

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

FOIA Number:  
2025-0373-S

# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

---

**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Chief of Staff, White House Office of  
**Series:** Card, Andrew, Files  
**Subseries:**

---

**OA/ID Number:** 08374  
**Folder ID Number:** 08374-014b

---

**Folder Title:**  
Political Affairs [2]

---

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2</b>	

---

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: → 10/2/89

TO: Fred McClure / Jim Wray / Joe Hagin  
FROM: ANDY CARD *Andy*

Sen. Ted Stevens gave JHS a note requesting that the President drop by the Senator's "only large fundraising event... held in Washington." It is Alaska Day, Wed. Oct. 18<sup>th</sup>, at the Madison Hotel.

Guidance? ? ?

The Gov. said that if it's easy we could do the drop-by.



9/7/89

TED STEVENS  
U. S. SENATOR FOR ALASKA  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510  
202-224-3004

John:

Alaska Day is Wednesday,  
October 18. We will hold a  
fundraising event at the  
Madison Hotel - in the Dolly  
Madison Ballroom - from 6 to 8  
P.M. This will be the only large  
fundraising event for my 1990

Campaign held in Washington if to come.

My request is that the  
President stop by this event  
as the Honored guest - and, of  
course, the time for that visit  
is up to him.

Thanks for your help  
JW

AC HAS SEEN ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

10/10/89

TO:

*andy card*

FROM:

**JAMES W. CICCONI**

**Assistant to the President and  
Deputy to the Chief of Staff**

**Information**

**Action**

**Let's Discuss**

*John -  
We gave the  
request to the  
Governor since the  
President is going  
to call 1st thing  
on Tue. Budie*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

October 9, 1989

1989 OCT 10 AM 8:49

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: ATTORNEY GENERAL DAVE FROHNMEYER

DATE: October 10, 1989  
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. E.D.T.

This time will be just prior to Frohnmeyer's press conference announcing his candidacy for Governor of the State of Oregon

RECOMMENDED BY: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*

PURPOSE: To wish Dave Frohnmeyer good luck as he announces his candidacy for Governor, challenging Democrat Governor Neil Goldschmidt in 1990.

BACKGROUND: Dave Frohnmeyer is currently the Attorney General in Oregon. He is considering challenging Democrat incumbent Neil Goldschmidt in 1990. Frohnmeyer is the most popular elected official in the state of Oregon according to recent polls and is the Republicans' best hope of capturing the Governorship in 1990.

A recent statewide poll in Oregon regarding the governor's race indicated that Frohnmeyer is ahead of Goldschmidt. The results were as follows:

Frohnmeyer	45%
Goldschmidt	41%
Undecided	14%

Frohnmeyer's brother, John, was recently appointed to head the National Endowment for the Arts.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: October 9, 1989

TELEPHONE #: (503) 772-9291 (the home of his parents)

ACTION: 3 requests

1. Personal Support
2. " Appearance -
3. Timber supply - critical national problem

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 9, 1989

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: ATTORNEY GENERAL DAVE FROHNMEYER

DATE: October 10, 1989  
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. E.D.T.

This time will be just prior to Frohnmeyer's press conference announcing his candidacy for Governor of the State of Oregon

RECOMMENDED  
BY:

JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*

PURPOSE: To wish Dave Frohnmeyer good luck as he announces his candidacy for Governor, challenging Democrat Governor Neil Goldschmidt in 1990.

BACKGROUND: Dave Frohnmeyer is currently the Attorney General in Oregon. He is considering challenging Democrat incumbent Neil Goldschmidt in 1990. Frohnmeyer is the most popular elected official in the state of Oregon according to recent polls and is the Republicans' best hope of capturing the Governorship in 1990.

A recent statewide poll in Oregon regarding the governor's race indicated that Frohnmeyer is ahead of Goldschmidt. The results were as follows:

Frohnmeyer	45%
Goldschmidt	41%
Undecided	14%

Frohnmeyer's brother, John, was recently appointed to head the National Endowment for the Arts.

DATE OF  
SUBMISSION: October 9, 1989

TELEPHONE #: (503) 772-9291 (the home of his parents)

ACTION:

---

AC HAS SEEN ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 5, 1989  
4:00pm

NOTE TO GOVERNOR SUNUNU

Political Affairs has given us the "heads-up" that Congressman Gingrich will be calling you on behalf of June Weiss, GOPAC.

There is a misunderstanding regarding the location of their "White House Reception" hosted by you. They think it will be on the State Floor -- Political is planning it for the Indian Treaty Room explaining that receptions are not held in the Residence unless the President and Mrs. Bush are in attendance.

GOPAC is very upset with this arrangement and have asked Gingrich to appeal to you.

katie

cc: Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1989

Dear Mr. Britton:

Thank you for your recent letter and current press release from your campaign.

I have passed your information along to the White House Office of Political Affairs for their information. They appreciate hearing from the many different campaigns from around the country in order to monitor the progress of Republican candidates.

Best wishes and good luck on election day.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Andy Card".

Andrew H. Card, Jr.  
Assistant to the President and  
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Myron Britton  
1878 Willoughby Avenue  
Ridgewood, New York 11385

1878 Willoughby Avenue  
Ridgewood, N.Y. 11385

September 27, 1989

Home # 1 (718) EU 60258

Bus # 1 (212) 775-1300

Mr. Andrew Card  
Deputy Chief - Of - Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Card:

Further to my recent letter to you, and especially the enclosures with that letter, I thought you might want to see a second news release, this one stating my platform. Thank you for your consideration! - With a hope I may hear from you concerning moral support for the non-city-wide, local candidates, I remain,  
Sincerely,  
Myron D. Butler

News Release # 2

The Difference Is Remembering: a Plat-  
form.

Myron J. Britton in a bid to be elected to the City Council from the 21<sup>ST</sup> Councilmanic District in western Queens unveiled recently a platform he characterized as finally finding the forgotten.

In a statement announcing his platform, he describes what he feels the issues are in this campaign.

"Our senior citizens are forgotten at a very important time in their lives. That time is when they decide to sell those lifelong investments - the land and property which they worked and sacrificed for and looked upon as their future security. If they choose not to repurchase but merely want to sell to obtain funds for retirement, for dignified refuge in a nursing home, whatever, they find the taxation under current law a confiscation of their nest egg. There are not only federal and state capital gains taxes, and state

transfer taxes, but, to the point, city transfer taxes. If elected, I will work for tax relief - at the very least, to try to spread the taxes over a period of years so as not to be one insufferable shock at the time of sale.

“ Sometimes it is good to forget terrible experiences. Other times it is good to remember them so that we can learn from them. If elected, I will be a council member who will remember what happened in Maspeth. All communities that make up our district must be protected against poorly performed construction jobs.

“ Whenever the city wants to raise money, it is the middle class communities of our district that are persecuted. Fairness is forgotten. If elected, I will work to restrain the unfair use of tickets in our district to raise money for the city. Ignoring worse things in other districts perceived as less affluent,

descending on our district because we are perceived as being more able to pay tickets, is simply not remembering what this country is all about - we are all equal before the law.

"When it comes to paying our taxes, who is remembered? When it comes to getting our money's worth from our taxes, who is forgotten? If elected, I will remember who the boss is, who is paying the bills - whether we are dealing with broken parking meters or essential city services."

Mr. Britton is endorsed by Senator Maltese, former Assemblywoman Rosemary R. Gunning, Mr. Vincent G. Downing, Queens County Conservative Party Chairman, Mrs. Lena R. Harknett, New York State Chairman Right To Life Party.

The General Election is November 7.

AC has seen ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/22

TO: Andy Card

FROM: **JAMES P. PINKERTON**  
**Deputy Assistant to the President**  
**for Policy Planning**

Here's more on

Gephardt.



# Republican National Committee

**Don Todd**  
Director of Opposition Research

## MEMORANDUM

**TO:** Jim Pinkerton  
Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning

**FROM:** B. Jay Cooper *BJC*  
Director of Communications

**PREPARED BY:** Don Todd  
Director of Opposition Research

**DATE:** September 20, 1989

**SUBJECT:** Gephardt Material

Attached is the material you requested on House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt.

Table of Contents

The Nine Faces of Dick Gephardt.....	1
The ACLU and Gephardt: Two Peas in a Pod.....	7
Gephardt's Anti-Trade Agenda.....	10
The World of Dick Gephardt.....	12
Partial Listing Gephardt's PAC Contributions.....	14
Richard Gephardt Biography.....	15

## THE NINE FACES OF DICK GEPHARDT

In 1987 and 1988 Dick Gephardt traveled the country pursuing the Presidency. But Dick the Presidential Candidate was poles apart from Dick the Congressional Candidate.

Some Introductions are Clearly in Order ...

Dick Gephardt "Defender of Social Security" Meet Dick Gephardt "Enemy of Social Security".

On May 23, 1985, Dick voted in favor of an amendment [H.C.R. 152] that sought to impose a one-year freeze on COLA's for Social Security, veterans compensation, and Federal retirement.

On January 15, 1985, Washington Post reporter Dan Balz quoted Dick,

"When you put anything [social security] off bounds, saying you would not even think about it, you can often find yourself in a position where the other alternatives are as difficult, if not more difficult."

(The Washington Post, 1/15/85)

Dick then ran around claiming that the "political establishment" was "just waiting for the election to be over so they can go back to trying to cut Social Security."

(The Washington Post, 1/28/88)

"Any Democratic president who agrees to reduce Social Security is no Democrat at all."

(The Washington Post, 1/7/88)

"I'll take Social Security out of the budget so people won't be tempted by it. It would be wrong and immoral to cut it to compensate for mistakes in other areas of the budget, such as defense spending."

(The Washington Post, 11/21/87)

"Ronald Reagan and his administration wants [sic] to cut Social Security every chance they get and that's why we need a Democratic president in 1988."

(Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11/20/87)

**Dick Gephardt "Man of Convictions" Meet Dick Gephardt "Presidential Candidate."**

- o In 1978, Americans for Democratic Action gave Dick a rating of 35%. His rating for 1988 was more than twice that.
- o In 1978, the American Conservative Union gave Dick a rating of 33%. In 1986 and 1987, Dick's rating fell to 0%.
- o In 1978, the National Taxpayer's Union gave Dick a rating of 58%. For 1986, Dick's rating dropped to 26%.

**National Journal Ratings:**

Dick's economic conservative rating went from 22% in 1985 to 0% in 1986; his social conservative rating fell from 43% in 1985 to 0% in 1986; and his foreign policy conservative rating dropped from 37% in 1985 to 25% in 1986.

**Dick Gephardt "Advocate of Prayer in School" Meet Dick Gephardt "Opponent of Prayer in School".**

- o On September 9, 1981, Dick voted in favor of school prayer [Walker Amendment HR 4169].
- o On July 26, 1984, Dick voted against the Walker Amendment HR 11 to stop federal aid to states prohibiting vocal and silent prayer in public schools.

As one St. Louis Post-Dispatch story notes, on Aug. 7, 1981, Dick "issued a news release accusing Reagan of putting too low a priority on the issues of busing, abortion and prayer in public schools" -- all causes Dick has since abandoned. Dick said in the news release:

"The president's decision is a disappointment to those in the Congress who represent constituencies for whom these and other social issues represent the government's resolve to reverse the misguided social trends of the '60s and '70s."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

**Dick Gephardt "Defender of the Family Farm" meet Dick Gephardt Enemy of the American Consumer".**

"You've got to have supply-management. That's what the Harkin-Gephardt Save The Family Farm Act is about."

(United Press International, 11/3/87)

"By passing all of Harkin-Gephardt we can begin to turn the rural economy of this nation around and save some \$12 billion in current (farm) program costs in the process."

(United Press International, 10/15/87)

The experts [including the United States Department of Agriculture] don't see eye-to-eye with Dick. Dick voted against legislation in 1978 that promoted crop inventories management -- basically the same thing he is now proposing.

(U.S. News & World Report, 2/8/88)

The Economic Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture estimates that Dick's plan would destroy approximately 2.2 million jobs in farm-related industries.

("Agriculture's Links to the National Economy: Income and Employment," 10/86)

The Food & Policy Research Institute (FAPRI) estimate Dick's plan will dictate an eventual rise in the price of wheat from the current price of approximately \$2.50 per bushel to \$7.60. Cotton would go from 47 cents per pound to \$1.39, soybeans from \$4.68 per bushel to \$13.70, and corn from \$1.34 per bushel to \$5.55.

FAPRI estimates that Dick's plan would necessitate an additional annual food payment of \$65.5 billion for consumers. The average family of four would pay an additional \$1,000 per year for food.

Under Dick's plan, people with incomes at 125 percent of the poverty level and below would pay \$7.4 billion more for food. Each low-income family of four would pay an additional \$625 more out of already limited budgets.

("The Commodity Supply Management Program," FAPRI Staff Report, 2/87)

("Consequences of S. 2869, "SAVE THE FAMILY FARM ACT," Office of Economics, USDA)

**Dick Gephardt "Right to Lifer" meet Dick Gephardt "Pro-Choicer".**

**On January 27, 1977, Dick Gephardt put on the permanent Congressional record the following statements:**

"Life is the division of human cells, a process which begins with conception. It cannot be a partial fact."

"While 'life' may elude definition, the word 'person' should not. The Declaration of Independence asserts 'all men are created equal.' It follows that a person becomes such when he is created and that, in my opinion, is the factual point when life begins."

(Congressional Record, 1/27/77)

"The ruling [Supreme Court: Roe v. Wade] was unjust, and it is incumbent on the Congress to correct the injustice. The amendment my colleague and I introduce today will do just that. It establishes the right to life of any person regardless of age, health, function, or condition of dependency, including the unborn at every stage of biological development."

(Congressional Record, 1/27/77)

The Nation's Health magazine picked up a rather different attitude when they asked Dick, "Do you support the principle that abortion should be a matter of choice for women?" Dick said the following:

"Yes, it should be a matter of choice."

"I do not believe current federal law regarding abortion needs to be changed and I would not use the views of a prospective judicial nominee on this or any other single issue as a 'litmus test' when appointing federal judges."

