

JEB BUSH OUTED ©2015 Stephen L. Goldstein

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Preface

Fool me once with a Bush, shame on you. Fool me twice with a Bush, shame on me. Fool me with a Bush a third time , There is no God!

EB BUSH IS TO THE NATIONAL PRESS AND PUNDITS what Tom Sawyer was to those he conned into paying him to whitewash the fence. The more he's been able to put a positive spin on his obvious deficits, the more the chattering class has rewarded him with praise. And despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, even after leaving office, Jeb still enjoys a mostly stellar reputation as one of the nation's most successful governors.

Floridians like myself know better. In 1999, I began writing opeds for the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*, the same year Jeb became governor. Broadly speaking, he is not the man people say or may think he is—or that he would have us believe he is. As governor he was autocratic and hell-bent on imposing a right-wing social agenda. (See the case of Terri Schiavo, a Jeb-created national debacle and insult to anyone who believes in personal liberty.)

Without question, too many commentators accept Jeb's claim to knowing how to reform education across the country. And yet, his only experience in a classroom was a brief stint teaching English as a Second Language to students in Mexico when he was in prep school. Nor does the press challenge his push to convert traditional public schools into charter schools, because he claims they are so much better, though the one he helped start in Miami failed dismally. (A

1/11/15 article in the *New York Times* gives Jeb compassionate conservative credit for co-founding the school "in an impoverished Miami neighborhood," but neglected to mention that it was a flop.)

Pundits continue to gloss over the many warts of Jeb's eight years in Tallahassee that have become apparent since he left office—like his system rating students and schools which has had to be scrapped.

So, I have written this book to save America from the disaster of a Jeb Bush presidency. Disaster? Surely that's just partisan overstatement you might think. After all, we've had two previous Bush presidencies and we've recovered from them—or think we have. So, you might ask, Why is this Bush different from any other Bush?

Think the Supreme Court.

Three of the five ultra-conservatives now on the Supreme Court are Bush appointees. George H.W. gave us Clarence Thomas, one of the least qualified associate justices ever and a cynical replacement for Thurgood Marshall. In 2000, Thomas and a right-wing tilting Court paid Bush 41 back and made George W. president. He then returned the favor by giving it, and us, John Roberts and Samuel Alito.

With his father and brother having laid the foundation for (what is already) a (generally dependable) radical right-wing takeover of the Supreme Court, Jeb is chafing at the bit to ensure a super-majority conservative Court for years to come. One of his first priorities as Florida governor was to consolidate his power to appoint judges. And one of his greatest frustrations while he was in office was his inability to turn the Florida Supreme Court into his lapdog. If Jeb becomes president in 2016, he will likely have a chance to appoint who knows how many new justices. If he were to win a second term, it would be a virtual certainty. It would be the Bushes' most lasting (and devastating) legacy. Think "bye-bye" Roe v. Wade and "hello" more decisions like Citizens United.

The pages that follow expose Jeb's many policy failures and extremist positions as Florida governor that he no doubt would set

about to inflict upon the nation. Investment companies may include the disclaimer that "past performance is not a guarantee of future returns." But Jeb always regarded his past, perceived success in Florida as justification for his future as president. That's why it's so important to set the record straight.

Voters need to ask themselves if electing a third President Bush is in the best interests of the nation or if two from the Dynasty is already at least one too many. Put another way: Will the American media continue to be conned by Tom Sawyer Jeb, or will they finally graduate to the honesty of the kid in the "The Emperor's New Clothes" before it's too late?

Introduction: The Real Jeb Bush

The BUSH JEB WANTS YOU TO LOVE AND VOTE FOR is not the man he really is. He's now parading as the voice of moderation. Before a Congressional committee, the same man who as Florida governor swore he would never raise taxes had the chutzpah to say that, had he been president, he would have accepted the hypothetical deal that every tea party/GOP presidential candidate rejected when it was proposed to them in 2012 during one of their debates: \$10 in spending cuts for every \$1 in tax increases.

Jeb even has the gall to posture himself as the leading GOP spokesperson for bipartisanship—and against his take-it-or-leave-it, my-way-or-the-highway ideological rigidity. Meeting with reporters and editors in New York, he has been quoted lamenting the loss of an alleged GOP spirit of "working across the aisle": In "my dad's time or Ronald Reagan's time," he said, "they got a lot of stuff done with a lot of bipartisan support that right now would be difficult to imagine happening."

