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From the Desk of
CLAYTON YEUTTER
Chairman
Republican National Committee

Oct. 14, 1991

To B. Jay Cooper

B. Jay, I find it interesting that Kerrey plans to run as an economic conservative. I suspect that the winning Democratic candidate will adopt that same strategy. We're going to face an opposition candidate running as a social liberal and economic conservative.

David Tell and his crew might want to begin gathering material which demonstrates Kerrey's true colors on economic issues. And they may wish to do the same for Cuomo.



bc:

J. Austin
M. Matalin
N. Cummings
R. Kaufman
J. Sununu
C. Black
B. Teeter

.

out of the system" (10/8).

LABELS: Kerrey: "I do not consider myself a liberal ... I do consider myself to be an economic conservative. Bush is something like an economic liberal." He said "that's because Bush ... is spending taxpayers' money without a strategy for improving their lives" (AP/Manchester UNION LEADER, 10/8).

***6 CALIFORNIA: WITHOUT UNDECLARED, BROWN TOPS FIELD**
The CA Poll, conducted 9/19-25 by the Field Institute, surveyed 998 adults; margin of error +/- 3.2%. Dem subsample: 457 RVs; +/- 4.8% (S.F. CHRONICLE, 10/8).

DEM PRIMARY	ALL	W/O C, J, B	BUSH JOB RATING (All)	
Cuomo	27%	--	9/91	6/91
Brown	16	29%	Exc./Good	56% 65%
Jackson	15	--	Fair	28 21
Bentsen	12	--	Poor/Very	15 13
Kerrey	4	9	poor	
Harkin	4	7	No Opinion	1 1
Wilder	3	6		
Tsongas	3	8		
Clinton	2	6		
Undec.	14	35		

Bush tops all comers head-to-head: 58-32% over Cuomo, 57-30 over Bentsen, 62-27% over Brown, 66-23% over Jackson, 60-24% over Kerrey, etc. 53% of Dems say they are disinclined to vote for Brown -- only Jackson (57%) has a higher percentage.

***7 COLORADO: DECLARED CANDIDATES MAKE WEAK SHOWING**
The CO Election Preview Poll, conducted 9/12-23 by Ciruli Associates, surveyed 635 registered voters; margin of error +/- 3.9%. Dem subsample: 199 RVs; +/- 7% (Ciruli release, 10/7).

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUPS

Bush 59%	Bush 59%	Bush 52%	Bush 63%
Cuomo 29	Romer 29	Clinton 30	Jackson 23

DEM PRIMARY

Cuomo 40%	Harkin 6%
Gephardt 14	Wilder 6
Romer 14	Clinton 4
Jackson 7	

***8 NEBRASKA: KERREY FARES BEST AMONG HOME STATERS VERSUS BUSH**
A Political/Media Research poll, conducted 10/3-6, surveyed 809 registered voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%. Dem subsample: 305 RVs; +/- 5.2% (Scottsbluff STAR-HERALD, KETV-Omaha, 10/8).

KERREY'S DECISION TO RUN

Approve 70%	ALL 50%	FAV / UNFAV 71% / 17%
Disapprove 21	Bush 50%	
Not sure 9	Kerrey 40	61 / 21
	Undec. 10	

DEM PRIMARY	ALL	W/O C, B, J	FAV / UNFAV	ID
Kerrey	77%	82%	83% / 8%	100%
Cuomo	6	--	38 / 15	74
Bentsen	3	--	35 / 13	83
Harkin	4	7	17 / 8	79
Jackson	2	--	23 / 35	98
Brown	0	1	15 / 25	63
Tsongas	0	0	9 / 8	43
Wilder	0	0	8 / 10	43
Clinton	0	0	6 / 6	41

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

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

SUBJECT: Senator Grassley radio show

This is for your information. Thought you
find it interesting.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Call: Dave Carney
 Re: Caron Kaebler
 McKee, 224-0471
 (PIT)

Senator Grassley Iowa Radio Networks Show
 (WHO-Radio, Radio Iowa, Brownfield)
 9/17/91

Q: I was wondering what Senator Harkin's presidential campaign, how that will effect representation for Iowa in the Senate. When we have one Senator on the road conducting a Presidential campaign, will that lessen our impact in the Senate?

CEG: Well, of course, without a doubt, he has already and is going to miss a great number of votes and the extent to which a missed vote may effect an outcome, then its going to be negative. If there aren't any close votes it may not make much difference because I'm here in Washington and I will be able to represent Iowans' views. My attendance record is 99.2% over a period of the last 12 years. It's the highest in the Senate for people that have cast over 2000 votes, so I will be able to be here for Iowans. Senator Harkin and I don't vote alike very often, but I will be seeking to make sure Iowans are represented in the Senate.

I think there is one thing about the Harkin candidacy we ought to note as praiseworthy, however, and that is he's the only one of the democratic contenders for the White House to admit that he is a liberal. I heard his speech Sunday, I listened to the entire speech on C-Span and he is a self-described, unabashed liberal -- I think with a capital L -- and he is not ashamed to admit it. The speech he gave in Madison County on Sunday proves it. Now, this isn't necessarily the posture that he presented in the last Senate campaign, but he should be commended for being very straight-forward now.

Q: Would it be good for Iowa for Tom Harkin to win the nomination?

CEG: All I know is it would be bad for the country if he were elected president. I also don't think he could be elected president with a sitting President as popular and well-respected as George Bush.

Party Chairman Sees Says Democrats Will Fight For Presidency

BOSTON (AP) - Democrats will wield both the organization and the money to take on George Bush in the 1992 presidential race, according to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

"We're going to be defiant. We're going to be tough. We're going to take this guy on," Ronald Brown said Wednesday during a stop on an eight-city tour.

Bush has not said he will run for re-election. Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder and former Sens. Paul Tsongas and George McGovern have indicated their interests in running on the Democratic ticket.

"Is it an uphill battle? Absolutely," Brown told The Boston Globe. "Would it be an uphill battle against any incumbent president? Absolutely. To those of little faith, I say, 'What did you expect the polls to show.'"

Brown praised his former foe, Republican Party Chairman Lee Atwater, who died last week of a brain tumor. Brown said Atwater had researched the Democratic candidates in 1987, and knew what could be used against them.

"No matter who the Republican nominee was, they were ready early. Their 1987 budget was \$2 million; ours was \$16,000. We're going to change that," Brown said.

The Democrats have raised \$3 million this year, despite the recession and few candidates, Brown said.

He said in 1988, the Republicans raised 60 percent of their money before the nominating convention, whereas the Democrats raised 14 percent. Brown says under his leadership, the lopsided fund raising will end.

Brown said he would like to curtail the number of debates in which Democratic candidates participate.

Brown said more Democratic candidates likely will come forward in the summer. "No one is going to announce in a postwar euphoria," he said.

Concerning the Persian Gulf War, he said Republicans are not facing domestic problems now that most of the troops are home.

"There was a popular war, and Democrats are glad it's over," Brown said. "We rejoice that there were so few American casualties. But now, not only do the Republicans not have a domestic agenda, they gloat about it."

