<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>Atwater creates the <em>Fund for America’s Future</em>, a political action committee to serve as an early campaign organization for Vice President Bush. Pinkerton is named research director. Pinkerton subsequently serves as research director for <em>George Bush for President of the United States</em> from 1987-1988 and for the <em>Bush-Quayle Campaign</em> in 1988.</td>
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<td>1988</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>Atwater places Pinkerton in charge of opposition research to identify issues on which Dukakis is vulnerable. Pinkerton returns the following month with a number of issues, including prison furlough, the pledge of allegiance, and the ACLU.</td>
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<td>May</td>
<td>Pinkerton argues that, “Of all the Democrats running in 1988, Dukakis resembles Carter more than anybody else, with his technocratic, bloodless approach.” (<em>The Orange County Register</em>, 05/11/1988) Pinkerton adds that Bush plans to focus on Dukakis’ lack of foreign policy experience in the campaign. The Bush campaign releases a booklet based upon Pinkerton’s research entitled, “Facts About the Fiction,” to debunk the myth of the Massachusetts “miracle.”</td>
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<td>June</td>
<td>Bush begins to criticize Dukakis for claiming to be a “card-carrying member” of the ACLU.</td>
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<td>September</td>
<td>Pinkerton says, “We think Dukakis has been deceitful... And what we think he has been deceitful about is that he is too liberal for the country.” (<em>The Los Angeles Times</em>, 9/05/1988) Pinkerton says, “We certainly see the economy as the most important issue... that will help set the agenda for the next eight weeks.” (<em>The Houston Chronicle</em>, 09/19/1988)</td>
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<td>October</td>
<td>Addressing the use of negative campaigning, Pinkerton says, “After the convention we felt we needed to heighten the contrast and sharpen the differences between the two candidates... Now we believe we should try to establish a positive tone.” Pinkerton goes on to suggest, “We have a lot more proposals out there than some people realize.” (<em>The Los Angeles Times</em>, 10/01/1988)</td>
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After Dukakis suggests in the September 25th debate that Bush would weaken social security, the Bush campaign counterattacks by targeting inconsistencies in Dukakis’ record as governor. Pinkerton says, “So far, I think we’ve neutralized the attack, since Dukakis looks like such a hypocrite.” (Business Week, 10/17/1988)

Amidst heightened media criticism of the Bush campaign’s television ads, ABC News reporter Richard Threlkeld attacks on the 19th the veracity of the Bush ad featuring Dukakis in an M1 tank. A reportedly angry Pinkerton responds by writing a confidential memo to Baker arguing, “The facts are on our side. We should not let Dukakis get the last word.” He further adds, “Dukakis is attacking us for ‘garbage’ on furloughs... Here he is getting the last word. Our silence is his credence.” (Baton-Rouge State Times, 10/28/1988)

During the campaign, Atwater calls Pinkerton “my closest intellectual adviser for the last seven years.” (The Wall Street Journal, 1/03/1989)

**November**

Pinkerton is named the Director of Policy Development for the Bush transition team on the 16th.

After completing his work with the transition team, Pinkerton is named Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning to conduct long-range domestic policy planning under Roger Porter, Assistant to the President for Economic and Domestic Policy. Pinkerton’s Office of Policy Planning includes twenty-one staff with three associate directors, one deputy associate director, and one director of administration.

**1989**

**January**

Bush assembles the “100-Day Group” to map out a strategy for prioritizing early Administration policy initiatives. The team includes Pinkerton, Sununu, Darman, Demarest, Teeter, Card, and Robert Grady.

Addressing Bush’s early efforts to forge an independent identity, Pinkerton says, “No one is talking any more about Reagan III... They talk about Bush I.” (Dallas Morning News, 1/15/1989)

Pinkerton begins to meet daily with Darman, Brady and Sununu at 9 a.m. in Brady’s office to discuss budget proposals to reduce the deficit.

**February**

Bush gives his “Building a Better America” speech on the 9th.
Pinkerton writes a memo to Porter calling for GOP to move forward into the 1990s with new sets of priorities, including the poor, children’s issues, and the environment.

