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**SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES TO AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
CANDIDATES' QUESTIONNAIRE:**

Overview

AJC's multi-issue presidential candidates' questionnaire was undertaken to assist the Jewish community and the general public in familiarizing themselves with the views of the candidates. The questions reflect not only what AJC believes to be of particular concern to the Jewish community, but also the broad range of issues that must be addressed in a truly pluralist, free and democratic America.

The enclosed analysis that follows this overview indicates much greater differences on some issues than on others. Among the themes that emerge from the analysis are the following:

-- Support for the special relationship between the U.S. and Israel and the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate elicit the most consensus among all candidates, regardless of party.

-- Despite shared support for the U.S.-Israel alliance, differences emerge on how to advance the Arab-Israeli peace process, focusing on the advisability of an international peace conference and who should be included in the negotiating process.

-- Similarly, differences emerge on the extent to which U.S.-Soviet economic, arms and other agreements should be linked to the Soviet Union's performance on human rights.

-- Church-state separation is an area of controversy. While no Democrats support school prayer or constitutional amendments that would allow school prayer, all of the Republicans support voluntary prayer or a moment-of-silence, and most support a constitutional amendment.

-- Another area of controversy is the federal civil rights role. All Democrats support enactment of the Civil Rights Restoration Act and The Equal Rights Amendment; among Republicans, only Dole supports these two issues.

-- Democrats agree among themselves on a number of other policy issues, including economic sanctions and increased economic and political pressure to help end apartheid in South Africa; a federal role in integrating refugees and immigrants into American society; reform of the financing of House and Senate elections; unpaid parental leave for parents of newborns; a federal role in promoting the availability of child care; and opposition to tuition tax credits and a proposed constitutional amendment to ban abortion.

-- By contrast, other issues on which Republicans agree among themselves include changing tax laws to stimulate more investment income to explore energy sources, and opposition to any public financing of Congressional elections.

-- Among all the candidates, Robert Dole takes stands that differ from fellow-party members far more frequently than any other Republican or Democrat. He is the only Republican to express support for an oil import fee, the Equal Rights Amendment, the Civil Rights Restoration Act, strengthened federal fair housing legislation, the Immigration Reform and Control Act, and limitations on political action committees. Incidences of Democrats taking a stand not taken by any other Democrat are more isolated.

-- Among all the candidates, Jesse Jackson most consistently and most harshly attacks current Administration policy -- on advancing peace in the Middle East, human rights, South Africa, and civil rights. Babbitt is the second most critical candidate, also criticizing the Administration on advancing the Middle East peace process and on civil rights (as do all of the Democratic candidates), and adding criticisms of current refugee and energy policy.

#### American-Israeli relations:

All of the candidates support continuation of the special relationship between Israel and the U.S. and stress the mutual benefits of the alliance. Several candidates, including Babbitt, DuPont, Gephardt and Gore stress expanded trade, and Dole, DuPont, Gephardt, Gore and Kemp stress an expanded strategic relationship. Dole calls for such a relationship "as an anchor for our common interests in the Mediterranean, and to insure the stability of NATO's southern flank." DuPont advocates expanded strategic cooperation through joint development and production projects in areas such as anti-tactical ballistic missile research and opening the U.S. military procurement process to Israeli-produced weapons. Kemp advocates a formal U.S.-Israeli bilateral defense treaty. Jackson, while declaring the special relationship in our best interest and consistent with our values, states that "the events of the past seven years have put unnecessary strains on the relationship, endangering our mutual goals of peace and security."

#### Advancing the Arab-Israeli peace process:

All of the candidates assert that advancing the Arab-Israeli peace process is a critical concern, and that the U.S. has a role to play as a "broker" -- a term strikingly used by several candidates. Divergences among views emerge where details are offered. The strongest polarity is between Jackson and Kemp. Jackson supports an international peace conference "with all concerned parties;" Kemp specifically opposes such a conference. On the issue of participation in negotiations, Bush, DuPont and Gephardt reject dealing with the PLO until it renounces terrorism and accepts U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338; Kemp would exclude

the Soviet Union and the PLO from any conference; Haig expresses skepticism about any conference involving the PLO, the Soviet Union or Syria, DuPont suggests that the question of Soviet participation in an international peace conference should be left to the Israelis; and Simon states that the PLO cannot be part of a negotiation process, but that there are moderate Palestinians (Hanna Sinoria is cited) who could be acceptable to both parties. Babbitt and Jackson attack the inadequacies of the Administration's record on seeking peace, with Jackson accusing the Administration of abandoning the Camp David process, resulting in unnecessary loss of American, Israeli and Arab lives.

#### Soviet-American relations:

To promote human rights in the Soviet Union, and specifically the rights of Soviet Jews (stressed by all of the candidates), several make specific arguments for linkages between human rights and U.S.-Soviet agreements. Babbitt believes that improvements must be a condition of any economic agreement; Kemp advocates an end to export subsidies and cheap untied loans, as well as legislation to prohibit generous trade terms and sophisticated technology if basic human rights are not granted; Robertson calls for absolute linkage to improvements in the status of human rights in any negotiations; DuPont believes that our willingness to sign new arms accords should be evaluated in the context of treaty violations; and Haig laments that linkage was ignored in the arms control agreement.

Assessments about the prospects for an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations vary. Cautious optimism is expressed by Babbitt, Dole, Dukakis, Gephart, Gore and Jackson. Simon emphasizes the need to negotiate because of the escalation of the nuclear arms race, a theme echoed by Dole, Dukakis, and Jackson. An insistence that Soviet intervention around the world must end is stressed by Bush, Dole, and Kemp; and Dukakis states that direct or indirect interference of the Soviets into the affairs of other nations must be challenged. The harshest assessment of the Soviet Union is set forth by Kemp; the least harsh by Jackson.

#### Church-state issues:

This question about the establishment clause of the Constitution and its relevance to contemporary church-state issues elicited clear divisions between Democrats and Republicans. None of the Democratic candidates expressed support either for school prayer or for tuition tax credits. On the other hand, Bush, Dole and Robertson support voluntary prayer, while Kemp and Haig support a moment-of-silence. Opposition to aid to parochial schools is mentioned by Babbitt, opposition to tuition tax credits by Dukakis, and to tuition tax credits and vouchers by Gore, Simon and Gephart. Only Haig states support for tuition tax credits. A direct challenge to Jefferson's interpretation of the intent of the establishment clause to erect a "wall of separation" is offered by Robertson, who refers to Jefferson's reference to a "wall of separation"

as an off-hand comment "not based on scholarly investigation into the language and intent of the First Amendment." Robertson cites Justice Rehnquist's opinion that nothing in the establishment clause of the First Amendment "requires government to be strictly neutral between religion and irreligion, nor does that clause prohibit Congress or the states from pursuing legitimate secular ends through nondiscriminatory sectarian means."

#### Proposed Constitutional amendments:

With few differences, positions on the proposed Constitutional amendments group themselves according to party affiliation. A proposed Constitutional amendment to balance the budget is supported outright only by Gore among the Democrats, and he favors a different version than the one favored by the Administration. Simon supports legislation requiring a balanced budget, but has opposed "excessively rigid versions of this idea." All of the Republicans except Haig support such an amendment. Haig states opposition to constitutional amendments that attempt to "legislate morality," and cites the failure of the Gramm-Hollings-Rudman law as an example. Both a constitutional amendment permitting prayer and a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion are opposed by all of the Democrats. The former is supported by Dole and Robertson, Kemp and Bush imply support, and DuPont supports voluntary prayer but does not believe that an amendment is necessary. Haig is the only Republican who does not support an abortion amendment (see above), though personally he opposes abortion and federal funding of abortion except where the life of the mother is at stake. On support for the Equal Rights Amendment, the responses are strictly according to party lines, with one exception. All of the Democrats support it, and all of the Republicans except Dole oppose it.

#### International human rights:

DuPont, Dukakis, Gephardt, Gore, Haig and Jackson all emphasize that consistent application of core American values -- democracy and social justice -- should undergird efforts to promote human rights. Within this approach, Dukakis and Gore further emphasize the need to address the social and economic conditions that can undermine democracy. Gore also stresses the need to support political parties, trade unions, the press and other institutions that support a democratic infrastructure. Robertson believes that targeted economic development and trade aimed at alleviating poverty and injustice in regions such as Central America can "remove the cause of unrest and communist agitation." DuPont states that we must be for freedom and opportunity everywhere, and can oppose dictators (as in Haiti and the Philippines) as well as communists. DuPont also believes U.S. interests must be explained forthrightly and that covert operations must be capable of withstanding public scrutiny if revealed. Bush and Kemp stress aid to the "freedom fighters" in Mozambique and Nicaragua; with Kemp adding Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Cambodia to the list of places where he would aid the opposition. Jackson and Simon offer the strongest criticisms of the current Adminis-

tration, with Simon stating that "it has created an impression that strengthening democracy and fighting for human rights are contradictory goals." Jackson suggests former Assistant Secretary of State Pat Derian's approach to promoting human rights as a standard for future Administrations to follow.

#### Combatting terrorism:

A number of approaches to combatting state-sponsored and other forms of terrorism recur in the candidates' responses. These include improved intelligence techniques (Dukakis, Gore, Kemp and Simon); international cooperation (Bush, Dole, Dukakis, Gephardt, Gore, Haig, Jackson and Kemp); refusing to deal with terrorists (Babbitt, Bush, DuPont, Dole, Dukakis and Gephardt); refusing to sell arms to terrorists (DuPont, Gephardt, Gore and Kemp); and economic or other forms of reprisals (Babbitt, Dukakis, Gephardt and Simon.) Several other approaches are less frequently mentioned. Gore and Kemp state that the U.S. must demand that the Soviet Union cease aiding and supporting international terrorism, and Kemp further calls for passage of the International Convention against Taking of Hostages and the Montreal Convention to protect against sabotage of civilian aircraft. Gephardt calls for making the new anti-terrorism command of the armed services a major priority. DuPont views cooperation and coordination with Israel as the yardstick for U.S. actions to defeat terrorism. Robertson considers terrorism a form of war and advocates strengthening the Delta Strike Force "to move against terrorists anywhere in the world." Both Gephardt and Kemp mention their support for closing PLO operations in the U.S. through the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987. Jackson's assertion, as one of his two principles for combatting terrorism, "ensuring that avenues of relief are available for groups or nations who feel aggrieved," stands alone.

#### Ending apartheid in South Africa:

Dramatically different assessments of how the U.S. should combat apartheid and promote democracy in South Africa are reflected in the candidates' responses. All of the Democrats support economic sanctions and urge increased economic and political pressure. Dukakis calls for a multi-lateral agreement with our allies for a more comprehensive trade embargo, Jackson urges political and economic isolation of the current regime, Simon seeks greater cooperation with our allies to increase the effectiveness of sanctions, and Gephardt advocates those sanctions included in the '86 House-passed bill but weakened in final Congressional passage. By contrast, Bush, DuPont, Haig and Kemp all state that sanctions are counter-productive. Dole takes a somewhat different view, stating that no additional sanctions should be put in place until those in effect are "working the way we want them to." While many candidates speak to the need to encourage leadership committed to a peaceful transition, divergent views are expressed about outreach to Black leadership. Babbitt urges diplomatic outreach to the African National Congress and Congress of South African Trade Unions, Dukakis urges the



inclusion of the ANC in internationally-sponsored negotiations, and Gore observes that the ANC cannot be excluded from the political future. He and Gephart also stress the need to urge the ANC to renounce violence. In contrast, DuPont, Haig and Robertson all stress working with Chief Buthelezi. Jackson calls for increased U.S. attention to Southern Africa, particularly the front-line states attacked by South Africa; and Gephart calls for an end to such attacks. Kemp, on the other hand, thinks that U.S. concerns about human rights abuses in other parts of Africa should be highlighted, to provide "perspective" on South Africa. Strong criticisms of the Administration policy are made by Jackson, who calls it short-sighted and immoral, and Gore, who renames it "destructive disengagement."

#### The Federal role in civil rights:

Democratic comments about civil rights concerns were very similar, with Babbitt, Dukakis, Jackson and Simon expressing support for affirmative action, and Babbitt, Dukakis, Gephart, Gore and Simon stating support for passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act to overturn the Supreme Court's Grove City decision. Dukakis, Gore and Simon support strengthened fair housing legislation, of which Gore and Simon are co-sponsors. Among the Republicans, opposition to quotas (without mention of affirmative action) is expressed by Kemp, and DuPont opposes numerical quotas while supporting affirmative action programs "designed to increase the size of the applicant pool for jobs." Among Republicans, only Dole supports the Civil Rights Restoration Act (opposed by Kemp and DuPont) and strengthened fair housing legislation.

#### Immigration and acculturation:

To guide future U.S. immigration policy, Bush, Dole, Gore, Gephart and Simon refer to their support of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. However, Babbitt urges that the law be amended to make all members of a family eligible for legalization if one member is eligible; Gephart stresses that the implementation of the legislation must be monitored; and Jackson expresses concern about its provisions being carried out fairly and effectively. An alternative perspective is offered by Kemp, who opposed the bill because he thought sanctions would hurt small businesses, and DuPont, who thinks the bill may be the best possible compromise but had grave reservations about its sanctions and amnesty provisions. Maintaining the U.S. as a haven for those seeking political persecution is stressed by Babbitt, Bush, DuPont, Dukakis, Gephart, Gore, Jackson and Simon; Kemp adds religious persecution; and Babbitt criticizes the Administration for interpreting current law on political asylum too narrowly. To facilitate the acculturation of new immigrants, Babbitt, Dole, Dukakis, Gore and Jackson emphasize federal leadership in programs such as bilingual education and job training. (Jackson specifically commends the recommendations of the American Jewish Committee on acculturation; see The Newest Immigrants.) Simon opposes the English Only movement and supports the proposed English Proficiency Act (of which he is a sponsor) to promote acculturation.

From a different perspective, Haig argues that, aside from certain constitutional protections, the federal government should have little role to play in acculturating immigrants and refugees.

Energy policy:

All of the candidates advocate ways to increase America's energy independence. To revitalize the domestic oil industry, Babbitt, Bush, Dole, Gore, DuPont and Kemp support repeal of the windfall profits tax. An oil import fee is supported by Gephardt, "under the right circumstances" by Dole, and "as a last resort" by Jackson, while it is explicitly opposed by Bush and DuPont. Filling our strategic petroleum reserves is emphasized by Dukakis, DuPont, Gore and Haig. Developing alternative sources of energy is stressed by Babbitt, Bush, Dukakis, Jackson and Simon. Two themes stressed only by Democrats are developing better ties with non-OPEC suppliers (Dukakis, Gore and Jackson) and conservation (Babbitt, Dukakis, Gore and Jackson). Themes stressed only by Republicans include changes in tax law and regulations to stimulate more investment income (Bush, Dole, DuPont, Haig, Kemp and Robertson) and deregulation of natural gas (Bush and Kemp). The strongest criticism of the Administration's energy policy is made by Babbitt, who claims that, by reducing auto fuel efficiency standards and reducing our investment in renewable fuels, "we have lost a valuable opportunity to strengthen our long-term energy security."

Family policy and welfare reform:

Consensus among all of the Democrats is expressed on support for unpaid parental leave for parents of newborns and leadership roles for all levels of government and private industry to increase the availability of child care. Babbitt supports a universal voucher system for child care, scaled to income and jointly funded by the federal government and states, as well as government fiscal incentives for employers to provide child care. The latter is also supported by Dukakis, Gore and Jackson. Dukakis notes Massachusetts' success in "increasing the number of child care slots available and the number of government subsidized children in day care, and in increasing the training and regulatory scrutiny of child care providers." Another theme emphasized is helping schools provide pre and after school care (Gore) and expanding early childhood educational opportunities (Simon). A different view of helping families with children is expressed by Kemp, who emphasizes increases in the personal income tax exemption and an adjustment in the Earned Income Tax credit according to family size. Bush stresses the use of the dependent care tax credit, Head Start and experimentation at the state and local level to find better uses for available resources, while cautioning that "we must be careful not to enact programs that would prejudice the incentives for traditional child-rearing among the poor and all Americans." Robertson supports private-sector efforts to provide cost-effective "home environment" child care as an alternative to "institutionalized" child care. Both Kemp and Robertson call for strengthened child support requirements for delinquent fathers.



Combatting teenage pregnancy is mentioned by Dukakis, Gephart and Jackson. Dukakis and Jackson stress partnership between federal and local government, schools, communities and parents. Dukakis describes a Massachusetts program he has put in place to address cause and prevention through comprehensive health education and the availability of options, including good jobs. Jackson advocates implementation of sex education programs, including AIDS education and school-based health clinics. Gephart supports preventative education and counseling, including services provided in school-based clinics.

To promote welfare reform, Babbitt, Dukakis and Gephart agree that work and training requirements should be encouraged and should be linked to the provision of child care and health benefits, a notion also supported by Dole. Dukakis stresses that reform at the national level should draw on successes of innovative efforts such as Massachusetts' Employment and Training program. A minimum benefit level for welfare and food stamps is supported by Babbitt, Jackson urges minimum welfare benefits, Gephart supports the incentives to raise benefits contained in the recently-passed House bill, and Dole would direct savings from state initiatives into increased benefits. Kemp, and Bush and Haig all support reducing welfare dependency by focusing experimentation at the state and local level. Robertson supports eliminating "welfare laws which force divorce in order to qualify for payments and laws that cut off payments to those attempting employment," in addition to extensive reform that would channel funds to those truly in need instead of "middle class intermediaries." Simon sees a jobs program as the remedy to welfare (see employment and training policy), as does DuPont, who would mandate working for the government at 90% of minimum wage if counseling and retraining does not enable a welfare recipient to find a private sector job.

#### Employment and training policy:

A variety of themes emerge out of the varied approaches of the candidates to alleviating unemployment and economic dislocation. These include: promoting literacy (Gore and Robertson); upgrading educational opportunities (Babbitt, Gephart and Simon); making college affordable for everyone (Babbitt and Gephart); public/private partnerships to create jobs (Babbitt, Bush, Dukakis, Gephart, and Simon); basic skills training and retraining (Babbitt, Dukakis, Gephart, Gore, Jackson, Simon); sustained economic growth (Dukakis and Gephart); support for the Jobs Partnership Training Act (Dole and Kemp); and support services such as job counseling and search assistance (Dukakis and Gephart). Other themes mentioned are a subminimum wage for youth (Dole); promoting increased participation of workers in decision-making (Gephart); and giving workers advance notice of plant-closings (Babbitt).