List of Key Democrats

Mario Cuomo

Albert Gore

Richard Gephardt

Lloyd Bentsen

Douglas Wilder

Bob Kerrey

Joe Biden

Paul Tsongas

Bill Bradley

Bill Clinton

Jesse Jackson

George McGovern

George Mitchell

Sam Nunn

Chuck Robb

Jay Rockefeller

Paul Simon

DEMOCRAT INVENTORY LIST

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen

- o **428 articles on the optical disk from 8/90 (fully word searchable)**
We subscribe to and clip daily 5 Texas newspapers
- o **7,960 quotes from the 1987-1988 Quotes system**
Retrievable by date, source, quotes by/about/attributed to, noun, or subject.
Corresponding hard copies in notebooks and stored in-house.
- o **Legi-Slate and CQ's Washington Alert**

Full text Congressional Record 100th Congress - present
Full text CQ's Weekly Report 98th Congress - present
Congressional and Senate votes 96th Congress - present
Sponsored and cosponsored legislation 96th Congress - present
Attendance Records 96th Congress - present
Ratings and vote files 96th Congress - present
Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present
Federal News Briefings: speeches, talk show appearances, press conferences,
and Senate Committee hearings from 11/85 - present featuring Bentsen
- o **Microfilm**
RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

Gov. Mario Cuomo

- o **922 articles on the optical disk, from 8/90 (fully word searchable)**
We subscribe to and clip daily 4 New York newspapers
- o **Legi-Slate and CQ's Washington Alert**

Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present
Federal News Briefings: 36 speeches, talk show appearances, press
conferences from 11/85 - present featuring Cuomo.
- o **Microfilm**
New York Times microfilm and indexes 1964 - present
RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

- o **11 boxes of hard copy material on Cuomo. Contents include:**

Lexis-Nexis Report 1984

Cuomo General Clip File 1978-86

Sixteen albums of article printouts from 1983-86, indexed by topic

20 binders of UPI & AP printouts 1982-86

Summaries proposed Cuomo legislation 1985-86

Magazine Album 1982-86

"The Governor's Promises vs The Governor's Actions 1983-86"

Prepared by the New York State Senate Research Service

"Report of the Fiscal Committees of the Executive Budget 1986-87"

New York State legislature response to Cuomo's budget that year with index

Rep. Richard Gephardt

- o **517 articles on the optical disk, from 8/90 - present (fully word searchable)**
We subscribe to clip daily 2 Missouri newspapers

- o **6,709 quotes from the 1987-1988 Quotes system**
Retrievable by date, source, quotes by/about/attributed to, noun, or subject.
Corresponding hard copies in notebooks and stored in-house.

- o **Legi-Slate and CQ's Washington Alert**

Full text Congressional Record 100th Congress - present

Full text CQ's Weekly Report 98th Congress - present

Congressional and Senate votes 96th Congress - present

Sponsored and cosponsored legislation 96th Congress - present

Attendance Records 96th Congress - present

Ratings and vote files 96th Congress - present

Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present

Federal News Briefings: speeches, talk show appearances, debates, press conferences, and House Committee hearings from 11/85 - present featuring Gephardt.

- o **Microfilm**
RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

Sen. Albert Gore

- o 261 articles on the optical disk, from 8/90 - present (fully word searchable)**
We subscribe to and clip 2 Tennessee newspapers
- o 7,034 quotes from the 1987-1988 Quotes system**
Retrievable by date, source, quotes by/about/attribution to, noun, or subject.
Corresponding hard copies in notebooks and stored in-house.
- o Legi-Slate and CQ's Washington Alert**

Full text Congressional Record 100th Congress - present
Full text CQ's Weekly Report 98th Congress - present
Congressional and Senate votes 96th Congress - present
Ratings and Vote files 96th Congress - present
Attendance records 96th Congress - present
Sponsored and cosponsored legislation 96th Congress - present
Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present
Federal News Briefings: 179 speeches, talk show appearances, debates, press conferences, and Senate Committee hearings from 11/85 - present featuring Gore.
- o Microfilm**
RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

Rev. Jesse Jackson

- o 712 articles on the optical disk, from 8/90 - present (fully word searchable)**
We subscribe to clip daily 2 D.C. papers, 3 Illinois papers, 1 South Carolina paper
- o 12,651 quotes from the 1987-1988 Quotes system**
Retrievable by date, source, quotes by/about/attribution to, noun, or subject.
Corresponding hard copies in notebooks and stored in-house.
- o Legi-Slate**

Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present
Federal News Briefings: speeches, talk show appearances, debates, press conferences, and Senate Committee hearings from 11/85 - present featuring Jackson.

- o **Microfilm**
RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

Sen. Robert Kerrey

- o **270 articles on the optical disk, from 8/90 - present (fully word searchable)**
We subscribe to clip daily 2 Nebraska newspapers
- o **Legi-Slate and CQ's Washington Alert**

Full text Congressional Record 100th Congress - present
Full text CQ's Weekly Report 98th Congress - present
Congressional and Senate votes 96th Congress - present
Sponsored and cosponsored legislation 96th Congress - present
Attendance Records 96th Congress - present
Ratings and vote files 96th Congress - present
Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present
Federal News Briefings: speeches, talk show appearances, press conferences,
and Senate Committee hearings from 11/85 - present featuring Kerrey.
- o **6 notebooks of clips regarding then Gov. Kerrey's involvement in Nebraska thrift failures**
- o **Microfilm**
RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

Former Sen. Paul Tsongas

- o **40 articles on the optical disk, from 8/90 - present (fully word searchable)**
We subscribe to clip daily 2 Massachusetts newspapers
- o **Legi-Slate and CQ's Washington Alert**

Full text Congressional Record 100th Congress - present
Full text CQ's Weekly Report 98th Congress - present
Congressional and Senate votes 96th Congress - present
Sponsored and cosponsored legislation 96th Congress - present
Attendance Records 96th Congress - present
Ratings and vote files 96th Congress - present
Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present
Federal News Briefings 11/85 - present

o **Microfilm**

Boston Globe microfilm 1967 - 1988, indexes 1983 - 1988

Boston Herald 1973 - 1988

Boston Phoenix 1973 - 1986

Brookline Chronicle-Citizen 1960 - 1987

RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

Gov. Douglas Wilder

o **436 articles on the optical disk, from 8/90 - present (fully word searchable)**

We subscribe to clip daily 1 Virginia newspaper

o **Over 5,000 quotes from the 1989 Virginia Quotes system**

Retrievable by date, source, quotes by/about/attributed to, word/phrase, or subject. Hard Copy Notebooks at the VA state party

o **Legi-Slate**

Full text *Washington Post* 1/85 - present

Federal News Briefings: speeches, talk show appearances, press conferences, and Senate Committee hearings from 11/85 - present featuring Wilder.

o **Microfilm**

RNC clips on 16mm microfilm 1964 - 1987

RNC Strategic Videotape Archive -- April, 1991

Gov. Mario Cuomo

1. Larry King Live appearance - 3/21/91.
2. 1990 NY gubernatorial campaign - 3 ads.
3. Speech to Harvard Law School graduates 9/10/90.
4. Speech to NY State Democratic Convention - June, 1990.
5. McLaughlin Group appearance 8/7/89.
6. 1986 NY gubernatorial campaign commercials, 11 ads.
7. 1982 campaign commercials for NY Governor (Cuomo was Lt. Gov.), 9 ads.