(The Nation's Health, 12/87)

**Dick Gephardt "the Saint" Meet Dick Gephardt the "Fallen Angel".**

The St. Louis Post Dispatch reports that on several occasions, Dick spoke out against outside incomes and government-subsidized insurance policies for congressmen. This Missouri newspaper notes that Dick often made the following statement:

"I do not accept honoraria as well."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

According to the paper, in addition to his \$75,100 congressional salary, Dick took in \$22,425 from honoraria -- only \$105 shy of the limit. Dick said:

"Obviously, you have financial considerations, with two homes and all that goes with it."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

**Dick Gephardt "Enemy of the Oil Industry" Meet Dick Gephardt "Friend of the Oil Industry".**

Then ...

In the 95th Congress, Dick voted against the Kruegar-Brown amendment to remove new onshore natural gas from federal price controls (8/3/77).

In the 96th Congress, Dick voted against the Breaux-Dingell amendment to the Alaskan Lands Act (5/16/79) that would have permitted more mineral leasing.

Dick endorsed an amendment by James Shannon of Massachusetts to "toughen" the Windfall Tax on Crude Oil. (6/28/79)

US News & World Report points out that Dick once opposed an oil-import fee "because he claimed it would be inflationary and produce a windfall for big oil companies."

(US News & World Report, 2/8/88)

**Now ...**

"I'm for an oil import fee, which is a revenue, a tax measure, that would increase costs for the American people."

(United Press International, 1/7/88)

"I am for an oil import fee, not because it's popular in New Hampshire and Iowa and a lot of places, but because it's the right thing to do for this country. It's a good national policy."

("DNC Presidential Debate," 10/7/87)

Fellow-Democrat Bruce Babbitt stated that, "The oil import fee is basically a gift to big oil. Two-thirds of everything we collect is a gift to oil companies."

(Cedar Rapids Gazette, 11/9/87)

**Dick "The Promoter of a Strong America" Meet Dick "The Grand Appeaser."**

In 1981, Dick protested that "Democrats can't look weak on defense."

(US News & World Report, 2/8/88)

**Then ...**

Dick's 1982 American Security Council rating was 90%.

On July 9, 1981, Dick voted against an amendment that sought to reduce the air force authorization for research, development, testing, and evaluation by \$2,408,000,000 and to eliminate all funding for the MX basing system and missile program. [H.R. 3519]

(Congressional Record)

On November 18, 1981, Dick voted against an amendment that sought to delete \$1.9 billion in funding for the MX missile and its basing mode. [H.R. 4995]

(Congressional Record)

Dick backed weapons "such as the neutron bomb and nerve gas."

(St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 6/8/87)

**Now ...**

This September, Dick stated, "The American people will not and should not put a Democrat in the White House if they believe we are the party of a weak America."

(United Press International, 9/24/87)

- o Dick's 1987 and 1988 American Security vote rating was 0%.
- o On March 11, 1987, Dick voted for a moratorium on Contra funding. [HJR 175]
- o On May 12, 1987, Dick voted in favor of the Bennett Amendment to cut SDI funding from \$5.7 billion to \$3.1 billion. [HR 1748]
- o On May 13, 1987, Dick voted for the Hertel Amendment to delete \$250 million for the MX missile rail garrison deployment.
- o On June 23, 1987, Dick voted against the Walker Amendment that prohibited Americans from aiding the military operations of the Sandinistas. [HR 1777]

## THE ACLU AND GEPHARDT: TWO PEAS IN A POD

"... I really think that in running for Congress and running for the Senate, and running for President, you need to set out your views on issues as honestly and candidly as you can. And people will make the judgement."

("Evans and Novak Report", 10/05/85)

### DEATH PENALTY

#### The ACLU on capital punishment ...

"The ACLU is widely known as one of the most persistent critics of the death penalty. It has been active in appealing the death sentence even when its assistance has not been wanted by the candidate for execution.

"... The campaign inspired the national ACLU to launch a two-year study of the issue. The new policy argued that the death penalty denied equal protection of the laws, was cruel and unusual punishment, and removed the guarantees of due process."

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; pp. 266-267)

#### Gephardt on capital punishment ...

"Gephardt sounded the same theme and denounced [Judge] Bork for opposing affirmative action and the right to abortion, as well as his position in favor of the death penalty."

(United Press International, 7/6/87)

### PRAYER IN SCHOOL

#### The ACLU on prayer in school ...

"... The ACLU has led the opposition. Sensing that time was of the essence, the Union published an ad in the New York Times just after Reagan's election. The subject occasioned an ACLU jeremiad: 'The Moral Majority -- and other groups like them -- think that children should pray in school. Not just their children. Your children.' The title of the ad showed how worrisome the organization was: 'If the Moral Majority Has Its Way You'd Better Start Praying.'"

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; p. 307)

### **Gephardt on prayer in school ...**

"... Gephardt insisted that he never shared Reagan's belief that a Constitutional amendment was needed that would allow oral prayer in schools, directed by teachers. Gephardt said recently he favors no strengthening of current federal law, which goes only as far as allowing religious clubs in schools to use the same facilities after school as other groups."

(Scripps Howard News Service, 6/20/87)

### **ABORTION**

#### **The ACLU's position on abortion ...**

"The American Civil Liberties Union asserts that a woman has a right to have an abortion -- that is, a termination of pregnancy prior to the viability of the fetus -- and that a licensed physician has a right to perform an abortion, without the threat of criminal sanctions."

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; p. 99)

#### **Gephardt's position on abortion ...**

"Yes, it [abortion] should be a matter of choice.

"I do not believe current federal law regarding abortion needs to be changed and I would not use the views of a prospective judicial nominee on this or any other single issue as a 'litmus test' when appointing federal judges."

(The Nation's Health, 12/87)

#### **The facts on Gephardt:**

"Indeed, the record shows that Gephardt has traveled a long way since he first ran for congress in 1976. 'A Pro-Life Promise,' said Gephardt's campaign advertisement in a newspaper that year. A grinning, youthful Gephardt, appearing with his wife and two children pledged in the ad to work for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion."

(The Los Angeles Times, 2/29/88)

**Senator Gore even talks about Gephardt's position on abortion ...**

"SEN. GORE: ... 'But I do not believe the federal government has the right to tell a woman when she can and cannot have an abortion. Now, that is one of the issues upon which Congressman Gephardt has changed 180 degrees. And it's not a case of just having one or two or three issues where he has changed 180 degrees. There is a long, long list of issues. You can't tell whether or not the views he is enunciating today are the ones that he will have tomorrow[.]'"

("NBC Meet the Press", 2/21/88)

**COVERT ACTIONS**

**ACLU on U.S. covert actions ...**

"... A new policy entitled 'ACLU Role in International Civil Liberties Matters' was adopted. The Union announced that it was its belief that 'the United States Constitution requires the same standard of conduct for government personnel (whether civilian or military) overseas as it requires at home.' Specifically, the board claimed that 'a policy of secrecy' encouraged civil liberties violations[.]"

(The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, William A. Donohue, 1985; p. 209)

**Moreover ...**

"Covert actions by U.S. intelligence agencies are always unconstitutional (Policy 117). The press must be allowed access to combat zones from the beginning and must be notified in advance (Policy 8). (No Grenada, no raid on Libya.)

"On military secrecy: 'The need and the right of the people to know outweighs any governmental interest in concealing military action' (Policy 7)."

(The Washington Times, 10/19/88)

**Gephardt on U.S. covert actions ...**

"... I'd rather spend that money on strengthening education at home, rather than burning schools in Nicaragua. The contra was a bad idea, and bad ideas never get better. When the CIA mined the harbors of Nicaragua, we were embarrassed. Then the CIA produced a manual telling people how to assassinate people and we were embarrassed again. Then our government sold arms to the Ayatollah and solicited money for the contras from the government of South Africa, and the whole world, again, knew that we had lost our moral compass."

("1988 Debates", 8/27/87)

## GEPHARDT'S ANTI-TRADE AGENDA

### DICK THE PROTECTIONIST

Dick Gephardt's trade policies are blatantly protectionist. The Gephardt amendment sought to impose tariffs and quotas on foreign countries interpreted as having an excessive trade surplus with the United States.

Or, in Gephardt's own "Dick-speak":

"... It's not protectionism; its promotionism. It's anti-patsyism."

("Firing Line," 7/1/87)

"Gephardt said last week that while he supports open markets and free trade, 'we have been on the losing end of that ... I think Congress has to put a limit on the hemorrhage.'"

(The Washington Post, 9/16/85)

### DICK THE XENOPHOBE

Gephardt seems to enjoy bashing foreigners, typically at a hysterical, fever pitch:

"This is your country. It's not theirs, it's not anyone else's."

"Most notably, Gephardt has stepped up assaults on Japanese and Koreans, accusing them of not only unfair trading but also of seemingly unrelated sins, such as sponging off the United States and Running an inferior political system."

"... In Japan and some other countries, when they want to pick a prime minister, five or six people go into a room and pick somebody," he said. "We don't do that here."

"Japan's leader, usually the head of the major political party, actually is elected by the nation's 600-member parliament."

(The Los Angeles Times, 1/24/88)

His special friends agree. In support of Gephardt, and advocating a more literal interpretation of the Gephardt amendment, Frank Wallick, a United Auto Workers (UAW) spokesman, states:

"... The only way to get the attention of Japanese, Taiwanese and Koreans is to beat them over the head."

(Minneapolis Star & Tribune, 7/6/87)

An editorial in U.S. News and World Report sums up the Gephardt world-view:

"... Democrat Richard Gephardt has clearly tapped into a rich xenophobic vein with his slurs against the trade practices of Korea (read Japan)."

(U.S. News and World Report, 3/14/88)

**DICK THE PANDERING POLITICIAN**

In reality, Gephardt's trade policies are self-promotionism, not promotionism. He wrongly assumes that the American voters are patsies to his empty, xenophobic rhetoric, not to Japan or Korea. No one is fooled.

Hobart Rowen sums up the Gephardt strategy best:

"The pitch is both slick and classic: you folks are being victimized by those wicked foreigners."

(The Washington Post, 2/11/88)

Even Jesse Jackson admits that Gephardt goes too far.

"... The civil-rights leader describes the Gephardt amendment aimed at exporting nations as demagogic and defeatist, and says it invites retaliation. 'You get a big applause,' Jackson says of the Gephardt trade position, 'but it's cheap.'"

(Wall Street Journal, 5/22/87)

## THE WORLD OF DICK GEPHARDT

### Dick's Poignant Economic Insights On:

#### Five years of continued economic growth ...

"The thing we got to do in '88 is tell this country the truth, and that is that Reaganomics is a total disaster and has to be rejected for a new Democratic plan for real growth in this economy."

("Democratic Presidential Candidate's Forum", 10/7/87)

#### ... his commentary on record economic growth ...

"At home, our wages are falling; the middle class is shrinking; the number of people in poverty is increasing."

(The Washington Post, 2/24/87)

#### ... and his prescriptions for success:

"Ask the businesses of this country to stop merging and pushing paper around and start creating jobs and creating wealth."

("Democratic Presidential Candidate's Forum", 10/7/87)

"Gephardt said that when House Democrats act on the budget, they will consider all options, including cutting defense spending and Social Security and raising taxes."

(The Washington Post, 1/14/85)

#### Gephardt, Master of the Understatement:

"Gephardt said that the 'The Reagan Administration has put the Constitution through a shredder.'"

(The New York Times, 7/16/87)

#### Gephardt Assesses Eight Great Years:

"Reagan and his callous crowd have locked out the poor ... while they revel in selfishness and greed."

(Louisville Courier-Journal, 6/16/87)

#### A Democrat of True "Sincerity":

"A day without Iowa to me is like a day without sunshine."

(Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

## The Gephardt School of Bipartisanship

"'Hitler would have loved these people,' Mr. Gephardt said, referring to the vice-president and other Republicans supporting him [Bush] in the race for the White House."

(The Washington Times, 10/25/88)

**PARTIAL LISTING OF GEPHARDT'S PAC CONTRIBUTIONS**

(1984 and 1988 races for House and President)

In 1988, Dick Gephardt took in more PAC money for his U.S. House race than any other candidate -- Democrat or Republican, incumbent or challenger.

The Washington Post reported on May 10, 1989 that he raked in \$610,000. That's even more than Tony Coelho or Jim Wright!

Among his "friends" are:

- o Handgun Control, Inc. PAC gave \$500 on 06/20/88
- o Handgun Control, Inc. PAC gave \$500 on 09/26/88

Gephardt's not particular. He takes money from the gun control crowd, from the NRA and from anti-gun Rep. Ed Feighan!

- o The National Rifle Association gave \$83 on 10/17/84
- o Feighan for Congress Committee gave \$1000 on 06/29/87

**Birds of a Feather?**

- o Coelho for Congress Committee gave \$1000 on 06/29/87

## BIOGRAPHY

REP. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT (D-MO)

### Personal History

Richard Gephardt, a Baptist, was born Jan. 31, 1941, to Loreen Cassell Gephardt and the late Louis A. Gephardt. He married Jane Anne Byrnes in 1965. They have three children: Matthew (16), Christine (14), and Katherine (9). Gephardt establishes his "educated family man" image through affiliations with Kiwanis, Boy Scouts (he was an Eagle Scout), Children's United Research Effort, and the Missouri Bar Associations. He completed his undergraduate work at Northwestern University and graduated from the University of Michigan Law School in 1965.

### Career: Non-Political

From 1965 through 1971, Gephardt served in the Missouri Air National Guard where he attained the rank of captain. From 1965 through 1977, he was an attorney and partner in the St. Louis law firm of Thompson and Mitchell. During this time (1971-1973), he was chairman of the Young Lawyer's section of the Bar Association of Metropolitan St. Louis.

### Career: Political

Gephardt was elected Democrat alderman of the 14th Ward of the City of St. Louis and served from 1971 through 1977. In 1976, he was elected to represent Missouri's 3rd Congressional District and has had little trouble getting re-elected. While the 3rd District has been voting Republican at the presidential level (65% for Reagan in 1984), it still has Democrat potential in state and local races. He defeated his 1986 opponent, Roy Amelong, with a vote margin of 69-31%. Gephardt outspent Amelong \$286,689 to \$5,000. He ran for the Democrat presidential nomination in 1988, but exited from the race and filed for re-election to his seat in the House.