Don't be taken in by Jeb's "Kumbaya" or the buzz that's he's "evolved" from some of his former hardened positions. As my father always said, "the leopard doesn't change its spots." As Florida governor, Jeb was partisan, divisive, and autocratic. He set out to recreate the Sunshine State in his image—and let no one stand in his way.

No matter what he says or does during his campaign for the White House, he'd revert to type as soon as he was elected. Jeb's past actions in Florida are an informed predictor of his agenda if he ever became president. So, here's who he really is.

The three things that Jeb is fixated on are money, money, and money. His motto should be "Government-for-profit." No matter how lofty he

says his goals are, his real agenda is to dismantle government agencies and programs and redirect tax dollars into the coffers of for-profit businesses and private individuals with little or no oversight—in other words to transform government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" into a corporate state. Far beyond awarding no-bid contracts to cronies, he is out fundamentally to reshape government, what Noam Chomsky so succinctly labeled "profit over people."

In the columns that follow, Jeb's core values and perceptions crop up again and again: government can do no good (like public schools), the private sector can do no bad (like charter schools). But what he will never admit is that it's all about bucks. For example, as you will see in the section on education, under his leadership, charter schools, which were supposed to be laboratories of innovation that could strengthen public schools, have been turned into big businesses, both for-profit and non-profit, without any proof that they improve the quality of education. Jeb's rhetoric is that he wants to improve failing public schools. But he really wants to increase bottom lines.

I have written about Jeb and his agenda since 1999. Each of the next sections begins with an overview and is followed by a selection of my column(s) about a given subject ("deforming education," stacking the courts) in chronological order. They are brief, fast-moving, and to the point. You will be able to follow Jeb's take on issues over sixteen years as though you were there. No matter what Jeb or anyone else says about what he now thinks, you will have his record laid out undeniably from contemporary accounts.

A Note about Columns

Each CHAPTER BEGINS WITH A SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW of the columns that follow. The vast majority of them were first published in the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* from 1999 to 2014. A few were published on Contextflorida.com. A number are edited for space, some for content as well.

Edits are not extensive and do not change the general "take" of the pieces, but typically remove information inappropriate for someone reading them now. For example, in a number of cases, I omit my urging readers to call certain elected officials to weigh in for or against an issue, which would be a distraction for purposes of this book.

Anyone who wants to read the full text should Google the title along with my name and the *Sun-Sentinel* and/or ContextFlorida.

One

FAILURE: JEB YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND FOREVER?

Summary and Overview

F LORIDA HAS BEEN GREAT FOR JEB BUSH. But he hasn't returned the favor. He had everything going for him when he took the oath of office and became Florida's governor in 1999. His rise had been meteoric, except for a brash, ill-advised effort to defeat the state's popular incumbent.

An instant celebrity, Jeb had come to Florida in 1980 after his father was elected vice president and became active in Miami-Dade County politics. In 1986, Gov. Mel Martinez made him Florida's Secretary of Commerce—pure payback for his role in helping the governor get elected. He resigned in 1988, perfectly positioned to capitalize on the connections he had made to help his father's campaign for president—and his own eventual run for governor.

By 1998, having risen to rock-star status as the son of a former president and the brother of the Texas governor, a confident Jeb Bush ran for governor a second time—and wowed Floridians wherever he went. He had never held elective office, couldn't even claim to have been a success in business. All he pitched the public was warmedover Reaganomics, which even his father had called voo-doo, with the usual swipes at government bloat, the injustice of taxes, and the virtues of the private sector.

But, up against a weak Democrat, Jeb won with 55 percent of the vote. And, as a result of the gerrymandering of districts after the 1990

Census, Republicans dominated the Florida Legislature and were eager to do his bidding. He was sitting in the political catbird seat.

Which makes the failures of Jeb's eight years in office all the more tragic: Enjoying so much good will among average Floridians and so much raw political power, he could have transformed the state into a socially progressive and economically innovative model for the nation. Instead, he was consistently the messenger of "the one percent," squandered his golden opportunity to move Florida forward, as the following five columns prove—and continues even now to try to run the state behind the scenes.