Sen. Albert Gore

1. 1990 senate campaign, one 30-minute video.
2. 1990 senate campaign, 1 ad.
3. 1988 Presidential primary - 27 ads.
4. 1987 Firing Line Debate.
5. 1984 debate with Ned McWherter.
6. 1984 senate race, 15 ads.

Other Key Democrats:

Sen. Joe Biden

1. 1990 senate race, 2 ads.
2. Select 1987/88 Democratic Presidential primary ads.
3. 1987 plagiarism response and announcement -- quitting Presidential race.
4. July 1987 Firing Line Debate.
5. 1984 senate race, one ad, one campaign bio.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen

1. 1990 housing ad.
2. 1988 Quayle-Bentsen debate.
3. 1988 Vice-Presidential campaign, 3 ads.
4. 1988 senate campaign, 6 ads.
5. 1982 senate campaign, 30 ads.

Sen. Bill Bradley

1. 1990 senate race, 2 debates vs. Christine Whitman 10/14 & 10/23/90.
2. 1990 senate race, 6 ads.
3. "Caucus New Jersey" TV show, 2/4/90.

Gov. Bill Clinton

1. 1990 gubernatorial race, 5 ads.
2. 1990 debates vs. Sheffield Nelson 9/24 & 10/15/90.
3. C-SPAN Q&A, 2/4/91.

Dianne Feinstein

1. 1990 CA Democratic primaries, 2 debates vs. John Van de Kamp.
2. 1990 gubernatorial debate vs. Pete Wilson 10/7/90.
3. 1990 gubernatorial ads, 9/27/90 - 10/15/90.

Rep. Richard Gephardt

1. 1990 house race, 1 ad.
2. 1988 New Hampshire primary campaign, 18 ads.
3. July 1987 Firing Line Debate.

Jesse Jackson

1. 1988 Presidential primary, 8 ads.
2. July 1987 Firing Line Debate.

Sen. Bob Kerrey

1. 1990 campaign endorsements, 5 ads.
2. 1988 senate campaign, 18 ads.
3. 1982 gubernatorial campaign, 16 ads.

Sen. George Mitchell

1. 1991 State of the Union response.
2. Meet the Press -- 2/10/90.
3. 1988 senate campaign, 4 ads.

Sen. Chuck Robb

1. 1988 debate vs. Maurice Dawkins.
2. 1988 senate campaign, 2 ads.

Sen. Paul Simon

1. 1990 senate race -- 2 debates vs. Lynn Martin 10/14 & 10/30/90.
2. 1990 senate race, 4 ads.
3. 1988 Presidential primary, 10 ads.
4. July 1987 Firing Line Debate.
5. 1984 senate campaign, 26 ads.

Gov. Douglas Wilder

1. Today Show/NBC -- 4/3/91.
2. 1990 budget speech.
3. 1989 gubernatorial race, abortion ads.
4. 1989 debates vs. Marshall Coleman.

Select footage:

--Bob Squier ads featuring John Silber, James Blanchard, James Florio, and Frank Lautenberg.

--1988 Democratic primary debates: Firing Line, C-Span, NBC-TV.

Sen. Albert Gore, Jr. (D-TN)

Executive Summary

Personal History

- o Gore's father served in both the House and Senate. Gore grew up mainly in Washington, DC. He attended St. Albans Prep, then went on to graduate from Harvard.
- o Like his father, he opposed the Vietnam War. He took part in antiwar rallies, but eventually volunteered for the Army. In 1988, he explained that if he had not gone, another young man from his home town would have had to take his place. Furthermore, if he had evaded the draft, he might have hurt his father's reelection chances.
- o Gore went to Vietnam, serving as a journalist with an Army unit. In 1987, he said: "I was not involved in fire fights. I was not in the infantry. I was in areas where combat took place. I did not see combat myself." (Yet one of his 1988 campaign brochures carried an old picture of Gore carrying an M-16.) He later admitted that he had smoked marijuana in Vietnam and during the years immediately after.
- o Returning home, Gore became an investigative reporter for the *Nashville Tennessean*. In 1976, he won an open seat in the House.

Political History

- o In the House, Gore made a name for himself on the Science Committee, investigating such issues as organ transplants and the effects of radiation. He also worked on arms control issues.
- o In 1984, he won the Senate seat vacated by Howard Baker.
- o In the Senate, he was named to the Armed Services committee and continued to work on arms control issues.
- o He sought the 1988 Democratic Presidential nomination. On the basis of a few specific positions (e.g., support for the Grenada mission), he sought to position himself as the centrist candidate. His voting record, however, put him squarely in the liberal camp. He won several states on Super Tuesday, but his campaign flamed out when he lost the New York primary.

Strengths

- o Highly intelligent, very well educated.
- o Moderate positions on at least some issues. Support for Desert Storm is now a significant asset.
- o Political base in the South. (Note: no Northern Democrat has won an absolute majority of the popular vote since 1944.)
- o Young, energetic.

Weaknesses

- o Lacks a fixed identity. He tries to be a populist, but his resume lists St. Albans and Harvard. He tries to court moderates while embracing hard-core leftists such as environmentalist Paul Ehrlich.
- o In 1988, at least, his youth seemed a liability, as he appeared somewhat green. Time, however, is curing this drawback.

Albert Gore, Jr.

Personal History

Albert Arnold Gore Jr. was born March 31, 1948, in Washington, where his father had represented the Fourth District of Tennessee in the House of Representatives as a Democrat since 1940. Gore's father served in the House for nearly 15 years (1938-1952) before going onto the Senate for 18 years. In the younger Gore's boyhood, the family lived in an apartment in the Fairfax Hotel.

His education was mainly private, culminating in nine years at St. Albans, where he played football and basketball and was an honors student. The night of his graduation from St. Albans, he met Mary Elizabeth "Tipper" Aitcheson. He went on to Harvard and a year later she followed to Boston University. They were married in 1970 at National Cathedral with a Beatles' song as a recessional. They now have three daughters -- Kareenna; Kristen; Sarah -- and a son, Albert III.

Like his father, he strongly opposed the war; in 1969, he participated in a three day Harvard student strike to protest the war. (*Miami Herald*, 2/14/88). But he enlisted in the Army in August 1969. In 1988 interview (*Candidates '88*, p. 182), he explained that if he had not gone, another young man from his town would have had to take his place. And his father was seeking reelection: "[To] the extent that my personal decision had any impact on it, even marginal, ironically the best way I could oppose the war was by going to it and being a part of it, which I did."