### Committee Assignments

Gephardt has stood out in the House and had virtually no trouble winning the position of Democratic Caucus Chairman. His assignments include the House Committee on Ways and Means, the Budget Committee, and the Select Committee on Population. Gephardt makes maximum use of his House positions to further his name recognition. He was considered the clear front-runner in the race to get the bloc of congressional Democrat convention delegates and had the support of at least 80 House members by the time he left the race.

## Major Issues

Gephardt's priority issues include trade, education, agriculture, and health care cost-containment. Special attention should be paid to his current versus past stances on abortion, health care, and the minimum wage. (See "Weaknesses" below.) Additionally, Gephardt's vote for the 1981 tax reform package became an issue. In Iowa, his rivals (particularly Simon) made it a negative. Likewise, Gephardt sounded defensive about his vote when he was there. In New Hampshire, however, Gephardt boasted about his stance on taxes and directed criticism at Dukakis and Simon on the issue. As Simon's bid for the nomination continued to weaken, Gephardt's trade amendment and farm program got more attention. Gephardt used these policy proposals to spearhead his effort to develop a thematic vision for his campaign. His various position "flip flops" were targets for attacks by Dukakis and Gore. The "crossfire" of negative ads by these campaigns is considered the reason for Gephardt poorer-than-expected showing in the Super Tuesday primaries.

## Issue Stands

- o Opposed raising the Social Security retirement age to 67.
- o Opposed authorization of procurement of 21 MX missiles.
- o Opposed reducing dairy price supports.
- o Opposed freezing physicians' fees under Medicare.
- o Opposed cutting education spending.
- o Opposed revising immigration laws.
- o Favored capping the tax cut.
- o Favored establishment of domestic content.
- o Favored limiting abortions.
- o Favored a nuclear freeze.
- o Favored barring covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua.
- o Favored aid to freedom fighters in Nicaragua.
- o Favored passing the Equal Rights Amendment.

## Political Assessment

Gephardt is constantly labeled one of the young "shining stars" in the Democratic Party. He has a reputation in the House as a hard worker -- someone who takes on boring jobs that require some amount of effort. He is, however, both a workhorse and a show horse. His name is connected with almost every in-the-news legislative issue.

The first Democrat to declare his bid for the nomination, Gephardt channeled all of his considerable energy and determination into winning his party's nomination. He became adept at one-on-one "politicking" during his days as a St. Louis alderman when he did things like personally collect his constituents' garbage in a creative answer to their complaints. Gephardt has a carefully cultivated appeal to teachers, feminists, left-wing farmers, union members and even motion picture artists. Organization and tenacity are his strengths, and Democrat analysts knew it would be hard to best Gephardt in drive, effort, or self-discipline. His speaking style, traditionally quiet and serious, became filled with fiery Populist rhetoric. By using such rhetoric, Gephardt turned Dukakis' lead in South Dakota around and ended up winning the primary. He noticeably lightened up on his trade/Populism theme in the Super Tuesday states and suffered for it (winning only his home state of Missouri). Gephardt effectively bypassed the Illinois primary and his showing was predictably poor. The final (but not official) vote revealed that he had won only two percent of the popular vote and no delegates. This dropped Gephardt to fifth place in delegate totals and left him in a "last stand" position in Michigan. He failed this test, losing out to Dukakis and Jackson, and exited the race for the nomination on March 28, 1988.

### **Political Strategy**

Gephardt followed a Carteresque game plan. He made a big play for Iowa and it paid off. If he was hoping to emerge the clear victor, however, he was disappointed. Simon, at last report, came as close as 3 percentage points to Gephardt. Gephardt's lead was, however, apparently large enough to bring him a second place finish in New Hampshire. His failure in the Super Tuesday races was a great blow to Gephardt's position. What was beginning to look like a race between Dukakis and Gephardt became, overnight, a battle between Dukakis and Gore (and now, between Dukakis and Jackson). In his battle to win the Democrat nomination, Gephardt adhered fairly closely to the "successful candidate" profile prepared by Patrick Caddell:

- o He was the "inside insurgent"; representing change, but still able to gain support within the party from leaders, etc.
- o He represented "broad mainstream values."
- o He had a "thematic expression," an ability to promote a national message.

His campaign manager, William Carrick, has stated that the basic Gephardt strategy was "to do a Carter." Gephardt was strongly emphasizing a Populist theme in the first primary states, but slacked off slightly for the Super Tuesday primaries. Having pulled out a win in Iowa, a second place in New Hampshire, and a surprise win in South Dakota, Gephardt Super Tuesday showing was surprisingly poor. Gephardt's strategists lightened up on his fiery Populist rhetoric (specifically his trade position), diluting the very element which delivered his earlier victories. Gephardt put all his money on advocating an oil-import fee in the Super Tuesday states, a topic which did not convert many new voters. By the time Gephardt "turned up the volume" on his Populist/trade rhetoric again, it was simply too late.

Gephardt is pure politician in his attention to the special interests and was vulnerable to accusations of currying favor. He accented his House reputation as a hard worker and all the legislation with his name on it. At the same time, Gephardt posed as an anti-establishment hero of the people. He ended up getting attacked by Dukakis for trying to appear as "Mr. Anti-establishment" and taking massive amounts of PAC money.

Gephardt's big problem was money. Despite his poor Super Tuesday showing, Gephardt was the only candidate besides Jackson with a refined thematic "vision" for the country. If he had gotten the needed financial backing and returned to emphasizing the "us against them" theme, Gephardt would have made a strong showing. After sitting out the Illinois race, Gephardt put all his money on Michigan. His U.A.W. support, previously considered a formidable asset in Michigan, weakened when his chances of winning the nomination started to look slim. As always, big labor wanted (above all else) to be backing the man that eventually ends up in the White House. His third place finish in Michigan signaled the battle was over for Gephardt.

#### **Political Analysis: Strengths**

One of Gephardt's most finely honed talents is choosing limelight-grabbing issues. In particular, he has keyed in on education, tax reform, health care, farming, and trade. Consistently, if a piece of legislation attracts media attention, it has his name on it. There is Bradley-Gephardt on taxes, Kennedy-Gephardt on health care cost-containment and Harkin-Gephardt on farm legislation. He has even managed to get himself on television with various motion picture luminaries as a result of his well-timed stance opposing movie colorization. He has a strong "family man" image and introduces his wife with the line, "This is the Dick and Jane Show."

Perhaps most importantly, Gephardt showed that he has the ability to formulate a "vision" for America. This ability, combined with his connections in Congress and an improvement in fundraising, would prove him a formidable opponent in 1992.

#### **Political Analysis: Weaknesses**

All things considered, Gephardt's protectionist/populist line was much tougher to sell in the more affluent sectors of the country. Sharper attacks from his rivals highlighted his rather notable tendency to change positions on important issues. His policy proposals were detailed enough to draw more fire. Another problem Gephardt encountered is one that Jackson has had all along in his campaign. Specifically, other candidates (namely Gore and, to an extent, Dukakis) began to use "Gephardt" populist rhetoric.

While Gephardt attempted to run as an anti-establishment, "us against them" candidate, he still promoted the angle that he qualifies for running this country because of his record as an effective legislator. While his many pieces of legislation succeed in bolstering his name recognition, the vehicles Gephardt has chosen, in many ways, leave him wide open to criticism.

- o **On Trade:** His trade amendment is so blatantly protectionist that he has been branded Rep. Richard "Smoot" Gephardt by prominent economic journalists (a reference to the Smoot-Hawley tariff that exacerbated the Great Depression). His amendment would force the president to "take whatever steps are necessary to reduce the trade surpluses" with Japan and others by "10 percent a year, including.... across the board imposition of quotas and tariffs." Gephardt defended his trade amendment in the Wall Street Journal (April 30, 1987) with the statement, "I just don't buy this idea that one action will throw financial markets. We can't go tiptoeing around worried about reaction in financial markets." As Warren Brookes pointed out (April 22, 1987), "If the administration's tiny tariff action affecting less than ... 0.3 of 1 percent of U.S.-Japan total trade could spook the stock market by 90 points, think what a full-fledged "Smoot" Gephardt-style trade war could do." Of course, this amendment has served to increase his popularity with the AFL-CIO. In wake of the recent severe stock market dislocation, Gephardt is notably on the defense concerning his protectionist trade policy.
- o **On Agriculture:** His proposed farm legislation would greatly expand government control of agriculture. Under Harkin-Gephardt, the government would limit the supply of farm products and raise prices by telling each farmer how many acres he can farm. According to the Food & Policy Research Institute (FAPRI) estimates, raising farm prices to 80 percent of "parity"-- defined under Harkin-Gephardt, as their relative purchasing power during 1910 to 1914--would mean that consumers would pay an additional estimated \$65.5 billion annually for food. Succinctly, the average family of four could pay an additional \$1000 per year for food. Of course, since lower income brackets spend a greater proportion of their income on food, they would be hardest hit by this proposed legislation.
- o **On Abortion:** One of his more well-known inconsistencies concerns abortion. Representing a socially conservative district, Gephardt sponsored a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. When he became a presidential candidate, he changed his position.
- o **On Taxes:** Gephardt's "crusade" to improve American education involves major tax increases. With these, he expects to balance the federal budget within five years and pay for the revamping of the educational system. Eventually, he wants to raise taxes from 18.5 percent of the GNP to 21 percent--22 percent--a \$90 billion increase from today's economy (New Republic, June 1, 1987, pg.22). Gephardt's program would make minor savings in domestic spending but vastly raise education expenses.
- o **On Defense:** Gephardt wants cuts of \$40 billion over three years and advocates slowing down production on or completely phasing out the Stealth bomber, MX missile, SDI and possibly the Trident II missile.

o **On Foreign Policy:** Gephardt voted to bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua in 1983 and to bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua in 1984. He stated, "The tragedy of the current situation in Central America is that we have lost our sense of values, we have ignored history and we have abandoned our traditions."

(The Washington Post, 3/12/87)

## **Campaign Themes and Rhetoric**

### **The Bork Nomination:**

"The urgent call of our duty is clear: We shall fight the Bork nomination in the Judiciary Committee, we shall fight his nomination in the Senate, and we shall fight his nomination all across this country and we shall never give up and never give in.

"They say that the values and beliefs of a Supreme Court nominee should have no place in the national discussion of his nomination. Well, that view is dead wrong."

("Speech to the NAACP," 7/6/87)

### **Leadership**

"Important to leadership is having ideas, being able to articulate those ideas and move those ideas into reality. I have done that with tax reform, I have done that with trade, I have done that with health care. I think my record of being able to translate ideas into reality is better than anybody who is going to be in this race."

(Los Angeles Times, 2/23/87)

### **Challenges to the Reagan Administration**

"Instead of asking something of us, they have given us a call to selfishness. They have not summoned us to think about the future, but only to think about ourselves ... Now America must ask: What will it take for us to be good? How can we do better? How can we be the best?"

(The New York Times, 2/24/87)

### **The Election**

"We will do it by being the first to work each day and the last to quit each night. We will do it because we know that what matters is not who runs in front, but who finishes in front."

(The New York Times, 2/24/87)

## **Trade**

"We can't afford more trade negotiations in which American workers and American farmers are always the loser ... the next president must be as tough in negotiating the terms of trade as this president has been in negotiating with the Russians."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

## **Trade Policy**

"I know this notion will not be popular with everyone, but people sitting in cushy offices, in secure jobs, have no right to tell workers on assembly lines that their homes and livelihood have to be sacrificed on the altar of a false and rigid free-trade ideology."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

## **Iowa**

"A day without Iowa to me is like a day without sunshine."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

## **Vision of the U.S.**

"We are determined to make America first again. First in economic leadership, first in national strength, first in its commitment to the vindication of human rights -- and the survival of the human race."

(Los Angeles Times, 2/23/87)

## **The Domestic Front**

"At home, our wages are falling; the middle class is shrinking; the number of people in poverty is increasing."

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

## **Agriculture**

"I say to farmers, the problems you're having are not the fault of the people and farmers of Iowa, the problems are the fault of the government."

(The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2/24/87)

## **Foreign Policy: General**

"In foreign policy, we are adrift, and things seem increasingly out of control. Our leaders say one thing and do another. They talk tough and make bad deals for Americans behind closed doors. In foreign policy, we have no policy[.]"

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

## Foreign Policy: Contras

"... and if Congress outlaws military aid to the contras, the duty of the executive branch is to carry out the law, not to figure out how to bend and break it covertly."

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

## Role of Government

"Whether the issue is preserving the environment or protecting consumers, we need a government that is once again on the people's side."

(The Washington Post, 2/23/87)

## Military Spending

"In pursuit of arms, the [Reagan administration] has busted the budget of the United States. They have broken the back of American agriculture and many a basic industry ... Is there an ounce more security in a nation of rusting plants that once produced tons of rubber and steel? Is there security in a nation whose green fields are turning to dust?"

(The Washington Post, 2/25/87)

## Energy

"If we are to continue to have a viable manufacturing base, then we simply can't afford to rely on foreign energy sources. We must have a viable domestic energy industry to serve the needs of the nation."

(The Washington Post, 2/25/87)

## Education

"We must set a national goal that no qualified student at any level will be denied the chance to learn because of money. We must form a new national partnership -- public and private -- to assure that the skills of our people keep pace with the demands of the marketplace."