Several candidates offer detailed and divergent programmatic ideas. Babbitt would forgive government loans for those who teach public school for five years, create "individualized training entitlements" providing a lifetime guarantee that every displaced worker can find a new job, and

provide incentives for training investment in the private sector. Dole would establish a "Rural Fund for Development" to guarantee loans to small business in rural communities. Jackson recommends a national investment plan devoting a fraction of the nation's pension fund assets to reinvestment in our infrastructure, retraining workers, and reindustrializing our productive capacity. Investments would be guaranteed and supervised by a board representing business, government and labor. Kemp's reindustrialization strategy includes new tax provisions for the expense of plants and equipment, urban enterprise zones, and international monetary reform to lower interest rates and stabilize exchange rates. Simon's proposed Guaranteed Job Opportunity Program, to be implemented in every community by a board including business, labor and the public sector, would provide jobs in the infrastructure to participants who also would take part in a basic skills and training program. Gephardt proposes a new Individual Development and Education Account that would enable parents to set up educational savings accounts with the federal government providing matching funds based on family income. Gephardt also would fund upgrading of JPTA and State Unemployment Insurance and Employment Systems, to find dislocated workers and inform them of services before their benefits run out, and to provide services such as relocation assistance, re-employment bonuses and economic adjustment allowances. DuPont proposes a "National Schooling and Training Bank" permitting everyone to borrow as much as they need to return to school, provided they pay it back. Robertson supports tax incentives for companies providing training and retraining, full tax deductibility of workers' expenses for training and retraining, unemployment compensation for displaced workers participating in training programs, youth opportunity (non-minimum) wages for on-the-job training, and government-sponsored training internships in private business.

Campaign finance reform:

This issue is another that elicits sharp differences according to party affiliation. Democrats consistently support the concept of the pending Senatorial Election Campaign Act, which would establish voluntary spending limits (including aggregate political action committee (PAC) limits), tied to partial public funding, analogous to the system in place for financing presidential elections. Simon and Gore are co-sponsors of the proposed legislation. Babbitt and Dukakis are joined by DuPont in their decision not to accept PAC funds. Republicans do not support any public financing of Congressional elections or overall spending limits. DuPont sees no need for a major change in the system, Haig points out its problems and benefits, Kemp would strengthen disclosure laws, Robertson is undecided on the issue, and Bush focuses on maintaining strong disclosure laws. Dole supports restricting PACS as well as strengthening disclosure laws.

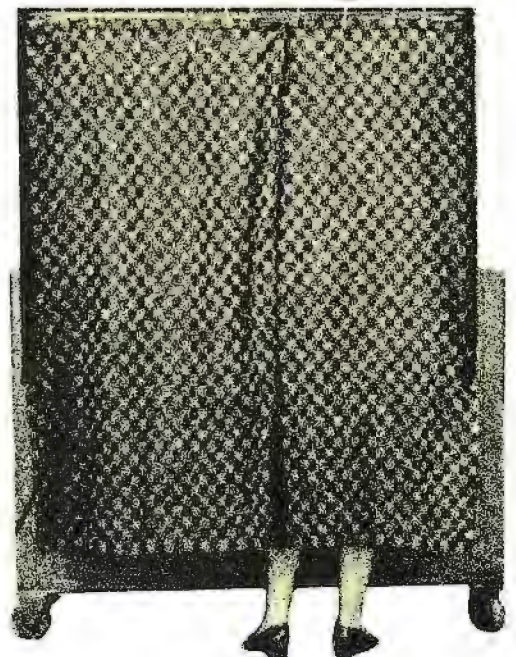
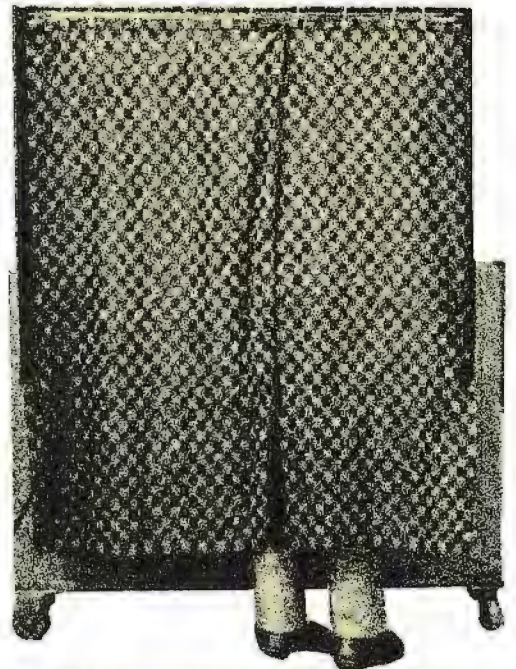
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# THE CANDIDATES ON THE ISSUES

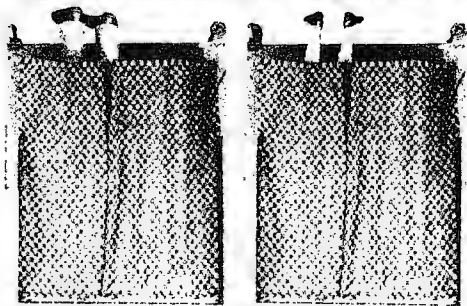
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION '88



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION '88

# THE CANDIDATES ON THE ISSUES



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## FOREWORD

Although the American Jewish Committee has been involved in election-related issues and analysis for many years, this is the first time we have surveyed the views of the major presidential candidates on a broad array of public-policy concerns. Our purpose is to make the candidates' views better known to the Jewish community and to the public at large.

As a nonpartisan organization, the AJC does not endorse or oppose any candidate for public office. We do, however, conduct research, carry out public education and policy analysis, and advocate positions on a variety of international and national issues. Those questions on which we have sought the presidential candidates' views reflect not only what we believe to be of particular interest to the Jewish community, but also the broad range of concerns that must be addressed if we are to maintain a truly pluralistic, free, and democratic America.

Discussion of this multi-issue agenda will promote a healthy and enlightened electoral process. The American Jewish Committee offers this publication in the hope that it will contribute toward that critical discussion during the 1988 election campaign.

*Theodore Ellenoff*, President  
The American Jewish Committee



## **RESPONDENTS**

### **Democrats**

**Bruce Babbitt** is a former governor of Arizona.

**Michael S. Dukakis** is governor of Massachusetts.

**Richard Gephardt** is a U.S. representative from Missouri.

**Albert Gore, Jr.**, is a U.S. senator from Tennessee.

**Jesse Jackson** is executive director of Operation Push.

**Paul Simon** is a U.S. senator from Illinois.

### **Republicans**

**George Bush** is vice-president of the United States.

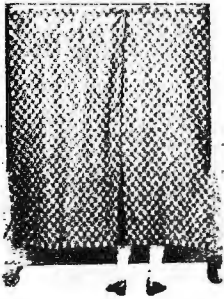
**Robert Dole** is a U.S. senator from Kansas and Senate minority leader.

**Pierre S. Du Pont IV** is a former governor of Delaware.

**Alexander M. Haig, Jr.**, is a former secretary of state.

**Jack F. Kemp** is a U.S. representative from New York.

**M.G. "Pat" Robertson** founded the Christian Broadcasting Network, Inc.



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**Question 1—How do you view the future of the bilateral relationship—including political, security, economic and other ties—between Israel and the United States?**

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**Babbitt:**

The United States must preserve and strengthen its already strong relationship with Israel, our most important ally in the Middle East. Israel, as a nation of immigrants and a democracy, shares our political values. Our two countries reinforce each other morally and spiritually. We have mutual security interests: Israel is strategically located midway between Europe and the Persian Gulf. With armed forces that are well trained, well equipped and combat-proven, its military strength is vital to protecting American interests in the Middle East. And a healthy Israeli economy, encouraged by expanded trade between our two nations, is in both countries' interest.

**Bush:**

My commitment to Israel's security is unshakable. A threat to Israel is a threat to the United States. America's relationship with Israel is strong and steadfast. We now have an unprecedented strategic cooperation agreement with Israel, as well as a free-trade accord. In the years ahead, we will maintain our special relationship to guarantee Israel's qualitative military edge and its economic well-being. For four decades, Israel has withstood hostile forces on all sides. Israel remains a light of hope for millions, as well as our faithful ally in the Middle East, and we will never abandon her people.

The security and freedom of Israel are fundamental to both American strength and Middle East stability for all our conceivable tomorrows. Of equal importance is our moral obligation to the people of Israel. This does not mean we must adopt all of Israel's positions. It does mean, simply put, that Israel must be able to count on American political and economic support and military assistance.

**Dole:**

Israel is the most important and most reliable American ally in the Middle East. Nothing is

going to change that basic fact.

We already enjoy a unique political relationship with Israel -- a relationship that we must preserve and nurture. I have also called for the consideration of an expanded strategic relationship, as an anchor for our common interests in the Mediterranean, and to insure the stability of NATO's southern flank. And, as I always have, I continue to regard American aid to Israel as not only the right thing to do -- but also a good investment in our own national security.

The bottom line is this: without a strong, peaceful Israel, we have no chance to achieve our broader goals in the Middle East -- peace, with security, for all countries in the region; a reduced role for those outside nations which are the source of danger and disruption; and justice for all the people who reside there.

**Dukakis:**

The United States and Israel share many moral and democratic values. We also share many strategic and political interests. For these reasons, our relationship with Israel will continue to be very special.

It is also for these reasons that the overwhelming majority of Americans -- Christians as well as Jews, blacks and whites, young and old -- is strongly supportive of Israel. This broad support is reflected in the high level of assistance that the United States provides to Israel.

But I do not consider that assistance, and our support for a strong and secure Israel, as "one way" foreign aid. For in addition to Israel's status as our only stable democratic ally in the Middle East, our close working relationship with Israel -- in areas of politics, culture, economics, and science, as well as in shared military and intelligence cooperation -- makes the Israeli component of our foreign-assistance program beneficial and productive for the United States itself.

**Du Pont:**

Today, as Messrs. Shamir and Peres have both noted, U.S.-Israeli relations are at an all-time peak. We need to build on and strengthen our current relationship, not to achieve short-term public-relations victories, but to pursue the many lasting strategic goals we hold in common.

First, we need to build on recent successes, under the 1983 strategic cooperation accord, in coordinating our military and intelligence efforts. In the procurement area, the U.S. Navy should be commended for its decisions to ensure that Israeli battlefield experience is reflected in the U.S. weapons-development process from the beginning. Joint development and production projects in areas such as anti-tactical-ballistic-missile research are one means of bringing this about. Another way is to open the U.S. procurement process to Israeli-produced weapons, just as it is open to our NATO allies.

In the economic area, we need to build on the success of recent years in lowering trade

barriers and letting the free market work. Few people realize that Israel exports an even higher proportion of her national product than does Japan, largely in "value-added" goods--reflecting Israel's well-educated work force and high-tech advantage. The United States has contributed to placing Israel's economy on a better footing, but more needs to be done to reduce state involvement in the economy and allow the ingenuity of the Israeli people to flourish. Ensuring continued access to American and European markets also is essential to that goal. America's commitment to a strong Israel is and must remain unconditional.

**Gephardt:**

I see a bright future for relations between Israel and the United States. The last president from Missouri, Harry Truman, set the foundation for our relationship when he asserted American leadership in recognizing the independent state of Israel. The next president from Missouri will be one who believes that Israel's right to exist is a fundamental and unyielding principle that must guide our foreign policy every day. I believe that our bond with Israel is sacred, forged in a common respect for freedom, a common commitment to peace, and a shared interest in stability and security. It is based upon the deepest connections of the heart and the spirit. It transcends time and politics. It is a bond that cannot -- and will not -- be broken.

I worked hard to enact the Free Trade Area Act that will help build the economic future of Israel. I supported naming Israel a Major Non-NATO Ally last year so that the two nations can continue to build our strategic relationship. I support foreign aid as a bargain for the United States and as an important element contributing to a strong Israel. These are the policies that will continue under a Gephardt administration.

**Gore:**

The territorial integrity, independence, and safety of Israel is and must remain the central pillar of American policy in the Middle East. No president must ever waver from this commitment. It is rooted as much in the values we share as fellow democracies as in the interests we hold in common as strategic allies. The strategic-cooperation agreement we have with Israel already has been of considerable value to both sides, and is an area for future development. So, too, is the free-trade agreement between our two countries, which I think is the door to the future for our economic relationship. In all its dimensions -- and here I also include cultural and educational exchanges -- the American-Israeli relationship can and should be an ever-deepening one.

**Haig:**

The U.S.-Israeli relationship is strong and I hope it becomes even stronger. We and Israel will always do best if we draw upon the ties that bind us: the moral imperatives that unite democracies and the strategic imperatives that make the U.S.-Israeli alliance a force for peace in the Middle East.

**Jackson:**

Israel and the United States are both friends and allies. I support this special relationship

as one that is not only in the best interest of our nation, but also consistent with our values as a country. Unfortunately, I believe that the events of the past seven years have put unnecessary strains on the relationship, endangering our mutual goals of peace and security. It is particularly unfortunate that this administration abandoned the Camp David peace process which had begun so well. As a result, there has been unnecessary loss of life: more Israelis dead, more Americans dead, more Arabs dead, and increased suspicion and hostility. Both nations would be better off with a peaceful Middle East and better relations with other nations in the region.

**Kemp:**

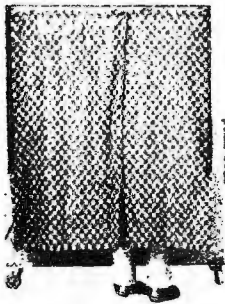
Today, relations between the United States and Israel are closer than ever before, building on a special bond that goes back to the founding of the modern state of Israel in 1948, and our common values of liberal democracy and universal human rights. U.S.-Israel strategic-planning groups are coordinating our joint defense efforts, and we are directly supporting projects to augment Israel's defense-industrial base -- an initiative I have cosponsored. I believe it is now time to move forward to a formal bilateral defense treaty alliance with Israel. Because of Israel's history and her commitment to democracy she has the right to exist in peace and it is in our own national interest to have a reliable democratic ally in that vital region. We are allies in the defense of freedom. And Israel's strength, coupled with U.S. assistance and our new and unique free-trade relationship, is the main obstacle to Soviet domination and international terrorism in the region and important to the future prosperity of our two nations and the West.

**Robertson:**

Pat Robertson considers Israel to be one of America's most valuable allies. He favors strengthening ties and mutual cooperation between the two countries on every level.

**Simon:**

Israel will continue to be America's closest partner in an area of the world where we have tremendous interests. That alone insures that we will remain staunch allies. Beyond that, our long-standing friendship with Israel, and the strong connections that many Americans, Jewish and non-Jewish, feel for the land of the Bible, guarantee that our ties will remain close. In economic, security, and political areas we will continue to cooperate to further the interests of both nations.



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**Question 2—What, in your view, would be the most appropriate way(s) for the United States to advance the Arab-Israel peace process?**

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**Babbitt:**

The next president must put Middle East peace back at the top of the U.S. agenda. We need to pick up where President Carter left off, with the Camp David accords. There is no substitute for face-to-face negotiations among the adversary parties, but the United States can play an important role as instigator and honest broker. After leaving American marines as sitting ducks in Lebanon, and then beating a hasty retreat, the Reagan administration has done nothing to further the cause of Middle East peace. That cause will require a vigorous diplomatic effort by our next president.

**Bush:**

My experience in dealing with the various Middle East nations for the past 20 years has reaffirmed my conviction that the seemingly intractable problems that have rocked the region can be resolved -- and that the United States has a vital role in bringing about a resolution. The people of the Middle East want peace. Our role must be to help the nations of the Middle East recognize areas of common interest and potential agreement. Under no condition should the United States attempt to impose the terms and conditions of a settlement upon the nations but should continue to function as an honest broker, facilitating negotiations between the nations.

The U.S. role in the Camp David accords was both heroic and historic, and I salute President Carter for that. We stand ready to play such a role again. I traveled to Israel and other countries in the Middle East in 1986 to see conditions firsthand and met with leaders there. In my discussion with then-Prime Minister Peres, King Hussein of Jordan, and President Mubarak of Egypt, I was struck by the areas of commonality I found. I believe this commonality creates a basis on which peace negotiations can move forward. All four of us agree that:

A just and lasting peace is essential, urgent, and can only be reached through negotiations.



- Negotiations should produce peace treaties between the parties based on the recognition of the right of all states and peoples in the region to a life of peace and security.
- Negotiations must take into account the security needs of Israel, the security needs of all states in the region, and the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

To elaborate briefly, such aspirations must be consistent with the cause of peace. I do not support creation of an independent Palestinian state. I reject the possibility of dealing with the PLO until it renounces terrorism and violence and accepts UN Resolutions 242 and 338. Peace treaties must be reached through bilateral negotiations and must never be imposed on unwilling participants.

The points of accord noted above reflect my discussions with then-Prime Minister Peres on behalf of the national-unity government. I have also met with Prime Minister Shamir, both in Jerusalem and in Washington, and I feel confident that the principles agreed on in 1986 still form the basis for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

Israel is important to us not only because of the common values that bind her people and our people, not only because she is a bulwark of freedom and democracy, but also because she is a vital strategic ally.

Peace in the Middle East is a high priority. A strong and stable Israel is essential to peace and essential to our own strategic interest. Ours indeed is a "special relationship."

**Dole:**

The starting point is keeping the quest for a real Middle East peace at the top of our foreign-policy agenda. We have vital interests in the Middle East, and by far the best way to protect them would be the establishment of a durable peace.

We should set clear and reasonable diplomatic goals, keyed to this central proposition: peace can be achieved only when there is direct dialogue between Israel and its neighbors. We should take great care that our security policies -- particularly our arms sales -- preserve Israel's security; do not upset the military balance in the region; and encourage progress in the negotiating process. We also must take care that our diplomacy and the political signals we send be clear and consistent.

And, of course, it is essential that we remain actively engaged in our own dialogue with all elements in the Middle East who eschew terrorism and give real evidence that they are genuinely involved in peace, with security, for all the nations of the region.

**Dukakis:**

My administration would be committed to guaranteeing the survival, security, and well-being of Israel -- not only for Israel's sake but for our own. As president, I will strengthen cooperation between Israel and the United States; maintain generous levels of economic and military assistance to Israel; oppose arms sales that would endanger Israel's security; and

support and promote the development of a peace process in the Middle East that will allow Israel to fulfill its dream of living at peace with its neighbors, within secure and defensible borders.