Sixteen months later, after his father had narrowly lost to William E. Brock, the younger Gore was sent to Vietnam, where he served as a journalist with an Army unit. During the 1988 campaign, a campaign brochure showed him carrying an M-16 rifle in Vietnam. In response to comments that the photo falsely cast him in a combat role, he said: "I carried that rifle all over Vietnam and walked like that in every part of the country," Mr. Gore said. As a reporter in the Army's 20th Engineer Brigade, he explained, he also carried a pencil. The brochure listed his Vietnam service as "one of the reasons people give why Al Gore should be our next President." Asked to describe his military experience, he said: "I was not involved in fire fights. I was not in the infantry. I was in areas where combat took place. I did not see combat myself. I was fired upon" (*New York Times* 10/26/87, p. B10).

The war, combined with the elder Gore's campaign defeat and the Watergate scandals, turned his son temporarily against a political career. The junior Mr. Gore got a job as a newspaper reporter, for *The Tennessean* in Nashville, where he uncovered local corruption. He took divinity courses in 1971-72 at Vanderbilt, where, he says now, he thought he could find answers to some basic questions. Did he succeed? "No, but I found better questions." While continuing at the *Tennessean*, he ended his divinity studies and enrolled in Vanderbilt Law School, which he attended for two years.

During this time of his life, Gore used marijuana, though his accounts of his experimentation have not always been clear. On November 6, 1987 Gore told reporters in Mobile, Alabama that he had never smoked marijuana as an adult. (*The Washington Post*, 11/9/87). But the next day he said he had done so at various times during college, during service in Vietnam and as a newspaper reporter in Tennessee. His job as a reporter with the *The Tennessean* started in 1971, when he was twenty-three years old. (*The Washington Monthly*, November, 1986) Gore has said that he thinks the issue (of marijuana) has no bearing on his fitness for the presidency and that the question is still inappropriate". (*Washington Post*, 11/9/87)

Political Career Before 1988

Joe Evins, who had succeeded the elder Gore in the House, retired in 1976. The younger Gore then ran for the seat, winning a nine-way Democratic primary race with 32 percent of the vote, three points more than his nearest rival. In three successive House elections, he was unopposed twice and won 79 percent the other time.

Gore made a name for himself as member of the Science Committee, where he conducted hearings on issues such as organ transplants, baby formula safety standards, and the long term effects of radiation. His most significant achievement, observers agree, was development of an arms proposal to move from multiwarhead to single-warhead missiles to reduce the possibility of a surprise nuclear attack. But this led to his participation in a 1983 deal with the Reagan Administration that gave the MX missile a new lease on life and turned a number of Democratic liberals against Representative Gore.

When, in early 1983, Sen. Howard Baker stunned everyone by announcing that he would not run for re-election in 1984, Gore was the Democrat favorite to succeed him. He had no opponents in the Democratic primary -- quite a feat in an open-seat race -- and won the general election with 61%.

Gore carried his avid interest in science and technology into the Senate, and led the campaign to televise floor proceedings. He was appointed to the Senate Armed Services Committee where he helped working out a legislative compromise on the MX missile with the Reagan administration and gained recognition as an expert on strategic arms. Gore's wife, Tipper, established a profile of her own when she campaigned against lyrics and album covers -- most from rock music -- which she deemed obscene.

His current committee assignments are: Armed Services; Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation; Rules and Administration; and the Joint Committee on Printing.

See appendix for summary of Senator Gore's vote ratings.

1988 Campaign

Gore launched his presidential candidacy on June 29, 1987, after fellow Southerners Sam Nunn and Dale Bumpers announced they were not running. Gore had the backing from Nate Landow and about 17 other members of Impac '88, a group of 48 wealthy, Democratic fund-raisers who pledged to raise at least \$250,000 each for the candidate of their choice. At 40, Gore was the youngest of the Democratic hopefuls.

Major Issues in 1988

By staking out moderate positions on a range of foreign policy and military matters, while at the same time blasting his rivals' liberal stands, Gore emerged as the only "hawk" in the 1988 Democratic field. Still, Gore's stands were not all that far to the right of the other Democrats. He opposed military aid to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters. He supported the War Powers Act and continued observance of the ABM and SALT II nuclear arms treaties and is against an early deployment of a strategic defense system (SDI).

He differed from the rest of the Democratic field mainly in areas where his rivals' more liberal positions seemed to have less support. He rejected a total ban on ballistic missile flight tests. Gore was, however, the only Democratic candidate to support the \$3.5 million in humanitarian aid to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters which was approved in September 1987 by the House. Gore backed the use of the U.S. Navy in escorting reflagged Kuwaiti tankers through the Persian Gulf and believed the 1983 Grenada invasion represented a proper use of American force.

On farm issues, Gore told the *Des Moines Register* (5/22/87) that he would "take an approach that falls between the elimination of government subsidies and the use of mandatory production controls." Gore said the tobacco price support system does not need any public subsidy (*Raleigh News & Observer*, 1/19/88). Yet he also argued that he has "fought hard" for tobacco farmers (*USA Today*, 1/19/88).

Gore opposed:

Raising the Social Security retirement age to 67.
Reducing dairy price supports.
Freezing physician's fees under Medicare.
Military aid to the contras.

Gore favored:

The Equal Rights Amendment
Procurement of 21 MX missiles.
The nuclear freeze.
School prayer.
The Immigration Reform Act.

Gore cited as his major goal the achievement of an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union. Asked to provide specifics, Gore indicated support for a plan to restrict both the Soviet Union and the United States to a relatively small number of mobile, single-warhead missiles.

Political Assessment

While Gore was the only candidate who served in Vietnam, his Democratic opponents questioned the sincerity of his new hawkishness, noting that his voting record on defense issues reveals positions similar to their own.

Gore had endorsements and momentum among white elected officials in the South, getting support from politicians who joined him in the gamble that he could withstand his decision to virtually withdraw from Iowa and New Hampshire, and the consequent poor showings in those states. On Super Tuesday, Gore carried five border states: Tennessee, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and North Carolina; as well as Nevada. Jesse Jackson cut into Gore's hopes in the South by capturing Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi, although Gore did finish second in those states.

Gore targeted New York as the place to demonstrate appeal outside his own region. But he could not raise the necessary money. Although he never gained the endorsement of Governor Cuomo, he did pick up New York City Mayor Ed Koch's endorsement. Koch's support was seen as a move against Jesse Jackson as he repeatedly blasted Jackson. This hurt the Gore campaign. Gore finished third in the New York primary with a dismal 10% of the vote. Dukakis received 51% and Jackson 37%. The poor showing eliminated his eligibility for further federal funding. On April 21, Gore announced he was suspending his campaign, saying "it hurts to have come so far and have fallen short."

Senator Gore: 1988-1992

When Gore suspended his 1988 campaign, he told supporters that "there will be other days for me and for the causes that matter to us." But in announcing his candidacy for re-election in 1990, Gore shrugged off questions about 1992.

A long-time champion of environmental issues, Gore attended the 1989 international conference on the environment in London, and wrote the World Environment Policy Act which called for a ban on chlorofluorocarbons, blamed for depleting the ozone layer of the Earth's atmosphere. He is writing a book, which he declines to discuss, and has continued to write opinion pieces and guest columns.