Gingrich organizes a two-day meeting early in the month among conservative activists to map out a strategy for extending Republican success at the presidential level down to the states by 1992. Many conference participants call for a bold realignment strategy to challenge democratic leadership by portraying the Democrats as the “party of corruption.” Pinkerton, however, makes it clear that the primary goal of the White House is to work cooperatively with congressional democrats to “govern.” The Administration would therefore likely oppose highly confrontational strategies that would undermine prospects for bipartisan negotiation. (Chicago Sun-Times, 3/01/1989)

1990

February
Pinkerton argues that a “New Paradigm” has emerged to replace the old, New Deal/Great Society-style order in speeches to the World Future Society and the Reason Foundation. With technological changes rendering the old “rule by bureaucracy” approach to government increasingly ineffective, Pinkerton argues that the New Paradigm will reward governmental reforms that value free markets, individual choice, empowerment, decentralization, and “policies that work.” Pinkerton’s ideas quickly build support among conservatives such as Gingrich, Bennett, Lott, and Kemp. As the New Paradigm gains exposure, many in the press begin to suggest that Pinkerton’s ideas promise to provide Bush’s domestic policy with a coherent philosophical framework and that long-awaited “vision thing.” Policy initiatives to emerge from this camp include school vouchers, enterprise zones, tenant ownership of public housing, the use of economic class over race as the basis for affirmative action, the provision of direct student loans from universities, as well as deregulation and welfare reform.

Pinkerton and Democrat Elaine Kamarck create the bipartisan New Paradigm Society.

March
When questioned about the President’s strong anti-broccoli position, Pinkerton responds, "People are definitely looking for relief from the masochism of the fitness craze... And if the President will let them off the hook and let them become kinder, gentler and flabbier, we'll all be grateful." (The New York Times, 03/24/1990)

April
In a speech to conservatives, Bush embraces New Paradigm themes by arguing, “When old centralized bureaucratic systems are crumbling, the time has come for yet another paradigm.” (The Washington Times, 07/18/1991)
Pinkerton says that the New Paradigm does not rely on the leadership of any one individual. “It relies on diversity and innovation spread out across the states like 50, or 1,000 points of light.” (The Baton Rouge State Times, 04/11/1990)

**June**

Pinkerton and Kolb begin efforts to rejuvenate the Reagan Administration’s Low Income Opportunity Board as a vehicle for promoting an empowerment agenda. Support subsequently builds within the Administration for the creation of an Economic Empowerment Task Force under Kemp.

Bush, Brady, Darman and Sununu meet with Mitchell, Dole, Foley, Michel and Gephardt on the 26th to produce the breakfast agreement calling for “tax revenue increases.”

**July**

A draft options paper from the Low Income Opportunity Board to the Domestic Policy Council is leaked to The Washington Post, which reports on the 6th that the Bush Administration is not interested in pursuing anti-poverty programs.

*The Washington Times* reports that Pinkerton spent a Saturday night riding along with the Los Angeles police department’s CRASH (Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums) Unit. (The Washington Times, 07/18/1990)

**September**

The Economic Empowerment Task Force is officially created under Kemp on the 4th.

A group of Administration officials including Pinkerton, Kristol and Kolb create an “Empowerment Breakfast Group” to meet every Friday morning in the White House. Stuart Butler, the domestic policy director of the Heritage Foundation, is invited to speak at the group’s first meeting on the 21st. Subsequent guest speakers include Bill Bennet, Irving Kristol, Jack Kemp, Steve Bartlett, Dick Thornburgh, Lynn Martin, Dinesh D’Sousa, Clayton Yeutter, Robert Bork, and John Sununu.

Bush orders Porter, Pinkerton, and Charles Cobb to develop a variety of new social-welfare initiatives to encourage self-help among the poor.

**October**

Pinkerton writes a memo drawing an analogy between Bush and Truman.

House Republicans desert the President as the bipartisan budget deal fails to pass Congress on the 5th. Congress passes a second budget package on the 27th. Bush signs the bill into law on November 5th.

**November**

Darman sharply criticizes the New Paradigm in a speech to the Council for
Excellence in Government on the 16th, suggesting that the ideas are not really new and represent nothing more than empty rhetoric. Dubbing the New Paradigm “neo-neoism,” Darman goes on to suggest that the phrase was “a bit too pretentious for a would-be populist movement” and that people might simply dismiss it with the refrain, “Hey, brother, can you paradigm?”

Kemp and Gingrich quickly come to Pinkerton’s defense, as Gingrich dubs Darman a “technocrat” and calls for his resignation. Darman further attacks the New Paradigm in a surprise visit to an Economic Empowerment Task Force meeting on the 28th. As Darman gets up to leave the meeting, Kolb reportedly says, “Dick, I’d just like to thank you for coming. If we’d known in advance, we could have sold tickets and used the proceeds for deficit reduction.” (The Washington Times, 11/26/1990)

Pinkerton also jabs back, “After the success of the budget agreement, it’s good to see Dick rejoining the intellectual dialogue.” However, Pinkerton shortly thereafter receives a phone call from the President’s delegation in Paris to tone down the public debate. (The Globe and Mail, 11/26/1990)

December Mademoiselle magazine names Pinkerton one of Washington’s sexiest bachelors.

