

TAKING CHARGE
OF
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

**BUILDING PROSPERITY
REFORMING HEALTH CARE
SECURING OUR COMMUNITIES
ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT**



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Task Force Coordinator

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DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

U.S. House of Representatives
718 O'Neill House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
202-226-3210

Taking Charge of America's Future

Dr. Kelly D. Patterson
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Steven Champlin
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Melissa Schulman
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PREFACE

EVERY TWO YEARS, THE HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS TRIES TO STEP BACK FROM THE ISSUES WITH WHICH WE DEAL ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS AND LOOK AT THEM FROM THE LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE OF WHERE THE PARTY, THE CONGRESS, AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE GOING.

THIS PROCESS HAS A SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE IN 1992 BECAUSE AMERICA HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO SOMETHING UNPRECEDENTED SINCE ALMOST HALF A CENTURY AGO.

IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ALLIED VICTORY IN WORLD WAR II, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION, AMERICA FACED THE CHALLENGE OF INVESTING IN A NEW ERA OF OPPORTUNITY AND PROSPERITY AT HOME, AND CREATING A NEW STRUCTURE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THAT WAS A TIME WHEN AMERICA HAD LEADERS WHO LOOKED BEYOND SHORT-TERM POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO MAKE BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE PLANS FOR OUR OWN SOCIETY AND FOR THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY OF FREE SOCIETIES.

THE WISDOM OF THEIR DECISIONS HAS BEEN VINDICATED BY THREE DECADES OF POSTWAR PROSPERITY, WITH A GROWING ECONOMY AND AN EXPANDING MIDDLE CLASS, AND MORE RECENTLY BY THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM AND THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY FROM MOSCOW TO MANILA.

NOW, IN THE AFTERMATH OF OUR VICTORY IN THE COLD WAR, THE UNITED STATES FACES A SIMILAR CHALLENGE. WE NEED TO BUILD A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY OF PROSPERITY, WITH SECURITY FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY AMERICAN. AND WE NEED TO ENSURE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION OF THE PAST DECADE LEAVES A LASTING LEGACY OF FREE SOCIETIES AT PEACE WITH EACH

OTHER AND PARTICIPATING IN A STABLE WORLD ECONOMY.

MEETING THESE CHALLENGES REQUIRES A RETURN TO TIME-HONORED AMERICAN VALUES — THE VALUES THAT BUILT THE WORLD'S STRONGEST ECONOMY AND PROVIDED UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY FOR THE THREE DECADES FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II. AFTER THE PAST DOZEN YEARS, WHICH REWARDED THE SPECULATORS, THE DEALMAKERS, AND THE TAX EVADERS BUT LEFT MOST AMERICANS WORKING LONGER AND HARDER JUST TO STAY EVEN, DEMOCRATS DEMAND A RETURN TO THE VALUES THAT BUILD AMERICA:

- A RESPECT FOR HARD WORK THAT IS REFLECTED IN A TAX SYSTEM THAT EASES THE BURDEN ON HARD-PRESSED MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES AND ENSURES THAT, ONCE AGAIN, THE WEALTHY WILL SHOULDER THEIR FAIR SHARE OF THE TAX BURDEN.
- THE CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE THAT IS THE ESSENCE OF INVESTMENT, FROM REPAIRING AND REBUILDING THE PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF OUR COMMUNITIES TO RETOOLING OUR FACTORIES AND RETRAINING OUR WORKERS.
- AN APPRECIATION FOR AMERICAN CRAFTSMANSHIP THAT INVESTS IN THE FRONT-LINE WORKERS WHO HOLD OUR ECONOMIC DESTINY IN THEIR HANDS.
- A COMMITMENT TO AMERICAN KNOW-HOW THAT INVESTS IN THE TECHNOLOGIES THAT WILL CREATE THE PRODUCTS AND THE SERVICES AND THE JOBS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY, FROM FIBER-OPTIC COMMUNICATIONS NETWORKS TO HIGH-DEFINITION TELEVISION.
- A COMMITMENT TO AMERICAN FAMILIES, REFLECTED IN OUR EFFORTS TO ADDRESS A CRISIS IN HEALTH CARE WHICH IS THE SINGLE GREATEST CAUSE OF ANXIETY FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES AND IN OUR SUPPORT FOR FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE, IMPROVED CHILD CARE, AND OTHER EFFORTS TO HELP AMERICANS BALANCE THE DEMANDS OF WORK AND FAMILY.

ardous to dispose of at home. One percent of U.S. toxic waste is exported — a tiny but growing portion of our disposal needs — yet even these amounts can jeopardize the health and environment in countries where such wastes are unknown. We must as a nation use aggressive, pragmatic waste management measures that emphasize waste prevention and reduction. Our waste trade policy must promote, rather than threaten, global health interests.