"Fire in the belly? I guess because I ran before, I will always be suspect of having that fire," he says. "And I will not deny that." (*New York Times*, 3/25/91, p. A14). Gore is inoculated on the one issue that torments his party. He was one of just 10 Democratic Senators to vote in favor of the resolution authorizing war in the Persian Gulf. Said Gore during debate: "I do not believe we could adopt the course of action implicit in the Nunn-Mitchell resolution without withdrawing up to half the troops now deployed. I think the overriding effect of that withdrawal would be to make it extremely unlikely that sanctions would then result in Saddam Hussein's withdrawal

from Kuwait or his overthrow in the near future... I feel that I owe my vote to an expression of support for the resolution authorizing the use of force..." (*Congressional Record*, 1/11/91). Yet he has been careful to maintain the favor of Democrats who opposed the war. In March, he declared, "Shame on those Republican operatives for playing politics with American lives, for the disservice they do to the brave American soldiers who made the ultimate sacrifice for their country."

On the side of running," he says, "I think this country is feeling the Reagan-Bush years and needs to approach domestic problems like the economy, competitiveness, the environment, crime, with a sense of determination and with leadership and with 'the vision thing.' " On the other side of the scales, he says, citing the burden on his family. Two years ago, while Mr. Gore was attending a Baltimore Orioles baseball game with his son, the boy broke away and was hit by a car. His injuries were serious, his recovery long.

Personal Observations

In a March 1988 article, journalist Gail Sheehy summed up Gore's character in a perceptive article, which is worth quoting at length:

"When I asked him to tell me his life story, Gore's first words were 'I've always lived two places, two lives.' There were two homes (Washington, DC, and Carthage, Tennessee), two schools (the elite St. Albans prep school and the rural southern public school), two families (the farm manager and his wife, with whom young Gore often lived, and the peripatetic father and mother they referred to as 'Miz Gore and them'). There were two sets of friends, two sweethearts. Every Sunday he went to a different church: Mother was Church of Christ and Father a Baptist" (*Vanity Fair*, March 1988).

This duality also cropped up in the 1988 campaign. On the one hand, he told Marvin Kalb at Harvard that he went to Vietnam as the most effective way of *opposing* the war. On the other hand, his supporters gave Wyoming voters a brochure showing him wielding an M-16. He and Mrs. Gore had Beatles music played at their wedding, but she gained public attention by condemning rock music lyrics. He positioned himself as the moderate-centrist candidate while having the most liberal voting record of any Southern Democrat.

More recently, he has sought to portray himself as a thoughtful moderate who cares about business growth, while endorsing a hard-line environmentalist tract. He defended Desert Storm, and now he is defending those who opposed it.

Appendix: Gore Facts

Born: March 31, 1948.

Hometown: Carthage, Tenn.

Education: B.A., Harvard.

Career Highlights: 1969-71, Army, with rank of Specialist 5; 1971-76, homebuilding business and reporter, The Tennessean; 1977-85, United States Representative; 1985-present, United States Senate; 1988, candidate for Democratic Presidential nomination.

Vote Ratings:

Senate Service

	Pres. Sup.	Party Unity	Cons. Coal.	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	Chamber
1990	38%	93%	41%	78%	09%	89%	17%
1989	56%	68%	58%	55%	19%	88%	60%
1988	33%	57%	11%	60%	09%	83%	45%
1987	10%	49%	09%	60%	06%	100%	10%
1986	29%	83%	33%	70%	09%	87%	32%
1985	34%	86%	50%	65%	17%	86%	41%

House Service

1984	46%	69%	56%	65%	22%	62%	31%
1983	29%	77%	39%	70%	20%	88%	28%
1982	45%	89%	47%	70%	29%	90%	18%
1981	39%	80%	47%	70%	13%	93%	11%

Dear Friend and Supporter:

As we discussed in our September 15th meeting, we have been looking at several options that Reverend Jesse Jackson and our coalition can exercise in the 1992 presidential election. At the urging of many of us, Reverend Jackson agreed to take another month or so to consult with you and others across the country and to weigh these options.

We are asking you to come back together on Friday, November 1 and Saturday, November 2 in Washington D.C. to conclude this phase of our discussion, and to plan and implement the next steps.

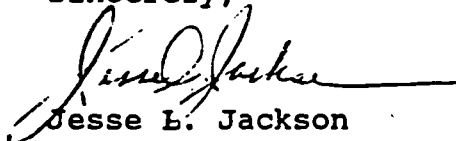
Friday evening and Saturday morning, we are convening key supporters for a private discussion on: a decision about a Jackson candidacy; our agenda and program for 1992; and building coalition and infrastructure for 1992. Saturday at 12 noon, let's stand together with Reverend Jackson at a press conference to announce the results of this discussion.

Regardless of the specific decision on the presidential race, we must strengthen our coalition and our message in these urgent times by standing and acting together. Please do make every effort to come to this meeting and announcement.

The meetings will be held at the Omni Shoreham Hotel on Friday, November 1 from 8 - 10 PM in the Palladium Room, and Saturday from 9 AM to 12 noon in the Ambassador Room. The press conference will follow at noon. The Omni Shoreham Hotel is located at 2500 Calvert Street, N.W. If interested in room reservations at the Omni Shoreham call (202) 234-0700.

Please R.S.V.P. to Carolyn Hunter at (202) 728-1180. We look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,


Jesse L. Jackson

CONVENERS LIST

The Honorable Toney Anaya
The Honorable John Conyers
The Honorable Charles Hayes
The Honorable Kweisi Mfume
The Honorable Donald Payne
The Honorable Charles Rangel
The Honorable Edolphus Towns
The Honorable Maxine Waters
Mayor Sidney Barthelemy
Roger Allison, Missouri Rural Crisis Center*
Reverend Willie Barrow, Vice Chair of Operation PUSH Board
Mark McKenzie, New Hampshire AFL-CIO*
Karen Nussbaum, President SEIU 925*
Hazel Obey, Vice-chairperson, Texas Democratic Party*
Ron Richardson, Hotel & Restaurant Employees Union*
Dennis Rivera, 1199*
Percy Sutton, General Partner ATIG
LeeAnn Tallbear, National American Indian Council
Lawrence Landry
Mario Obledo

* organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

National Rainbow Coalition, Inc.

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson
President and Founder

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE JESSE L. JACKSON RAINBOW COALITION 1984 AND 1988, PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

1983-1984 -- JACKSON RAN FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

In this first, historic campaign, Jackson showed the nation that an African American, progressive candidate could be a serious force. In 1984:

- * Jackson won 3.5 million votes and 465.5 delegates. "Professionals" predicted Jackson wouldn't be able to exceed 175 to 200 delegates.
- * Jackson built a unified, active and politicized national African American community.
- * Jackson made enforcement of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and voter registration centerpieces of his campaign, and played a major role in inspiring two million new registered voters for the Democratic Party.
- * Despite Reagan's "landslide victory," the new Rainbow constituency resulted in a net gain of two Democratic Senate seats and helped elect Senators Simon (D-IL), Gore (D-TN), Levin (D-MI), and Heflin (D-AL).
- * Jackson became the first African American in over a century to win statewide elections in the South.
- * Jackson forces won a significant rules change -- the Democratic Party lowered the threshold for winning delegates from 20% to 15%.