After several weeks of significant media attention, Darman and Pinkerton reportedly attempt to reach a public reconciliation. According to one aide, the two hold a “correct but pleasant” conversation. (The Washington Post, 12/11/1990)

Newly elected National Republican Senatorial Committee chairman Senator Gramm invites a number of White House and conservative congressional leaders to his office on the 10th in an attempt to overcome recent divides and forge a common Republican agenda.

The “Fiesta Bowl” controversy erupts on the 12th over the Education Department’s decision to ban racially restricted scholarships. With Kemp, Porter and Pinkerton arguing in favor of affirmative action, the White House reverses the Education Department’s decision two days later. (The New York Times, 12/20/1990)

1991

January Pinkerton rejects calls for the Administration to increase social spending while lowering taxes to fight the recession, noting that "any stimulus would come too late anyway, since the recession is expected to be short." (San Francisco Chronicle, 01/1/41991)
In the aftermath of his debate with Darman over the New Paradigm, Pinkerton argues before the Cato Institute that “a healthy competition between the two parties in the ’90s is going to guarantee that a lot of these reforms are enacted in one way or another.” (The Dallas Morning News, 01/28/1991)

In his State of the Union address on the 29th, Bush provides only modest domestic policy proposals despite the growing anticipation among conservatives for a bolder agenda. Pinkerton responds, "I think the war . . . has obviously eclipsed the domestic agenda in the short run." (The Washington Times, 1/31/1991)

**February**

The Bush Administration begins to launch a series of “Domestic Policy Roll-outs” in banking, transportation, crime, education, and economic growth as the Gulf War begins to come to an end.

Bush embraces a number of empowerment themes in remarks given to the American Society of the Association of Executives on the 27th.

**March**

Pinkerton anonymously writes memo on the 5th entitled, “The ‘Lessons’ of Desert Storm,” urging the Administration to build on the momentum of the Gulf victory to pursue an aggressive domestic agenda.

Bush challenges Congress on the 6th to pass his transportation and crime legislative initiatives in 100 days.

**June**

Bush gives speech emphasizing “volunteerism” and the importance of the individual on the White House South Lawn on the 12th.

**July**

Pinkerton argues that “the president has empowered [Housing Secretary Jack] Kemp and [Education Secretary Lamar] Alexander and, to a lesser extent, me to go forward with a New Paradigm message... I think people are thinking more along these lines, and that’s very encouraging. You always wish you could speak to more groups and write more articles, but I’m not restless.” (The Washington Times, 07/18/1991)

**October**

Clinton outlines his “New Covenant” vision at a series of speeches at Georgetown University, which reportedly embraces a number of New Paradigm themes.

Bush vetoes unemployment benefits legislation on the 11th. The Senate narrowly sustains the veto on the 16th. Fearing domestic backlash amidst a weakening economy, Bush and Republican congressional leaders meet on 17th to discuss an economic stimulus package. Bush is reportedly undecided but eventually comes down against the proposal to avoid a tax-cut bidding war with congressional Democrats.
November

Gingrich pushes forward an economic growth package on the 22nd. Bush reportedly continues to move back and forth on the issue. After announcing his support for Gingrich’s initiative, Bush backs off and asks Rostenkowski for Congress to break without voting on the package.

December

Sununu resigns as Chief of Staff on the 3rd. Skinner is announced as the new Chief of Staff, which triggers speculation that Pinkerton’s New Paradigm policy initiatives will receive greater attention.

1992

January

Pinkerton leaves the White House to join the Bush reelection campaign as issues counselor.

Countering the masses bemoaning the age of the sound-bite in political campaigns, Pinkerton argues, “Just at the moment when all the do-gooders and professional tut-tutters are telling us we need to take our longer sound bites like we need to take our medicine or our vegetables, the market came along with a much better solution: freedom of choice... The invisible media hand has given cable viewers a range of MTV to network news to CNN to C-Span. They can watch one-and-a-half-second sound bites or entire speeches.” (The New York Times, 01/26/1992)

Bush unveils an economic growth package in his State of the Union address on the 28th. The package includes a 90 day moratorium on regulation, a series of investment incentives and tax credits, and reducing the capital gains tax. Bush challenges Congress to pass his package by March 20th.