In 2002, I tried to warn my fellow Floridians about the debacle of Jeb's first term as governor. The column "24 Reasons Not to Vote for Jeb Bush" was published just a few weeks before the election that year. The brutal, indisputable facts overflowing in it are a summary of his most glaring failed policies. But blessed with a bumbling Democratic opponent and a self-delusional electorate, Jeb was re-elected with 56 percent of the vote.

Published seven years after Jeb was first elected, "It's Money, Honey" recreates the irrational contradictions (aka insanity) of living in his Florida—among them: Miami, his "hometown," remained one of the poorest in the nation; a state which is basking in free solar power had no major alternative energy initiative; education budgets were so squeezed, public schools couldn't afford to serve kids orange juice, the "state" fruit.

Published four months after Jeb left office, "Official Neglect: Florida's Infrastructure Going to Pot" could have been titled "You don't get what you don't pay for." Relentless tax-cutters like Jeb score points with voters by claiming to return their money to them. But they fail to own up to how they are short changing them—until they discover the truth (and damage) for themselves, too often when it's too late and more costly. Stephen L. Goldstein

24 Reasons Not to Vote for Jeb Bush

October 16, 2002. Originally published in the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*

Bushwhacked Floridians are worse off than we were four years ago. Thanks to Jeb Bush's voodoo economics, smoke-and-mirrors education reforms, environmental poison pills and right-wing pandering, the state is in shambles. Florida needs regime change.

Here are 24 reasons to vote the governor out of office on Nov. 5:

1. Jeb has turned the \$3 billion surplus he inherited from Lawton Chiles into a deficit of between \$1.4 billion and \$4 billion.

2. The governor has engineered multibillion-dollar tax giveaways for corporations and the wealthiest Floridians.

3. Florida's pension fund lost \$355 million on its Enron investments, buying shares in the company when everyone was selling.

4. The average wage in Florida has dropped to just 87 percent of the national norm.

5. Florida is one of only 12 states in which median household income declined in 2001.

6. The governor promised to eliminate the backlog of 11,000 seniors on the waiting list for services through the Department of Elder Affairs. Today, the list has swelled to over 14,000.

7. Health insurance costs are spiraling out-of-control.

8. Jeb's prescription drug plan covers only 68,000 seniors, barely 2.5 percent of the state's older population.

9. In spite of Bushian buzzwords about improving education (FCAT, A+ Plan, vouchers and charter schools), Florida's high-school graduation rate has slipped from 44th to the worst in America.

10. SAT scores have dropped from 40th to 47th; ACT scores, from 35th to 38th.

11. Pre-Jeb, Florida was 29th nationally in spending per pupil; in 2001, it fell to 40th.

12. The governor's alleged \$3 billion increase in education funding is a figment of his imagination. Factor in inflation and student growth, and the money allocated per student has risen less than one-quarter of one percent.

13. Class size in Florida schools, among the worst in the nation, dropped from 42nd in 1998 to 44th in 2001.

14. Research cited by the U.S. Department of Education concludes that reducing class size to below 20 students leads to higher achievement, but the governor says he has "devious plans" to flout the constitutional amendment reducing class size if it passes Nov. 5 and he is re-elected.

15. Florida's teacher salaries have dropped from 28th to 31st in the nation.

16. A national study of higher education gave Florida a D- because of relatively high college costs and a D+ because comparatively few state residents go to college.

17. The governor has grabbed the power to appoint everyone on the state's 26 judicial nominating commissions, so he can stack the courts with right-wing judges opposed to abortion and likely to push a conservative agenda.

18. Candidate Bush promised to fix Florida's fostercare system in six months; Gov. Bush let the Department of Children & Families become a national scandal.

19. On the environment, Jeb talks the conservation talk, but doesn't walk the walk. In public, he says the right things; behind the scenes, he pushes developers' agendas.

20. The governor has appointed anti-environmentalists to water management districts, the Environmental Regulatory Commission and judgeships.

21. Ignoring the objections of more than 100 environmental and citizens' groups, Jeb signed a law which funds the state's portion of Everglades restoration, but includes a "poison pill" that restricts Floridians' ability to challenge developers who submit antienvironmental permit requests.

