United States by abdicating its leadership role on global environmental issues.

FAILURE BY DESIGN

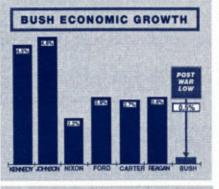
nder President Bush, our country has suffered through the slowest economic growth of any administration in the last thirty years. Even before the recession formally began in the summer of 1990, our economy had been sluggish since the beginning of 1989.

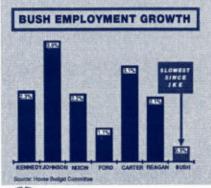
Our economy (best measured as real Gross Domestic Product (GDP)) has grown only 1.7 percent during this administration, and actually shrank by 0.7 percent in 1991. This annual rate of 0.5 percent is far below the 2.25 percent needed to stabilize the unemployment rate.

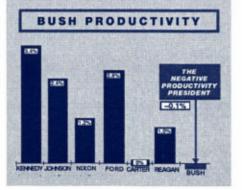
As the economy begins to turn around, the recovery will be so slow that the administration itself projects the unemployment rate will not return to its pre-recession level of 5.3 percent for several years.

Americans remember that candidate George Bush promised to create 30 million new jobs during his administration. During the last three years, employment has grown at the scant annual rate of 0.5 percent. By April, 1992 only 1.64 million more jobs had been created – in over three years.

Largely due to misguided tax polícies, private investment during the 1980s was poorly allocated, resulting in very slow growth in productivity. Too many scarce investment dollars were poured into tax-favored real estate ventures – condominiums, office buildings, retail strips and such – much of which now stands empty.









U.S. House of Representatives

PAGE 6 TAKING CHANGE OF AMERICA'S FUTURE

The slowdown in the real estate industry weakened banks and hindered the extension of credit for productive investment. Therefore, little money was available to invest in the advanced technology and equipment needed to restore the competitiveness of American business.

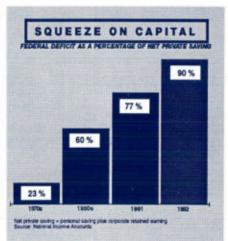
The level of debt in the economy increased substantially during the 1980s – growing far faster than the economy itself. In contrast, debt as a percent of GDP remained roughly constant for the years between the late 1950s and 1981.

The federal deficit, which hovered around 23 percent of net private saving in the 1970s, jumped dramatically under Republican rule. This year, it is expected to top an astounding 90 percent as a percentage of private saving.

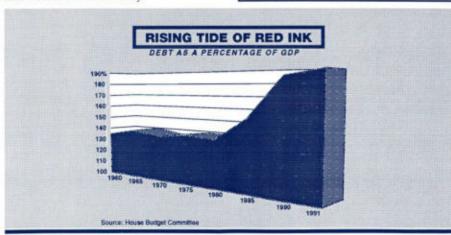
The poor rate of job creation and negative productivity growth of the Bush years have meant stagnation in the real earning power of the average American worker.

- An average American family's real earnings in 1991 were no higher than they were in 1980.
- Young families have been hurt the worst. Their median real income has plunged by a third in the last eighteen years.

But stagnant real income is only one of the harsh facts we face in America today.



Until a significant portion of the excess debt burden accumulated in the 1980s is worked off, economic growth will be too slow to improve the lives of average Americans.



U.S. House of Representatives

ENERGYAND ENVIRONMENT

I THE CHALLENGE WITHIN, PG. 71 II ENERGY PREPAREDNESS, PG. 75 III GLOBAL ISSUES, pg. 77

INTRODUCTION



ONG-TERM PROSPERITY AND STABILITY DEPEND ON CLEAN AIR, PURE WATER, AND COMMUNITIES THAT ARE PROTECTED FROM ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS. DEMOCRATS HAVE A LONG

Our communities, our industries, and our government each play a significant role in maintaining a clean and healthy environment.

This partnership relies on a good faith effort by each — communities to recycle waste and take charge of their surroundings, industries to cut emissions and use recycled materials, and government to set goals and provide incentive.

Democrats applaud the thousands of citizens and business leaders who meet their obligations every day.

But, for the past twelve years Republican administrations have not fulfilled even their most basic environmental responsibilities.

Democrats will ensure that the federal government shoulders its fair share of the burden.

AND DISTINGUISHED RECORD OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ENERGY MANAGEMENT, AND WE REJECT THE REPUBLICAN NOTION THAT SUCH IMPROVEMENTS MUST COME AT THE EXPENSE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, ENVIRONMENTAL PRESERVATION AND ENERGY EFFICIENCY CAN CREATE NEW JOBS AND MAKE AMERICA MORE COMPETITIVE.

DEMOCRATS SUPPORT A COMPREHENSIVE, INTEGRATED ENVIRONMENTAL AND ENERGY POLICY
THAT FOCUSES ON POLLUTION
PREVENTION, ENERGY CONSERVATION, CLEAN FOSSIL FUEL TECHNOLOGY, DIVERSE, FLEXIBLE AND
RELIABLE ENERGY SUPPLY, THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW, SUSTAINABLE
ENERGY RESOURCES AND THE PROTECTION OF ENVIRONMENTALLYSENSITIVE AREAS.