- *The Food and Drug Administration samples only one or two percent of foreign food shipments.*
- *Nonetheless, FDA reports relatively high violation rates for imported food.*
- *In some cases, violation rates reach 10 percent or more.*
- *Many, if not most, pesticides we know to be used on food cannot be detected with FDA routine tests.*

The future of our country depends on our ability to meet the twin challenges of economic growth and environmental protection.

With the proper leadership, Americans can have a productive economy and a cleaner environment. New technologies and other cost-effective means will help industry reduce pollution output. Government must reward companies that act responsibly, and punish those that do not.

A well-conceived strategy for energy development and conservation will reduce pollution while ensuring energy independence. Democratic policies and leadership will promote economic growth, protect our families and communities, and preserve the environment for our children and their children's children.

the by-products of industrialized society.

Once again, the administration has failed to lead — or in many instances, even participate — in global efforts to combat these problems. The administration has sabotaged the efforts of the most important worldwide international family planning organizations. Democrats believe that the United States must take a leadership role in

ensuring universal access to voluntary family planning services.

Circle Of Poison

We should not send pesticides that are banned in the United States to other countries only to see them return to America on the food we eat. Each year we import billions of pounds of fruits, vegetables and other foods which have been treated with pesticides. Imports can account for almost half of the fruits and vegetables we eat during some parts of the year. Current monitoring at our borders offers weak protection against dangerous pesticide levels.

The outcome of current laws and Administration policy is clear: dangerous pesticides — chemicals we have determined to have unacceptable risks — can be made by American companies, shipped throughout the world returned to our dinner table. Democrats will prohibit the export of pesticides we have banned for use in our own country.

Hazardous and Toxic Waste Export

Hazardous and toxic wastes pose environmental and health dangers to Americans and our trading partners with whom we exchange these wastes. Our goal is to protect public health and preserve the environment by first reducing waste at its source and by rejecting hazardous waste and toxic export policies that directly or indirectly harm the health and environment of Americans and our neighbors.

Our domestic waste policy must comply with our international obligations, including the promise that we will not use other countries as dumping grounds for wastes we consider too haz-

We support cheap and effective measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions:

- *like energy efficiency measures;*
- *reforestation and endangered forest protection;*
- *capture of methane fumes at landfills and coal mines;*
- *elimination of ozone-depleting CFCs;*
- *advance of alternative, lower carbon fuels;*
- *development of technologies to use existing fossil resources more efficiently; and*
- *sharing American energy-saving technology with developing countries.*

- **A SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND A COMMITMENT TO KNITTING TOGETHER AMERICA'S SOCIAL FABRIC BY PROTECTING OUR NEIGHBORHOODS AGAINST CRIME AND DRUGS, IMPROVING THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT AMERICA, AND RESTORING A SENSE OF TEAMWORK IN OUR WORKPLACES.**
- **AND A SENSE OF STEWARDSHIP FOR OUR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND OUR ENERGY RESOURCES, RECOGNIZING THAT TODAY'S AMERICANS HOLD THESE IN TRUST FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS.**

THESE VALUES GUIDE THE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS IN THIS HANDBOOK, FROM HOUSING AND HEALTH CARE TO ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT. ALSO GUIDING OUR VISION FOR THE FUTURE IS A CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT AS THE INSTRUMENT OF THE SHARED INTERESTS AND SHARED VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE ENVISION A GOVERNMENT THAT DOES THINGS WITH PEOPLE, NOT FOR PEOPLE, OFFERING NOT A HAND-OUT BUT A HELPING HAND TO PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES WHO ARE STRIVING TO IMPROVE THEIR OWN CONDITION.