22. Violent crime in the state increased at six times the national average from 2001 to 2002.

23. For the first time since 1996, overall crime incidence in Florida increased.

24. The governor claims his 10-20-Life law has led to a decrease in gun crime, but the firearm crime rate was on

the decline before 10-20-Life and actually increased in 2001—for the first time since 1997.

In 1998, candidate Jeb asked you to give him four years, so he could create a better Florida. Many of you kept your end of the bargain; he didn't. "Fool me once; shame on you. Fool me twice; shame on me." The truth of the adage should not be lost on voters. Stephen L. Goldstein

A Tale of Two Floridas

July 21, 2004. Originally published in the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*

It is the best of times for privileged Floridians, it is the worst of times for everyone else. The state's 17 million men, women, and children live under the same sun—but in two unequal worlds.

One Florida is postcard-perfect—from Worth Avenue to Bal Harbour, from palm trees and private jets to oceanfront condos and Disney World. But deprived Florida is bleak and looking bleaker, thanks to Jeb and his bushwhackers in the state Legislature.

The Republican prescription for nourishing Florida's economy is the fiscal equivalent of telling an anorexic to diet. They have so starved the state of tax revenue, they're turning average Floridians into skin and bones—just so the rich can get richer.

According to the National Priorities Project, 13 percent of Florida families and 20 percent of children live in poverty, 12 percent of households are threatened by food shortages, 18 percent of the state's adults are without health insurance, and 43 percent of renters don't have affordable housing.

Still, it is the age of giving zillions of your dollars to Scripps Institute, while cutting health care for infants and children. After eight years of a Republicandominated Legislature, six with Jeb as governor, Florida fails our young. According to the latest Kids Count from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the state "still ranks 34th out of the 50 states and the District of Columbia on 10 indicators of child health and wellbeing. Sixteen percent of children are without health insurance."

It is the season of skyrocketing property values, but continuing to shortchange schools. According to the National Education Association, Florida ranked 43rd nationally for its expenditures per student in public K-12 education in 2003. The average salary for Florida teachers is 30th in the nation and increased a pitiful 1.2 percent from 1993 to 2003 in constant dollars.

It is the epoch of tax breaks for corporations, but a pox on the middle class and working poor. Republicans have failed to create the jobs they promised their policies would produce for Floridians.

According to the Economic Policy Institute, between March 2001 and May 2004, job growth in Florida was 3.5 percent, but working-age population growth was 6.2 percent, so the state was short 198,000 jobs. Plus, under President Bush's tax plan, 72,800 fewer jobs were created in Florida between June 2003 and May 2004 than were projected. In addition, job quality has been eroding. Dr. Bruce Nissen of FIU's Center for Labor Research and Studies writes that "Florida is gaining job share in industries with lower wages while it is losing job share in industries with higher wages." No wonder that 34 percent of Florida households had an income of less than \$25,000 and 58 percent earned under \$40,000, according to the National Household Travel Survey. (Miami, Jeb's adopted hometown, is the poorest or among the poorest cities in America.)

It is a time of taking blood from a stone—taxing the middle-class and poor—but giving a free ride to Florida's rich. Republicans defend a tax system that "soaks the poor and middle class," but "spares the wealthy," according to the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy. It calculates that the "effective rate" in state and local taxes for the richest 1 percent of Florida families, with average incomes of \$946,000, is a mere 2.7 percent.

The average tax rate on families earning between \$24,000 and \$38,000 is 9.8 percent. "But the tax rate on the poorest Florida families—those earning less than \$15,000—is the highest of all. At a whopping 14.4 percent, it is more than five times the effective rate on the wealthiest Florida families."

It was the winter of Republican skulduggery in Tallahassee, it was the spring of Democratic despair. Two Floridas—one greedy and getting greedier, the other barely eking by—cannot exist side-by-side longterm, the rich living off the poor. It is a far, far better

thing that Republicans need to do than they have ever done; it is a far, far more equitable tax system that they need to go to than they have ever known.

Pay now and extend the best of times to more Floridians, or pay more later in the worst of times when we all hang together. Stephen L. Goldstein

It's Money, Honey

March 15, 2006. Edited version, originally published in the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*

The GOP *booboisie* has transformed Florida into a grand old psychosis. Living here is livin' la vida loca not Ricky Martin's wild and crazy bacchanal, but garden-variety mishegaas that ain't fun. Daily, we're caught in a crossfire of contradictions that don't add up. If you've got half a brain, you've gotta be saying, "This state is schizo."