**Du Pont:**

We cannot impose a settlement in the Middle East, but neither could we support a settlement that failed to guarantee Israel's security. UN Security Council Resolution 242 provides a basis for resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the United States should continue to facilitate efforts by Israel and the Arab states to negotiate among themselves a settlement within that framework. As for the PLO and other terrorist groups, the United States will never recognize or negotiate with any group that espouses violent solutions, or refuses to accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338, or recognize Israel's right to exist.

Recently, some have proposed an international conference, including the Soviet Union, to address Mideast peace issues. While I have some doubts about the utility of including the Soviets in such a process, I believe this decision should be left up to the Israeli people and their government.

**Gephardt:**

The key to the peace process remains U.S. leadership. Presidential leadership is essential. We must persist in the Camp David process. Direct negotiations, under our leadership as an "honest broker," are still the best way to peace. The United States can also contribute to direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel. We cannot abandon moderate Arabs to accommodate the radicals. Acceptance of United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 remains vital. We should make it clear to the Palestinians that while we are willing to support the aspirations of democratic organizations and their participation in peace talks, we will not yield to demands communicated through violence.

**Gore:**

The main contribution the United States can make to the Arab-Israeli peace process is to assure Israel of our continuing commitment to its security. We can also play an important role as diplomatic intermediary between Israel and those Arab states, such as Jordan, who may finally be prepared to talk seriously about peace. Because we are the only government genuinely trusted by both Arabs and Israelis, we are uniquely positioned and qualified to exercise leadership in helping find a mutually acceptable formula such that the peace process can begin.

**Haig:**

We must continue to build on the Camp David process, to improve the peace between Egypt and Israel, while working to extend it through direct negotiations with all of Israel's neighbors. The next step, ideally, would be Israeli-Jordanian negotiations on the future of the administered territories. I am highly skeptical that a peace conference involving the PLO, Syria, and the Soviet Union could be more than a contradiction in terms.

While we try to arrange direct talks, we can encourage Israeli-Jordanian cooperation in dealing with the problems of the administered territories -- to negate PLO influence and to prepare for an eventual Israeli-Jordanian negotiation.

**Jackson:**

I favor an international peace conference and believe that the policy of the United States should be to work toward such a conference. All concerned parties could and should participate. I agree with aspects of the peace-conference initiative recently outlined by Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres in his speech at the UN, including international sponsorship, and commitment to negotiations without preplanned solutions.

**Kemp:**

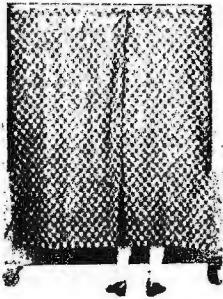
We must do all we can to ensure and encourage and expand the Camp David peace process as the basis of bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Arab states. As for an international conference, I do not believe this is the answer, and I will continue to insist on the exclusion from any conference of the Soviet Union, the PLO, and any nations or groups which do not recognize Israel's right to exist, which support terrorism, and which have not made peace with Israel. The Soviet Union never supported the Camp David accords; they continue to fund terrorist activities and while aggressively promoting their military and political influence throughout the region, even voted to deny Israel's membership in the United Nations as recently as October 13 of this year.

**Robertson:**

Pat Robertson believes the United States should continue in its role as "honest broker" in negotiating a peaceful settlement to the conflict in the Middle East. No attempt, however, should be made to force a U.S. solution on the parties involved.

**Simon:**

We need to move aggressively to bring Israel and Jordan together. In particular, we need to signal to King Hussein that the United States is genuine about being committed to the peace process and that we will back any nation that is serious about peace. On the other hand, the PLO cannot be a part of the negotiating process. Israel will not accept that and for good reason. There are Palestinians, like Hanna Sinoria, editor of *Al Fajr*, who could be acceptable to both parties. I'm optimistic that we could get Israel and Jordan together. As president, I would call for a Camp David II, and III, and IV if necessary to find a way to further the cause of peace, security, and justice in the Middle East. I would upgrade our diplomatic efforts in this area and put the Middle East peace process back on the presidential agenda.



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**Question 3—Please share with us your thoughts on the direction of Soviet-American relations, and within that context, the effort on behalf of Soviet Jews and other victims of Soviet oppression.**

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**Babbitt:**

I believe that the U.S.-Soviet relationship will continue to be intensely competitive for the foreseeable future, but I see real hope that we may move the terms of our competition away from military and toward political and economic spheres. I believe that the Soviets have lost the Cold War -- that the world, fundamentally, is moving toward American forms of political and economic life -- and that Mikhail Gorbachev recognizes this fact. Gorbachev must reform his economy in order to preserve the Soviet Union as a military power, and his need may be great enough to prompt a new set of ground rules in the superpower relationship.

There will remain, nonetheless, irreconcilable moral differences between our two powerful nations. The United States must never stop insisting that the Soviet Union's disregard for the basic rights of its citizens is not an internal matter but an outrage that will put concrete limits on our willingness to do business with them. For all the talk of *glasnost*, the level of emigration of Soviet Jews has barely exceeded a trickle since it peaked in the late 1970s. I believe not only that these basic human rights must be a subject of every meeting of American and Soviet representatives, but that Soviet improvements in this regard must be a condition of any economic agreement between our two countries.

**Bush:**

To be secure as a nation, we need to acknowledge the fact that we face an adversary who considers our decency and democratic values as weaknesses. The modern Soviet regime has been ideologically driven to expand its global reach and does not shrink from the use or threat of force. Even our recent dramatic -- and landmark -- success in signing a verifiable Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) does not alter our views of the Soviets.

The INF treaty we signed in December is not the millennium. But it is a significant step for peace -- one that we can build on. Ratified, it will eliminate an entire class of intermediate-range nuclear weapons, forcing the Soviets to eliminate about 1,600 of their weapons for 400 of ours.

In the years ahead, we will face challenge and change in our dealings with the Soviets. I was the first senior U.S. official to meet Chairman Gorbachev after he came to power in 1985. He is an impressive man -- self-confident, articulate, and obviously intelligent. But he is an orthodox, committed Marxist and a formidable and determined competitor for world power. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister for many years, accurately characterized Mr. Gorbachev at the time he took power. Gromyko said: "Comrades, this man has a nice smile, but he's got iron teeth."

It would be easier, safer, and more diplomatic to remain silent -- to negotiate our treaties and never raise the question of human rights. But that would be untrue to ourselves, and it would break our promise to the past.

For I have been to Yad Vashem. I have been to Auschwitz. I have seen the mounds of human hair, the eyeglasses and toothbrushes and the tiny children's shoes -- all that remains of the millions of victims who died there. I have seen the empty canisters of poison gas.

These are the places that remind us that we cannot be silent -- like the Holocaust Memorial Museum. The lesson of these places is that never again can we remain silent about the abuse of human rights -- never again.

I came away from Auschwitz determined not just to remember the Holocaust, but determined to renew our commitment to human rights around the world. I found myself thinking, "If we in the United States are not strong enough, not courageous enough to stand up for human rights, who will? Who in God's name will?"

As Eli Wiesel once said, "In extreme situations, when human lives and dignity are at stake, neutrality is a sin."

I cannot help but recall the first time I met Natan Shcharansky's wife, Avital, in Jerusalem eight years ago. She told me of receiving her exit visa one day after her wedding, of leaving her husband behind in Moscow, of the five years that had passed since they had parted -- how moved I was by her story.

Yet seven more years would go by before Natan Shcharansky would be freed, seven more years in which the president, Secretary Shultz, and I pressed his case at every opportunity, seven more years before the Soviets finally opened up the gates and freed this champion of human dignity -- his indomitable spirit still intact despite his years in the gulag.

Now, Mr. Gorbachev has embarked on a policy of *glasnost*, or openness. But openness begins at the borders. Let's see tens of thousands of refuseniks released -- all those who want to go. For those who want to stay, let them practice their religion in freedom. Let them study Hebrew; let them pray in their own synagogues; let them hear the voice of Israel; let them lead Jewish lives.

Dole:

Gorbachev and *glasnost* -- though their ultimate impact remains far from clear -- already represent a new challenge to the West; and may also represent a new opportunity for a more

productive relationship with the Soviet Union. We need to keep our eyes wide open, and our thinking crystal clear, as we observe and evaluate what is going on inside the Soviet Union.

As events unfold, though, we can be sure of certain things. The United States must remain strong -- and must deal with the Soviet Union from a position of strength. We must pursue a vigorous diplomacy -- mindful of the fact that the Soviets do have some legitimate national interests, but determined as well to push our own very legitimate agenda vigorously. Arms control must remain high on our agenda; but, in pursuing sound arms-control agreements, we cannot sacrifice our aggressive pursuit of other issues, including our insistence that the Soviets end their adventurism in Afghanistan, the Middle East, southern Africa, Central America, and elsewhere around the globe, and provide their own people their human rights.

In recent months exit visas for Soviet Jews have increased significantly. But that increase represents just a fraction of the more than 400,000 Soviet Jews who would emigrate if no strings were attached. The Soviets do respond to outside pressure -- the goal is to convert that response from a mere token to real reform. I can assure you that as president, human rights will be at the core of my overall foreign policy.

**Dukakis:**

There are hopeful signs of an improving Soviet attitude toward mutually beneficial cooperation with the United States, and toward the relaxation of oppression and of the deprivation of human rights within the Soviet Union itself. The recent progress of U.S.-Soviet negotiations concerning the removal of missiles from Europe is just the first step in an ongoing series of discussions and agreements to reduce the risk of nuclear war and to improve the ability of both nations to turn their efforts away from the arms race and toward building a better society for their citizens. I believe today that we have the best opportunity in our lifetimes to achieve meaningful arms control and to reduce the risk of nuclear war -- to get our children thinking again about what they will do *when* they grow up, not *if* they grow up.

In our ongoing dealings with the Soviets, however, I believe that the United States must consistently press, as a high priority, for significant improvements in human rights and religious freedoms within the Soviet Union, and particularly for the freedom of Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate. As governor of Massachusetts, I have become involved on a number of occasions in seeking the freedom of Soviet refuseniks. I believe that the president of the United States is uniquely suited to achieve significant breakthroughs with the Soviet government on behalf of such individuals, as part of a consistent and coherent approach toward this country's dealings with the Soviet leadership. As president, such efforts would be a major priority of my administration.

**Du Pont:**

As a member of Congress, I supported the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which limits U.S. trade with the Soviet Union unless and until the Soviets remove restrictions on Jewish emigration. I supported the 1975 Helsinki accords, which also demand free emigration.



Despite all the publicity about *glasnost*, little progress has been made on the issue of Jewish emigration. Only about 10,000 Jews will be allowed to emigrate this year, down from 50,000 in 1979, and the standards for emigration remain shifting and arbitrary. I believe we need to evaluate our overall stand on issues concerning the Soviet Union -- including our willingness to sign new arms accords -- in the context of these continued Soviet treaty violations.

Gephardt:

I believe the best way to respond to the Soviet challenge is to present them with an offer and a promise. The offer will be to join them if they prove ready to make genuine progress. The promise will be to stop them if they seek to gain a meaningful military advantage -- or to expand their empire and export their domination. Confrontation need not be our permanent condition if both sides reach beyond the tired visions of the past. That is the course we prefer. But if *glasnost* proves to have a hollow ring; if the Soviets are pursuing only a public-relations peace, they will find a powerfully resolute America. Although there have been hopeful signs in the Soviet Union, actual policy change has been limited. I am pleased about the release of such renowned Soviet Jews as Natan Shcharansky, Ida Nudel, and Vladimir Slepak. However, the overall numbers of Jewish emigration remain depressingly low. The number of emigres is still well below the level of the late 1970s. I am concerned that the Soviets may be releasing the leading refuseniks, thus leaving the remaining Jewish community leaderless. In future negotiations with the Soviets we must continue to stress our concern over human rights in the Soviet Union, including the rights of Soviet Jews.

Gore:

U.S.-Soviet relations will continue to be a mix of good news and bad, even in the event of a major agreement on nuclear weapons. We need to emphasize in our negotiations with the Soviets how important the human-rights dimension is to us, and within that context, we need specifically to press the Soviets for greater justice not only for those who wish to leave the Soviet Union, but also for those who wish to stay. Although we should welcome each new Soviet decision to release a prominent refusenik, it is vital that we not lose sight of the fact that the backlog of cases is measured not in tens but in thousands.

Haig:

There can be no true *glasnost* until the USSR reverses its policy toward Soviet Jews and other religions and ethnic minorities. The human-rights question will be the true barometer of change inside the Soviet Union.

I have maintained that the human-rights question, including the right of all Soviet Jews who wish to leave that country to do so, should be placed on the table every time Washington and Moscow meet to discuss bilateral questions. In the recent discussions leading to the U.S.-Soviet arms-control agreement, linkage on this issue seems to have been ignored.

We cannot rest until Soviet Jewry is granted both the right to emigrate to freedom and the right to practice their religion, study their history and language, and openly maintain their traditions inside the USSR.

**Jackson:**

I am a strong believer in the need to negotiate and the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate. When I met with Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva, in 1985, I talked with him about peace, and urged him to allow the emigration of Soviet Jews.

I welcome the recent agreement on arms-control talks and hope that this administration will continue the progress of the past year. Overheated rhetoric about the evil empire will free no people anywhere; it only makes more difficult the work we must do to ease world tensions, to de-escalate the arms race, and to aid the human rights of people around the world -- including Soviet Jews.

**Kemp:**

The Soviets say they are restructuring their society and that they practice *glasnost*. But while communications channels have widened somewhat, we must remain vigilant and realistic in every aspect of our relationship with the Soviets and must judge Soviet words in terms of Soviet behavior both at home and abroad. *Glasnost* means "publicity," and so far it's been mostly rhetoric and cosmetics rather than promoting real freedom and peace.

We need to be realistic about the Soviet Union. The facts are that the Soviets are continuing their massive, across-the-board military buildup unabated, are violating major arms-control agreements, and are continuing support of international subversion abroad and oppression at home. There is no *glasnost* in the psychiatric hospitals and in the gulag's labor camps, along the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, or in Afghanistan. No challenge is permitted to the Communist Party's monopoly of power and privilege. Gorbachev's Soviet Union has not permitted free elections, free speech, free assembly, free labor organizations, free religious worship, or free emigration. While the Soviets have reaped enormous publicity from the release of a few notable Jews, Christians, and political dissidents, the new Soviet emigration policy now being put in place will actually reduce the number of Jews and others allowed to leave.

To promote the cause of human rights inside the Soviet Union we must do more to tell the truth about these abysmal realities and to assure that the Helsinki monitors and others can fully investigate human-rights abuses inside the Soviet Union. I also strongly support legislation to stop the practice of providing generous trade terms and sophisticated technology to the Soviets so long as they do not permit basic human rights. We must end export subsidies and cheap, untied loans to the Soviets.

Finally, I believe the surest way to promote real human rights, democracy, and freedom inside the Soviet Union is to champion the cause of freedom throughout the Soviet bloc and throughout the world. We raise the cost of Soviet oppression and aggression not only by pressing for change within the Soviet Union but also by helping those struggling to break free of Soviet domination in other countries around the globe.

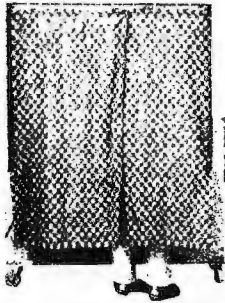
**Robertson:**

In any negotiation with the Soviets -- whether for trade, credit, arms reduction, or anything

else -- Pat Robertson would insist on absolute linkage with the observance of prior treaties, curtailment of international aggression, and improvements in the status of human rights throughout the Soviet sphere, especially with regard to the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate freely.

**Simon:**

The nuclear arms race has brought us to a point where we have no alternative but to work for peace with the Soviets. This does not mean turning a blind eye to Soviet human-rights abuses, adventurism in Afghanistan, and other misdeeds. To the contrary, only in the context of negotiations can we influence the Soviets to end abuses in these areas.



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**Question 4—How would your Administration pursue the related goals of strengthening democracy and democratic institutions around the world, and promoting international human rights standards and compliance with them?**

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**Babbitt:**

We must have a foreign policy which reflects our own highest values: human rights, social justice, and political freedom. Our own leverage varies, and so do the circumstances of other nations, but our unyielding rule must be that we shall do everything we truly can to support positive social change around the world.

It is important to recognize that democracy, and democratic institutions, are already on the march, because ultimately they represent the aspirations of every man and woman for simple human freedom. In Paraguay two years ago -- one of the last remaining dictatorships in this hemisphere -- General Stroessner shut down a radio station, and a young girl wrote to object. I will never forget what she said: "You can kill one rose, you can kill two roses, you can kill three roses, but you cannot stop the spring from coming."

**Bush:**

I have visited the Afghani refugee camps in Pakistan and have seen firsthand the tragedies resulting from Soviet occupation. I fully support aid to Savimbi and reconciliation between the warring factions in Angola and an end to the massive Cuban presence there. In Nicaragua, the freedom fighters must be supported until it is clear the current peace proposal can lead to genuine democracy. And in the past seven years, we have worked to persuade South Africa to eliminate apartheid. We have pressed for a one-person, one-vote, multiracial democracy. To this end, we have encouraged dialogue between the government and representative leaders of all other racial groups. The U.S. program for a political settlement includes setting a timetable for ending apartheid, releasing all political prisoners, unbanning black political movements, and releasing Nelson Mandela. We also implemented the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. We must continue to use diplomacy for constructive change. And I believe our constant pressure and attention to human rights in the Soviet Union has brought about the recent surge in emigration. This is a positive development which we must encourage. What we want for the Soviet people and for the people of

Eastern Europe are the same basic freedoms that we take for granted every day in the United States -- the right to speak and assemble and worship freely.

**Dole:**

There are three keys to a successful policy on expanding the frontiers of democracy and the observance of human rights around the world. First, we must never forget that the concepts of democracy and human rights are central to our own system; and they must remain central goals of our foreign policy. Second, we must be consistent to be credible. We must oppose oppression of both the Left and Right; we must condemn human-rights violations whether they occur in the Americas, in Africa, in Asia, or behind the Iron Curtain. Finally, we must keep in mind that it is easy to condemn, but much harder to do something constructive. We should never lose sight of the fact that our goal is to actually change for the better, not just make ourselves feel better through moral posturing. I want -- and will have -- a policy that will get things -- good things -- done.