1985-1987 - JACKSON FORMED THE NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION AND EXPANDED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S ELECTORAL POWER

After the 1984 campaign, Jackson formed the National Rainbow Coalition, a nonprofit organization dedicated to building a multi-cultural movement for social change in America. Over the next few years, Jackson continued to be a major force in national politics.

- * 1985 and 1986, Jackson continued to register new voters.
- * The new Rainbow constituency helped the Democrats in 1986 to solidly and dramatically recapture control of the Senate by a margin of 55 to 45.
- * Democrats John Breaux (LA), Wyche Fowler (GA), Terry Sanford (NC), Richard Shelby (AL), and Alan Cranston (CA) all won by very small margins, with new African American and Hispanic voters making the difference. All won with a minority of the white vote.
- * The Rainbow constituency made strong contributions in the Senate victories of Barbara Mikulski (MD), Bob Graham (FL), Tim Wirth (CO), Tom Daschle (SD), and Kent Conrad (ND).

- * The Rainbow-assisted Democratic control of the Senate defeated Reagan's ultra-conservative Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork in 1987.
- * More than any other Democrat, Jesse Jackson resisted the unfair policies of the Reagan/Bush era.

1987-1988 - THE JACKSON 1988 PRESIDENTIAL RACE

Jackson's second presidential race was the most serious race for high office ever conducted by an African American. His success opened the doors for a new Rainbow politics and a progressive vision for the nation that permanently changed American politics.

- * This highly professional campaign raised \$20 million, ran an excellent direct mail program, filed full delegate slates across the country, and brought out more supporters in caucus states than any other campaign.
- * Jackson's campaign spent fewer dollars per vote received than any candidate.
- * Jackson won over seven million total votes, double his 1984 vote, and more than Mondale got in 1984 when he won the Party's nomination.
- * Jackson won thirteen primary races: Alabama, Alaska, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, South Carolina, Vermont (the whitest state in the U.S.) and Virginia, plus Washington D.C., Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.
- * Jackson won 1,218.5 delegate votes, the most votes ever received by a runner-up in either party in the history of American politics.
- * During the primary and caucus season, Jackson earned about 1,075 delegates to Dukakis's 1,790, a ratio of 2:3. Jackson's convention delegate count of 1,218.5 to Dukakis's 2,876.25 was a ratio of 3:7. This dramatic difference was due to the great numbers of unelected superdelegates at the convention.
- * Jackson won the most popular votes on Super Tuesday (2,547,302) and was the only candidate to win delegates in every state that day.
- * Of 20 Super Tuesday races, Jackson won 16 first or second-places, while Dukakis won 12 and Gore 11. In the Deep South, Jackson received almost 10% of the white vote -- about two and a half times what he got in 1984.
- * According to the New York Times, on Super Tuesday, Jackson won the African American vote (91 percent), the liberal vote (37%), the labor vote (35%), the women's vote (30%), the 18-29 year-old vote (33%), the 30-44 year-old vote (35%), the 45-59 year-old vote (28%), those earning between \$12,500 and \$25,000 a year (28%), those who voted Democrat in 1984 (39%), and first-time primary voters (31%). Jackson finished second among Hispanics (21%), Catholics (18%), and native Southerners.

- * Jackson won 92 Congressional districts in 32 states.
- * Jackson doubled his white vote, winning 2.5 million white and Hispanic votes.
- * Jackson won 92 percent of the African American vote, building a unified and solid base for future political campaigns.
- * Jackson split the self-identified liberal vote with Dukakis.
- * Jackson won the most debates, got the most laughs and standing ovations, attacked his opponents the least, and always gave the best speeches -- including his convention speech, watched by an estimated 50 million viewers.
- * Jackson sent the most "Rainbow" convention delegation in the history of American politics to Atlanta, with impressive numbers of African American, white, Hispanic, Asian American, Native American, Arab American, gay and lesbian delegates. Several hundred Jackson delegates came from the labor movement.
- * Of 56 races, Jackson finished first or second in 46 -- more than Dukakis -- which means Jackson ran a strong national campaign, running well in every region of the country.
- * Jackson won the 18-29 year-old vote and broke even with 30-44 year-olds. Jackson won the 18-44 year-old vote -- the voice of a new generation.
- * Jackson forces eliminated "winner take all" primaries and "bonus" primaries in Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and West Virginia, making future primaries proportional and more democratic.
- * Jesse Jackson's 1988 campaign increased the leverage of progressive forces within the Democratic Party. Almost every speaker borrowed his words and thoughts. Progressives saw their peace and justice agenda come close to becoming government policy.
- * Jackson fought for a "Workers Bill of Rights" and a "Corporate Code of Conduct"; for a national health care program; for reducing military spending; for reordering budget priorities.
- * Jackson alone recognized the critical nature of the "drug" issue, and made it an issue of conscience for the nation.
- * Jackson traveled more miles than any other surrogate on behalf of the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket, during the 1988 general election campaign.
- * After the 1988 campaign, Jackson's convention manager, Ron Brown, won a smashing and historic victory to become the first African American to head the Democratic National Committee.
- * Jackson forces profoundly influenced the Democratic platform as all but

four of Jackson's planks (of thirteen in dispute) were adopted.

- * Jackson received commitments from Democratic Party leadership to support critical legislative changes: the Dellums Bill (comprehensive sanctions against South Africa), the Conyers Bill (establishing same-day, on-site registration of voters), DC Statehood legislation, comprehensive child-care legislation, and economic set-asides for minorities.
- * Jackson forces influenced the expansion of the Democratic National Committee with the addition of twenty new seats, including a vice-chairmanship for voter registration (selected by Jackson).
- * Most importantly, Jackson's campaign transcended traditional barriers by building coalitions based on common ground. Jackson appealed to that which unites people rather than that which divides them, and ran a campaign based on hope.

JESSE L. JACKSON 1989 TO PRESENT

Since the 1988 campaign, Jackson and the Rainbow have continued to be national voices and mobilizers for social change. For example:

- * Jackson highlighted the massive pro-choice march on Washington.
- * Jackson, as Co-Chair of the Financial Democracy Campaign, helped push through affordable housing and anti-redlining provisions in the S & L Bailout law, testified for voter registration reform, and mobilized for the key civil rights bills of the decade.
- * Jackson was elected Statehood Senator from Washington, D.C. Jackson reinvigorated the Statehood effort and now actively lobbies Capitol Hill and organizes constituents to achieve statehood for Washington.
- * Jesse Jackson is first or second in Democratic presidential primary polls for 1992.
- * Jackson and the Rainbow inspired and led a week-long march from Bridgeport to Hartford, Connecticut, to highlight the crisis in urban America and to redirect the nation to rebuild America.

NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION POLITICAL VICTORIES

In the wake of Jackson's electoral strength and the campaign's successful expansion of the electorate, a wave of Rainbow successes swept the nation.

- * 1989 -- African Americans won state and mayoral elections in unprecedented numbers. African American, Hispanic, Asian, Arab American and white former Jackson campaign chairs and delegates won a series of elections, many historic, with the winner of each election more progressive than his or her predecessor.
- * Douglas Wilder, Governor of Virginia.