Oranges, oranges, everywhere, but not a drop to drink—in the Miami-Dade County schools. Republicans have so squeezed budgets, cafeterias can't afford to serve our state drink, have to substitute apple juice. When it was good for business, the Legislature found a way to ante up \$250 million for canker eradication. But, when it comes to a swig of Sunshine Vitamin C for South Florida kids, a rind is a terrible thing to waste.

It's mind-boggling: Republicans are using your tax dollars to pay Rolls Royce prices for Model T biotech research. The governor pushed a billion-dollar giveway for Scripps. Now, he wants taxpayers to ante up another \$630 million in corporate welfare to attract more scientists. Problem is, Jeb and radical Republicans won't allow tax money to be used for stem cell research. In California, Scripps will do human embryonic stem cell research; here, we're underwriting the biological equivalent of defective widgets.

Money, money, everywhere, but nothing for Miami. After eight Jeb years, the place he calls "home" remains one of the dirt-poorest in the nation. And yet, in his last (Thank God!) State of the State speech, he boasted that "[t]his is the year to take our progress to the next level to build an even bigger future for Florida." Hide your fatted calves, Miami, your prodigal son is returning, but he's still out to skin you.

It makes any sane person's head spin: Florida Republicans continue to allow adult gays and lesbians to be foster parents—but not adoptive parents. By their logic, it's OK for the children of abusive or irresponsible heterosexuals to be placed in a stable and caring environment with responsible homosexuals—as long as it's only temporary, because it's always best for them to be permanently in a heterosexual family. Duh!

Water, water, everywhere, but not a drop of security. When the push of a billion-dollar deal comes up against the shove of bad policy, a Bush's blood is always thicker than water. Jeb defended Dubya's Dubai debacle and the takeover of the Port of Miami. He insists our ports are protected; everyone else knows they're porous. Even in a red state, when a blue blood sees green, it's a black mark against him.

Six years after the 2000 election, we still don't have paper back-up for our electronic voting systems. (What are they trying to hide?) Instead of raising Florida's tightfisted teacher salaries, the governor proposes solving our criticial shortage of 31,000 teachers by giving them laptops. (Who would get that cushy contract?) The state is hiring thousands of temps at \$10 an hour to score the FCATs. (You flunk if you trust those results.) A state which is basking in free solar power has no major alternative energy initiative. (None of us would have had to go without electricity to the degree we did during the most recent hurricanes had Republicans not frittered away the last eight years.)

The list of contradictions is endless and only appears absurd—until you discover Republicans' real MO: It's the money, honey. They scare right-wing voters about looming "liberal" social issues—abortion, gay marriage to get them to elect conservatives. Then, in the name of free-market capitalism, they kill anything that improves the quality of life of average Floridians and divert the cash to line the pockets of their cronies.

Official Neglect: Florida's Infrastructure Going to Pot

2008 report proves Jeb Bush failed Florida by not adequately funding infrastructure!

April 26, 2009. Edited version, originally published in the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*

Give me an E, an N, a T, R, O, P, Y! And what have you got? The fact that everything in the universe goes to pot, wears down, fizzles out—including Florida's bridges, ports, schools, highways, flood control systems, and other critical infrastructure.

Give me an M, an O, N, E, Y! And what you got? Nothing! Florida needs \$200 billion over the next 20 years for infrastructure needs, but the Legislature doesn't seem willing to come up with it. That's not me talking, but civil engineer Fraser Howe, chairman of the committee that produced the 2008 "Report Card" on the state's infrastructure needs for the Florida Section of the American Society of Civil Engineers. It's a sobering assessment of what can only be called official neglect. Here are highlights of the full report: 1. Drinking water: Explosive population growth is straining Florida's freshwater resources, with many areas already running low on drinking-quality water. The state's water infrastructure needs an investment of \$15 billion by 2022.

2. Wastewater: Most of Florida's counties and cities cannot meet existing wastewater infrastructure needs.

3. Energy: Our per household consumption of electricity is among the highest in the nation. By 2020, the state's need for electrical generation will have grown by nearly 58 percent.