Bush names Clayton Yeutter as his new Counselor for Domestic Policy on the 31st. The Domestic and Economic Councils are replaced by a Policy Coordinating Group to be chaired by Yeutter in Bush’s absence. A working group on economic policy is also created under the Policy Coordinating Group for Brady to head.

February

The New York Times runs article by Andrew Rosenthal on the 5th entitled, “Bush Encounters Supermarket, Amazed,” portraying Bush as “out of touch” with the American people. Fitzwater argues the piece unfairly failed to mention that the scanner technology that impressed the President was state-of-the-art and unusual.

Bush announces he will run for reelection on the 12th. Ross Perot announces the following week on Larry King Live that he would consider running as an
independent if he was placed on the ballot in all 50 states.

Bush wins New Hampshire primary on the 18th but Buchanan finishes strong with 37% of vote.

March

Bush publicly admits on the 3rd that raising taxes under the 1990 budget deal was a mistake.

Bush wins Georgia and Maryland primaries on the 3rd despite strong finishes from Buchanan. Bush wins South Carolina primary on the 7th despite another strong finish from Buchanan. Bush goes on to sweep Super Tuesday on the 10th. Bush wins decisively in Michigan and Illinois primaries on the 17th.

Drawing a parallel to Truman’s efforts in the 1948 campaign to fight for reelection amidst a “do-nothing” congress, Pinkerton argues, "The country wants change and reform, and Congress has been blocking change and reform... When the American people worry, as they do about the quality of education, the welfare system, health care and the slowness of the economy, they should reflect on the fact that Congress has blocked the president's proposals for three years." (The Kansas City Star, 03/22/1992)

Pinkerton announces that welfare, educational, legal and government reform "will shape the Bush message of 1992... You'll see the debate in 1992 hinging on which candidate can best direct these changes." (The Detroit News, 03/29/1992)

Pinkerton reportedly joins an informal working group with Gingrich, Ritter and Hodsoll to find ways to raise interest in promoting quality in government.

April

Bush issues an executive order encouraging state and local agencies to sell public bridges, roads, tunnels, and sewage-treatment plants to private companies.

Speaking at Harvard University, Pinkerton likens Bush to Lincoln for leading the country through a fourth American revolution against the social welfare state.

When Mary Brunette is fired for announcing her plans to leave HUD to run the campaign of fellow-HUD official Tom Humbert in a race against a pro-Bush Republican, Pinkerton sends Humbert a $200 campaign donation.

Bush wins Pennsylvania primary on the 28th, effectively clinching renomination.

The Administration reportedly begins a pilot program of the Earth Conservation Corps in Los Angeles that relies on private industry and volunteers to train inner-city youths to work on environmental projects. After the Los Angeles riots begin
on the 29th, Pinkerton increases his calls for the campaign to adopt a GOP version of the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps. Pinkerton proposes that the Pentagon run the program to train impoverished youths to work on environmental projects.

May

Pinkerton says he is “very optimistic” about the growing bipartisan support for many New Paradigm policies such as urban enterprise zones and privatizing public housing. Pinkerton says, "If you start with the goal of everybody in this country having a decent opportunity, physical security and good life prospects, then it's obvious that we as a society have failed... So, therefore, that forces us to start rethinking what we're doing." Quoting President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Pinkerton adds, "It is common sense to take a method and try it... If it fails, admit it frankly and try another." (Los Angeles Times, 05/07/1992)

Supporting Kemp’s urban agenda to deal with the problems highlighted by the Los Angeles riots, Pinkerton says, "Jack Kemp changed the way Republicans talk and think in the 1980s and the way we do things domestically. The president this week gave a full-throttle endorsement of the program Kemp has pushed for three years." (The Washington Times, 5/18/1992)

July

Clinton begins to pull ahead of Bush in public opinion polls.

Pinkerton argues, “We share the frustration of the conservative and libertarian think tanks about this issue... Never in history has a president had to deal with a Congress that is this partisan and this liberal.” (The San Francisco Chronicle, 7/24/1992)

August

The Bush campaign reportedly considers the inclusion of Pinkerton’s new CCC proposal in its platform at the upcoming convention. Pinkerton, Charles Black and Vin Weber successfully remove language from the party’s platform that refers to the 1990 tax increase as a “mistake.”

Bush announces on the 13th that Baker will replace Skinner as Chief of Staff to head the campaign effective August 23rd. Skinner is to take over as National Republican Chairman.