**Dukakis:**

American foreign policy should reflect American values. We are a nation that believes in world peace and in justice and opportunity for all peoples everywhere, whether in Central America or South Africa or the Philippines or South Korea. If we are going to demonstrate the kind of international leadership that we should, we must base that leadership on a credible and consistent foreign policy that reflects who we are and what we believe in. The simple fact is that it is not in our long-term strategic national interests to interlock our own future with that of dictators and military regimes that suppress basic human rights and democratic aspirations within their own nations. The United States should use its diplomatic and economic leverage to firmly press for the strengthening of democratic values and institutions throughout the world, and we should seek to address and eliminate those social and economic conditions that undermine the success of efforts at democracy.

The United States must also challenge the Soviet leadership to live up to its rhetoric on human rights and arms reductions, and we must oppose Soviet interference in the internal affairs of other nations, either directly as in Afghanistan or indirectly through the use of client states such as Cuba.

**Du Pont:**

The opportunity for freedom in the world has never been greater than it is today. The political and economic failings of totalitarian communism are self-evident, and democracy demonstrably is on the march all over the world. America is on the side of history, facing a unique opportunity to foster the spread of economic and political freedom. But we will realize that opportunity only if we move together as a nation on a path consistent with our national heritage.

First, *base foreign policy on American values*. Our society is based on economic and political freedom, on the sovereignty of the individual over the state, on opportunity and on hope. No policy that fails to provide hope for a better future, or that supports statism over the individual, can ever win the long-term support of the American people.

Second, *when appropriate, do not be afraid to explain U.S. policy in terms of U.S. interests.* Fostering freedom and opportunity abroad is a legitimate objective, but so is protecting the security of the United States. Thus, for example, we should not be coy or apologetic about saying that an increased Soviet presence in South America would threaten U.S. security and that we will take the actions necessary to prevent the establishment of a Soviet beachhead there.

Third, *enunciate clear policies and stick by them.* Our policy with respect to terrorists was the right policy: We don't sell arms to terrorists, and we don't trade weapons for hostages. Violating -- or at least appearing to violate -- those policies was a mistake, and we must rectify it as quickly as possible by stating unambiguously what our policy is.

Fourth, *be consistent.* If America is to stand for freedom and opportunity, it must be for freedom and opportunity everywhere. Our recent actions to bring about change in the Philippines and Haiti, for example, have shown that we can be on the side of freedom against nominally pro-Western dictators as well as against communists.

Fifth, *be realistic in word as well as in deed.* Consider, for example, the idea that arms-reduction agreements can give us a world free of nuclear weapons. It's an appealing notion. Unfortunately, today's nuclear weapons are so compact and easily transported that a complete ban on nuclear weapons would be virtually *impossible* to verify.

Instead, the only realistic way of reducing -- and eventually eliminating -- nuclear weapons is to reduce and eliminate the incentives to build them, which we can do only by building an effective defense against them.

Sixth, *where it is necessary to use covert operations -- and it some times is -- they must be consistent with stated American policy and, therefore, capable of withstanding public scrutiny if revealed.* The attempt to rescue American hostages in 1979 is an example of a covert operation which, even though it failed, was consistent with our overall foreign policy. Obviously, covertly trading arms for hostages is not consistent with our policy.

Gephardt:

I believe that we must return principle and pragmatism to our foreign policy. I intend to be a president with pride in American principles -- one who follows them in deeds as well as words. Ours is a nation founded upon democracy, individual rights, and economic opportunity. And if those values are worth fighting and dying for, then they are also worthy guides for foreign policy. There have been those who argue that the only way to deal with our enemies is to become like them. But that only means we have to conduct the battle on our opponent's ground and not our own. There are some who have scoffed at human rights as policy. They have forgotten that there is power in principle -- and that America's best line of defense is that we can be the best hope on earth. Democratic allies, with strong democratic institutions, are real friends in a dangerous world, and it enhances our security to encourage and support them. A Gephardt administration will be guided by the recognition that when we stand for equal rights at home and human rights abroad we truly demonstrate our power.



**Gore:**

As a nation with our own revolutionary tradition and deep-felt commitment to democracy, the United States has a special responsibility to be at the forefront of the global struggle for freedom. We must oppose tyranny of the Right as well as of the Left, in South Africa and Chile no less than Poland and Cuba. We also must move beyond eleventh-hour efforts of trying to affect change only when a revolutionary crisis already is upon us, and instead apply ourselves to more sustained efforts at building the infrastructure of democracy. In addition to government-to-government efforts, this means supporting political parties, trade unions, the press, and those other groups and institutions which are the social and political foundations for building democracy. This also means dealing with poverty, debt, and other economic problems which risk destabilizing fragile democracies unless progress can be made. In short, we must practice preemptive diplomacy.

**Haig:**

The United States remains the leader of the Western world in promoting compliance with international human-rights standards. A fundamental premise underlying this belief is that a nation's citizens have the freedom to work, live, pray, travel, and in general to determine their own lives.

**Jackson:**

I believe American foreign policy should be based on our support for democracy and human rights. Dr. Martin Luther King said that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere; we should add that we must measure human rights everywhere by one yardstick. By listening only for reflexive anticommunism, we find ourselves too often supporting repressive dictatorships that cannot command the support of their people.

That is not in our short- or long-term national interest. Instead of concentrating on exporting helicopter gunships, we should concentrate on exporting the best the United States has to offer the world out of its traditions and culture -- democracy, human rights, education, economic and technological development.

I strongly supported the work of Assistant Secretary of State Pat Derrian in the Carter administration for the example she set of effectively promoting human rights as part of overall policy. Future administrations should live up to the same standard.

**Kemp:**

We must recognize not only the special blessings, but also the special responsibilities of freedom. Freedom involves a price, but that price is never as high as the loss of freedom. When we retrenched in the 1970s, increasingly turning our backs on the principles and the defense of freedom, ten countries toppled into the Soviet bloc. The Soviets expanded their empire; our allies hedged their bets; subversion and terrorism exploded.

Since we have rebuilt our strength and refocused our principles in recent years, ten countries have become free from dictatorship, and within the noncommunist world others are making

progress in that direction. We must do all we can to work for compliance with the Helsinki Act's human-rights provisions throughout the Soviet bloc, including placing human rights at the top of any U.S.-Soviet summit agenda and reflecting it appropriately in our trade policy. Around the globe, we should help those seeking freedom, including providing diplomatic, economic, and appropriate military assistance to the freedom fighters in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Cambodia. Our future as a civilization will hinge on whether we care enough, and do enough, to put freedom first.

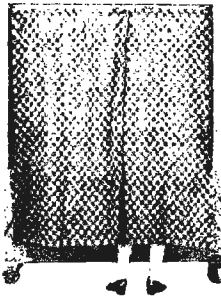
In addition to a vigorous U.S. government policy for the expansion of freedom, I strongly support the inspired work of nongovernment groups that are active in the human-rights movement. The International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union, the National Conference and the Union of Councils on Soviet Jewry, AIPAC, the AJC, CREED, and Amnesty International are among the groups whose members are dedicated to protecting fundamental human rights. The people who make this their life's work are making a vital contribution to human rights and the growth of freedom.

**Robertson:**

Pat Robertson favors a plan of targeted economic development and expanded trade to help promote ongoing democratic practices in regions such as Central America. He believes that by doing away with poverty and injustice, we can remove the cause of unrest and communist agitation, laying the foundation for long-range democratic stability and development.

**Simon:**

The present administration has created an impression that strengthening democracy and fighting for human rights are contradictory goals. This is an impossible and self-defeating dilemma. We cannot simply be against communism. We must present oppressed peoples in the world with a better alternative. A Simon administration would make human rights an issue again, would put American muscle behind compliance to international human rights on the part of our friends, and would not ignore abuses on the part of the Eastern bloc countries. I would also fight for sanctions against the apartheid system in South Africa.



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**Question 5—What would be your Administration's approach to combating state-sponsored and other forms of international terrorism?**

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**Babbitt:**

We must begin with a pledge to let our heads rule our hearts. We must never again trade anything of value for a hostage, even if that means that an innocent man or woman may not be coming home. And we must keep our frustration and anguish as quiet and far out of sight as possible. We cannot prevent every terrorist outrage, but we can deter them and we can punish them. If a nation is killing Americans and holding Americans against their will, then that nation must pay a price.

**Bush:**

In 1985, I headed the Task Force on Combating Terrorism and I made my views clear: Terrorism is a threat to our national security. As president, I will fight it with every legal means. Countries that sponsor terrorism have to face the consequences; and our retaliation against Libya is a good example. A Bush administration will make no concession to terrorists. The only way to decrease terrorist threats is by making no concessions; pay no ransoms; release no prisoners; give in to no demands. There can be no question where we stand in that regard, and we must encourage our allies to take up the same position.

**Dole:**

Our terrorism policy must start with this clear and unequivocal proposition: no negotiations or deals with terrorists, period.

We must keep our guard up -- and devote whatever resources are necessary to provide reasonable security for Americans and American facilities overseas. We must also be prepared to strike back at terrorists, when they can be identified and isolated -- our aim should be: no safe haven, anywhere. As one needed step, I think we need to update the 1973 War Powers Resolution, to insure that the president does have the unquestioned authority to strike at terrorists, without unduly jeopardizing either our armed forces or any hostages held by terrorists. I have already proposed legislation to achieve that end.

Finally, we need to forge a much more effective international regime to deal with the international threat of terrorism. As a first step, I would reiterate my call for a special summit of Allied leaders, devoted exclusively to terrorism, and aimed at forging common understandings, good communications, and cooperative policies and programs to deal with terrorism.

**Dukakis:**

The next president must be tough and strong and effective in the fight against international terrorism. Terrorism is not a political issue; it's a law-enforcement issue. It requires first-rate police work; good intelligence; good international cooperation; tough penalties; and a firm policy of no concessions to those who commit or sponsor terrorist acts.

**Du Pont:**

There is no area in which the United States can benefit more from Israel's experience than in our efforts to cope with international terrorism. Who better than Israel is equipped to deal with terrorism in all its forms? Cooperation and coordination with Israel should be the rule for U.S. actions to defeat terrorism.

**Gephardt:**

We must not abandon our values or principles when we are confronted by terrorists. The United States should never, I repeat, never trade arms for hostages. History, and our recent experiences, demonstrate dramatically that attempting to appease terrorists -- to sell arms to the Ayatollah -- only encourages further hostage taking or violent acts. We must deprive terrorists of their leverage by articulating a policy of not giving in to their demands, and implementing that policy strictly. Once it becomes clear that our government and the American people will not be held hostage, we remove the political leverage and the incentive for this terrorism.

We must do more than "declare war" on terrorism. We must develop capabilities, the manpower and the tactics to win. This includes applying economic and diplomatic pressure to punish outlaw nations who harbor and even train terrorists. On the military level, we must develop a new antiterrorism strategy. We must make the new antiterrorism command in our armed services a major priority. Integrating the CIA, NSA, and the uniformed services, this command needs to shape new methods and marshal new resources to fight terrorism. We must also improve the sharing of intelligence and tactics with our allies. Terrorists need to be met by a solid front of opposition from the civilized world. No foreign terrorist group, including the PLO, should be given legal sanction or protection in the United States. For this reason I have supported the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 which seeks to close PLO operations in the United States.

**Gore:**

To combat terrorism, we must use force as necessary, as we did against Quaddafi in 1986. We must also apply diplomatic pressure, as we have against Syria. In addition, and on an ongoing basis, we must improve our intelligence capabilities overseas in order to monitor the

activities of known terrorist organizations, and to predict and prevent attacks before they occur. With our allies we must step up efforts to share information, improve security measures, and undertake joint antiterrorist operations. With the Soviet Union, as we consider the shape of a possible new relationship, we must demand in no uncertain terms that they cease their aid and support of international terrorism. In this regard I note that General Secretary Gorbachev has recently condemned terrorism as an evil and declared his readiness to combat it. I welcome such statements; we must test the General Secretary's willingness to take action. But what we must *not* do is sell arms to Iran or any other state which sponsors terrorism.

**Haig:**

Only the United States can lead a coalition of like-minded nations to eliminate the scourge of terrorism, the wars of national liberation, and Soviet-supported violence that threatens world peace. To do so, our leaders must understand the reality of the correlation of forces -- how to use all of our moral, spiritual, diplomatic, economic, and military assets to prevent war and deter Soviet expansionism.

**Jackson:**

There are no easy answers to this question; if there were, the nations of the world would be doing a better job of ending terrorism. However, I do think we can use two principles: ensuring that avenues of relief are available for groups or nations who feel aggrieved and implementing effective law-enforcement measures, which must include international cooperation.

**Kemp:**

Terrorism is an international problem and is a direct attack on the democracies of the West. However, the United States, Israel, and our NATO allies must lead the free nations in a concerted effort to pressure members of the League of Terror to cease their sponsorship and support of terrorism. We must fully expose the international terrorist network and its sponsors, including the Soviet Union. We should impede the terrorists' work on U.S. soil by closing down the PLO observation mission in New York, by tightening federal penalties against terrorist acts, and by strengthening our antiterrorist intelligence and techniques. Congress should enact the International Convention against Taking of Hostages and the Montreal Convention to protect against sabotage of civilian aircraft. We must hold states responsible for training, supplying, or harboring of terrorists and those who support them. The price of getting caught and punished should be so high that terrorist groups will no longer view violent acts to innocent people as a viable way to meet their political goals. We must find the moral courage to take preventive action as well as for effective and appropriate retribution when terrorist acts are perpetrated.

**Robertson:**

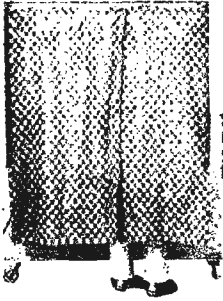
Pat Robertson favors strengthening the Delta Strike Force to move against terrorists anywhere in the world. He considers terrorism a form of war and would make it clear to perpetrators that the United States would hunt down terrorists and retaliate for actions

taken against our civilians.

**Simon:**

My antiterrorism policy will be straightforward. First, we need to work even closer with friendly intelligence services and share more information. We have to provide for better embassy security and assist friendly governments in their fight against terrorism. And we need to invest in new counterterrorism research and development. Airport security in particular will benefit from this kind of research.

We should also cut off trade and isolate countries found guilty of sponsoring terrorists. Countries like Syria, Iran, and Libya. When these or other governments are found to support terrorism, we ought to take firm action. This should include freezing of financial assets or use of any number of economic tools as leverage. At home, stiff penalties have to be meted out to convicted terrorists.



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**Question 6—What are the appropriate strategies for the United States to mount in helping to bring about an end to apartheid in South Africa and the creation of a democratic government?**

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**Babbitt:**

In South Africa it is time for a policy of "constructive confrontation" -- a policy which refuses normal political and economic relations with a government based on invidious distinctions of race. Our goal must be not only the formal abolition of apartheid but an actual transfer of power to the democratic majority of South Africans, on the basis of one person, one vote. I support some form of American diplomatic liaison with the principal representative groups in South Africa today -- including the African National Congress (ANC) and the trade union congress (COSATU) -- provided that they are prepared to negotiate in good faith for a transition to democracy.

**Bush:**

South Africa's location at the tip of Africa has great strategic significance, and South Africa has large reserves of minerals which are vitally important to the West.

The United States must balance its strategic interest in a stable, pro-Western South Africa with the equally pressing political and moral imperative to change South Africa's apartheid system. The long-range political interests of the United States will only be served by the elimination of apartheid.

The passage of the 1986 Comprehensive Apartheid Act puts in place strong sanctions against South Africa and sets conditions for their removal. Unfortunately, the political and economic effects of the sanctions have been marginal to negative: we believe the South African government has made little progress in dismantling apartheid and black South Africans have been set back economically.

In addition, we have supported practical programs which seem to build and strengthen the black South African community politically and economically and are the key to a peaceful power-sharing in South Africa.



While I believe that U.S. policy in the past seven years has made progress, fresh initiatives should acknowledge new realities and focus clearly on the central issue of political change in South Africa. We should encourage the development of strong, democratic black political institutions to aid in the peaceful transition to majority rule. American trade unions, religious groups, and other groups should work with their South African counterparts to help develop such democratic institutions.

**Dole:**

We start by making clear that there is no one -- no one -- in this country who supports or has any sympathy for the apartheid system. Americans are united in this demand: that apartheid be dismantled, and that the process start in earnest right now.

We send that message best if we can speak in a single united voice. That is why -- after voting for the 1986 South Africa Sanctions Bill -- I urged the president to accept its most effective provisions; and when the president made that commitment to me, I worked to sustain his veto of the bill. I was convinced then, and remain convinced now, that the president and Congress, working together, could have more effect inside South Africa than if we worked on separate, sometimes contentious tracks.

Where do we go from here? We make sure the sanctions we have already imposed are working the way we want them to -- to pressure the white power structure to move toward democracy; and are not just hurting the very blacks they were crafted to help. We impose no additional sanctions until we are sure the ones we have already put in place make sense. We pursue a vigorous diplomacy -- directed at three targets: urging South African whites to democratize; reaching out to and strengthening blacks who want to see the speedy and peaceful end of apartheid; and seeking international cooperation in a strategy that will maximize our influence, and minimize violence inside South Africa. And, diplomatically, we should also be ready to lend our good offices to facilitate dialogue -- and hopefully negotiations -- between South African blacks and whites who truly want to see democracy established in their country.

**Dukakis:**

I believe that America can play a meaningful role in promoting the cause of peace and human rights in South Africa. But we must make our opposition to apartheid crystal clear, and take firm measures to demonstrate the depth of our concerns for the future of that nation.

Specifically, as president, I would toughen economic and diplomatic pressure in support of rapid and peaceful change and seek multilateral agreement with our allies for a more comprehensive trade embargo against South Africa; encourage the development of nonracial leadership committed to a peaceful transition to political and social equality; call for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; and support the holding of internationally sponsored all-party negotiations (including the African National Congress) for the abolition of apartheid and the creation of a constitutional, nonracial democracy committed to respect for the political and economic rights of all South Africans.

**Du Pont:**

First, I do not support the ANC, which even the State Department admits is dominated by Communists, and which recently admitted it gets funding from the Soviets. An ANC victory in South Africa would be disastrous for the South African people and if I thought the sanctions would weaken the South African government in its struggle against the ANC, I could not have supported them.