4. Bridges: More than 90 percent of Florida bridges are in excellent or good condition. However, the annual funding provided is inadequate to maintain that condition long-term.

5. Highways: Drivers in Miami, Orlando and Jacksonville combined waste more than 200 million hours and nearly 150 million gallons of fuel sitting in traffic—at a cost of more than \$3.8 billion to the state's economy.

6. Transit: Transit usage in Florida increased 30 percent from 2000 to 2006, However, only 20-25 percent of Florida's fixed route transit operating costs are paid for by operating revenues, a decline from 2000 and below the national average.

7. Ports: To remain competitive globally, a \$3.5 billion investment in Florida's dredging, port infrastructure and inter-modal transportation is required. Despite a \$6 return to the state's economy for every \$1 invested, Florida only plans to spend about \$2.23 billion by 2012.

8. Stormwater management: Each time it rains, runoff

from rooftops, lawns and streets picks up dust and dirt, oil and other pollutants. As the state's population grows, such pollution increases and water quality is increasingly at risk. Our stormwater management infrastructure requires an investment of at least \$12 billion to meet today's needs.

9. Flood control systems: By 2018, approximately \$750 million will be needed for capital improvements and long-term maintenance programs for Florida's flood control infrastructure. To provide flood protection, more than \$600 million is needed to purchase land in floodplains.

10. Coastal areas: Nearly 59 percent of Florida's 825 miles of sandy beaches are experiencing erosion. Just over 47 percent are experiencing "critical erosion," which threatens substantial development, recreational, cultural and environmental interests of their cronies.

Stephen L. Goldstein

Bush Dynasty: You Better Believe, He's Still Got Power in Florida

April 25, 2010. Originally published in the *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*

Jeb Bush is still Florida's governor, in his mind and in fact. Now, more than ever, he believes that he knows what's best for you and me. And now, more than ever, when he says jump, too many state legislators still ask, "How high?" These days, Jeb is pursuing at least a three-pronged strategy to remake the state in his image.

Jeb Strategy 1: Continuing to push his failed education agenda. For eight years, he used standardized testing, vouchers, charter schools, and privatization to gut public schools, without improving them. Ten years ago, Gov. Jeb abolished affirmative action in university admission and implemented One Florida to increase minority student access to state universities. But according to an *Orlando Sentinel* analysis, "minority enrollment...hasn't kept pace with the number of minorities graduating from high school."

But again this year, Jeb's been strong-arming members of the Legislature about how to improve education. State Sen. John Thrasher, a former board member of Jeb's Foundation for Florida's Future, was his errand boy, introducing Senate Bill 6, the muchmaligned merit-pay initiative that would have tied teachers' salaries to student achievement. The lapdogs in the Legislature did his bidding. But the public barked in such vast numbers, that Gov. Crist vetoed the measure.

Jeb Strategy 2: Rewriting the Florida Constitution to suit him. The most sinister of Jeb's current legislative efforts is his pushing a constitutional amendment that would allow unlimited state funding of religion, an assault on our historic separation of church and state.

The Florida Supreme Court took a similar amendment off the ballot after Jeb tried to get it passed two years ago, but he vowed never to give up. The wording of the joint resolution now working through the Legislature "[p]roposes to provide an amendment to the State Constitution to provide that an individual may not be barred from participating in any public program because of choosing to use public benefits at a religious provider and to delete a prohibition against using public revenues in aid of any church, sect, or religious denomination or any sectarian institution."

In addition, livid that Floridians had the audacity to pass a constitutional amendment reducing the size of public-school classes that he didn't want, Jeb's behind the push to overturn it again this year.

Jeb Strategy 3: Making Marco Rubio U.S. Senator.

The Bush Dynasty has anointed right-winger Rubio, after Charlie Crist bucked Jeb too many times, especially on constitutional issues. Jeb's been publicly mum, but his sons, with no credential but their name, have blessed Rubio.

Floridians enacted term limits to guard against oneman rule. After serving, most elected officials move on to other things—but not Jeb, after all he's got nowhere to go. He was the Dynasty's designee for the White House until his brother ruined it.

For many of us, eight years of Jeb's agenda was too much. It will take a generation to recover from his long list of failures; the sooner we start, the better.