- * David Dinkins, Mayor of New York City
 - * Norm Rice, Mayor of Seattle
 - * John Daniels, Mayor of New Haven
 - * Betty Esper, Mayor of Homestead, PA
 - * Chester Jenkins, Mayor of Durham, NC
 - * Maynard Jackson, Mayor of Atlanta
 - * Michael White, Mayor of Cleveland
 - * Ben Nichols, Mayor of Ithaca
 - * Oscar Rios, Deputy Mayor of Watsonville, CA
- * 1990 -- Jackson allies Paul Wellstone and Bernie Sanders won the two most surprising victories of the year. Wellstone (D-MN) replaced incumbent Republican Rudy Boschwitz as U.S. Senator. Sanders of Vermont, a progressive, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.
 - * 1990 -- Jackson allies Maxine Waters (D-CA) and Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) were elected to Congress, increasing the number of African American women in the House of Representatives. In Michigan, where Jackson won, Barbara Rose Collins (D-MI), an African American, won.
 - * 1990 -- William Jefferson became the first African American elected to Congress from New Orleans since Reconstruction.
 - * 1991 -- African Americans, for the first time, won the mayoral races in Missouri, Colorado and Tennessee:
 - * Emanuel Cleaver, Mayor of Kansas City, Missouri
 - * Wellington Webb, Mayor of Denver, Colorado
 - * Willie Herenton, Mayor of Memphis, Tennessee

JESSE JACKSON/NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION LABOR VICTORIES

Jackson and the National Rainbow Coalition have stood with unions and working families whenever they were in need.

- * Jackson has stood with labor for thirty years. He was with Dr. King when he was killed in Memphis supporting an AFSCME sanitation workers' strike.
- * Jackson has walked more picket lines and been asked to address more union rallies and conferences than any other American leader. He has walked and talked with the Carpenters, Virginia State AFL-CIO, AFGE, CBTU, PED, UMWA, HERE, and CWA.
- * Jackson has organized more workers into unions and signed up more union members than any other leader. He has organized with ACTWU, AFGE, AFSCME, SEIU, UFCW, USWA, HERE, and UAW.
- * In labor disputes, Jackson has stood with labor and negotiated difficult settlements. He has sat at the table with NABET, Firefighters, Teachers, CWA, AFGE, USWA, Pittston Miners, HERE, ACTWU, NEA, Greyhound, the Daily News, and 1199 in New York.

- * Jackson has stood with women and minority workers in their fight for dignity on the job, in poultry factories in Ahoskie and Hamlet, NC, in textile factories in Earle, AK with ACTWU, and throughout the South.
- * Most importantly, Jackson has looked forward with hope in times of great difficulty for labor. He stood with the locked out, with Greyhound workers, Pittston miners, and Eastern strikers who had been abandoned.

FOREIGN POLICY VICTORIES

Jackson's longstanding principles of consistency and human rights set the standard for many foreign policy debates. His commitment to democracy has been prophetic for today's world events.

- * During the 1984 campaign, Jackson took the time to negotiate the release of downed Navy fighter pilot, Robert Goodman.
- * 1985, Jackson, as chief spokesperson for a delegation of peace activists, presented to Gorbachev a petition signed by one million Americans asking for cuts in nuclear weapons, and also challenged him on the emigration of Soviet Jews.
- * April 1987, Jackson stood with peace activists in D.C. to protest the Reagan Administration's Central American policy. Jackson was not afraid to criticize Ronald Reagan's and George Bush's policies in the invasions of Grenada and Panama.
- * Jackson made South Africa an issue of conscience for the nation. He raised the sanctions issue during a televised debate with Mondale and Hart in 1984, and insisted on designating South Africa as a "terrorist state" in the 1988 Democratic platform. Jackson led a delegation to Southern Africa and frontline states. Increasing America's awareness of the apartheid regime led to the Dellums Bill passage and the imposition of sanctions against South Africa. Jackson was the first African American to meet with Nelson Mandela upon his release from prison.
- * Jackson was the sole candidate to propose a two-state solution in the Middle East -- to guarantee security and peace to both Israelis and Palestinians. Palestinian self-determination was for the first time debated on the floor of the Democratic National Convention.
- * At the Convention, Jackson forces were able to include in the platform the need to move beyond the Cold War, to "promptly initiate a mutual moratorium on missile flight testing", to "support the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon," and for a wide-ranging peace plan in Central America. Jackson forces received enormous support for the position that the U.S. should make a "no first use" pledge for nuclear weapons.
- * September 1990, Jackson flew to Baghdad, interviewed Saddam Hussein and won freedom for the first hostages to be released from Kuwait and Iraq - - over 400 Americans, British, Canadians and Japanese.
- * January 26, 1991, Jackson spoke at the big anti-war rally in D.C. and urged the President to end the bombing and negotiate a peace.

1992

The Honorable:

John H. Sumner,

Thought you might
be interested in
seeing this. Regards,

OFFICE TELEPHONES
AREA CODE 508
454-8421, 454-9121, 454-8511

THE SAAB LAW FIRM
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS-AT-LAW

LOUIS M. SAAB, ESQUIRE
SUITE 234
SAAB BUILDING

175 CENTRAL STREET
LOWELL, MASS.

THE TSONGAS COMMITTEE

October 30, 1991

Louis M Saab
175 Central Street
Lowell, MA 01852

Dear Louis,

When I was growing up in Lowell, my family often went to New Hampshire for special outings. I remember the small thrill I used to feel when our car would cross the state border, on our way to a day at Hampton Beach, or Lake Winnepesaukee, or on the trails of the White Mountains.

These days, I travel to New Hampshire for a much different reason. And though my heart still races a bit when I cross the state line, my mission is one of serious purpose rather than a childhood adventure: To introduce myself to the people of the Granite State, and to ask them to nominate me as their candidate.

It is a mission we are taking together, you and I. And underlying it is a message and a vision we share - on behalf of our nation and our party.

So far, our mission is succeeding quite well. Your support has enabled me to lay the substantive groundwork necessary to be among the winners when the votes are counted on February 18. And several newspaper polls indicate I am the clear favorite.

But now I need your support again, to launch the next phase of our New Hampshire campaign. I must raise \$50,000 in the next 14 days to begin airing a series of television commercials that will help me reach voters I have not been able to reach in person.

You know our campaign is far more than sound bites and TV spots. But in these closing weeks, a strong presence on television -- equal to or exceeding that of my opponents -- is critical.

Like the rest of our campaign, our commercials are issue-oriented and substantive. They do not sell me like a movie-of-the-week. They present me for who I am, what I stand for, and why I am committed to this campaign.



I hope you will help me get them on the air.

You and I are in this campaign together. Our principles, hopes and dreams are on the New Hampshire ballot.

I'm asking you to invest in those principles, hopes and dreams once again - to champion them along with me, and to inspire others to join our cause.

Wherever I travel, whomever I talk to, I sense a stirring in the American soul. It is clear to me that people are waiting and hoping for a candidate who is not afraid to speak the truth, and who refuses to sell our country and its people short.

A win in New Hampshire will enable me to emerge as that candidate, and inspire people across the country to listen to our message.