At the same time, I do believe the United States must be consistent in its support for freedom, in Afghanistan, in Nicaragua, in Mozambique and Angola and anywhere else in the world where people struggle against tyranny. Reasonable people can disagree on this, but my judgment, after much thought and study, was that South Africa has not moved away from apartheid as quickly as it could have, and the United States has an obligation -- to ourselves and our own principles as well to the people of South Africa -- to indicate forcefully our support for progress.

Recent developments in South Africa, including the proposed Indaba Constitution being pushed by Chief Buthelezi, suggest that some progress is still being made. We ought to encourage these developments, and we ought to be as willing with the carrot as with the stick. Certainly we ought not do anything to encourage further disinvestment, which threatens to remove some of the positive influence U.S. companies have had in bringing about greater progress.

**Gephardt:**

As president, it would be my policy to create a climate for a negotiated democratic solution by asking the South African government to: end the state of emergency in South Africa; release Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned black leaders; establish a timetable for ending apartheid; allow all South African citizens to form political parties and participate freely in a nonracial democratic political process; and end South African military actions against its neighbors. As part of this formula, it would be my goal to encourage the African National Congress to suspend violence and participate in negotiations toward a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

Toward this end, I strongly supported the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa. We need a comprehensive approach to this issue that includes United Nations sanctions. We need to send the loudest, clearest economic message to our allies, and to South Africa, that change must occur. The override of President Reagan's veto and the imposition of limited sanctions was a historic step. Congress demonstrated the leadership that we should have had from the White House.

But I support tougher sanctions. I support the House-passed legislation, by Congressman Ron Dellums, with the support of Congressman Bill Gray. That is the right approach. That bill prohibited U.S. investment in South Africa, prohibited imports and exports from South Africa, prohibited landing rights of South African aircraft, and prohibited the importation of Krugerrands. This is how a Gephardt administration would start to assert American leadership and bring meaningful economic pressure on the government of South Africa.

Gore:

Our central objective in South Africa must be to facilitate a peaceful end to apartheid and its replacement with democratic black-majority rule. As part of that effort I strongly supported the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. The abject failure of the Reagan administration's policy, more appropriately characterized as "destructive disengagement," made it incumbent on Congress to take the initiative. In imposing limited economic sanctions we sought both to make a moral statement and to pressure the South African government to begin dismantling apartheid. Further efforts may be necessary, both in terms of additional sanctions and especially a more activist diplomatic strategy. While I do not totally agree with either the views or practices of the African National Congress (ANC), and I categorically reject the proposal made by one of my opponents to give the ANC military aid, it is unrealistic to think that the ANC can be excluded from the process of shaping the political future of South Africa. Even the present administration has taken cautious steps to bring the ANC into the process. The next administration must make much more concerted efforts both to encourage the ANC to pursue peaceful rather than violent means of change, and to get the South African government to end its intransigence.

Haig:

I abhor apartheid, a system which must offend the sensibilities of those who care about the human condition. But the issue today is not whether apartheid will change in South Africa -- it is changing already -- but only the way in which we encourage that change.

I have opposed economic sanctions because they harm the very people they are designed to help. They reduce an American presence that has already set standards of racial progress, and they encourage extremism on both sides. Instead, Western nations should be working with leaders like Chief Buthelezi and others to promote a rapid and peaceful movement away from apartheid. The African National Congress, with its heavily Marxist and pro-Soviet orientation, should not be seen as the only alternative to the present system.

Jackson:

I applaud the current efforts by the U.S. Congress to increase pressure on the apartheid regime of South Africa. At the same time we must pay more attention to the rest of the continent, especially to the frontline states which must live on the borders of South Africa and are constantly menaced by it. In no area is the need for change more urgent than in our relations with the sovereign states in southern Africa. We need a new policy.

Our government cannot continue to define "democracy" as majority rule in North America and then pervert this definition to support minority rule in South Africa. We can help support the development of truly democratic government within South Africa by working to isolate the current regime politically and economically. We should, at the same time, be building a relationship with the true majority, and future leaders, of South Africa. We must abandon the short-sighted and immoral policies of the Reagan administration which have contributed to this tragedy.

**Kemp:**

It should be U.S. policy to encourage the peaceful and total end of the evil practice of apartheid in South Africa, but I believe this objective is hurt rather than helped by economic sanctions and disinvestment. In 1986, I voted in favor of the Conference Report on the Anti-Apartheid Bill, which involved the limited sanction of applying the "Sullivan Principles" to all businesses in South Africa. However, judging from the record in South Africa, sanction and disinvestment will hurt blacks most and will only contribute to poverty, violence, anarchy, and a Marxist takeover.

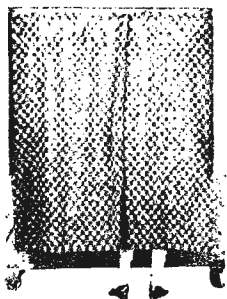
We should do all we can to build up the peaceful prodemocratic forces working against apartheid in South Africa, both in and out of the government, and particularly in the black community, making the most of our limited presence there. And to provide perspective on South African human-rights issues, we should highlight U.S. concerns about human rights in other parts of Africa, as in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique.

**Robertson:**

Pat Robertson opposes apartheid in South Africa, and favors a policy of "assertive engagement" that pressures the government in Pretoria to initiate reform, while expanding the involvement of U.S. business, education, and cultural resources in the black community. He favors working for peace through moderate black leaders such as the Kwazulu leader, Chief Buthelezi.

**Simon:**

I am in favor of economic sanctions against the system of apartheid. U.S. sanctions put pressure on the South African government and bring U.S. policy in line with the quest for a nonracial democracy. Current sanctions are the first phase in a process to apply increasing pressure on the apartheid government. But unilateral sanctions are not enough. I would also work for greater cooperation with our allies so that sanctions can have maximum impact.



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**Question 7—Many believe that America's increasing dependency on foreign oil ultimately could constitute a grave danger to national security and an onerous burden on the economy. What policy measures would you advocate now to help ensure America's energy security in the future, and what do you see as the respective roles for government and the private sector?**

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**Babbitt:**

For the last seven years we have not had an energy policy. The current administration has reduced auto fuel-efficiency standards and drastically reduced our investment in renewable fuels, and as a result we have lost a valuable opportunity to strengthen our long-term energy security.

As president, I would put energy back on the national agenda and create a lasting policy to reduce our dependence on imported oil and meet our energy needs for the future. To do that, I would: (1) initiate a conservation program to increase energy efficiency, including tough standards for transportation, utilities, and appliances; (2) provide stable and strong support for research and development of renewable energy resources; and (3) take steps to revitalize our domestic oil industry, including the repeal of the windfall-profits tax, which discourages investment in domestic exploration and production.

**Bush:**

One important factor in spreading prosperity in this country has been an abundant energy supply at reasonable prices. Energy security is fundamental to the national security. The best way to keep it is to continue freeing the energy market from burdensome regulation. For example, it's high time we decontrolled natural-gas prices, abolished the windfall-profits tax, and proceeded with our plan for outer-continental-shelf leasing -- with environmental safeguards. We must not increase the taxes on oil. I oppose the oil-import fee.

At the same time, I will encourage alternative sources of energy, including ethanol from corn and methanol made from natural gas, to reduce our dependence on foreign oil and to help reduce air pollution. I will see to it that we have abundant energy supplies and preserve the

environment at the same time.

**Dole:**

First, I should point out that it's high time to implement a national energy policy directed toward energy independence. I could support an import fee under the right circumstances. However, it would be politically difficult to enact unless we had another drop in prices.

There are a number of other areas that could be addressed, especially in the tax laws. These include repealing the so-called windfall-profits tax, repeal of the property-transfer rule, expanding the definition of stripper wells and increasing the percentage depletion allowance on this oil. In addition, increasing the percentage of income against which the depletion allowance could be deducted would create substantially more investment income.

**Dukakis:**

We must take strong action to reduce our vulnerability to disruptions in supplies of imported oil. We have been lulled into a false sense of security by the recent low price of oil, and have lost a valuable opportunity to promote energy self-sufficiency.

In the short run, the federal government should fill our Strategic Petroleum Reserve and we should seek closer ties with a wide variety of oil-supplying nations, including nations such as Mexico and Venezuela that are not threatened by Middle Eastern turmoil.

Over the longer term, I believe that the answer to our dependence on imported oil must lie in a strong national effort to promote a healthy oil and gas industry, to develop and promote a broad range of environmentally sound alternative energy sources, and to increase our energy efficiency and conservation.

Today, energy efficiency and conservation are the most cost-effective and the most easily implemented energy-supply options available, and must be at the top of any priority list. The development of renewable-energy technologies must also be accorded a very high priority, including the development and promotion of ethanol, as well as solar, wind, and small hydro power. And while we should seek ways to reduce our overall reliance on fossil fuels, we should also seek ways to increase use of natural gas, methanol, and "clean coal," with improved scrubber technologies, as part of our overall effort to increase our energy self-sufficiency while preserving and protecting the natural environment.

**Du Pont:**

Preserving America's energy independence requires that we maintain a healthy domestic oil and gas industry as part of an overall energy picture that includes coal, hydroelectric, nuclear, and renewable energy sources.

The best thing we can do for the domestic oil industry, and for our overall energy independence, is to continue the process of deregulation begun by President Reagan. A significant step was taken recently, for example, when the president signed legislation repealing the Fuel Use Act. Now we need to repeal the windfall-profits tax. Others believe

that we should return to the days of Jimmy Carter -- regulating prices, raising taxes, imposing "fees," subsidizing some forms of energy over others, etc. I'm opposed to these big-government solutions, which would only slow economic growth and hurt all Americans.

Our vulnerability to interruptions of foreign-oil supplies has been reduced substantially by the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR). We ought to continue filling the SPR, while exploring ways to ensure that it will be used wisely in a crisis. One way of accomplishing this would be to sell "futures contracts" on the oil in the reserve, which would allow it to be released gradually and systematically should oil supplies ever be cut off.

**Gephardt:**

I have been a supporter of the oil-import fee since 1980 because I believe it is an important step we can take to revitalize our domestic oil industry and put us back on the road to energy independence. I believe we need to look at other policies and programs that will help to increase our energy reserves and energy production in this country.

I know an oil-import fee is not popular in some parts of the country, but I believe it's the right thing to do -- for *all* of America.

We cannot afford economically, socially, or militarily to allow our dependence on foreign oil to remain at present levels. The current situation in the Persian Gulf is a crisis just waiting to happen. We also face twin deficits of historic proportions: the federal budget deficit and the trade deficit. An oil-import fee will help to make a down payment on reducing our federal budget deficit. At the same time, it will help to reduce oil imports, which have already contributed \$26.6 billion to this year's trade deficit.

**Gore:**

Our energy security has four principal dimensions. First, we must limit the share of our oil markets held by foreign suppliers. The best way to do this is to help the domestic oil industry get back on track. Toward that end, among other steps, I supported a repeal of the windfall-profits tax. That tax was justified when originally passed, but has outlived its usefulness. Second, we must continue filling the Strategic Petroleum Reserve as insurance against the possibility of another oil crisis. To do this by increasing purchases of domestically produced oil would serve two objectives at once. Third, we must assure that the foreign-oil supply on which we do rely is a reliable one. In general this means continuing to diversify our suppliers to include non-OPEC countries such as Mexico and Canada. Assuring a reliable oil supply also is one of the reasons I have supported the reflagging of Kuwaiti oil tankers. By defending the freedom of the seas and containing Iranian aggression, we have helped keep world oil markets steady despite the Iran-Iraq war. Fourth, we must be careful not to lapse back into complacency about our consumption habits. Energy-conservation measures must continue to be pressed. We also must renew our commitment to developing cost-effective alternative energy sources.

**Haig:**

There has been a direct correlation between the decreasing price of world oil and the



increase in American oil imports and reduced efforts to discover new sources of domestic energy. I fear we have grown complacent about the energy issue.

We must ensure that the Strategic Petroleum Reserve is at capacity. We should consider changes in our tax and regulatory systems to make sure that sufficient capital is available for energy exploration.

In addition, we need to coordinate emergency energy strategies with our Western allies. The lesson of past emergencies is that a failure to cooperate hurts everyone.

**Jackson:**

While others are seeking security through military adventurism I have advocated a policy for energy independence which includes greater cooperation among the energy producers within this hemisphere -- the United States, Canada, Mexico, Venezuela. My national energy policy rests on three points: the Pan-American Energy Security Alliance; the development of our energy resources in a way that alleviates the economic situation of the southwest; and, as a last resort, a temporary oil-import fee.

As the most economically powerful neighbor in the Western Hemisphere, we hold the key to peace and stability in the region. This plan will strengthen the economies of our neighbors, as well as that of the American southwest, and lessen our dependence on foreign oil. The development of the Western Hemisphere's resources in a coordinated and mutually beneficial way, coupled with the concerted development of U.S. energy sources and promotion of energy conservation, will provide a stable energy base for the entire hemisphere.

**Kemp:**

We need to do much more to help revitalize the domestic energy industry and help make America less dependent on unstable foreign governments for its oil supplies. The production of energy in our nation is a national-security issue as well as a domestic concern. I have proposed more incentives for the exploration and development of our oil and gas resources, including the repeal of the windfall-profits tax, the deregulation of natural gas, the expansion of the definition of intangible drilling costs associated with exploration, and the elimination of burdensome federal regulations which distort our energy markets.

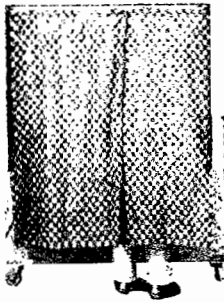
**Robertson:**

Pat Robertson wants the United States to become energy independent. He favors development of various sources of domestic energy so that American will not be subject to blackmail by OPEC or other foreign nations. He believes the government should provide incentives to spur development of domestic energy by the private sector.

**Simon:**

I share this concern, and am deeply worried that we are quickly returning to a dangerous level of dependence on imported oil. Although we may be doing better regarding the portion of our imported oil that comes directly from OPEC countries, the president's willingness to

risk deeper military involvement in the Iran-Iraq war is evidence of our dependence. We need to lessen our dependence on oil -- regardless of the source -- through development of domestic supplies and new renewable technologies. I have begun to address one aspect of this problem in the Senate, by authoring a bill that would replace a significant portion of our gasoline with ethanol. Motor fuel is the point at which we are most publicly vulnerable, and where we clearly need to make progress.



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**Question 8—What principles should guide future U.S. immigration and refugee policy, and what specific measures would ease the acculturation process for immigrants and refugees and the communities that receive them?**

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**Babbitt:**

The principal failing of our recent immigration reform has been its tendency to divide families. This is unconscionable in an allegedly humanitarian amnesty program. I believe that we should amend the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 to make all undocumented alien members of a family eligible for residency if one member is eligible.

Our refugee policy has been distorted in recent years by the tendency of interest groups to seek block treatment of migrants based on country of origin, for example El Salvador or Poland. I do not believe that all nationals of any given country should be treated alike for purposes of refugee status. They are a diverse group of people who have left their homelands for widely differing reasons. All of them deserve our compassion. Those who have fled political persecution deserve refugee status -- with all the rights and privileges that such status implies. The problem with current refugee policy is not that we lack the legal mechanisms needed for a compassionate policy, but that the Reagan administration interprets them too narrowly.

To help immigrant children in their transition to American society, we must continue to support the bilingual-education and English-as-a-second-language programs. In Arizona we have a successful program which is geared to making students proficient in English as quickly as possible. Rather than forcing non-English speakers to languish as they struggle with a new language, Arizona's program allows them to be taught in their native tongue for a short period of transition. As president I would strongly advocate such programs.

Beyond that, we must work to change people's attitudes, and to make Americans more tolerant and open to immigrants. Getting used to life in a new culture will always be difficult for immigrants, but we can certainly ease their transition by showing them compassion and respect.

**Bush:**

I favor an immigration policy that provides for the orderly movement of new Americans into

our economy. In that regard, our policy must be tough and fair. As the immigration reform act provides, we need to pursue an orderly process of legalization of those who have demonstrated commitment to long-term residence in this country. At the same time, to maintain control over immigration we must enforce sanctions against employers who hire illegal immigrants.

Our nation was built and has flourished as a haven for immigrants seeking greater political and religious freedom; and, especially more recently, for those seeking a chance to work in a free economy. As a result, the economy has flourished, as have the immigrants themselves. Today's immigrants are coming in large numbers from Mexico and our neighbors from the South. We must welcome them, as we have those who preceded them. As always, however, the inflow of immigrants must be orderly so that our economy and culture can properly assimilate the new citizens. For that reason, while we open the door wide to legal immigration, we must close the door to illegal immigration. The current legalization process is giving us a starting point to reinstitute order in immigration. We must move to assure that order is established and maintained.

**Dole:**

I supported the new immigration law, believing that it represents a balanced, humane approach to regaining control over our borders. This legislation took six years to enact. And it could take months or even years before we know how effective it will be.

America has been and is the world's melting pot. We have assimilated people from nearly every country in the world -- and done so, for the most part, without special federal programs.

The federal government has been, and I feel certain will continue to be involved in bilingual education, job training, and low-income-housing programs -- all of which help new American citizens.

But it is really up to us, to every American, through individual effort, through churches and synagogues, community organizations, and schools, to see to it that newcomers to this country are helped to become Americans.

**Dukakis:**

The United States has historically been a haven for persons fleeing from political and religious oppression in other nations. Although our willingness to receive such people has at times placed periodic economic or social strains on certain of our communities, over the long term America has benefited greatly from the talent and energies of those who have sought freedom and a better life for themselves and their families on our shores. As a child of immigrant parents who sought and found the American dream, I am committed to America's continued role as a haven of freedom for the oppressed peoples of the world.

**Du Pont:**

America's immigration policy should have three elements.

First, we must always be ready to welcome political refugees fleeing from communist or fascist oppression. The spectacle of Mirislav Medvid -- the Soviet sailor who was refused entry into the United States by our own State Department -- must never be repeated.

Second, we should always remember that we are a nation of immigrants. We have been and must remain a source of hope and a better life for -- as the famous passage on the Statue of Liberty reads -- "the tired, the poor, the huddled masses" who are willing to leave everything behind for a chance to build a better life in America.

Finally, we must enforce our borders and prosecute illegal immigration. There are over 12 million illegal immigrants living in the United States, a testament to the failure of our past immigration policies.

While I have grave reservations about its employer-sanction and amnesty provisions, I believe the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration law may be the best compromise possible. We need to keep a close eye on how the law is working, and be ready to make changes if needed, but for the present I think we ought to give it a chance.