(Los Angeles Times, 2/23/87)

## Voting Ratings on Issues

### Group Ratings:

	1979	1984	1986	1987
-- American Conservative Union	21%	30%	0	0
-- National Taxpayers Union	41%	20%	26%	--
-- National Security Index	--	10%	22%	0
-- Americans for Democratic Action	74%	75%	70%	75%
-- AFL-CIO	85%	92%	80%	100%*
-- Chamber of Congress	24%	38%		

\* Percentage For When Voting

### National Journal Ratings (1985):

-- Economic: Liberal, 75%; Conservative, 22%  
-- Social: Liberal, 56%; Conservative, 43%  
-- Foreign: Liberal, 62%; Conservative, 37%

### (1986):

-- Economic: Liberal, 87%; Conservative, 0%  
-- Social: Liberal, 89%; Conservative, 0%  
-- Foreign: Liberal, 74%; Conservative, 25%

### Poll Position

Gephardt won the Iowa caucuses by a slim margin of three percent. He won an important victory over Simon for second place in New Hampshire -- again by 3%. While he undeniably fared poorly in Minnesota, Gephardt pulled out an important win over Dukakis in South Dakota. A Time magazine poll (2/17-21) of 212 likely Democrat voters in the Super Tuesday states proved prophetic when it showed Gephardt trailing Jackson, Gore, and Dukakis -- winning 11% of the support. March 8, 1988 was not a good day for Gephardt. The AP wire reported that Gephardt picked up only 93 delegates in the Super Tuesday primaries. With a dismal showing in Illinois, Gephardt was at the bottom of the Democrat pack in delegate counts. His third place showing in Michigan sounded the death knell for Gephardt's presidential campaign. Gephardt received a total of 1,390,305 primary votes (7.3 percent). Gephardt released his delegates before the convention.

### Delegate Count and Percentages: Per Associated Press -- 4/6/88

Candidate	Delegate Count	% Dels. Won	% More Needed
Dukakis	735.55	35.3%	82.1%
Jackson	706.55	33.9%	83.9%
Gore	394.8	18.9%	102.9%
Simon	170.5	8.2%	116.6%
Gephardt	154.0	7.4%	92%
Uncommitted	516.6	--	--

### Finances

Gephardt was in financial trouble in his bid for the Democrat presidential nomination. He did not have the resources to fight the negative advertising of Dukakis and Gore in the Super Tuesday battles. His most recent FEC filing (covering the period from January 1, 1988 to January 31, 1988), showed cash-on-hand at the close of the reporting period hitting a

low of \$172,477.10. His total receipts for this period amounted to \$2,129,462.08, while his total disbursements were \$2,911,303.21. Gephardt borrowed against his matching funds. His win in Iowa and second place in New Hampshire did not translate into the traditional boon for Gephardt's fundraising.

An article in The New York Times reported that Gephardt's "Presidential campaign and political action committee received unusual, unsettling loans totaling \$200,000 in 1986 and 1987 by banks whose top officers now hold key positions on [his] campaign." (The New York Times, 2/13/88) According to the article, bank officials from many other banks along with attorneys who specialize in campaign finance believe that "the loans might have violated Federal election laws because it was unlikely they would have been made had it not been for the ties to the campaign of the two bank officers." (The New York Times, 2/13/88) The two top Gephardt campaign officials are Terence R. McAuliffe [National Finance Chairman for Gephardt] and S. Lee Kling [Gephardt campaign Treasurer].

#### Former Staff and Advisers

Names	Campaign Role	Former Emp./Title
William Carrick	Campaign Manager	Aide to Sen. Kennedy
William A. Romjue	Political Director	House Dem. Caucus Dir. and Carter Campaign.
Richard Moe	Senior Adviser	Mondale Chief of Staff
Joanne Symons	Senior Adviser	
Donna Brazile	Nat'l. Field Dir.	Hands Across Amer. and former field dir. to Jackson campaign, later to Dukakis campaign.
S. Lee Kling	Treasurer	
Terence McAuliffe	Finance Chairman	Practicing Atty. at McAuliffe, Kelly and Furlong. (202-783-1800)
Boyd Lewis	Finance Dir.	Fin. Dir. to Senate candidates Bob Graham and Bob Edgar.
Barry Piatt	Campaign Aide	
Steven G. Murphy	Dir. of Dem. Caucus	Chief of Staff for Rep. Gray (D-Pa.)

**Former Staff and Advisers ctd.**

<b>Names</b>	<b>Campaign Role</b>	<b>Former Emp./Title</b>
Dr. Andrea King	Cong. Staff Dir.	Gephardt L.A.: Health, Educ. and Human Svcs.
Ed Riley	Pollster	Pollster
Ethel Klein	Consultant	
Bill Fleming	State Dir. (Iowa)	
Mark Longabaugh	State Campaign Mgr. (NH)	

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 21, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDY CARD

FROM: JIM WRAY *JW*  
SUBJ: GOPAC

Pursuant to the President's request, you had asked me to research the history of GOPAC White House events.

I have attempted to contact my predecessors to determine what, if any, participation President Reagan had with GOPAC.

At this hour, (8:00p.m.), I only could reach Ed Rollins. In his five years as head of the Political Office, he recalls no White House based event for GOPAC. He thought, however, that the President may have done a drop-by off site one time.

The only other person which was reachable was Greta Terrell who helped out on events the last year and a half of the Reagan Administration, she doesn't recall any Presidential event with GOPAC.

Although I have not heard back from Bill Lacy, Haley Barber or Frank Lavin, it is hard to believe with the evidence already presented that there is a history of White House events with GOPAC.

I'll keep you posted if I receive any additional information.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD, JR. *Andy*  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: REQUESTED PRESIDENTIAL QUOTE FOR USE IN LOCAL  
REPUBLICAN PARTY MAILINGS AND BROCHURES

*- Jim Cicconi, we  
can do this with  
your okay.*

Please find attached a recommended quote which was used by the Westchester County, New York Republican Party in their registration mailings. Other counties, as well as State Republican Parties, would like to use a quote in their mailings, which emphasize voter registration.

Because of the numerous requests we have received and anticipate for next year, the Office of Political Affairs would like to allow state and local party organizations to use this quote for their new mailings.

Thank you.

"Both parties want to better America. But I have always believed that one party stands taller. One party shines brighter. One party always places the national interest before special interests, and that party is the Republican Party."

-George Bush  
President of the United States

3 AUG 26 PM 12:10

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 26, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES W. CICCONI  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD, JR.  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *jrw/lij*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJ: GOTV LETTER FOR TEXAS 12

Dr. Bob Lanier for Congress Committee has requested that the President sign the attached GOTV letter for the September 12 special election to fill former Speaker of the House Jim Wright's seat.

The campaign is planning to drop 34,000 pieces to all Republican households (28,000) and to individuals identified as leaning toward Lanier (6,000). This letter would be dropped the week before the election.

This piece is the same as the mailgram which was mailed by the Ros-Lehtinen campaign in Florida 18. The underlined portions on the attached letter are those which have been modified to apply to the Lanier campaign. Additionally, the campaign plans to print the letter on the monarch "George Bush" stationery.

If you have any questions please contact Andy Foster at x6510. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

*OK w/ changes marked HHC  
phoned to [unclear] 8/31/89*

September 8, 1989

Mr. John Jones  
1234 Main Street  
Fort Worth, TX 76102

Dear Friend,

*Texas*  
On Tuesday you will have the opportunity to elect a fine Republican, Dr. Bob Lanier, as your new Congressman. This is an historic election because, if Bob wins he will be the first ever Republican Representative from Fort Worth.

*P* Bob represents some of the best traditions of our Republican party. He shares with me a strong belief in family values, a deep compassion for others, and faith and optimism in America's future. Bob is a military veteran and will be strong on defense issues. I know he would be a great member of your Republican team in Washington.

Your vote is very important in this special election, please use it this Tuesday to help send Dr. Bob Lanier to Congress as your new Representative. Thank you.

Sincerely,

unclas

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES 15

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX # 421

DTG 302228Z Aug 89

**PRIORITY**

ADMIN FAX # \_\_\_\_\_

RELEASER [Signature]

ROUTINE

RECORD # \_\_\_\_\_

FROM/LOCATION

John S. Gardner/The White House

1. \_\_\_\_\_

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

Andrew Card/Kennebunkport

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

4. \_\_\_\_\_

5. \_\_\_\_\_

6. \_\_\_\_\_

7. \_\_\_\_\_

INFORMATION ADDRES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. \_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

Andy: Please see my note to you on the attached.

Thanks.

JG

*Take off return address  
with on envelope  
otherwise ok  
per JHS  
8/31/89  
AAC*

unclas

CLASSIFICATION

*Phoned to John Gardner  
by Leslie Larmis  
8/31/89  
AAC*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1989

NOTE FOR ANDREW CARD:

Attached is the final draft of the California Republican Party letter, which should be ready for the President if you concur. The letter is now far shorter than the original had been.

I had not seen the draft of the envelope until today. I asked Political Affairs to try to drop the "FINAL NOTICE/Please respond." The recipients have received no previous letter from the President; it strikes me as disingenuous and un-Presidential. I was unable to reach Jim on this point, but I'm pretty sure he would agree; we discussed a similar problem earlier.

Thanks.

  
John S. Gardner

August 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

SUBJ: REAPPORTIONMENT PETITION LETTER

-----

The California Republican Party in coordination with the Republican National Committee has asked that the enclosed packet be mailed to 200,000 selected voters and 450,000 names in the California Republican Party House File. It is an effort to obtain signed petitions in order to have a particular initiative regarding reapportionment on the June, 1990 ballot.

The packet and will include the following:

1. A letter from you introducing the package and asking the voter to read the material.
2. A letter from Frank Visco, Chairman of the California Republican Party explaining the reapportionment process.
3. A Reply Memorandum obtaining the voters signature.
4. A Reply Card used for financial contributions.
5. 2 separate petitions for signature by the citizen

I recommend that you sign the attached letter.

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON

name  
address  
city, state, zip

Dear name (default to Fellow American)

As you may know, the 1991 Reapportionment of Congressional seats is quickly approaching. Redistricting after the 1990 Census will provide our Party its only real opportunity to ensure a fair and competitive election process for the decade. This is not a question of partisan advantage, but simply a question of fairness in our democratic competition of ideas.

The California Republican Party has developed and is implementing a comprehensive program, which will ultimately lead to the creation of a fair redistricting process in your state. California Republican Party Chairman Frank Visco explains the redistricting process in detail in the enclosed letter.

It is my sincere hope that you will read the enclosed materials carefully. The Republican Party is counting your help ensure a successful, ethical, and fair redistricting process.

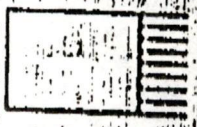
Sincerely,

Paid for by The California Republican State Party

**OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ENCLOSED.  
PLEASE OPEN IMMEDIATELY.**



**FINAL NOTICE**  
Please Respond



~~GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON~~



California Republican Party

Your Republican Party needs your help immediately. Please sign both of your petitions for ETHICAL and HONEST government, right now!

xxxnamexxx  
xxxaddressxxx  
xxxcity,state,zipxxx

Dear xxxnamexxx (default to Fellow American)

Your nation, your state, and your California Republican Party need 90 seconds of your valuable time.

Please use the next 90 seconds to fill out, sign and return the official initiative petitions for FAIR and ETHICAL government which I've enclosed.

The two important Constitutional Amendments we propose will do five things to restore FAIR and ETHICAL government to California:

1. Prohibit members of the state Legislature from taking money from special interests in the form of "gifts" and "honoraria."
2. Stop members of the state Legislature from becoming lobbyists for special interests for at least a year after they leave office.
3. Establish a strict Code of Ethics for legislators with tough criminal penalties for those who violate it.
4. Force the Democrats who control the state Legislature to share their power with Republicans.
5. Guarantee a fair reapportionment in 1990.

Your state Legislature will soon draw the boundary lines for all of California's Congressional, state Senate and Assembly districts. This process, which takes place every ten years is called reapportionment.

The last reapportionment, which took place in 1982, was horribly unfair. The Democrats who controlled the state Legislature drew up a partisan and self-serving plan which assured the defeat of four of our 21 Republican congressmen and Republican state legislators.

Because of your state's growing population, California will receive between five and seven new Congressional seats. All of these new seats could go to the Democrats if we allow another unfair reapportionment. This would dash our hopes of winning a majority in Congress and greatly compromise my ability to fight against higher taxes and for all of our Republican programs.

Right now, there are few legal guidelines which govern reapportionment. The Democrats who control your state Legislature can draw district

(please turn page)

3127-7350-724

Back  
FRONT

Back Art - PKG A1  
LETTER

bounda

rules  
stop

Const

to Rej  
provi

the l  
be in

nearl  
signa

consi  
Party

petit

waste  
count

\$10,

quali  
leade  
Legis

your

the l  
and r  
contr

P.S.

In th  
major  
retur  
Call

(2)

boundaries practically any way they like.

Your signature on these two petitions will set up a strict set of rules which guarantees a fair reapportionment -- and tough new rules to stop corruption in government.

Because these issues are so important, it will require two Constitutional Amendments to deal with them effectively.

So, please fill out both of your petitions immediately and return them to Republican Party headquarters in the postage-paid envelope we've provided.

Be sure to follow the simple instructions on your petition booklet to the letter. If you fail to do so, all of the signatures you collect could be invalid.

Your California Republican Party has only a few weeks to collect nearly 600,000 valid petitions for FAIR and ETHICAL government. Your signatures are needed immediately.

And, when you return your petition booklet, I hope that you will also consider contributing at least \$5 or \$10 to your California Republican Party to help offset the cost of the petition drive.

The party has already spent \$375,000 to print, mail, and distribute petition booklets to your fellow Californians.

Unless you fill out, sign, and return your booklet this money will be wasted -- and the Party needs additional funds to print more petitions and count and process the petitions which are returned.

So, your signature is far more valuable than a contribution of \$5 or \$10, but I sincerely hope that you will send both . . .

. . . because the price of failure is far higher. If we fail to qualify and pass the two initiatives, the high taxing, free-spending leaders of the Democratic Party will continue to dominate the California Legislature and the United States Congress for the next decade.

There are several other worthy proposals on this subject which deserve your support, but these two petitions require your immediate attention.

President Bush, Senator Pete Wilson, Governor George Deukmejian, and the leaders of our California Republican Party hope that you will fill out and return both petitions together with your most generous possible contribution, today.

Sincerely,

*Frank Visco*

Frank Visco  
Chairman  
California Republican Party

P.S. An URGENT MESSAGE to xxxnamexxx

In the next 90 seconds you can give Republicans a fair chance to win a majority in Congress and the California Legislature in the 90's. Please return your petitions, together with a contribution of \$5 or \$10, to the California Republican Party today.