Bush accepts Republican nomination in Houston for 1992 presidential election on the 20th. Pinkerton insists that, despite Buchanan’s attacks on homosexuality at the Republican National Convention, the Bush campaign wants to send an inclusive message to the American people.

September

Bush introduces his “Agenda for American Renewal” economic plan for his second term in a speech to the Detroit Economic Club on the 10th.
Bush takes offensive against Clinton on the 29th by proposing four presidential and two vice presidential debates.

**October**

Perot announces his return to the presidential race on the 1st.

Woodward writes scathing series on Bush’s economic record. Darman is reportedly suspected as a key source behind the series.

Pinkerton remains upbeat despite Bush’s sagging performance in the polls. “Some of us draw sustenance and comfort from history and precedent... You know, the conservatives in Britain, for example. John Major, from the right-of-center party, running for reelection -- that's the third consecutive reelection -- was behind in the polls, never ahead in the polls, for an entire campaigning season, and he even lost some of the exit polls, but, in fact, went on to win.” (*The Washington Post*, 10/07/1992)

Darman argues that, should Bush lose the election, no one would be more to blame than Pinkerton. His primary charge is reportedly that Pinkerton undermined the 1990 budget deal before it had a chance to pass. White House and campaign officials are surprised by the statement. Pinkerton responds, “I can't believe Dick said this.” (*The Chicago Sun-Times*, 10/9/1992)

Pinkerton argues that powerful constituencies within the Democratic party are forcing Clinton compromise his “New Covenant” positions, such as the National Education Association on school choice.

Candidates hold first presidential debate in Saint Louis on the 11th. The second debate is held in Richmond on the 15th and the third is held on the 19th.

Fitzwater announces on the 12th that Bush plans to dismiss his economic team in his second term should he be reelected.

Iran-contra Independent Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh enters indictment against Weinberger which calls Bush’s knowledge of the scandal into question on the 30th.


**November**

Clinton wins presidential election with 43% of vote on the 3rd. Bush finishes second with 38% of vote and Perot third with 19%. Both houses of Congress remain under Democratic control.
Pinkerton meets with a large group of young conservatives shortly after the election to bluntly discuss what went wrong in 1992 and how they could begin to rebuild the party.

In the wake of electoral defeat, Pinkerton, Bennett and Kristol reportedly consider launching a Republican equivalent of the Democratic Leadership Council to pursue a new message.

1993

January

Kemp and Bennett hold a news conference on the 12th to unveil “Empower America,” an organization created to produce new ideas and empowerment-oriented policies for the GOP in 1996. Pinkerton and Kristol both decide against participating in the organization.

Quayle speech writer Matthew Scully criticizes Darman, Pinkerton, Matalin and Victoria Clarke in a Washington Post article on the 17th, charging that each cared more about their own agendas than Bush’s.

Explaining in part why Bush lost the election, Pinkerton argues, “People don't care that you know until they know that you care... That's where the Bush administration fell down. It was also an issue of trust - we fell down on that one, too.” (USA Today, 1/20/1993)
James Pinkerton Suggested Topics
Prepared by Rob Martin
Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 01/20/2001

Joining the Bush Campaign
- Your background in the Reagan Administration and your experience working for Vice President Bush’s political action committee, “The Fund for America’s Future.”
- How you came to join the Bush campaign.
- Your work conducting opposition research and the use of negative advertisements in the campaign.
- Your relationship with Lee Atwater.
- Your perspective on the organization and effectiveness of the campaign.

Domestic Policy in the Bush White House
- Your responsibilities as Director of Policy Planning for the Bush Transition Team and your participation in the 100-Day Group.
- How you became Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning; your responsibilities, policy initiatives, and main activities in the White House; your role in the speech writing process; your position within the organizational structure of the White House; your relationship with Roger Porter.
- How domestic policy was made in the Bush White House; setting the Administration’s domestic agenda.
- The New Paradigm and the internal White House battle over the empowerment agenda.

The 1992 Reelection Campaign
- How you came to work on the reelection campaign; your role and responsibilities in the campaign.

The Bush Presidency in Retrospect
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Bush Administration?
- How would you evaluate domestic policy and the domestic policy making process in the Bush White House?
- What features of the Bush Administration were missed or misunderstood by the press?
- How should the Bush presidency be viewed in history?
TIMELINES

- James Pinkerton Timeline, prepared by Rob Martin, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 01/20/2001.

SELECTED WRITINGS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS


DOMESTIC POLICY MAKING IN THE BUSH WHITE HOUSE


1992 Election