Gephardt:

The United States is a nation of immigrants. We are a mosaic, blending together into a seamless fabric, while each maintaining our identity and culture. We have always opened our doors to those escaping political repression. This is a principle that will continue under a Gephardt administration. I supported the recent Immigration Reform Act. I remain concerned about the implementation of this law, and believe we need to closely monitor the rules and regulations of the Immigration Service to assure that it is consistent with our goals.

Gore:

The United States is a land of immigrants, and as such we must always be a place of refuge and opportunity. The recent immigration-reform law, which I supported, will make us better able to continue fulfilling this historic responsibility. While instituting these needed reforms, we must make absolutely sure that no American suffers discrimination or even suspicion because of his or her ancestry. We also must be sure to treat with compassion those refugees from political persecution already resident in the United States, and to keep our doors open to those who may be forced to flee to our shores in the future. As to acculturation, we must be both sensitive and helpful. For example, while we should continue to offer bilingual education in order to help ease the initial transition, we should seek to move students into English-speaking classes as rapidly as possible. The federal government also should work closely with state and local agencies, as well as with private and nonprofit groups, to deal more effectively with the social and economic aspects of transitioning to a new society.

Haig:

As the world's largest bastion of freedom and democracy, our open economic and social system attracts new citizens in ever-increasing numbers from all over the world.

The acculturation process of these new immigrants and refugees generally takes place within their local communities. Now, our federal Constitution and the Department of Justice provide certain protections. Consistent with the principle that government closest to the people operates best, the federal government should generally have little or no role in the assimilation process of new immigrants and legitimate refugees.

**Jackson:**

The principles on which our immigration policy is based must include compassion for those trying to reach us, responsibility for those already here -- especially the unemployed and underemployed -- and fair treatment for everyone, citizens and noncitizens alike. I am concerned that the provisions of the recent immigration bill enacted by Congress last year be carried out fairly and effectively. We must be especially sensitive to requests for asylum from those escaping oppression -- of the Right as well as of the Left.

To ease acculturation I support bilingual education, increased outreach and education at all levels, and community-based programs in which old and new Americans can learn from one another. The American Jewish Committee recommendations offer an excellent model.

**Kemp:**

I opposed the Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Reform and Control Act, because I believe that employer sanctions will burden small business and invite discrimination. America is a nation of immigrants, and we need to maintain a generous immigration and refugee policy to assist those who seek to come to our nation to build a future of freedom and opportunity for themselves and their families. We must be especially open to those refugees who seek a haven in America from political oppression and religious persecution.

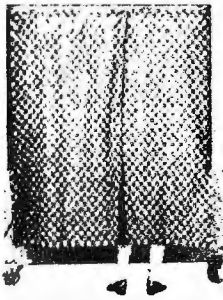
**Robertson:**

Position statement on this is in process.

**Simon:**

The new immigration bill is an important first step. It recognizes that a major priority of immigration reform is to address the problem of millions of illegal aliens already residing in this country. In addition, we need to recognize that many factors affect immigration. A key ingredient of our policy must be to help stabilize the economies in Latin America. On the question of refugees, I think that we should stand ready to accept genuine political refugees whether they are fleeing communist aggression or the abuses of right-wing regimes.

Language is the main barrier to acculturating new immigrants and refugees. I oppose the English-language movement because it cuts new Americans out of the democratic process and creates tension between immigrants and the communities that receive them. In fact, immigrants want to learn English but can't because the programs set up to teach them are grossly underfunded. A better solution is the English Proficiency Act, which provides funding for adult English programs. I am an original cosponsor of this act.



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**Question 9—What is your reaction to Jefferson's declaration that the establishment clause of the constitution was intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and state," as well as its relevance to contemporary issues such as aid to parochial schools and prayer in the public schools?**

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**Babbitt:**

I support neither aid to parochial schools nor organized prayer in public schools, for the fundamental reason that the state has no business entangling itself in any form of religion.

**Bush:**

America was founded as, remains, and will always be a "nation under God." The values religion imparts are reflected in our Constitution and in our daily lives, and I believe strongly that morality and ethics must always stand at the center of American society and government. "One nation under God" belongs in the Pledge of Allegiance. "In God We Trust" belongs on our currency.

America is a land of religious pluralism, and this is one of our society's great strengths. We must be tolerant of all religious beliefs and nonbeliefs. Harsh experience taught our founding fathers that when one religious group obtains control of the political system it sometimes seeks to impose its views on others.

I believe in the separation of church and state. But although government should remain neutral toward particular religions, it need not remain neutral toward religious-based values that Americans support. I believe education is not only the teaching of facts and figures, but also of the values that make up our democratic way of life. We must teach values such as honesty, tolerance, decency, and democracy. These are values all Americans support. I favor truly voluntary prayer in school as an extension of our commitment to teaching values. I believe students should have the right, if they wish, for a momentary reflection, meditation, or prayer.

**Dole:**

I believe in a clear delineation between church and state. But I don't think that separation



precludes voluntary prayer in the schools, which I support. However, I respect and will fight for the rights of all peoples to practice their religion. The freedom of religion goes to the heart of American values. I strongly support the rights of minorities. And I would never back any action to impose a state-sponsored or -sanctioned prayer.

**Dukakis:**

Jefferson's view of the desirability of maintaining a wall of separation between church and state is as valid today as it was when he first pronounced it. Freedom of religious choice and worship is one of the cornerstones of our democracy, and must be protected and nurtured at all times. I oppose attempts to introduce religion in our public schools. I am opposed to tuition tax credits.

**Du Pont:**

The United States of America is not a country based upon nine unelected referees making the choices and making the rules of the game. That was settled 200 years ago. The people make the rules, usually through their elected representatives, sometimes more directly. Our Constitution vested most of the power to make policy and decisions in the two elected branches of government because the framers of the Constitution believed most strongly that decisions made by representatives freely chosen by people they represent would best serve all of our citizens. Legislators, they believed -- for all their foibles -- are better suited than the courts to address contentious issues, not because they are inherently more wise or more knowledgeable, but because they are more accountable to the people and have more flexibility in dealing with thorny issues. Statutes can incorporate special rules or exemptions to satisfy the distinct needs or desires of constituent groups. While not intellectually as tidy as we might all prefer, statutes allow many contending theories of public policy to emerge partially victorious, thus better at assuaging a host of political demands. Legislatures can grandfather, exempt, compromise and shade. Policy thereby evokes a way that avoids sharp breaks with the past that can often jeopardize community tranquility.

**Gephardt:**

The separation of church and state has served our nation well and there is no reason to change. I oppose education vouchers and tuition tax credits. I do not believe that we need formal worship exercises in public schools to enable children to pray.

**Gore:**

I am a firm believer in the strict separation of church and state. Thomas Jefferson's reflections on the Establishment Clause are as relevant today as they were two centuries ago. Recent attempts to put cracks in this wall are dangerous and must be met with firm opposition from both the legislative and judicial branches. For example, I have opposed the constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools as a violation of the Establishment Clause. I have also opposed legislation to grant tuition tax credits and vouchers for parochial-school education. Both programs if implemented would divert much-needed funds from our public-school system.

**Haig:**

Our country's great strength is the freedom we enjoy to live according to our own convictions, providing that does not impose on the rights of others. At the same time, those values which we call American are clearly born of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Because of this diversity of backgrounds, I do not believe in organized daily prayer in our public schools. I do support, however, a moment of silence for our students at the beginning of the school day. Another great strength of America is the diversity of our educational system. I believe that educational institutions sponsored by religious schools should enjoy equal tax credits with our public schools. These institutions provide outstanding educational programs often superior to our public schools. They offer an important alternative to parents wishing quality education to their children. In the final analysis, education is too important to be left only to the government.

**Jackson:**

I recognize that the Constitution of the United States erects a wall of separation between church and state. This separation has been in the best interest of our nation, sparing us the religious persecution Thomas Jefferson had in mind when writing this phrase. We need to remember our moral values in our lives and our communities; but we do not need to lower Mr. Jefferson's wall to do so.

**Kemp:**

I agree with Jefferson's declaration that the Constitution erects a "wall of separation" between church and state, and I believe this wall must be maintained. But freedom of religion does not mean freedom from religion. For most Jews and Christians the practice of their religious faith in America is the cornerstone for their lives, as it is the cornerstone of America's commitment to freedom and justice for all people. The right of every citizen to practice his or her faith without interference from the government must be upheld. I believe that a moment of silence at the beginning of a school day protects the diversity upon which our religious freedoms depend because it provides students with a dramatic and practical lesson in accepting differences of belief and ways of life -- lessons that will be important in their personal lives and in the upholding of the Judeo-Christian values so important to our democratic freedoms.

**Robertson:**

The phrase "wall of separation" was not the result of any scholarly investigation by Jefferson into the language and intent of the First Amendment. Rather, it derives from an offhand comment he made in a thank-you letter to the Danbury Baptist Association. As Justice Rehnquist wrote, nothing in the establishment clause of the First Amendment "requires government to be strictly neutral between religion and irreligion, nor does the Clause prohibit Congress or the States from pursuing legitimate secular ends through nondiscriminatory sectarian means." Rehnquist also wrote that "...no amount of repetition of historical errors in judicial opinions can make the errors true."

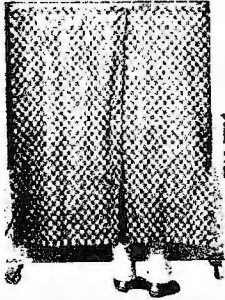
Pat Robertson believes with all his heart in religious freedom for all people. He believes that neither the government nor the church has any role or right to impose any type of sectarian belief on a free people. He supports voluntary prayer in the schools as a legitimate freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment. The House, Senate, and Supreme Court each begin their day with prayer. Yet the Court claims to have found a prohibition against children praying voluntarily in school. The Constitution does not distinguish between judges, legislators, and little children.

Pat Robertson strongly defends the rights of those who would choose not to participate in voluntary prayer. He does not, however, favor dismantling our entire tradition of public affirmation of faith in God held by the majority of people, in order to accommodate the views of the minority, who remain free to disagree.

**Simon:**

Jefferson's statement is part of a long history of separation of church and state in this country. This fundamental principle joins two interests: the respect for individual religious beliefs and customs of all individuals, and the responsibility of the family and church in religious instruction and observance. As president I would continue to support the separation of church and state.

One of the basic reasons private schools have been able to make the valuable contribution they have to our nation's history is that they have, within broad limitations set by state certification standards or teaching, been free to establish their curriculum without interference from the federal or state government. One thing is certain: federal aid in terms of tuition tax credits or vouchers would almost certainly bring some infection of federal control into the private schools. I don't believe they want that.



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**Question 10—What do you see as the appropriate role for the Federal government in enforcing civil rights statutes prohibiting discrimination, and what is your specific stance on affirmative action, pending legislation to overturn the impact of the *Grove City* decision, and pending strengthened federal fair housing federal legislation?**

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**Babbitt:**

I believe in strong and effective presidential leadership for no-excuses enforcement of our civil- and voting-rights laws. Right now we have a Justice Department which fights tooth and nail against every expansion of civil-rights protection and neglects its responsibilities to enforce the existing law. I came to politics in the civil-rights movement of the 1960s, and I did much of my work as a lawyer to advance that agenda. My administration will work vigorously -- in its appointments to and pleadings before the judiciary; in its executive regulations; and in its administrative enforcement -- to fight discrimination and protect the civil rights of all Americans.

I support the concept of affirmative action, and I believe that the federal government should be setting an example to the private sector -- through its own hiring practices and requirements to its contractors -- to encourage employers to actively recruit women and minorities.

I strongly support the unamended version of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, which would restore the coverage of the four major civil-rights laws prohibiting the federal funding of discrimination.

**Bush:**

Racial diversity is not a problem in America; but intolerance sometimes is. Respect for the other person, for who he is, where he comes from; respect and tolerance add up to the God-given concept of loving thy fellow man. We've come a long way in this country in terms of

overcoming racial prejudice. Sadly, incidents of racism still exist in America. But today, when racism rears its ugly head, someone is prepared to chop it off at the neck.

I remember earlier this year, what happened in Forsyth County, Georgia. The Ku Klux Klan was once again marching under its banner of hatred, racism, and divisiveness that is an outrage against all ethical behavior in this country. But one week after the KKK rally, another demonstration took place. This time, the forces for tolerance carried the day. This time 20,000 people descended on Forsyth County for the largest civil-rights rally in the south since Martin Luther King's funeral in 1968. The demonstrators were greeted by a large banner put up by the townspeople. It read: "Welcome to Forsyth County." And the demonstrators marched under their own banner of love, tolerance, liberty, and justice for all. They outnumbered the KKK followers, those insidious messengers of malice, by nearly 10 to 1.

**Dole:**

I believe there should be strong enforcement of all civil-rights statutes. Additionally, I have consistently supported legislation to overturn the *Grove City* decision, believing that it would permit schools which discriminate on the basis of sex to receive federal funds. Finally, I am in support of strengthening the Fair Housing Law and am particularly supportive of efforts to extend fair-housing protection to disabled Americans.

**Dukakis:**

I have a deep personal commitment to the enforcement of this country's civil-rights laws. Such enforcement will be a top priority of my administration. The present administration seems to think that it can pick and choose the laws that it will obey and enforce, and its behavior with respect to civil rights is a prime example. That kind of disrespect for the rule of law is unacceptable in our society, and my administration will vigorously enforce our civil-rights protections. I will appoint to federal positions concerned with civil-rights enforcement only individuals who are strongly committed to vigorous efforts on behalf of civil rights, and whose records reflect that commitment.

I support affirmative action. I also support the pending federal legislation to alter the law as laid down in the *Grove City* case, as well as strengthened federal laws ensuring nondiscrimination in housing.

**Du Pont:**

I am opposed to numerical quotas to remedy discrimination because they violate the very principles they are designed to uphold. Our policy must be to strive for a truly color-blind society. Quotas based on race directly violate that principle.

The record of the Supreme Court on these issues contains many errors. It has permitted individual judges to intervene in the management of individual school systems by implementing forced-busing programs, which are bad for students and bad for schools; it has failed to give clear guidance on questions of discrimination and reverse discrimination; and it has usurped the authority of the legislative branch by interpreting laws to fit the views of

the Court's liberal majority. In particular, the recent decisions in *St. Francis College v. Al-Khazraji* and *Shaare-Tefila Congregation v. Cobb*, permitting discrimination against non-minority groups, even in the absence of any evidence of previous discrimination against minorities, fly in the face of our civil-rights law and the Constitution itself. These decisions should be reversed, if necessary by legislation.

I support affirmative-action programs designed to increase the size of the applicant pool, especially where they are justified on the basis of past discrimination against the groups in question. In Delaware, for example, we undertook a very aggressive affirmative-action program to right imbalances in state employment patterns, and we achieved important results. I appointed the first minority individual and the first woman to cabinet posts in Delaware, and the proportion of minorities holding the best-paying state jobs increased from 10 percent to 16 percent between 1980 and 1983. I am proud of these achievements.

As a member of Congress from 1971 to 1977, I voted for the Education Amendments of 1972, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. Our objective in these statutes was to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs. We surely did not intend to reach into the curriculum of religious schools, require abortions to be performed, or prohibit student loans on one campus because of alleged discrimination on another.

As I understand it, the Civil Rights Restoration Act would potentially expand the reach of these statutes to these and other instances not originally contemplated by Congress. Unless sufficient safeguards can be built in to address these concerns, I could not support this legislation.

**Gephardt:**

It is an important responsibility of the federal government to enforce all of our civil-rights laws. The federal agencies charged with doing so must be adequately funded and staffed with people who are committed to protecting the civil rights of our citizens. It would be a high priority of my administration to get the Civil Rights Restoration Act and the ERA passed by Congress.

**Gore:**

It is time to end the tragic neglect for civil rights of the current administration, and renew our commitment to enforcing existing legislation and creating new safeguards wherever necessary. We must renew our commitment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We must remedy this administration's lax approach to voting rights and vigorously commit the Justice Department to enforcing the Voting Rights Act.

I am a cosponsor of Senate legislation to overturn the impact of the *Grove City* decision. If successful, this legislation -- the Civil Rights Restoration Act -- will prohibit discrimination by institutions receiving federal funds, as previously guaranteed under four separate civil-rights statutes. I am also a cosponsor of the Fair Housing Act amendments of 1987, which add families and handicapped individuals to the list of protected groups. As president, I will continue to work toward equality for all Americans.

**Haig:**

I am a strong supporter of equal rights. As president, it would be my responsibility to aggressively enforce the laws of the United States, as interpreted by court decisions and federal regulations.

**Jackson:**

The Reagan administration has shifted the civil-rights climate from "We Shall Overcome" to "We Shall Overturn." The meaning of equal opportunity has been turned on its head. The federal government should be responsible for protecting the civil rights of all citizens. The next president must appoint an attorney general who will be aggressive in enforcing existing statutes, judges who are committed to upholding, rather than overturning, equality under the law, and must himself/herself take the lead in promoting equal opportunity.

I strongly support affirmative action, including the good-faith use of goals and timetables, to offset historic negative action against minority groups.

**Kemp:**

I strongly support the civil-rights statutes prohibiting discrimination and I believe they must be vigorously enforced. I also believe we need to take actions in the areas of education, job creation, economic development, and job training to ensure that all Americans have the opportunity to participate in the economic and social mainstream of American life. I do not support racial or religious quotas, nor do I support legislation to broaden the scope of the *Grove City* decision. I support our federal fair-housing laws and want to see them fully enforced.

**Robertson:**

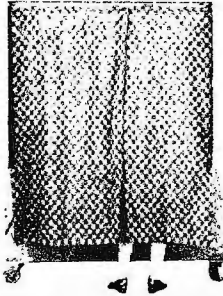
Position statements on these issues are in process.

**Simon:**

The federal government must take a leadership role in supporting affirmative-action programs and enforcing antidiscrimination laws. Affirmative-action goals and timetables are essential tools for reversing past discrimination.

On *Grove City*, I am a cosponsor of the new federal fair-housing legislation and am chairman of the Senate committee that oversaw its development. As president I will continue to fight for legislation that deals with the *Grove City* case in a positive fashion.