A1  
LETTER  
1 1/2" X 1 1/4"

FACE  
SERIALS

INK: Black  
PMS 286 Blue

- IMPORTANT**
- 1 Did you sign both petitions for FAIR and ETHICAL government?
  - 2 Did you sign the Declaration of Circulator on both petitions?
  - 3 Did you include a contribution to help the California Republican Party pay for this petition drive?

Do not put two first class stamps on this envelope. You will save the Party return postage costs. Thank you.



Read and tear on dotted line before mailing.

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**  
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 2189 BURBANK, CA  
POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY  
1903 West Magnolia Boulevard  
Burbank, California 91506-9970

NO POSTAGE  
NECESSARY  
IF MAILED  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES



Fold and tear on dotted line before mailing.

Please return this entire form along with your two signed Petitions.  
Please forward your message of support to your California Republican Party.

xxxxnamexxxx

Dear Chairman Visco:

I am proud to join you in this fight for FAIR and ETHICAL government. We cannot allow another unfair and partisan gerrymander which will enable high-taxing Democrats to control Congress and our state Legislature for the next ten years. You have my pledge that I fully completed and signed my two petitions and mailed them to my California Republican Party for immediate tabulation.

Sincerely,

SIGN HERE  
Make your check payable to California Republican Party, I.D. #810183. California law requires the following information:  
Employer: \_\_\_\_\_ (PLEASE PRINT)  
Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

LEGAL NOTICE TO OUR SUPPORTERS: Contributions to political parties (such as CRP) are not subject to limitations if the contribution will not be used for direct candidate support. Your contribution will be used to reimburse CRP for its support of ballot measures and other party building activities and, therefore, is not subject to any contribution limitations. Contributions to the California Republican Party are not deductible as charitable contributions.

**—URGENT—  
REPLY MEMORANDUM**

FROM:  
xxxxxxxxnamexxxxxxxx  
xxxxxxxxaddressxxxxxx  
xxxxcity, state, zipxxx

TO: California Republican Party  
REPLY NO:  
xxxxxxxxnumberxxxxxxx

- Yes, I support my California Republican Party campaign for FAIR and ETHICAL government. I have signed my petitions to establish a strict code of ethics for state legislators and to prevent another unfair, partisan reapportionment.
- I have also enclosed an emergency contribution to help my California Republican Party pay for printing, mailing, counting and processing all the petitions which are necessary to collect 600,000 valid petition signatures. My largest possible contribution to this top priority project is:

\$35     \$25     Other \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**OFFICIAL**  
**FAIR and ETHICAL Government**  
Constitutional Amendment Booklet

**IMPORTANT—INSTRUCTIONS—PLEASE READ**

1. Please sign petition in the blue shaded area.
2. Collect additional signatures from other registered voters in your family or among friends. Get as many signatures as you can within 24 hours. Then return your petition, *even if your signature is the only one.*
3. Repeat this process for Petition #2. Fold your petition booklet and return in the postage-paid envelope, today!

33129.7350.924 - Part 9 - Back

942 x 43/4

CS JOB # 720

C.R.P. - Page A-1, A-2, B, C PETITION OVERLAY

INK: BLACK  
WARM RED

**INITIATIVE MEASURE TO BE SUBMITTED DIRECTLY TO THE VOTERS**

The Attorney General of California has prepared the following title and summary of the chief purpose and points of the proposed measure:

**LEGISLATURE. ETHICS. REAPPORTIONMENT. INITIATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AND STATUTE.** Amends state constitutional provisions governing redistricting procedures and criteria for Senate, Assembly and Congressional offices. Redistricting plan requires two-thirds vote of each house, approval by voters. Reschedules elections for all senatorial offices to second, sixth, tenth years following national census. Amends constitution to create Joint Legislative Ethics Committee, directs Legislature establish ethical standards. Amends and adds statutes to: prohibit participation in legislation when legislator has personal interest; require legislators report gifts, honoraria of \$50 or more; prohibit receipt of gifts from sources employing lobbyists; prohibit lobbying by former legislators for one year. Summary of estimate by Legislative Analyst and Director of Finance of fiscal impact on state and local governments: The limit on legislative spending for reapportionment could reduce state costs by several millions of dollars each decade; such savings could be all or partially offset by the increased state costs of submitting reapportionment measures to the voters and the costs of possible subsequent reapportionment by the courts. The net impact on state finances is unknown. The costs of implementing the requirements for legislative ethics are also unknown.

**IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS**

Fill-in name of county here. All signers of this petition must reside in the same county.

All Signers of this petition must be registered in \_\_\_\_\_ County

This column for official use only

New Registration SAMPLE	DON DOE <i>Don Doe</i>	123 MAIN ST. ANYTOWN 90006	
New Registration	1. Print Your Name Signature as Registered	Residence Address City Zip	
New Registration	2. Print Your Name Signature as Registered	Residence Address City Zip	
New Registration	3. Print Your Name Signature as Registered	Residence Address City Zip	

You sign on line #1, Fill-in address and print name.

Have other family and friends who are available sign today. (All lines need not be complete for Petition to be valid.)

Declaration of Circulator (To be completed after above signatures have been obtained.)

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (Print Name) am registered to vote in the County (or City and County) of \_\_\_\_\_, CA

My residence address is \_\_\_\_\_ (Address, city, state, zip)

I circulated this section of the petition and saw each of the appended signatures being written. Each signature on this petition is, to the best of my information and belief, the genuine signature of the person whose name it purports to be. All signatures on this document were obtained between the dates of \_\_\_\_\_ (Month, day, year) and \_\_\_\_\_ (Month, day, year)

I certify (or declare) under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on \_\_\_\_\_ (Month, day) 19\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ (City and state of signing)

Signature of circulator \_\_\_\_\_

Circulator Instructions: Use pen only! All signatures are invalid if the Declaration of Circulator is not complete and signed. All signers of this page must be from the same county. Return to address listed on reverse, or in Business Reply envelope enclosed.

Fill-in dates here.

You must sign a second time

here as circulator. All signatures are invalid if you fail to sign as circulator.

**TO THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA**

We, the undersigned, registered, qualified voters of California, residents of \_\_\_\_\_ County (or City and County), hereby propose amendments to the Constitution of California and the Government Code, relating to legislative ethics enforcement, and petition the Secretary of State to submit the same to voters of California for their adoption or rejection at the next succeeding general election or at any special statewide election held prior to that general election or otherwise provided by law. The proposed constitutional and statutory amendments read as follows: (See text on following pages)

**PETITION #1:**

Fill-in name of county here again.

FD. 724 - Part 8 - Back

9 1/2 x 11 3/4

PETITION #1  
PAGE 1

20 C.R.P. Pkgs A-1, A-2, B, C

LNK

**INITIATIVE MEASURE TO BE SUBMITTED DIRECTLY TO THE VOTERS**

The Attorney General of California has prepared the following title and summary of the chief purpose and points of the proposed measure:

**LEGISLATURE, ETHICS, REAPPORTIONMENT, INITIATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AND STATUTE.** Amends state constitutional provisions governing redistricting procedures and criteria for Senate, Assembly and Congressional offices. Redistricting plan requires two-thirds vote of each house, approval by voters. Reschedules elections for all senatorial offices to second, sixth, tenth years following national census. Amends constitution to create Joint Legislative Ethics Committee, directs Legislature establish ethical standards. Amends and adds statutes to: prohibit participation in legislation when legislator has personal interest; require legislators report gifts, honoraria of \$50 or more; prohibit receipt of gifts from sources employing lobbyists; prohibit lobbying by former legislators for one year. Summary of estimate by Legislative Analyst and Director of Finance of fiscal impact on state and local governments: The limit on legislative spending for reapportionment could reduce state costs by several millions of dollars each decade; such savings could be all or partially offset by the increased state costs of submitting reapportionment measures to the voters and the costs of possible subsequent reapportionment by the courts. The net impact on state finances is unknown. The costs of implementing the requirements for legislative ethics are also unknown.

**SECTION 1.** This initiative shall be known and may be cited as "The Legislative Ethics Enforcement Initiative of 1990."

**SECTION 2.** The people of the State of California find and declare as follows:

(a) The people are entitled to honest, fair and responsive representation from members of the Legislature. There is a widespread and growing perception on the part of the people that many state legislators, who should be role models of integrity, are not adhering to proper standards of legislative ethics. Public criticism with respect to the integrity of the Legislature has increased by the perception that many legislators, rather than serving the public interest, serve their own personal interest or themselves, their friends and their political allies by receiving expensive gifts, honoraria, and offers of future employment from special interests, by establishing legislative districts that have no purpose except personal or partisan advantage, and by locking the other way when other legislators behave unethically. Such perceptions undermine the people's trust in government.

(b) The Legislature has enacted laws which govern the conduct of the people of California, but has not enacted laws which effectively govern ethical conduct by its own members. Existing law is grossly inadequate in the following respects:

- (1) It permits legislators to supplement their income by receiving gifts and honoraria from persons or groups with interests before the Legislature. The receipt of such gifts and honoraria may improperly influence governmental decision-making and does, in any event, create the appearance of improper influence.
- (2) It allows legislators to accept direct financial benefits by granting favors to special interests and then leaving office to work immediately thereafter as lobbyists for the very same special interests.
- (3) It does not provide adequate public disclosure with respect to legislative ethics, with the result that ethical violations go unreported and escape public notice.
- (4) It fails to establish an effective mechanism for enforcing legislative ethics or punishing violations of legislative ethics. Instead, existing law permits complaints against legislators to be summarily dismissed without public explanation or accountability.
- (5) It allows legislators to implement a state redistricting process that is intended to result in decade-long public employment for the great majority of incumbent legislators - from both political parties - by virtue of laws which require them to retire one year before general elections. This practice of legislative self-interest has been accomplished, in part, by the misappropriation of public funds and has been insulated from judicial remedy by blocking the possibility of redistricting state and local officials until shortly before elections.
- (6) It likewise allows legislators to implement, at excessive public expense and insulated from judicial remedy, a Congressional redistricting process that enables legislators to design new seats for which they are the most advantageous candidates and to establish districts to benefit political allies in the expectation of future favors.
- (7) It allows legislators to engage in legislative activities at to which they have a conflict of interest.

(c) Because the Legislature has not solved the long-standing problems with existing laws, the people must assert by initiative their own paramount power to reform legislative ethics.

- SECTION 3.** The people enact this initiative to enforce legislative ethics and thereby to safeguard the people's right to fair and responsive representation by:
- (a) Strengthening the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee with respect to the detection, public disclosure, and punishment of legislative ethics violations and with respect to other aspects of legislative ethics enforcement.
  - (b) Restricting legislators from voting on redistricting statutes in their own personal and personal interest or in expectation of personal or political favors by changing state Senate terms to avoid redistricting issues, establishing detailed constitutional criteria for redistricting, restricting nonconstituent expenditures for redistricting, providing for an automatic referendum on any redistricting statute, imposing a requirement that a redistricting bill pass by a super majority and limiting non-redistricting statutes be enacted promptly.
  - (c) Prohibiting legislators from accepting gifts and honoraria from persons and their agents with matters before the Legislature.
  - (d) Prohibiting legislators from influencing legislative and administrative action for pay for one year after leaving the Legislature.
  - (e) Prohibiting legislators from voting on matters in which they have a conflict of interest.
  - (f) Imposing new public disclosure requirements with respect to the receipt of gifts and honoraria, redistricting activities, lobbying by former members, ethics complaints and other aspects of legislative ethics.

**SECTION 4.** Article IV, section 2 of the California Constitution is amended to read as follows:

(a) The Senate has a membership of 40 senators elected for terms of two years. The Assembly has a membership of 80 members elected for 2-year terms. When the terms of Senators and members of the Assembly shall expire on the first Monday in December of even numbered years unless otherwise prescribed by the Legislature. Senators shall be elected at the same time and place as members of the Assembly.

(b) A person is ineligible to be a member of the Legislature unless the person is an elector and has been a resident of the legislative district for one year, and a citizen of the United States and a resident of California for 3 years, immediately preceding the election.

(c) When a vacancy occurs in the Legislature the Governor immediately shall call an election to fill the vacancy.

**SECTION 5.** Section 3 of Article IV of the California Constitution is amended to read as follows:

(a) Each house shall judge the qualifications and elections of its members and, by roll call vote entered in the journal, two-thirds of the membership concurring, may expel a member and responsibilities provided that the people reserve to themselves the power to impeach and remove from office any member of the Legislature found engaging in activities or having interests which conflict with the proper discharge of the duties of office.

(b) There shall be established within the Legislature a Joint Legislative Ethics Committee to establish legislative ethics and enforce such standards, impose sanctions and implement the requirements of this section shall prescribe disciplinary rules of proceedings adopted pursuant to section 2 of this Article and any other law pertaining to legislative ethics.

(c) Pursuant to the provisions of Article IV, section 2, the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee shall consist of 10 members of the Legislature and four members of the Assembly. Of the four members of the Assembly, two shall be selected by a majority vote of the members of the California Constitution, as amended June 5, 1990, as amended to read as follows:

- (1) Each member of the Senate-Assembly shall be elected under the direction of Congress at the beginning of each decade, the Legislature shall adjust the boundary lines of the Senate and Assembly and House of Representatives districts in conformity with the following standards:
- (a) The population of all districts shall be approximately equal.
- (b) Every district shall be contiguous.
- (c) Districts of every type shall be numbered consecutively at the northern boundary of the state and ending at the southern boundary.

(d) The geographical integrity of any city, county, or city and county, or any geographical region shall be respected to the extent possible without violating the requirements of any other subdivision of this section.

**SECTION 6.** Article XXV of the California Constitution is amended to read as follows:

(a) At the end of the year in which the national census is taken under the direction of the Congress at the beginning of each decade, the statutes establishing the boundary lines for the Senate, Assembly and Congressional districts shall be of no further force and effect.

(b) In the year following the year in which the national census is taken, the Legislature shall enact laws to establish the boundary lines of the Senate, Assembly, and Congressional districts for the following two years.

(c) The Joint Legislative Ethics Committee established pursuant to section 5 of Article IV shall monitor and periodically report to the public on the process by which statutes establishing boundary lines for Senate, Assembly and Congressional districts are enacted.