- **THAT IS WHY WE SUPPORT COLLEGE OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY YOUNG PERSON WHO CAN DO COLLEGE WORK, REGARDLESS OF FAMILY INCOME.**
- **THAT IS WHY WE SUPPORT A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF JOB TRAINING AND APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAMS FOR THE MAJORITY OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WILL NOT BE GOING ON TO FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE DEGREES, AND LIFELONG JOB TRAINING AND RETRAINING FOR ALL OF OUR WORKING PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO ARE DISPLACED BY FOREIGN TRADE, DEFENSE CUTS, AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES.**
- **THAT IS WHY WE SUPPORT COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE REFORM, SO THAT FAMILIES WILL NOT BE AFRAID TO TAKE THEIR KIDS TO THE DOCTOR BEFORE SMALL HEALTH PROBLEMS BECOME BIG ONES AND SO THAT SINGLE MOTHERS WILL NOT BE AFRAID OF LOSING THEIR HEALTH COVERAGE IF**



THEY TAKE A JOB AND GO OFF WELFARE.

■ THAT IS WHY WE WANT TO GIVE EVERY FAMILY A CHANCE TO EARN THEIR PIECE OF THE AMERICAN DREAM — TO BUY A HOME OF THEIR OWN — AND THAT IS WHY WE WANT TO MAKE PUBLIC HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS FUNCTION AS TRUE COMMUNITIES, DEMANDING RESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR OF EVERY TENANT, FROM STAYING DRUG-FREE TO KEEPING A JOB OR ENROLLING IN JOB TRAINING.

■ THAT IS WHY WE SUPPORT NEW IDEAS TO PREVENT VIOLENT CRIME AND CURB DRUG ABUSE, FROM COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING THAT PUTS THE COP BACK ON THE BEAT TO BOOT CAMPS FOR FIRST-TIME, NONVIOLENT DRUG OFFENDERS TO HELP THEM LEARN SELF-RESPECT AND SELF-DISCIPLINE AND GET THEIR LIVES IN ORDER.

■ AND THAT IS WHY WE SUPPORT MODEL SCHOOLS AND FIGHT FOR REAL EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN EVERY SCHOOL AND EVERY COMMUNITY IN AMERICA.

IN SHORT, WE SUPPORT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE — AWAY FROM SHORT-TERM POLITICAL CALCULATIONS AND BACK TO LONG-TERM INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN AND THE COUNTRY THEY WILL INHERIT. AND, ON EVERY ISSUE THAT CONCERNS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND ON EVERY RECOMMENDATION THAT WE RAISE IN OUR REPORT, PRESIDENT BUSH HAS STOOD IN THE WAY OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE:

■ THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS PASSED A TWO-YEAR TAX CUT FOR MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS OF ALL TAXPAYERS — 78 MILLION MIDDLE-INCOME AMERICANS — THAT DID NOT INCREASE THE DEFICIT. WE WANTED TO CUT TAXES BY 25% FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR MAKING THE MEDIAN INCOME OF \$35,000. BUT PRESIDENT BUSH VETOED THE DEMOCRATIC TAX CUT.

■ THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS PASSED AN ECONOMIC

GLOBAL ISSUES



As the Cold War winds down, we may not be as threatened with sudden death in nuclear war as with gradual suicide by global environmental degradation. As a world leader, America has both the technology and the moral responsibility to lead the way to an environmentally-sound future.

But instead of taking a stand, the Bush administration has been a bystander. It has not only failed to take the lead, but it has actually impeded international efforts to address the most pressing environmental threats. Republicans have placed special interests ahead of global survival — abandoning the world community.

Democrats believe that America has a special role to play in setting a bold agenda for global preservation. The United States must lead the international community in addressing the most serious environmental threats: global climate change, deforestation, water and air pollution, population growth, ozone depletion, proliferation of toxic waste and harmful chemicals, and extinction of plant and animal life.

Global Climate Change

Global climate change presents a serious threat. There is broad international scientific agreement that the earth could warm by as much as 5 degrees in the next few decades. This increase would change tidal, rainfall and temperature patterns, causing food and water shortages and putting coastal communities in

peril. Yet the Bush administration has tarnished America's reputation by dragging its feet in international negotiations, refusing to join every other leading nation in setting greenhouse gas reduction targets.