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**Question 11—Both family policy and welfare reform increasingly are under discussion at the national level. What should be the respective responsibilities of the public sector, the private sector and the family in addressing such pressing family policy issues as child care, parental leave and adolescent pregnancy? What is the appropriate role of the federal government in funding and standards for welfare programs, benefit levels, employment and training programs for recipients, support services such as transitional child care and health coverage, and coverage of two-parent families living below the poverty line?**

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**Babbitt:**

Thousands of single parents -- and spouses of working parents -- are unable to hold full-time jobs because they lack access to decent child-care services. I believe it is time for government to step up to the task of helping working parents pay for quality child care. As president, I would create a universal voucher system for child care, scaled to income and funded jointly by the federal government and the states. I would furthermore create incentives for businesses to establish day-care centers for their employees' children.

I support the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (HR 925). This bill would require all private companies with 15 or more employees to offer up to 26 weeks of unpaid leave to employees with a serious health condition, including the temporary disabling effects of childbirth, and up to 18 weeks for a seriously ill child or parent.

I believe that a successful antipoverty program should be guided by three basic principles: (1) In this nation and in this day and age, if you are working then you ought not to be poor. (2) If you are not working, and if you are not trying, then you have no business drawing subsidies for your sloth. (3) There is no such thing as an undeserving child, and there is no child so poor that his or her prospects are hopeless. *Every* child must be provided with the means to an education, three square meals, and a doctor when he or she needs it.

We should encourage the states to establish work requirements for welfare recipients, as long as they are consistent with family responsibilities. Child care and health care must accompany work requirements. As president, I would federalize Medicaid and establish a federal floor for AFDC and Food Stamps.

**Bush:**

The responsibility for raising children belongs, above everyone else, to *parents* and not to the government. For most families this means the time-honored, everyday method of raising kids at home. We must be careful not to enact programs that would prejudice the incentives for traditional child-rearing among the poor and all Americans.

But we must do more to help the working mothers who are poor: We should immediately start experimenting at the state and local levels to find better uses for available resources. We should encourage flexible conditions in the workplace, the use of Dependent Care Tax Credit and the Head Start program.

I support our administration's major reform package that seeks to reduce dependency by the poor on welfare and to provide jobs with dignity, not make-work employment.

States and localities should handle more of the responsibilities of welfare so that welfare resources are used most effectively. The prospects for welfare reform are bright because there now seems to be a consensus on requiring work for able-bodied recipients and for strengthening the families of the poor. It is important to start experimenting with reform, however, at the levels of government which are closest to the problem.

**Dole:**

There is clearly agreement among the experts that our current welfare system is not achieving its stated goal of being a temporary assistance program. Instead, it has become a system which encourages a dependency that is demoralizing for those who depend on its benefits for their everyday survival.

Although there may be disagreement over how best to achieve needed reforms, there is widespread agreement that education, job training, and work requirements need to be strengthened. There is also agreement that it will take the combined efforts of the private sector, and the local, state, and federal governments to achieve this end.

Particularly with respect to work requirements, I believe it is critical that, with very few exceptions, everyone who wishes to receive benefits should be engaged in a specific activity. Of course, at the same time we need to be sure that the support services necessary, like child day care and health care, are readily available. The federal and state governments clearly have a joint role in this endeavor.

With respect to the federal role in welfare, I am not prepared to support a guaranteed family income financed through the welfare system, but I am prepared to put money into state efforts to increase opportunities for people to get off welfare and to encourage the states to redirect any resulting savings toward increased benefits.

**Dukakis:**

The public sector, the private sector, and the family must each necessarily play a role in addressing family issues such as child care, parenting leave, and teenage pregnancy, although the precise mix of responsibilities will vary from issue to issue. For example, I support the concept of a minimum federal standard for unpaid leaves of absence for employees faced with parenting responsibilities arising out of birth, adoption, or the serious illness of a child. I believe that adequate and carefully regulated child care is essential to our future economic growth, and I support an active role by the federal and state governments in encouraging the private sector to create more child care slots, in regulating the quality and safety of child care provided, and in assisting parents to participate in child-care opportunities. In Massachusetts, despite declining federal dollars for child care, we have achieved impressive results in increasing the total number of child-care slots available and the number of governmentally subsidized children in day care, and in increasing the training and regulatory scrutiny of child-care providers. In fact, child care has been a major component of our success at welfare reform in Massachusetts, as an integral part of our "ET" (Employment and Training) program.

With regard to the problem of adolescent pregnancy, I believe that there must be a sharing of responsibility among the schools, the family, religious leaders, and state and local governments, with the federal government playing an active leadership role. In Massachusetts, we have put in place a state program to work with our local school systems to address the causes and prevention of teenage pregnancy, both through comprehensive health education and through the awareness that an important component of the answer lies in the availability of desirable options for teenage girls contemplating their future -- options that include good jobs at good wages and meaningful careers. The problem of teenage pregnancy can be addressed, but it requires commitment and action on a variety of public and private levels.

I believe that the time has also come for meaningful welfare reform at the national level, drawing from the experiences and successes of states like Massachusetts. We have learned, for example, how important child-care services are to women attempting to find employment and leave the welfare rolls. Similarly, we've increased the success of our efforts to encourage individuals to enter the work force by providing for the continuation of health-insurance coverage during the transition period from welfare to work.

**Du Pont:**

When it comes to welfare, we Americans know that we don't need a reform, we need a replacement. Welfare now causes more damage to the fabric of American society than it repairs -- more damage to families, self-respect, and opportunity.

Instead of a handout, we need to provide poor people with a job and everything that comes with it -- a paycheck, a boss, responsibility for mistakes, rewards for initiative, and a chance to move up to a better job.

Our first effort should be to help people find private jobs. If after exhausting counseling and retraining programs a person still can't find work, he or she would have to go to work

for the government at 90 percent of the minimum wage with day care being part of the package.

Our policy in this country must be: "If you don't work -- you don't get paid."

**Gephardt:**

Strengthening the family and providing the skills and attitudes necessary for a productive and fulfilling life are the shared responsibilities of all segments of our society. I support federal legislation that would increase funding for child-care incremental, targeting additional funds first to the training of child-care providers and then to making child care increasingly available to low- and moderate-income families. I am an original cosponsor of the Family and Medical Leave Act. I support the provision of education and counseling services to prevent adolescent pregnancy, including services provided in school-based clinics.

Regarding welfare programs, I support the welfare reform package recently passed by the U.S. House of Representatives, which provides for all of the measures mentioned in your question.

**Gore:**

The federal government needs to be an active partner with the states in providing the programs and services which are critical to families. I have been a strong supporter of a variety of family-assistance programs ranging from job training to child nutrition to parental leave. Our nation needs to make safe and affordable child care available to every working parent who needs it. It is crucial to the growth and development of our children and to every working parent who needs it. I have advocated a number of steps which I believe will make this care available to all who require it, including providing incentives to employers to sponsor on-site child-care centers. We also need to help schools provide before- and after-school care for school-age children.

In addition, I am a cosponsor of the Parental and Medical Leave Act. If successful, this legislation will guarantee working parents up to 18 weeks of unpaid parental leave over a 24-month period for the birth, adoption, or serious illness of a child. It also allows an employee up to 26 weeks of unpaid leave over a 12-month period if the employee is unable to work because of a serious health condition. This legislation would apply to both the public and private sectors. If enacted, I believe it will protect the jobs of thousands of Americans who previously would have had to choose between their families and their jobs.

**Haig:**

The first fact about poverty in America is that most Americans get out of and stay out of it. If you finish high school, get married and stay married, if you initially work at even a low-paying job, your chances of being poor in America are low.

For others, I believe that the way out of poverty and welfare is not just work alone. It's the three rungs on the ladder of success: education, family, and work.

I favor the utilization of block grants, continued experimentation by states and localities, and no "minimum" national standards that ignore local conditions.

**Jackson:**

It is up to the federal government, and ultimately the president, to determine priorities, encourage private-sector cooperation when necessary, and lead by example. It is essential that the American workplace take into account the realities of current life by enabling workers to meet both their economic and their family responsibilities. I support the Family and Medical Leave Act, which includes provisions for 18 weeks of unpaid leave for birth, adoption, or serious illness of a parent or child; unpaid medical leave of up to 26 weeks for employees; and guarantees of return to an existing or equivalent position and continuation of employer-provided insurance. This bill is an important and overdue first step. Once it has been implemented, I believe we must consider extending and strengthening its provisions, including a study of paid leave in certain circumstances.

In our society, day care is a necessity. The cost of child care is one of the most distressing obstacles facing women who work and families where both parents work. Low-income women are particularly affected by the day-care gap. The State of Florida estimates that there are 30,000 children on its waiting list for subsidized day care. In Rhode Island there is only space for one out of four children with working parents who need full-time care. Lack of decent child care often forces low-income families onto public-assistance programs. A single mother cannot afford to take a job, or finish school, if she cannot find someone to help her with her current job -- taking care of her children. Day care is an essential element of employment/welfare/training programs. It should be financed and provided by both the private and public sectors. Now that women make up 44 percent of the work force, businesses will find that they must provide day care in order to attract good employees and maintain a steady work force. Business-provided day care should be encouraged through tax and other incentives. Both the government and business will have to do more to insure that every family has access to safe, affordable, and convenient day care.

The problem of teen pregnancy will not be solved by enforced ignorance. As president of Operation Push, I visited hundreds of schools, and met with hundreds of thousands of parents, teachers, and students. I would favor, with local participation, implementing sex-education programs, including AIDS education and school-based health clinics. Our children are entitled to know how to protect themselves. I believe they must also be taught to respect themselves, their bodies -- and their futures. We must work to strengthen the relationship between parents, communities, and schools to ensure our children have the chance to grow up in a healthy, nurturing environment.

It is essential that the federal government play a strong role, working hand in hand with the states, to establish equitable and pragmatic welfare programs designed to break the cycle of poverty. It is the responsibility of the federal government to set minimum benefit standards to ensure that every American family has an adequate income.

**Kemp:**

The primary rights and responsibilities in the area of "family policy" belong with the family

itself. The federal government has an important role to play in bolstering the family by making sure it has the resources it needs. I led the fight in Congress to double the personal exemption for every family member and to reduce tax rates on working families, so that 80 percent of American families pay a top tax rate of 15 percent and the working poor pay no federal income tax at all. I support welfare reform that will reduce welfare dependency, help those who can't help themselves, and boost the poor onto the first rung of the ladder of opportunity. I support further increases in the personal exemption to help families with children, and I would also adjust the earned-income tax credit to family size. I believe we need to emphasize parental responsibility for children, including automatic withholding of child-support payments from the wages of delinquent parents. I believe workfare can help many welfare recipients gain the work skills and self-esteem necessary to get a good job in the private sector. The federal government should maintain a social safety net for all, but should not stifle state and local experimentation and innovation -- efforts that often improve welfare programs and make them more responsive to the needs of welfare families. The federal government also has a role in protecting and promoting the Judeo-Christian values upon which our inalienable rights are based, in order to help families cope with the pressure of modern-day America.

**Robertson:**

Having launched Operation Blessing, one of America's largest private relief organizations which has assisted some 25 million needy Americans, Pat Robertson has firsthand experience in inner-city welfare. He believes the government welfare system has resulted in the breakup of the family, the inability of people to work, and a sense of dependency -- a vicious cycle that must be broken. He supports extensive reform of the costly welfare bureaucracy so that funds are channeled to those truly in need -- and away from the middle-class intermediaries who consume up to 70 percent of funds of many welfare programs. Also, he would eliminate welfare laws which force divorce in order to qualify for payments, and laws that cut off payments to those attempting employment.

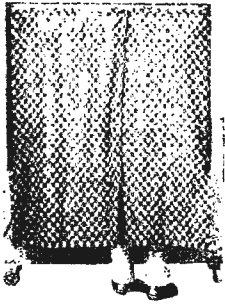
In order to strengthen the family, he favors legislation that forces fathers -- in or out of wedlock -- to assume along with their mates the expense of raising their own children. He wants to end the "feminization of poverty," whereby single women with children account for the fastest growing segment of the poor. In addition, he supports efforts by the private sector to help meet such needs as home-environment child-care programs that are cost-effective and superior to institutionalized day care.

**Simon:**

I believe you have to use the tools of the federal government to move on these problems, and I don't shy away from that. The federal government has not provided enough assistance or leadership in the child-care area. We must fashion a comprehensive child-care program providing flexibility and choice to parents. It is also necessary to expand the availability of early-childhood-education options for parents and child-care providers, particularly in disadvantaged communities.

It is time to accept the new economic realities of working parents and provide support to those families who want to combine productive work with child rearing. I am a cosponsor of

S. 249, the Parental and Medical Leave Act. While some employers have taken the initiative to offer employees a parental-leave policy, the sad truth is that it is a minority of businesses who have a reasonable maternity-leave policy. I will answer the remainder of this question in connection with the next question because their solutions are interrelated.



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**Question 12—What should be the components of an effective national employment and training policy that would respond to such intransigent problems as disproportionately high youth unemployment, joblessness among skilled workers affected by plant closings, and economic dislocation in the farm belt?**

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**Babbitt:**

I think that we must start with improvements in our educational system: providing additional funds, setting national achievement goals, and making college affordable for all who want to go. We need to encourage more of our students to study math and science, and especially to go into teaching. I propose that any student who finances his or her education with government loans and spends five years teaching in the public schools should be forgiven the loans. More and better teachers will help to improve our educational system and produce more qualified graduates for the work force.

We need to provide better job training and retraining, and advance notice to workers about plant closings. A flexible work force is the key to a dynamic economy which produces high-value, high-productivity jobs. I think we need to: (1) move in the direction of an "individualized training entitlement," geared to create a lifetime guarantee that every displaced worker can find a new job; (2) provide incentives for training investment in the private sector. The federal government creates tax incentives to invest in machinery and research, but not in employee training and education. We should value investment in people at least as much as investment in technology.

**Bush:**

The private sector is the major provider of job-training services, which is most appropriate in a country where the private sector provides 85 percent of all jobs. As president, I will promote productive public/private partnerships that would provide work and opportunity for those who seek it.

I vigorously support our administration's policy of fueling job growth through the private



sector. As chairman of the Task Force on Regulatory Reform, I've been proud to take part in unleashing our great economic forces to create more jobs and prosperity for all Americans. The private sector has proven, beyond a shadow of a doubt, just how successful we can be at creating jobs; if we just give the American people the tools to make our country more prosperous.

**Dole:**

The success of the Job Training Partnership Act has proved that assigning states and localities the primary responsibility for administering federally funded job-training programs is an effective and efficient concept. Further, involving local businesses in this process, as provided by JTPA, is crucial. Undoubtedly, local business leaders have the best understanding of the kinds of training which are necessary in a given community.

Our long-term welfare policy should follow similar goals -- supporting local and state initiatives.

We should also take a hard look at the possible benefits of a subminimum wage to address the problem of high youth unemployment.

With respect to the farm belt, I grew up in a small town and recognize the need to preserve the values and lessons of rural life. I have introduced the Rural Recovery and Revitalization Act, which would set up a Rural Fund for Development of \$1 billion in surplus CCC-owned commodities to guarantee loans to small businesses in rural communities.

**Dukakis:**

As we have learned from our highly successful Employment and Training Program in Massachusetts, such programs must entail more than simply providing participants with either job skills or make-work or dead-end jobs. Rather, an effective employment and training policy must include skills training for real jobs offering meaningful wages. It must provide the necessary support services to its participants, such as job counseling and search assistance. It must find ways to bring the jobs to the unemployed, whether through regional development, inner-city development, or rural development and diversification. Most of all, it requires sustained economic growth that is capable of providing genuine economic opportunity and real jobs for the unemployed and underemployed.

We have also learned that neither government nor the private sector alone can provide all of the things required for an effective employment and training program. What is needed are public/private partnerships, involving federal, state, and local governments, the business community, unions, educators, community organizations, and caring and concerned citizens.

**Du Pont:**

I have proposed a "National Schooling and Training Bank" that would allow everyone -- including displaced workers -- to borrow as much as they need to return to school. The catch: It's your future, so you have to pay it back.

**Gephardt:**

The most important thing that we can do to effectuate a national employment and training policy is to stimulate economic growth and get our fiscal house in order. Because of our high budget and trade deficits, more than a million manufacturing jobs have been lost and thousands of farmers have been thrown off the land.

While we are working to expand and improve the quality of American products, we must not neglect America's most precious resource: our people. Establishing and implementing programs to promote excellence in education at all levels, as well as improved training and retraining programs would be a top priority of my administration. The federal government has an important role to play in the training of our young people.

American business must reform the workplace, developing personnel policies that are more responsive to the needs of workers and promoting increased participation in decision-making.

We must do all in our power to ensure that every American child who wants to go to college is able to go.

A priority of my administration would be to restore our commitment that no qualified student will be denied a college education because of that student's inability to pay.

Central to keeping that promise is enacting the Gephardt proposal to create a new Individual Development and Education Account (IDEA), which will encourage early savings for higher education. The IDEA account, similar in concept to the IRA retirement account, would enable parents to set up educational savings accounts for their children with the federal government providing matching funds, based on a formula tied to family income level. In addition, I would bolster federal grant and loan programs for low-income students.

Without a doubt, the federal government has a role to play in the training and retraining of workers. Our job-placement services must be improved. The active involvement of the private sector in job-training initiatives and greatly increased communication between the private and public sectors will make it much more likely that good jobs are available to those who study and train to make themselves eligible for them. These activities should be planned regionally, so that the programs correspond to the needs of the particular communities.

The current program to retrain workers displaced by imports is sufficient in many ways. The problem is that it simply hasn't been funded to meet the needs of displaced workers. I would fully fund and expand the current programs to help workers meet the needs of the marketplace.

The federal government must work with states and private industry to upgrade our nation's human resources. Some of the tools we need are already in place, like the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). In 1985, JTPA helped two out of three of its 1.1 million participants to qualify for hourly wages of \$4.61. In other words, on an average per capita investment of \$1,428, JTPA set up graduates to earn a first-year return of \$9,600. We will expand JTPA and use its flexibility and linkages to reach more workers.

I will also work to make Unemployment Insurance an effective adjustment system. UI was created 50 years ago as an income-support fund for workers between jobs. Today, this is not enough because unemployment is more and more a structural problem rather than a cyclical one. We will help fund upgrades of state UI and Employment Services (ES), as well as JTPA systems, to better serve displaced workers. These projects will be a coordinated effort to find dislocated workers quickly and inform them of available services before their unemployment benefits run out. Emphasis will be placed on developing new linkages between these state agencies and providing innovative services such as relocation assistance, reemployment bonuses, and economic adjustment allowances to test the entire range of ways to help dislocated workers to appropriate job openings.