(d) The boundary lines for Senate, Assembly and Congressional districts shall be enacted in two separate bills for the Senate and Assembly and one for the United States House of Representatives. No bill that establishes the boundaries of a Senatorial or Assembly or Congressional district shall have any effect unless, by roll call vote entered in the journal, two-thirds of the membership of each house concur.

(e) The author or authors of a bill to establish boundary lines for Senate, Assembly or Congressional districts, or of any amendment thereto that is submitted attached to such a bill, shall promptly file with the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee a copy of the bill and any amendments and, in writing, inform the ethics committee and certify the boundaries of each proposed district and use that information to find any on the bill or attached bill in either house of the Legislature. The author or authors of any bill, amendment to such a bill shall publicly file a copy of the same along with the committee and file that information in final vote on the bill as amended in either house of the Legislature. No such bill or amendment shall have any effect unless so certified.

(f) No bill establishing boundary lines for Senate, Assembly and/or Congressional districts shall have any effect unless passed by both the Senate and the Assembly prior to July 15 of the year following the year in which the national census is taken.

(g) The Secretary of State shall automatically submit each statute establishing Senate, Assembly and/or Congressional districts in a vote of the electors at the next scheduled statewide election. The statute shall be submitted in the same manner as a

9112 X 113/4

50.924 - Part 8 - Face  
120 C.R.P. Plus A-1, A-2, B, C

PETITION # 1  
PAGE # 2

INIC: E



OVERLAY PRINTS 100% # 286 BLUE

INITIATIVE MEASURE TO BE SUBMITTED DIRECTLY TO THE VOTERS

The Attorney General of California has prepared the following title and summary of the chief purpose and points of the proposed measure:

LEGISLATURE, INTERNAL RULES, REAPPORTIONMENT, INITIATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT AND STATUTE. Amends state Constitution to permit initiative statutes to regulate legislative rules, committee assignments, appropriations for support of Legislature. Imposes appropriation reduction and cap on appropriations for support of Legislature. Requires two-thirds vote for adoption of legislative rules, expenditures for Legislature. Shifts responsibilities from Assembly Speaker and Senate President to Rules Committees. Requires preparation of legislative budget, audit and expenditure reports. Repeals provision providing legislators limited exemption from conflict of interest statute. Prohibits gifts, honoraria to legislators from employers of lobbyists. Requires reapportionment bills receive two-thirds vote of Rules Committees and Legislature. Summary of estimate by Legislative Analyst and Director of Finance of fiscal impact on state and local governments: If adopted in June 1990, measure would reduce 1990-91 contingent fund appropriations for direct support of Assembly and Senate by \$21 million plus what would have been the incremental growth in such appropriations between fiscal years 1989-90 and 1990-91. Thereafter, measure would set an upper limit on the growth in such appropriations. Costs of implementing the new budget control and quarterly expense reporting activities would not be substantial.

IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS

Fill-in name of county here. All signers of this petition must reside in the same county.

You sign on line #1. Fill-in address and print name.

Have other family and friends who are available sign today. (All lines need not be complete for Petition to be valid.)

Fill-in dates here.

You must sign a second time

here as circulator. All signatures are invalid if you fail to sign as circulator.

Fill-in name of county here again.

All Signers of this petition must be registered in \_\_\_\_\_ County

New Registration	Print Your Name	Residence Address	City	Zip	This column for official use only
BAMBLE	DON DOE	123 MAIN ST.	ANYTOWN	90006	
	Signature as Registered				
	<i>Don Doe</i>				
New Registration	1. Print Your Name	Residence Address	City	Zip	
	Signature as Registered				
New Registration	2. Print Your Name	Residence Address	City	Zip	
	Signature as Registered				
New Registration	3. Print Your Name	Residence Address	City	Zip	
	Signature as Registered				

Declaration of Circulator (To be completed after above signatures have been obtained.)

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (Print Name) am registered to vote in the County (or City and County) of \_\_\_\_\_, CA

My residence address is \_\_\_\_\_ (Address, city, state, zip)

I circulated this section of the petition and saw each of the appended signatures being written. Each signature on this petition is, to the best of my information and belief, the genuine signature of the person whose name it purports to be. All signatures on this document were obtained between the dates of \_\_\_\_\_ (Month, day, year) and \_\_\_\_\_ (Month, day, year)

I certify (or declare) under penalty of perjury under the laws of the State of California that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on \_\_\_\_\_ (Month, Day) 19\_\_\_\_ at \_\_\_\_\_ (City and state of signing)

Signature of circulator \_\_\_\_\_

Circulator Instructions: Use pen only! All signatures are invalid if the Declaration of Circulator is not complete and signed. All signers of this page must be from the same county. Return to address listed on reverse, or in Business Reply envelope enclosed.

TO THE HONORABLE SECRETARY OF STATE OF CALIFORNIA

We, the undersigned, registered, qualified voters of California, residents of \_\_\_\_\_ County (or City and County), hereby propose amendments to the Constitution of California and the Government Code, relating to the Legislature, and petition the Secretary of State to submit the same to the voters of California for their adoption or rejection at the next succeeding general election or at any special statewide election held prior to that general election or otherwise provided by law. The proposed constitutional and statutory amendments read as follows: (See text on following pages)

PETITION #2:

33129-7350-924 PAGE 1  
CS JOB# 720 Part 6 - Back PKgs A-1, A-2, BC PETITION # 2  
9 1/2 x







THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 12, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU  
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD, JR. *AHC*  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: President's Participation in Party Switchers'  
Event

I have discussed with the Republican National Committee plans for the President's participation in the June 26 party switchers' event at the White House. Approximately 60-80 elected officials who have switched their party registration since the November election are expected to attend this event.

We would like to request that the President greet switchers in the Diplomatic Room for photo opportunities, prior to the Rose Garden event. The President would then hold for a few minutes while participants are seated. Congressman Bill Grant, our highest ranking switcher, would proceed the President on stage along with Lee Atwater and Jeanie Austin.

The President would give brief remarks - welcoming the assembled officials to the GOP and thanking them for their courage, leadership, etc. Congressman Grant would also make brief remarks. The event would be open press.

A proposed timeline for this event is attached for your review.

Following the President's departure, switchers would be escorted to the West lawn for regional media interviews, before attending a reception in the Indian Treaty Room. We would very much appreciate your dropping by this reception.

Please let me know your thoughts on this agenda as soon as possible. As always, thanks for your assistance.

*I think it may  
be better to  
use the Roosevelt  
Room as a staging  
area, move  
the Oval  
(photo) then  
to the Rose  
Garden.  
(Plan on 15 min  
for photos.)*

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR PARTY SWITCHER DAY

JUNE 26, 1989

*Counts in Roosevelt Room*

- 3:30 p.m. President arrives Diplomatic Room. *or stays in Oval*  
Participation in receiving line/photos.
- 3:40 p.m. Conclude participation in photos and proceed to holding area.
- 3:45 p.m. Arrive Rose Garden for brief remarks.
- 3:50 p.m. Conclude remarks.
- 3:52 p.m. Remarks by Congressman Bill Grant.
- 3:55 p.m. Conclusion of remarks.  
President departs event.

- 
- 4:00 p.m. Participants depart event for regional media interviews.
- 4:00 p.m.-  
5:00 p.m. Regional media interviews and Indian Treaty Room reception.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6-2-89

TO: Jim & Dave

FROM: ANDY CARD *Andy*

The Governor reviewed this and suggests that he should look this over and then contact Don Devine to put the deal together.

(Dave, I concur with your conclusion on page 2, but...)

AC has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

600 -  
Here is the  
CFA info Don Devine  
requested. Note page 2

May 25, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW J. CARD  
DEPUTY TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

per the  
have atwater  
call Devine  
to handle this  
AAA  
5/5/89

THRU: JAMES R. WRAY  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM: DAVID M. CARNEY  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
DEPUTY DIRECTOR,  
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CITIZENS FOR AMERICA

In response to your request to provide suggested names of state chairmen for Citizens for America, you should find enclosed our Associate Directors recommendations. We have selected these names from the Bush-Quayle '88 leadership ranks but we purposely did not mention their chairmanship potential to the individuals listed. Currently, in some states there are active CFA chairmen and we further wanted to avoid raising the expectations of an eventual appointment by CFA since we have no real input into the selection process.

To reaffirm the point that neither our political plans nor any prior discussion includes using CFA to advance the President's missions specifically. I would strongly urge that specific commitments be made by the leadership of Citizens for America before we legitimize their efforts by active participation.

CFA historically has been only moderately successful in its Grass Roots efforts and has been maintained by its sheer force of PR and White House connections. Hopefully, those who made this decision to assist CFA further have a clear understanding that CFA will be President Bush's Grass Roots lobby, and not "The President's Grass Roots lobby". I would recommend that any further contact with CFA be handled through the Office of Political Affairs, to avoid over committing one group versus another.

|| - no  
thru  
RNC

In conclusion, The President has stated his promise to strengthen the parties in this nation by reducing the influence of Political Action committees. CFA is a PAC and by legitimizing these types of groups we further weaken the GOP.

Attached are the CFA state Chair recommendations.



(KW) - Doesn't appear  
a response was  
ever sent - 5/24

Linda -

This is all the  
paper I can  
locate on CFA/  
Don Devine.

Regional CFA Types  
Names Don Devine

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

THROUGH: ANDREW H. CARD, JR.  
FROM: JAMES R. WRAY *JRW*  
SUBJECT: CITIZENS FOR AMERICA

I am submitting for your review and consideration my thoughts on how to build an effective relationship between the White House and Citizens for America.

- (1) CFA BRIEFING(S): There is real value to affording the the CFA the opportunity to participate in White House briefings, such as the key support group and coalition briefings we hold in EOB 450. I am not convinced that the President's participation is vital. But, our office will be happy to assist the CFA group with Cabinet members and White House Senior Staff participation.
- (2) CFA EVENTS: Our office would be willing to advocate the participation of key Administration representatives in CFA events. I would advise caution on the types of events that we would advocate, for example we must be careful on fundraising events.
- (3) CFA "NETWORK": The CFA does have a relatively active and effective grassroots organization in place. They could be helpful in spreading the Administration "word" on key issues. We could easy establish an information flow by putting them on our regular mailing list or being sure they are added to the Public Affairs list. In addition, I remember them having in place a phone in program to key radio talk shows in the major markets.
- (4) CFA ORGANIZATION: We are prepared to offer recommendations to the CFA on individuals from the Bush organization that might want to get involved with them. It will be difficult to make recommendations representing all 50 states, but I am confident that we could help recruit good people from the top (big) states.
- (5) LETTER TO DON DEVINE: I would be happy to take the lead on a letter to Devine thanking him and the CFA for their help.

Please advise on my next action. I will be glad to meet with Devine and/or prepare a written response to his letter of March 24.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 29, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE DONALD DEVINE

SUBJECT: WRITES TO SPECIFY WHAT ACTIONS BY THE WHITE  
HOUSE WOULD BE HELPFUL TO CITIZENS FOR  
AMERICA IN ASSISTING THE BUSH PROGRAM



ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION		
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
JOHN SUNUNU	ORG	89/03/29			___/___/___
<i>Tim Wray</i>	<i>A</i>	___/___/___			___/___/___
REFERRAL NOTE:		___/___/___			___/___/___
REFERRAL NOTE:		___/___/___			___/___/___
REFERRAL NOTE:		___/___/___			___/___/___
REFERRAL NOTE:		___/___/___			___/___/___
REFERRAL NOTE:		___/___/___			___/___/___

COMMENTS: *Andy Card has already forwarded  
copy of attached letter to you  
for action*

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: \_\_\_\_\_  
CS MAIL USER CODES: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

- ```

*****
*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                       *                       *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *           OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED        *           CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED        *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                       *           OUTGOING *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                       *                       *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                       *                       *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                       *                       *
*****

```

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE  
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590  
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING  
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS  
MANAGEMENT.

L1212

# CITIZENS FOR AMERICA

March 24, 1989

The Honorable John H. Sununu  
Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Attention: Ms. Jackie Kennedy

Dear John:

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me about beginning a relationship between the Bush Administration and Citizens for America. I very much appreciated the opportunity to outline CFA's plans, under our Honorary Chairman Ronald Reagan, to pursue long-term structural reforms of government (including your suggestion for enhanced recision authority), and to offer our assistance in lobbying for President Bush's conservative agenda.

You suggested that I write to you specifying what actions by the White House would be helpful to Citizens for America in assisting the Bush program. The following four items would be most important:

- (1) During the Reagan Administration, CFA had one Fall luncheon with the President, restricted to one hundred individuals in the East Room, preceded by a briefing by Cabinet officials for CFA's top supporters in the Indian Treaty Room. The second event, held six months later, consisted of an East Room briefing and a drop-by appearance by the President. We realize that CFA had a special relationship with President Reagan, as his official grassroots lobby, but a continued White House relationship would build a bond between the Administration and the grassroots which would be helpful to the success of the Bush Presidency.
- (2) For CFA to be effective for the Bush Administration, forums for Administration speakers should be created to spread the Administration's viewpoints across the nation. It would be helpful, therefore, if the White House would request that the Vice President, Cabinet and Sub-cabinet members, and other top assistants to the President, occasionally make themselves available for CFA events.

*Qm 450  
Briefing OK*

*OK*

Page 2  
The Honorable John H. Sununu  
March 24, 1989

- OK
- (3) It would be very helpful for CFA to have a letter from President Bush addressed to me as chairman, thanking CFA for its help during the Reagan-Bush Administration and looking forward to our relationship under his own Administration.
- OK
- (4) For CFA to publicize Administration activities, it needs to receive all regular communications, issue papers, budget briefings, etc., from the Bush Administration as it did during the previous one. It is also necessary that CFA have access to pictures of the President and his Cabinet for its publications.

Whatever you can do on these items would be appreciated. Each would enhance your efforts to sell your initiatives to the grassroots and for them to inform their Congressmen.

✓  
CFA chm

Thank you for your offer to tell Roger Porter I will be calling regarding policy coordination, and for your willingness for me to call you next week about key Bush supporters becoming active with CFA.

Best of luck to you and President Bush. You say yours is an easy job, but I know it is tough. Don't let the bad guys get you down.