America can be the world's environmental leader again by advancing an aggressive plan to confront climate change. We support continued efforts to expand our understanding of this problem, while making our share of global greenhouse gas reductions. Action now buys cost-effective insurance for the future. Every day the Administration delays, we lose cheap clean-up opportunities while the tab skyrockets for our grandchildren.

Population Growth

Addressing the effects of rapid world population growth on the global environment and resources supply is one of the greatest challenges facing the world community.

The earth's population, now approximately 5.2 billion, rose in 1989 by an estimated 87.5 million people, maintaining a growth rate that could double the number of human beings on the planet by the year 2025. As the world's population increases, so too does the strain on the world's already diminishing natural resources. Global annual food production already falls short of food consumption. Increasing energy consumption is likely to contribute to the global warming trend, with potentially devastating consequences. The earth's tropical forests are being cut down at record rates to accommodate increasing demands for wood and grazing lands. We are already unable to dispose adequately of toxic and solid wastes,



DEMOCRATIC ENERGY PRIORITIES

The National Energy Policy Act

Democrats are working to develop a flexible, diverse fuel supply that favors efficient use of domestic oil and natural gas reserves without endangering the environment and thereby reducing America's vulnerability in times of international crisis. The Energy Act incorporates:

- *Aggressive energy efficiency measures for government agencies, businesses, and households, to reduce imports and conserve precious natural resources;*
- *Incentives to promote further research, development and use of renewable energy supplies, such as solar, wind, hydro, geothermal and biomass;*
- *Direction to states to consider measures to reflect more accurately the hidden costs of energy choices on the environment and the federal budget;*
- *A larger Strategic Petroleum Reserve backed by the willingness to use it when necessary to prevent price shocks and supply shortages;*
- *Automotive technologies that use cleaner alternative fuels, like natural gas, alcohol, and electricity, to move off the shelf, out of the labs and onto the highway; and*
- *Strong clean coal technology programs that assure an environmentally sound future for coal, our most plentiful domestic fuel resource.*

GROWTH PACKAGE THAT PROVIDED INCENTIVES FOR LONG-TERM INVESTMENT, ENCOURAGED INVESTMENT IN NEW, SMALL COMPANIES, AND ESTABLISHED ENTERPRISE ZONES IN URBAN AND RURAL SETTINGS. WE WANTED TO HELP BUSINESSES LARGE AND SMALL, BUT PRESIDENT BUSH VETOED OUR GROWTH PLAN.

- THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS PASSED A BILL THAT ADOPTS A FUTURE-ORIENTED "TOTAL" APPROACH TO MEETING AMERICA'S TRANSPORTATION NEEDS. IT WILL HELP OUR COMMUNITIES REBUILD THE BRIDGES AND HIGHWAYS AND ALL THE OTHER INFRASTRUCTURE THAT PROMOTES ECONOMIC GROWTH. WE PERSISTED IN THE FACE OF A PRESIDENTIAL VETO THREAT, AND THE PRESIDENT BACKED DOWN AT THE VERY LAST MOMENT.
- WITH OVERWHELMING MAJORITIES FROM BOTH PARTIES, CONGRESS PASSED A HIGHER EDUCATION BILL TO HELP YOUNG PEOPLE FROM MIDDLE AND LOW INCOME FAMILIES AFFORD A COLLEGE EDUCATION. AND EVEN THOUGH ONLY THREE REPRESENTATIVES VOTED AGAINST THE BILL, THE PRESIDENT OPPOSES THE BILL.
- AND ON OTHER MAJOR CHALLENGES FACING AMERICA — FROM HEALTH CARE REFORM TO EASE THE GREATEST SINGLE ANXIETY OF OUR FAMILIES AND OUR BUSINESSES, TO CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM TO REDUCE THE EXCESSIVE INFLUENCE OF WEALTHY SPECIAL INTERESTS, TO VOTER REGISTRATION REFORM TO ALLOW EVERY AMERICAN TO PARTICIPATE IN OUR DEMOCRACY — PRESIDENT BUSH HAS STOOD IN THE WAY OF CHANGE.

THE TRAGEDY OF OUR TIMES IS THAT WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD IS STRUGGLING FOR THE IDEALS WHICH AMERICA REPRESENTS — AND WHILE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE STRUGGLING TO LIVE BY THESE IDEALS IN THEIR OWN LIVES — OUR PEOPLE DO NOT SEE THEIR IDEALS REFLECTED AT THE TOP OF THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT.