A central feature of the upgrade of UI is to make Employment Services an effective conduit to people collecting unemployment insurance who need counseling, job placement and development referral. The cost of Employment Services is marginal (\$212 a placement) and they have a 70 percent success rate. We will build on our success with this service.

**Gore:**

The federal government must fashion a creative yet bold national employment and training policy if our nation is to overcome the problems of high youth unemployment, joblessness among skilled workers, and economic dislocation. Youth unemployment has been a persistent problem which for too long has been ignored by our nation's leaders. The youth unemployment rate is double the rate for adults, and among black youths, is five times higher than the adult rate. Overall, black youth unemployment is an abysmal 40 percent, a simply intolerable rate. We need to modify our major federal job-training program so that it better serves the youth population. The root of serious persistent youth labor-market problems is the lack of basic literacy among some youth. The Job Training Partnership Act needs to be modified to require basic-skills assessment and, if needed, basic-skills training.

We also need to implement more basic and effective job training for the hard-core unemployed and retraining for people who are working but whose jobs may be eliminated because of the advance of technology.

**Haig:**

Establishment of a large nationwide employment and training program on the intrusive level envisioned in your question would create a bureaucratic nightmare whose costs would far outweigh any incidental benefits. However, some of these issues, such as temporary sector-specific displacement assistance and agricultural dislocation are already being addressed in other programs of the federal government.

**Jackson:**

Our ranchers and farmer have fed America and the world. I know that our workers can compete with workers anywhere in the world for quality and workmanship. Their contributions to the economy should be treated with personal and economic respect. We must re-evaluate our priorities.

America is not investing in housing for working people; in transportation to get people from where they live to where jobs are; in schools to prepare our children for a future of international competition which is already here; in support structures that would provide training, retraining, and referral services to enable more people to pull themselves out of poverty and into the work force. Instead we allow a \$17 billion cost overrun on the B1-B bomber, propose to spend \$34 billion on two carrier fleets (maybe with more minesweepers this time) for the Navy, and construct 21 MX missiles that they now say don't work. We need a president committed to a national agenda that includes housing, health care, transportation, and education as part of our national-security investment.

My full economic plan includes revising our system of incentives to put more resources into retraining people, reinvesting in human and physical resources and readjusting for economic change. With a huge federal deficit, there are many competing needs for scarce tax dollars. Therefore, I have recommended a national investment plan devoting a fraction of our nation's pension-fund assets to reinvestment in our infrastructures, retraining our workers, and reindustrializing our productive capacity. The investments would be guaranteed, like FICA, and supervised by a tripartite board representing business, government, and labor. We can set up a domestic version of the World Bank to leverage pension-fund capital to finance long-term investments that will produce jobs and strengthen our communities.

**Kemp:**

I am a strong supporter of the Job Training Partnership Act, which trains displaced workers for real jobs in the private sector. I also favor allowing states greater flexibility to experiment with innovative ways to combat unemployment. We can create new incentives to reindustrialize America and make our nation more competitive in world markets. Our manufacturing industries can compete and win against any country in the world if the U.S. government removes artificial barriers to economic growth and liberates the free-enterprise system. My reindustrialization strategy includes an aggressive effort to promote free and fair trade, new tax provisions for the expensing of plant and equipment, the Kemp-Garcia enterprise zone proposal to reach depressed urban and rural pockets of poverty, better job training and retraining programs, higher educational standards, and international monetary reform to bring down interest rates and stabilize exchange rates.

**Robertson:**

Pat Robertson places a high premium on educational excellence which has a direct bearing on the quality and productivity of the U.S. work force. He has advanced a unique and effective program to wipe out functional illiteracy and is committed to its fullest implementation. (In the program's first three years, 123,000 Americans were taught to read and write without spending any government funds.)

Further, he supports tax incentives for companies providing employee training and retraining; full tax deductibility of workers' expenses for training and retraining; unemployment compensation for displaced workers who participate in state-approved training programs; youth-opportunity wage for on-the-job training of young people who would not receive a minimum wage; government-sponsored training internships in private business; literacy programs for the poor; and an end to welfare cut-off laws which penalize welfare recipients

as they attempt to begin productive employment.

**Simon:**

I would tackle unemployment and reform the welfare system with the Guaranteed Job Opportunity Act (S. 777). My bill will assure that every American will have an opportunity to work for 32 hours a week at the minimum wage, or 10 percent above what they receive in unemployment compensation or welfare, whichever is higher.

It will reform welfare because it will significantly cut welfare costs. Those who want work but cannot find it will have an alternative to the public dole and incentives to better themselves.

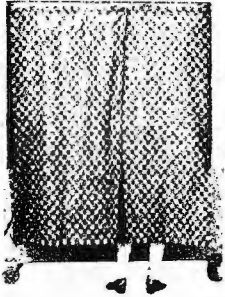
The Guaranteed Job Opportunity Program is a project-oriented activity that will be developed in each community by an integrated board including business, labor, and the public sector. The projects would focus on the infrastructure backlog accumulating in the United States.

Eligible participants must have been unemployed for at least five weeks. Participants would take part in basic reading, writing, and language skill instruction.

While the guaranteed job opportunity is the centerpiece of the program, those eligible will participate in a process that emphasizes education, training, job-skill development, and, as a last resort, a guaranteed job opportunity.

It is a legislative start toward a more humane society and a society that squarely confronts the issues of competitiveness and productivity. Since we are not going to let people starve, our only options are to pay people for doing nothing or pay people for doing something. I prefer the latter.

Youth unemployment is connected to the issue of education. As a national leader in this vital area, I have put more education laws on the books than all the other presidential candidates of both parties combined. We can solve this problem by focusing on literacy, vocational training, and math and science programs -- readying our children for the jobs of the future.



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**Question 13—What is your stance on proposed constitutional amendments that would: 1) require a balanced federal budget; 2) permit prayer in the public schools; 3) prohibit abortion; 4) enact the Equal Rights Amendment?**

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**Babbitt:**

(1) In seven years, President Reagan has never submitted a budget anywhere near balance. The idea that a balanced-budget amendment will erase a \$200-billion deficit makes no economic or political sense. In recent years political leaders of both parties have evaded the deficit issue with smokescreens like a balanced-budget amendment. I believe that it's time to talk honestly about how to reduce the deficit and put America back on a path of economic growth. As president I will cut spending *and* raise revenues.

(2) I oppose the proposed constitutional amendment to permit organized prayer in the public schools.

(3) I am pro-choice. As president, I would oppose any effort to weaken or overturn the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade*. Abortion belongs in the province of individual moral choice.

(4) I consistently supported, and still strongly support, passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

**Bush:**

*Balanced Budget:* I support a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget. I support a line-item veto to cut fat from appropriations bills and put national interest above special interests -- these are tools many of our nation's governors already have and the president needs.

*School Prayer:* Education is not just the teaching of facts and figures, but also the values that make up our democratic way of life. We must teach values. I believe "value-free" education does not serve either the student or the society well.

I favor truly voluntary prayer in school as an extension of our commitment to teaching values. I believe students should have the right, if they wish, for a momentary reflection, meditation, or prayer.

*Abortion:* Abortion is one of the most difficult issues of our time. I have devoted much time and careful thought to this issue over the years. I am opposed to abortion except when the life of the mother is threatened or when there is rape or incest, and I would support such an amendment.

*Equal Rights Amendment:* I am committed to equal rights for women. I believe that we can and do ensure equal rights for women effectively through state and federal statutes tailored to meet the specific needs of women -- but I do not support the ERA.

I believe in equal rights for all Americans -- including women -- and that begins with fundamental economic rights that our administration worked to provide through economic expansion, the longest peacetime expansion in our history.

**Dole:**

In principle, I support all four constitutional amendments cited.

**Dukakis:**

While I believe that the federal budget deficit must be reduced in a steady and responsible fashion, through strong executive leadership, I oppose a constitutional amendment to require a balanced federal budget. I also oppose proposed amendments to permit school prayer and to prohibit abortion. I continue to be a strong supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment.

**Du Pont:**

(a) **Balanced Budget Amendment:** In Delaware, we adopted a balanced-budget amendment and a supermajority requirement to raise taxes, and I favor similar amendments at the federal level.

(b) I support voluntary prayer in the public schools, though I do not believe a constitutional amendment is needed to secure this at this time.

(c) Regardless of what you might think about the abortion issue, is it really credible to think that the Framers of our Constitution originally intended to put a right to abortion in the Constitution? What the Court has done by plunging into this thicket is to remove from the public policy-making apparatus of our country responsible efforts to accommodate in these decisions the interests of the fetus, the mother, the father, and minor children. The people have lost the power and the responsibility for debating and fashioning an answer to one of the most difficult questions facing America today. In one judicial fiat, the Supreme Court has said, "That's it. No argument. No discussion. No debate."

I believe *Roe v. Wade* was a mistake, and I support the Hatch Amendment, which would turn the issue back to the state legislatures where it belongs. However, I do not support the

Helms Amendment, which would ban all abortions, and I would not support a complete ban on all abortions at the state level.

(d) In 1973 I joined a nearly unanimous (354-24) House of Representatives in voting in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment. I joined the fight in 1979 to uphold, on constitutional grounds, the extension of the voting deadline, in order to allow full and complete consideration by all the states.

As case law has developed in this area, however, and as women's rights have moved forward in the absence of the ERA, I question whether ERA should be or needs to be revived. In particular, there appear to be legitimate concerns that the ERA as originally passed would require women to serve in combat roles in the armed forces, and would require federal and state funding of abortions. I have yet to hear these concerns sufficiently addressed. Thus I did not support the effort to revive ERA in 1983 (which failed in the House of Representatives when the Democratic leadership prevented any clarifying amendments from being introduced), and I would not support it today.

**Gephardt:**

I oppose constitutional amendments on balancing the budget, prayer in public schools, and prohibiting abortion. I strongly support the Equal Rights Amendment.

**Gore:**

(a) I favor a constitutional amendment -- different from the version supported by the Reagan administration -- that would require the president to submit a balanced budget, and require Congress to enact one.

(b) I am opposed to a constitutional amendment which would permit prayer in the public schools.

(c) I am opposed to a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion.

(d) I strongly support the adoption of an equal-rights amendment to our nation's Constitution. It is important that we guarantee equal treatment to all American citizens and affirm our belief that women are equal to men.

**Haig:**

In principle, I am opposed to constitutional amendments that attempt to "legislate morality" because such amendments only encourage human creativity to circumvent or dodge their intent. The recent revision of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act is but one case in point.

I believe that the use of the "bully pulpit" by the president of the United States as well as the moral suasion demonstrated through our families, churches, and synagogues can do more to bring about social and economic change than the constitutional-amendment process.

As a matter of my faith and right reason, I oppose abortion and federal funding of abortion



except in those circumstances where the life of the mother is involved. Many Americans believe otherwise, and in our pluralistic system consensus views eventually prevail.

**Jackson:**

(a) I am opposed to a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget.

(b) As Justice O'Connor has pointed out, there is nothing in the Constitution to prevent children from praying before, after, or during school in their free time. Public-school officials should not dictate how or when our children pray.

(c) I support *Roe v. Wade* and the right of a woman to make private choices without government interference. And I believe that poor women are entitled to make the same choice. Therefore, I support federal funding of abortion. Poor women should not be denied equal protection under the law.

(d) For over 10 years I have worked for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. One of my highest priorities is the election of more progressive legislators, especially in the south, which would help us finally meet this goal.

**Kemp:**

I oppose a constitutional amendment to mandate a balanced budget -- I believe it would require tax increases and unwise reductions in important programs like defense and Social Security. I favor a moment of silence at the beginning of a school day for all, but I don't favor state-prescribed prayer in our schools; I think it is an outrage that schools can't post the Ten Commandments on the bulletin board! I support constitutional protection of the inalienable right to life for all people, and I support equal rights for all, but not the so-called ERA.

**Robertson:**

Pat Robertson favors a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution; he favors literal interpretation of existing constitutional language in the First Amendment which has always granted the right to free exercise of religion, including voluntary prayer in the public schools; he favors a Paramount Human Life Amendment safeguarding the right to life of the elderly, the infirm, and the unborn; he opposes enactment of the Equal Rights Amendment.

**Simon:**

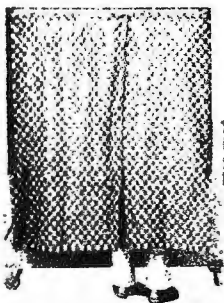
I do support a balanced budget, though I have voted against some excessively rigid versions of this idea. The hard fact is that the budget deficit is out of control. Until the 1960s, democracy equaled a balanced budget. Now the Reagan administration threatens to mortgage our children's futures, and bends our foreign policy to favor those countries who are willing to pay our way. The president and congress have proved incapable of making the effort necessary to bring our economy back into line. We need legislation to do it.

On the question of prayer in public schools, I have not seen a proposal which would allow all

children, regardless of their religion, to feel comfortable with a moment of prayer. Even requiring a moment of silence where children can silently pray or meditate isolates those children for whom silent prayer is not a part of their religion or heritage.

I do not support a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. This is a personal decision between a woman and her physician. The federal government can't make it. However, I think there are constructive things we can do. Last year, we had a million teenage pregnancies, 400,000 of which ended in abortion. If you follow the rate of teenage pregnancy, you will see it matches the unemployment rate and the dropout rate very closely. If you really want to do something about abortions other than carry banners and shout at one another, then do something about dropouts in school, do something about unemployment. I also support federal funding for abortions. The right to abortion is law, and as such, it should not be available only to the wealthy. Federal funding makes it available to all women so that they may have that choice.

Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will have the full support of a Simon administration. I support an extended ratification deadline for the ERA. I am an original cosponsor of the newly introduced ERA.



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**Question 14—What is your view of the current system for financing Presidential and Congressional elections?**

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**Babbitt:**

I have decided not to accept contributions from political-action committees, because in recent years special-interest money has come to play too large a role in American politics. I believe we should reform our national campaign laws to ensure that voters, not dollars, elect our national leaders. I support the concept of spending limits linked to public financing (along the lines of presidential-election-financing laws) for congressional elections.

**Bush:**

The most important of all campaign reforms has already been achieved -- financial disclosure of receipts and expenditures. I have long supported full-disclosure laws and believe they must be kept strong to deter ethical misconduct.

I agree that special interests have too much power, especially over the Congress. But special interests don't decide national elections -- people do. Voter participation is on the way back up from lows in the 1970s and early 1980s. I believe this is due in part to the restoration of hope and confidence in government under this administration.

**Dole:**

Some modification of the Campaign Finance Law may well be appropriate, particularly with respect to disclosure requirements. I have introduced, along with several other Republican senators, the Congressional Campaign Reform Act of 1987, which would: place restrictions on PACs; increase the opportunities for individuals to contribute to campaigns; reform "soft money" contributions by requiring more disclosure; control independent expenditures; strengthen disclosure of party finances; eliminate the millionaire's loophole; and create a bipartisan commission on campaign financing. Our ultimate goal is to increase individual participation in the electoral process rather than simply drain more money out of the U.S. Treasury by instituting new public-financing provisions.

Dukakis:

Federal elections have become fund-raising and spending marathons that are largely dominated by political-action committees (PACs). As a candidate for president, I will not accept PAC money.

I support the basic provisions of the Boren-Byrd Senatorial Election Campaign Act, as well as legislation limiting PAC contributions to \$1,000 and restricting the aggregate PAC contributions a candidate may accept. I also believe that there should be absolute limits on expenditures in congressional elections, just as there are in presidential elections. Contributions by candidates and their immediate families should be limited. Consistent with constitutional law and as is the case in presidential elections, partial public financing of congressional elections should be provided for candidates accepting expenditure limits and demonstrating broad support through small contributions from a significant percentage of the electorate.

Du Pont:

There is no perfect system for financing elections, and there are flaws with the current one. Our campaign -- like my congressional and gubernatorial campaigns -- has chosen not to take money from political-action committees, for example. However, on balance I believe our current laws are workable and do not see the need for major changes.

Gephardt:

I have been a supporter of campaign-finance reform for quite some time. We need to place a limit on spending for congressional elections tied to a partial public-financing system.

Things have simply gotten out of hand. Candidates, because of the cost of running for office, must spend a majority of their time fund-raising. As a result, they have less time to discuss the important issues -- that the public deserves to hear about.

The present system often discourages individuals from running because of the need to raise enough money to be competitive. It's time money became less of a factor, and qualification for office the real test.

Gore:

I support the current system for financing presidential elections. I have been a consistent supporter of campaign-finance reform, and have introduced legislation on this subject. I also was a strong supporter of the Boren-Goldwater campaign-finance amendment, which was blocked by the Republicans and never became law.

As a strong supporter of public-financing measures, I am particularly interested in the public-financing aspects of S. 2, a bill I have cosponsored which would give candidates the option to receive public funding if they adhere to voluntary spending limits. Even in these times of budgetary constraints, partial public financing seems a small price to pay for the broader goal of limiting overall campaign expenditures.

**Haig:**

The current system for financing presidential and congressional elections is cumbersome, archaic, and replete with often-specious regulatory requirements. However, some features of the system have opened up the political process and ameliorated the influence of special-interest groups.

While acceptance of federal matching funds requires adherence to certain federal strings, I admire and respect presidential candidates who aren't afraid to put their own money where their mouths are.

**Jackson:**

It is a threat to the very idea of democracy if only candidates capable of raising millions of dollars can run for office successfully. It should not be possible for a candidate to "buy" an election by heavily outspending an opponent, or for a special-interest PAC to "buy" a congressman by contributing thousands of dollars to his/her campaign.

I support the bills under consideration in the House and Senate that would limit the total amount of PAC contributions a candidate may accept, and establish voluntary limits on campaign spending and on the use of personal wealth.

**Kemp:**

I do not support public financing of congressional elections. There should be full, public disclosure of contributions and expenses -- including the amounts and sources -- without restrictions on the amount of money candidates can raise to meet campaign expenses.

**Robertson:**

Undecided.

**Simon:**

Campaign financing and election costs are out of control. I support a reasonable program of public financing for federal elections. Public financing is in the long-term interest of the public. Elected public officials' first commitment should be to their constituents, not lobbyists. During this Congress, I introduced S. 179, which would provide some public financing of Senate general elections. I am also cosponsor of S. 2, Senator Boren's campaign-financing bill.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**  
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