Sincerely,



Donald Devine  
Chairman

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 22, 1989

Dear Morton:

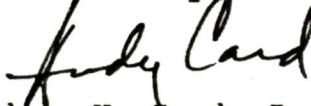
On behalf of Governor Sununu, thank you for your letter of May 17, 1989, in which you seek nominations for the Leadership Institute's Candidate Career Development School.

Please know that we will review your request and be back in touch with you with some recommendations as soon as possible.

Again, thanks for giving us the opportunity to provide input.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Andrew H. Card, Jr.  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell  
The Leadership Institute  
8001 Braddock Road, Suite 502  
Springfield, Virginia 22151

THE WHITE HOUSE  
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: MAY 17, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. MORTON C. BLACKWELL

SUBJECT: SEEKS NOMINATIONS FOR HIS CANDIDATE CAREER  
DEVELOPMENT SCHOOL

| ROUTE TO:<br>OFFICE/AGENCY | (STAFF NAME)         | ACTION      |                  | DISPOSITION  |          |                       |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|----------|-----------------------|
|                            |                      | ACT<br>CODE | DATE<br>YY/MM/DD | TYPE<br>RESP | C<br>D   | COMPLETED<br>YY/MM/DD |
| JOHN SUNUNU                |                      | ORG         | 89/05/17         |              |          | <u>C 89/5/17</u>      |
| <u>DECARD</u>              | REFERRAL NOTE: _____ | <u>A</u>    | <u>89/5/17</u>   | <u>AC</u>    | <u>A</u> | <u>89/05/22</u>       |
| <u>PA WRAY</u>             | REFERRAL NOTE: _____ | <u>C</u>    | <u>89/05/23</u>  |              |          | <u>1/1</u>            |
|                            | REFERRAL NOTE: _____ |             | <u>1/1</u>       |              |          | <u>1/1</u>            |
|                            | REFERRAL NOTE: _____ |             | <u>1/1</u>       |              |          | <u>1/1</u>            |
|                            | REFERRAL NOTE: _____ |             | <u>1/1</u>       |              |          | <u>1/1</u>            |

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: \_\_\_\_\_

CS MAIL USER CODES: (A) \_\_\_\_\_ (B) \_\_\_\_\_ (C) \_\_\_\_\_

```

*****
*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                       *                       *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *           OF SIGNER *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED        *           CODE = A   *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED         *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                       *           OUTGOING *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                       *                       *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                       *                       *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                       *                       *
*****

```

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE  
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590  
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING  
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS  
MANAGEMENT.

5735131

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1989-1990 POLITICAL PLAN

OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS  
AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

As the 1990 mid-term Congressional elections have begun in earnest, a closer look at the historical Congressional losses by the party in control of the White House is in order.

Since 1938, mid-term elections have resulted in over 500 Congressional districts changing hands from the party in control of the White House to the party out of the White House, versus a political shift of over 250 seats picked up for the party winning the White House during Presidential election year. This holds true for Republicans and Democrats alike. Even presidents with perceived mandates have seen major changes in Congress; Roosevelt lost 71 seats in the House and the Republicans gained 80 seats in 1938 after FDR won the White House in 1936 with over 11 million votes, Johnson saw a net loss of 100 votes in Congress in 1966 after beating Goldwater by almost 16 million votes, and in 1986 President Reagan lost a net of 26 votes in Congress after crushing Mondale with 16 million votes in 1984.

Thus, we have an historic trend where the sitting President loses an average of 38 seats each mid-term election. Conversely, the party winning the White House gains an average of 18 seats during the Presidential election year.

Further, this historic trend lends itself to first term presidents as well as re-elected presidents. Only one president escaped this 38 seat loss average in the past fifty years, Kennedy lost 4 House seats and won 4 Senate seats for the Democratic Party in 1962.

Obviously, historic trends do not determine the outcome of future elections; Martin Van Buren and George Bush have already demonstrated that fact. The political environment will be such that we should expend any effort to forestall such erosion of our political base that will be undoubtedly forecast by the political pundits. For this mid-year election two factors will contribute to our ability to hold our base in tact. One is the overall incumbent retention rate now hovering at 98%, which will slow the volatility of off year elections. Over the past 5 mid-year elections, 1970-1986, the average total net loss per cycle has

been the change of 26 seats versus a 46 seat change over the previous 8 mid-year election cycles, 1936-1966. This 45% reduction in the average change of mid-term elections is due to the ever increasing rate of reelections of Congressional incumbents.

The second factor in 1990 will be the proactive political plan for the White House: PROJECT: IMPACT 1990.

The 1989 and 1990 "mid-term" elections will be very important to President Bush. This President is in a unique position to have more impact on these elections than any president in recent history.

Over the 1989-1990 election cycle historic opportunities will present the White House with a unique set of options to implement a proactive political agenda. This agenda has the potential to yield sufficient gains in the realignment of the nation's two party system. A potential crack in the Democratic grid-lock in many county, state and congressional districts has surfaced, and President Bush can lead the Party, and thus the Nation to a majority status at all levels of government in the twenty-first century.

#### PROJECT: IMPACT 1990

With elections in 1989 and in 1990. reapportionment becomes mission number one. "Degerrymandering"; The 1990 U.S. census will significantly alter the apportionment of congressional districts in many states, with the currently projected change of 36 seats; 18 seat net gain in 7 states, and 18 seat net loss in 11 states, (See attachment A).

1990 reapportionment brings tremendous opportunity to impact the 1991 redistricting process. The redistricting process varies from state to state. In a majority of the states, the legislature draws the proposed district borders with the governor approving or vetoing the legislation. In other states actual reapportionment boards are formed (made up of state elected and appointed officials), determining how the new congressional district lines will be drawn.

We cannot underestimate the impact of redistricting while there is a 98% incumbency retention rate in Congress. The single largest target of opportunity to impact fair districting will be the 1989-1990 state legislative and gubernatorial races. A significant effort must be made in order to capitalize on this important project (See attachment B).

### Experience Counts

Republican incumbent retention at all levels must be undertaken to avoid further losses, especially the United States Senate (currently 45/55) and the U.S. House of Representatives (currently 175/260). Legislative support from our Republican members will continue to provide the President's legislative team with its working base. Incumbents who have demonstrated a consistent willingness to support the President's programs and initiatives, and are facing challenging reelection prospects, should be considered as targets for Presidential support (See attachment C).

### Special Opportunities

Periodically, special elections provide additional opportunities for gain. These elections should be carefully evaluated and monitored on an individual basis in order to provide specific assistance, making a positive impact on election results whenever possible.

### Quality Candidates

With some Congressional incumbents retiring and other incumbents running for higher offices (the current projection is 18), there will be open seats. These open seat races will provide additional opportunities to maintain and advance our margins across the country. As with the challenger races, the open seat races will have the single largest impact providing there are quality candidate recruitment programs at the local level.

The White House can provide the horsepower to recruit quality candidates. Given potential recruits and local party support, this effort can be one of the most effective uses of the President's time. The national committees and the state and local parties must work in concert, and the program must be targeted and coordinated at all levels for effective recruitment to work without dividing local parties, or inhibiting healthy inter-party competition.

### Traditional Political Activities

By design as well as traditionally, The President serves as the singular most effective resource of the Republican party. As the titular head of the Party, The President should be responsive to organizations requests for support of the Republican Party nation wide. These types of nominal requests include, and are only limited by the creative energies and plans of Project:Impact 1990; party building activity, fund raising activities, GOP leadership recognition, Bush-Quayle leadership activity, communication on Administrative positions and current issuing of general communications for publication, mailing and events. Get

out the vote activity, voter registration and education activity, general liaison with the political community across the country.

With redistricting, incumbent retention, and quality candidate recruitment as the focus of the 1989-1990 political plan, the end results will provide the President with significant gains across the nation. These gains include more state legislators and additional control of state legislative chambers and Republican governors, other statewide officials, and a net increase in the Congress rather than the historic traditional loss of seats in Congress for mid-term elections.

The use of Presidential mail, Presidential time and travel, and other available resources should be individually targeted and reviewed case by case against the overall goals of the 1989-1990 plan: Office of Political Affairs, Project: Impact 1990.

The success of the program depends on the total integration and cooperation of the White House staff, various Administration officials, the national committees, state campaign committees and the state and county parties.

With a new President, new national party chairman, new leadership at both the national Senate and Congressional campaign committees, and over one-third new state party chairmen, we are on the cutting edge of implementing a totally coordinated plan for victory. The gains in 1989 - 1990 will provide the political acceleration necessary to launch the President's reelection effort in 1992.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Project: Impact 1990  
Reapportionment 1990

Attachment A:

The following lists the projection state by state of the number of Congressional districts that will be affected. Please note that every state will review the United States Census Bureau data and may reallocate all election districts to meet the "one person - one vote" criteria laid out by the Supreme Court (Reynolds vs. Sims 377 U.S. 533 1964).

| <u>STATE</u>   | <u>CURRENT STATUS</u> | <u>CHANGE</u> | <u>PROJECTED DISTRICTS</u> |
|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| Arizona        | 5 (4R-1D)             | +1            | 6                          |
| California     | 45 (18R-27D)          | +6            | 51                         |
| Florida        | 19 (10R-9D)           | +4            | 23                         |
| Georgia        | 11 (1R-10D)           | +1            | 12                         |
| North Carolina | 11 (3R-8D)            | +1            | 12                         |
| Texas          | 27 (8R-19D)           | +4            | 31                         |
| Virginia       | 10 (5R-5D)            | +1            | 11                         |
|                | -----                 | -----         | -----                      |
|                | 128 (49R-79D)         | +18           | 146                        |
| Illinois       | 30 (8R-22D)           | -2            | 28                         |
| Iowa           | 6 (4R-2D)             | -1            | 5                          |
| Kansas         | 5 (3R-2D)             | -1            | 4                          |
| Massachusetts  | 11 (1R-10D)           | -1            | 10                         |
| Michigan       | 18 (7R-11D)           | -2            | 16                         |
| Montana        | 2 (1R-1D)             | -1            | 1                          |
| New York       | 34 (13R-21D)          | -3            | 31                         |
| Ohio           | 21 (10R-11D)          | -2            | 19                         |
| Pennsylvania   | 23 (11R-12D)          | -3            | 20                         |
| West Virginia  | 4 (0R-4D)             | -1            | 3                          |
| Wisconsin      | 9 (4R-5D)             | -1            | 8                          |
|                | -----                 | -----         | -----                      |
|                | 163 (62R-101D)        | -18           | 145                        |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PROJECT: IMPACT 1990  
State Legislative Chambers

Attachment B:

The following nine states are the top Republican targets for gaining or maintaining control of the legislative chambers.

|                |                                  |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| Arizona -      | Senate 17R-13D<br>House 34R-26D  |
| Florida -      | Senate 17R-23D                   |
| Indiana -      | Senate 26R-24D<br>House 50R-50D  |
| Michigan -     | Senate 20R-18D                   |
| Montana -      | Senate 27R-23D<br>House 48R-52D  |
| Oregon -       | House 28R-32D                    |
| Pennsylvania - | Senate 27R-23D<br>House 99R-103D |
| Vermont -      | Senate 14R-16D<br>House 76R-74D  |
| Washington -   | Senate 25R-24D                   |

The following eight states are the second tier states that present unique opportunities to gain or maintain control of the Legislative Chambers, in combination with other political considerations:

|              |        |         |
|--------------|--------|---------|
| Alaska       | House  | 17R-23D |
| Idaho        | Senate | 23R-19D |
| Illinois     | Senate | 28R-31D |
| Kansas       | House  | 67R-58D |
| Maine        | Senate | 15R-20D |
| Ohio         | Senate | 19R-14D |
| South Dakota | Senate | 20R-15D |
| Wisconsin    | House  | 43R-56D |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Project: Impact 1990  
1989/1990 Election Cycle Outlook

Attachment C:

The following is a list of the incumbents who are considering retirement, running for higher office or are intending to seek reelection.

SENATORS

Thirty-four Senators are up for reelection in 1990. These 34 are comprised of 16 Democrats and 16 Republicans, with 2 vacancies.

Thirty-four Senators are slated for reelection in 1992. These include 20 Democrats and 14 Republicans.

The following are the list of Senators which will be up for reelection in 1990.

| <u>Republican</u>         | <u>Democrat</u>         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN)     | Joseph Biden (D-DE)     |
| Thad Cochran (R-MS)       | Max Baucus (D-MT)       |
| William Cohen (R-ME)      | David Boren (D-OK)      |
| Pete Domenici (R-NM)      | Bill Bradley (D-NJ)     |
| Phil Gramm (R-TX)         | James Exon (D-NE)       |
| Mark Hatfield (R-OR)      | Albert Gore (D-TN)      |
| Dan Coats (R-ID)          | Tom Harkin (D-IA)       |
| *William Armstrong (R-CO) | Bennett Johnston (D-LA) |
| *Gordon Humphrey (R-NH)   | John Kerry (D-MA)       |
| Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS)    | Carl Levin (D-MI)       |
| James McClure (R-ID)      | Sam Nunn (D-GA)         |
| Mitch McConnell (R-KY)    | Claiborne Pell (D-RI)   |
| Larry Pressler (R-SD)     | David Pryor (D-AR)      |
| Alan Simpson (R-WY)       | John Rockefeller (D-WV) |
| Ted Stevens (R-AK)        | Paul Simon (D-IL)       |
| Jesse Helms (R-NC)        | Howell Heflin (D-AL)    |
| Strom Thurmond (R-SC)     |                         |
| John Warner (R-VA)        |                         |

\* signifies open seats

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The count of the U.S. House of Representatives is currently at 260 Democrats, and 175 Republicans. All Seats are up for reelection in 1990.

Attachment C cont'd.

GOVERNORS (38 total)

Virginia and New Jersey are the only states that will be holding gubernatorial elections in 1989. The incumbent governors, Tom Kean (R-NJ) and Gerald Baliles (D-VA), are ineligible to seek reelection.