IN CONSIDERING THE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT WE ARE OFFERING TODAY, THE MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCES THOUGHT LONG AND HARD ABOUT WHAT PEOPLE ALL ACROSS AMERICA ARE DOING TO IMPROVE THEIR LIVES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES, THEIR WORKPLACES AND THEIR COUNTRY:

- COMPANIES AND EMPLOYEES WHO ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO IMPROVE THEIR PRODUCTS AND SERVICES AND TO TRAIN AND RETRAIN THEIR WORKERS.
- POLICE DEPARTMENTS AND COMMUNITY RESIDENTS WHO ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO MAKE SURE THAT THEIR NEIGHBORS CAN WALK THE STREETS IN SAFETY.
- PARENTS AND TEACHERS WHO ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO IMPROVE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN EVERY COMMUNITY IN THIS COUNTRY.
- AND FAMILIES ALL OVER AMERICA WHO ARE STRIVING TO LIVE BY THEIR VALUES, FROM THE PARENTS WHO SERVE IN THEIR PTA'S, TO THE FATHER WHO COACHES HIS DAUGHTER'S LITTLE LEAGUE TEAM, TO THE MOTHER WHO TEACHES SUNDAY SCHOOL AND THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO REJECT DRUGS, STAY OUT OF STREET GANGS, AND PARTICIPATE IN PUBLIC SERVICE PROJECTS, LIKE VOLUNTEERING IN NURSING HOMES AND RECYCLING DRIVES.

THROUGHOUT THIS REPORT, WE HAVE WOVEN IN THE STORIES, THE EXPERIENCES, AND THE INSIGHTS OF AMERICANS WHO ARE WORKING TO IMPROVE THEIR COMMUNITIES AND THEIR COUNTRY. IN THIS REPORT, WE EXPLAIN HOW GOVERNMENT CAN ONCE AGAIN STAND WITH THE PEOPLE, NOT AGAINST THEM, AND HOW PUBLIC POLICIES CAN POINT A PATHWAY TO AN AMERICAN FUTURE WORTHY OF OUR PAST.

DAVID E. PRICE
TASK FORCE COORDINATOR
HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

STENY H. HOYER
CHAIRMAN
HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

VIC FAZIO
VICE CHAIR
HOUSE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

June, 1992

ENERGY PREPAREDNESS

America's best energy policy is simply to "be prepared." The Administration's policy relies dangerously on unstable oil imports. Under Republican rule, we have grown far more dependent on foreign oil, which is now the single largest contributor to the nation's trade deficit. The Bush energy proposals offered no leadership on improving energy efficiency. The Administration forgets that America is most at risk when we rely too heavily on foreign fuel imports, when we wastefully use scarce fossil reserves, and when we depend too much on any single fuel.

America is most secure with a flexible, resilient energy policy that encourages energy efficiency and fuel diversity. With a combination of our traditional domestic

Comprehensive Energy Efficiency Planning

Energy efficiency works. But America needs to do better. Our major competitors, Germany and Japan, produce goods and services with half the energy we do. Yet the President's National Energy Strategy completely ignores this area.

Democrats in Congress want to restore energy efficiency priorities to the nation's energy plan to save consumers money and preserve precious natural resources. That's why we passed HR 776, The National Energy Policy Act.

We should enable more Americans to cut energy use with home and business weatherization. We should encourage industry to manufacture and consumers to buy more efficient appliances and vehicles. And we should encourage electric utilities to install more efficient technologies. Most importantly, Democrats want the federal government to improve its own energy performance. Use of cost-effective technology could save taxpayers up to \$850 million of the \$3.5 billion the government

spends every year on energy.

These measures will help stave off global climate change, acid rain, urban smog and toxic air pollution. Better industrial energy efficiency will help lower the costs of producing American goods, making our nation more competitive in the world economy.

■ *Since 1982, Republicans have let oil imports climb from 28 percent to 45 percent of our total consumption.*

resources and alternative fuel technologies, we can supply the necessary energy to drive industry and power consumer products. At the same time, we can effectively meet our commitment to a cleaner, safer environment for our children. By turning loose the forces of American ingenuity and determination, we can sustain America's long-term security.