The gubernatorial elections of 1990 will be crucial to the GOP. Thirty-six seats are up for grabs throughout the country in 1990, 20 Democratic and 16 Republican, and two seats will open in 1989. The breakout is as follows:

GOP GOVERNORS

Guy Hunt (R-AL)  
\*George Deukmejian (R-CA)  
Bob Martinez (R-FL)  
Jim Thompson (R-IL)  
Terry Branstad (R-IA)  
Mike Hayden (R-KS)  
John McKernan (R-ME)  
Kay Orr (R-NE)  
Judd Gregg (R-NH)  
\*Garry Carruthers (R-NM)  
\*Henry Bellmon (R-OK)  
Ed DiPrete (R-RI)  
Carroll Campbell (R-SC)  
George Mickelson (R-SD)  
\*Bill Clements (R-TX)  
Tommy Thompson (R-WI)

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS

\*Steve Cowper (D-AK)  
Rose Mofford (D-AZ)  
Bill Clinton (D-AR)  
Roy Romer (D-CO)  
William O'Neill (D-CT)  
\*Joe Frank Harris (D-GA)  
John Waihee (D-HI)  
Cecil Andrus (D-ID)  
Willian Schaefer (D-MD)  
\*Michael Dukakis (D-MA)  
James Blanchard (D-MI)  
Rudy Perpich (D-MN)  
Robert J. Miller (D-NV)  
Mario Cuomo (D-NY)  
\*Richard Celeste (D-OH)  
Neil Goldschmidt (D-OR)  
Robert Casey (D-PA)  
Ned Ray McWherter (D-TN)  
Madeline Kunin (D-VT)  
Mike Sullivan (D-WY)

\* signifies open seat

STATE LEGISLATURES

In the 50 state legislatures Republicans hold a majority of the State Senate seats in 17 states, and a majority of the House seats in 11 states. The Indiana House is currently split at 50 seats a piece for the Republicans and the Democrats.

All House seats are up for reelection in 1990 except the following:

Louisiana (H-91)  
Mississippi (H-91)

New Jersey (H-89)  
Virginia (H-89)

Attachment C cont'd.

A majority of the states will hold state Senate elections in 1990. All of the seats are up for reelection in the following states:

|             |                |              |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| Alabama     | Massachusetts  | Rhode Island |
| Connecticut | Michigan       | South Dakota |
| Georgia     | Minnesota      | Vermont      |
| Idaho       | New Hampshire  |              |
| Maine       | New York       |              |
| Maryland    | North Carolina |              |

Half of the seats are up in 1990:

|                   |                 |                    |
|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Alaska (10)       | Hawaii (12)     | Nebraska (25)      |
| Arkansas (17)     | Indiana (25)    | Nevada (11)        |
| California (20)   | Iowa (25)       | North Dakota (27)  |
| Colorado (17)     | Kentucky (19)   | Ohio (17)          |
| Delaware (11)     | Missouri (17)   | Oklahoma (24)      |
| Florida (20)      | Montana (25)    | Oregon (15)        |
| Pennsylvania (25) | Tennessee (17)  | Texas (16)         |
| Utah (15)         | Washington (25) | West Virginia (17) |
| Wisconsin (17)    | Wyoming (15)    |                    |

The number in parentheses equals the number of seats up for reelection.

Illinois will hold elections for approximately 1/3 of its seats, which is approximately 17.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PROJECT: IMPACT 1990  
State By State Contest

Attachment D:

KEY:

RP = Reapportionment  
G = Governors  
SUS = Senators  
R/D = Republican/Democrat

| <u>State</u>  | <u>RP</u> | <u>G</u> | <u>SUS</u> | <u>R/D</u> | <u>Senate/House</u> |
|---------------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|---------------------|
| Alabama       | 0         | R        | D          | 2/5        | 5R/30D 18D/87R      |
| Alaska        | 0         | D        | R          | 1/0        | 12D/8R 17R/23D      |
| Arizona       | +1        | D        | 0          | 4/1        | 17D/13R 34D/26R     |
| Arkansas      | 0         | D        | D          | 1/3        | 4R/31D 12R/87D      |
| California    | +6        | R        | 0          | 118/27     | 15R/24D 33R/46D     |
| Colorado      | 0         | D        | R          | 3/3        | 24D/11R 39D/26R     |
| Connecticut   | 0         | D        | 0          | 3/3        | 13R/23D 63R/88D     |
| Delaware      | 0         | 0        | D          | 0/1        | 8R/13D 23D/18R      |
| Florida       | +3        | R        | 0          | 10/9       | 17R/23D 47R/73D     |
| Georgia       | +2        | D        | D          | 1/10       | 11R/45D 36R/144D    |
| Hawaii        | 0         | D        | 0          | 1/1        | 3R/22D 5R/46D       |
| Idaho         | 0         | D        | R          | 1/1        | 23D/19R 64D/20R     |
| Illinois      | -2        | R        | D          | 8/22       | 28R/31D 51R/67D     |
| Indiana       | 0         | 0        | R          | 4/7        | 26D/24R 50R/50RD    |
| Iowa          | -1        | R        | D          | 4/2        | 20R/30D 39R/61D     |
| Kansas        | -1        | R        | R          | 3/2        | 22D/18R 67D/58R     |
| Kentucky      | 0         | 0        | R          | 3/4        | 8R/30D 28R/72D      |
| Louisiana     | 0         | 0        | D          | 4/4        | 5R/34D 18R/87D      |
| Maine         | 0         | R        | R          | 1/1        | 15R/20D 55R/96D     |
| Maryland      | 0         | D        | 0          | 2/6        | 7R/40D 17R/124D     |
| Massachusetts | -1        | D        | D          | 1/10       | 8R/32D 32R/128D     |
| Michigan      | -2        | D        | D          | 7/11       | 20D/18R 49R/61D     |
| Minnesota     | 0         | D        | R          | 3/5        | 23R/44D 53R/81D     |
| Mississippi   | 0         | 0        | R          | 1/4        | 6R/46D 9R/113D      |
| Missouri      | 0         | 0        | 0          | 4/5        | 14R/20D 58R/105D    |
| Montana       | -1        | 0        | D          | 1/1        | 23R/27D 47R/53D     |
| Nebraska      | 0         | R        | D          | 2/1        | 27D/21R             |
| Nevada        | 0         | D        | 0          | 1/1        | 13D/8R 12R/30D      |
| New Hampshire | 0         | R        | R          | 2/0        | 186D/8R 280D/120R   |

## Attachment D cont'd.

| <u>State</u> | <u>RP</u> | <u>G</u> | <u>SUS</u> | <u>R/D</u> | <u>Senate/House</u> |
|--------------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|---------------------|
| New Jersey   | 0         | R        | D          | 6/8        | 16R/24D 42D/38R     |
| New Mexico   | 0         | R        | R          | 2/3        | 16R/25D 25R/45D     |
| New York     | -3        | D        | 0          | 13/2       | 34D/27R 58R/92D     |
| N. Carolina  | +1        | 0        | R          | 3/8        | 13R/37D 46R/74D     |
| N. Dakota    | 0         | 0        | 0          | 0/1        | 21R/32D 62D/44R     |
| Ohio         | -2        | D        | 0          | 10/11      | 19D/14R 40r/59D     |
| Oklahoma     | 0         | R        | D          | 2/4        | 15R/33D 32R/67D     |
| Oregon       | 0         | D        | R          | 2/3        | 11R/19D 38R/32D     |
| Pennsylvania | -2        | D        | 0          | 11/12      | 27D/23R 99R/104D    |
| Rhode Island | 0         | R        | D          | 2/0        | 9R/41D 15R/85D      |
| S. Carolina  | 0         | R        | R          | 2/4        | 11R/35D 36R/88D     |
| S. Dakota    | 0         | R        | R          | 0/1        | 20D/15R 46D/24R     |
| Tennessee    | 0         | D        | D          | 3/6        | 11R/22D 40R/59D     |
| Texas        | +3        | R        | R          | 8/19       | 8R/33D 57R/93D      |
| Utah         | 0         | 0        | 0          | 2/1        | 22D/7R 47D/281R     |
| Virginia     | +1        | D        | R          | 5/5        | 10R/30D 34R/64D     |
| Washington   | 0         | 0        | 0          | 3/5        | 25D/24R 35R/63D     |
| W. Virginia  | -1        | 0        | D          | 0/4        | 5R/39D 21R/79D      |
| Wisconsin    | -1        | R        | 0          | 4/5        | 13R/20D 43R/56D     |
| Wyoming      | 0         | D        | R          |            | 20D/10R 41D/23R     |

# LONG-RANGE EVENTS CALENDAR 1989 -

(Rev 5/89)

| JANUARY                                                                                                                                             | FEBRUARY                                                                                                                                                                                    | MARCH                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | APRIL                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | MAY                                                                                                                                                                                           | JUNE                                                                                                                                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                     | COMPLETED TO DATE                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                |
| RNC FR LETTER '88 Membership Renewal<br><br>SEN. PHIL GRAMM FR Letter                                                                               | IN-4 DAN HEATH meeting/photo op<br><br>FL-2 BILL GRANT mtg/press conf<br><br>AL-3 JOHN RICE meeting/photo op<br><br>LA- JOHN TREEN GOTV letter<br><br>GOP WOMEN'S Candidate Recruitment Mtg | RNC- Meeting with Former RNC Chairs<br><br>NRSC/NRCC-Meeting President's Dinner reps<br><br>BUSH QUAYLE LEADERSHIP MTG<br><br>RNC-Thank You letter to donor housefile<br><br>RNC-Eagles letter<br><br>IN-4 DAN HEATH GOTV Letter | NRSC/NRCC-Meeting President's Dinner reps<br><br>WY-CRAIG THOMAS GOTV Rally Phone Call<br><br>RNC-EAGLES EVENT WH                                                                                                           | 4-NJ GOP EVENT EOB<br><br>5-NH EVENT WH<br><br>8-NRCC EVENT WH (RCLC FR)<br><br>13-KY MCCONNELL FR<br><br>16-NRSC EVENT WH (TRUST FR)<br><br>SEN HELMS LETTER (FR)<br><br>22-DE GOP EVENT EOB | 15-RNC MEMBERS WH<br>21-VA GOP FR EVENT<br>22-NY GOP FR EVENT<br>FL-PARTY SWITCHER Letter<br>RNC-PARTY SWITCHER Event WH<br>RNC-CANDIDATE Recruitment Event WH |
| JULY                                                                                                                                                | AUGUST                                                                                                                                                                                      | SEPTEMBER                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | OCTOBER                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | NOVEMBER                                                                                                                                                                                      | DECEMBER                                                                                                                                                       |
| 11(T)-TX Sen Phil Gramm FR<br><br>(T) BUSH FINANCE LEADERS WH<br><br>RNC-FR LETTER "Bush Club"<br><i>President's Club's Bush contributors list.</i> | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">350</div><br><br><div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">under 500</div>      | (T) RNC TEAM 100 EVENT-WH<br><br>NJ GOP FR EVENT<br><br>RNC-PARTY SWITCHER EVENT #2 WH<br><br>(T) NRCC FR LETTER<br><i>propaganda</i><br>(T) FL-MARTINEZ FR<br>(T) CA-WILSON FR<br><br>RNC-FR LETTER TO Housefile                | VA CAMPAIGN <del>STOP</del><br><br>NJ CAMPAIGN <del>STOP</del><br><br>(T) NYC CAMPAIGN <del>STOP</del><br><br>RGA-PRESIDENT'S Dinner (DC)<br><br>NRSC-PRESIDENT'S GALA (Inner Circle)<br><br>(T) TX-CLEMETS or State GOP FR |                                                                                                                                                                                               | RNC-FR LETTER '90 Membership                                                                                                                                   |
|                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• INCUMBENT FUNDRAISING (DC AND TRAVEL EVENTS + MAIL)</li> <li>• TARGET STATE LEGISLATURE/STATE GOP FR (TRAVEL + MAIL)</li> </ul>                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                |

ATTACHMENT #1: TOP INCUMBENT SEATS (Retain)<sup>GOP</sup>

| <u>U.S. SENATE</u> | <u>GOVERNOR</u>     | <u>CONGRESS (TBD)</u> |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| MN-Boschwitz       | AL-Hunt             | FL-Grant (2)          |
| TX-Gramm           | CA-open (WILSON)    |                       |
| IN-Coats           | FL-Martinez         |                       |
| CO-open (BROWN)    | IL-Thompson (open?) |                       |
| NH-open (SMITH)    | KS-Hayden           |                       |
| KY-McConnell       | NE-Orr              |                       |
| NC-Helms           | NM-open             |                       |
| SC-Thurmond        | OK-open             |                       |
| VA-Warner          | RI-DiPrete          |                       |
|                    | TX-open             |                       |

ATTACHMENT #2: TOP LEGISLATIVE / STATE GOP

| <u>LEGISLATIVE</u> | <u>STATE GOP</u> |
|--------------------|------------------|
| TX                 | AZ               |
| NY-----            | NY               |
| MI-----            | MI               |
| WA-----            | WA               |
| IL                 | FL               |
|                    | IN               |
|                    | MT               |
|                    | OR               |
|                    | PA               |
|                    | VT               |

# LONG-RANGE EVENTS CALENDAR

- 1990

(Rev 5/2/9)

| JANUARY                                                   | FEBRUARY                             | MARCH                                          | APRIL   | MAY      | JUNE              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|---------|----------|-------------------|
|                                                           |                                      | CA-WILSON FR #2                                |         |          |                   |
|                                                           | CHALLENGER/OPEN SEAT FUNDRAISING TBD |                                                |         |          |                   |
| INCUMBENT FUNDRAISING (Attach#1)                          |                                      |                                                |         |          | POLITICAL MESSAGE |
| TARGET STATE LEGISLATURE/STATE GOP FUNDRAISING (Attach#2) |                                      |                                                |         |          |                   |
| JULY                                                      | AUGUST                               | SEPTEMBER                                      | OCTOBER | NOVEMBER | DECEMBER          |
|                                                           |                                      | POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TRAVEL                      |         |          |                   |
|                                                           |                                      | CAMPAIGN SUPPORT (GOTV MAIL+PHONES / TV-RADIO) |         |          |                   |
| POLITICAL MESSAGE FOR FALL (TRAVEL)                       |                                      |                                                |         |          |                   |