As Democrats, they will respond to our clear platform to make our party the party of economic renewal. As Americans, they will respond to our program of economic patriotism. As voters, they will see that ours is the message that can defeat George Bush.

Six months ago, the pundits said the Democrats should just sit this one out. But you and I said "NO". You and I said that America deserves an honest, open debate on its future. And that's what we're giving them.

Please help the debate -- and my momentum -- continue through the next 100 crucial days, with a generous gift today. It will matter, and it will make a difference.

Sincerely,



Paul Tsongas

P.S. A new ABC News/Washington Post poll shows -- for the first time -- that a majority of Americans believe America needs a new direction, different than the direction George Bush and the Republicans have charted. Our campaign offers a clear choice, and New Hampshire voters will be the first to vote on it - just 100 days from now. Please help me reach as many voters as possible, with a gift in support of my television advertising campaign today.

The New Hampshire Primary is barely 100 days away. I must raise \$50,000 in the next 14 days to have a strong television presence as the voters begin to compare me with other candidates in the race. According to newspaper polls, I already have a substantial lead. Your financial support will help me keep it.

To: Paul Tsongas

From: _____

Message:

I want to help you reach as many voters as possible before the crucial New Hampshire primary on February 18. Here's my contribution in support of your television advertising campaign:

- \$35 \$50 \$75 \$100
 \$250 \$500 \$1,000 Other (_____)

Please return this form with your check, made payable to The Tsongas Committee, to me within 14 days, using the envelope I have enclosed. Thank you once again for your support!

★ Your telephone number is very important to us:

(H) _____ (W) _____

★ To help us comply with the Federal Election Commission regulations, please furnish the following information:

Occupation: _____

Employer: _____

Business Address _____

Paid for by The Tsongas Committee.

Your contribution is not tax deductible for Federal Income Tax Purposes.

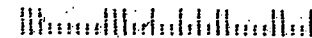
Photo Copy Preservation

LAW OFFICES
LOUIS M. SAAB
Attorneys and Counselors at Law
SAAB BUILDING
175 Central Street
Lowell, Massachusetts 01852



The Honorable John H. Sununu
Chief of State to George H.W. Bush
President of the United States
Washington, D.C.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 6, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: RONALD C. KAUFMAN *RC*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

FROM: DAVID M. CARNE *DC*
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR,
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: 1991 ELECTION RESULTS

US SENATE SPECIAL ELECTION

With 90% of the votes counted:

Dick Thornburgh (R) 44%
Harris Wofford (D) 56%

In Pennsylvania, what once appeared to the pundits as an easy victory for the Republican Party to the U.S. Senate became a hotly contested race. Harris Wofford ran a campaign positioning himself as a Washington outsider and Dick Thornburgh as an insider and used national health care as a key theme. Thornburgh stated that he was opposed to a national health care plan. A Pittsburgh Post-Gazette poll indicated that 94 percent of Pennsylvanians said that their decision in this race would be based on the candidate who could best ensure that adequate health care is available.

Wofford and Democrat spinsters recently defined the campaign as a referendum on the policies of the Bush Administration. Wofford criticized Thornburgh as the candidate who would protect the status quo and linked Thornburgh to the Administration at every opportunity, including the S&L issue and BCCI. Even with a 6.5% unemployment rate compared to the national average of 6.8%, the Wofford campaign was able to negatively link Thornburgh to the Administration following the veto of the extension of unemployment benefits.

Many believe that Thornburgh's message failed to provide any definition to his campaign - no articulation of his sense of the future for Pennsylvania. There are approximately 330,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans in the state. In 1988, Bush-Quayle won the state 51% to 48%.

Wofford was endorsed by all of the major newspapers in Pennsylvania, including both papers in Thornburgh's hometown of Pittsburgh. This is the first time in 20 years that the Pittsburgh Press has endorsed a Democrat Senate candidate. Pennsylvania has not sent a Democrat to the United States Senate in 23 years.

The Wofford campaign spent dollar for dollar what the Thornburgh campaign spent on paid media. The National Republican Senatorial Committee contributed approximately \$1.3 million to the Thornburgh campaign.

Six Administration officials -- the Vice President, Mrs. Bush Secretaries Derwinski, Sullivan, Alexander and Kemp -- went in to help Thornburgh's campaign. You traveled to Pennsylvania on Thornburgh's behalf twice (9/12/91 and 10/2/91).

You also participated in Thornburgh's direct mail program through an absentee ballot letter on behalf of the State Party and a mailgram which was sent out to 2,000 County Precinct workers on Saturday, November 2.

Wofford's campaign tactics were clearly far better than Thornburgh's.

Also in Pennsylvania, prior to today's election, the Republicans controlled 41 of 67 of the 3-member county court house boards. The election resulted in Republican control of 51 of the 67 boards for a net gain of 10.

GUBERNATORIAL RACES

With 97% of the votes counted:

Larry Hopkins (R) 35%
Brereton Jones (D) 65%

In Kentucky, Lt. Governor Brereton Jones was favored from the outset of this campaign because of the Democrat's large voter registration advantage (2:1) and because of the divisive Republican primary election. Congressman Larry Hopkins and former Kentucky GOP Chairman and Bush'88 State Chairman Larry Forgy engaged in a bitter primary fight that left the Party split and loyalties divided. After the primary, though, Forgy did campaign hard for Hopkins when asked.

Hopkins was faced with the daunting task of demonstrating why he was the best man to replace fairly popular Democrat Governor Wallace Wilkinson. While Jones and Wilkinson do not get along personally, Wilkinson has worked hard and been a great asset for Jones' campaign. Hopkins attacked Jones for refusing to disclose his income tax returns -- an issue that has not attracted much

voter attention. Hopkins also favored right to work legislation, upsetting Kentucky's large labor force.

It was disclosed that Hopkins bounced 32 checks at the House Bank totalling \$40,000. This somewhat muted his attack on Jones' financial matters.

While Hopkins' loss was not a surprise, the margin was. Hopkins spent nearly \$3 million dollars in this race and only received 35% of the vote. Kentucky is still a strong Democrat state, and Hopkins was largely unsuccessful reaching Democrat cross-over voters. In 1988, the Bush-Quayle ticket carried Kentucky 56% to 44%.

Secretaries Skinner, Madigan and Kemp traveled to Kentucky for Hopkins. The Vice President made two trips on the Congressman's behalf, and you visited Louisville on October 2.

You participated in an Oval Office photo-opportunity for Larry Hopkins this fall.

MS - with 99% of the votes counted:

Kirk Fordice (R)	51%
Ray Mabus (D)	48%

In **Mississippi**, Republican businessman Kirk Fordice scored a stunning victory over incumbent Governor Ray Mabus. Fordice was the definite underdog in this race -- no Republican has ever won the Governorship in Mississippi. Fordice defeated State Auditor and party switcher Pete Johnson in a spirited Republican primary.

Mabus also faced a strong primary challenge from former Congressman Wayne Dowdy. Mabus spent over \$2 million in the primary, only to get 51% of the vote. Fordice was the underdog in the GOP primary, and was outspent 2:1 by Johnson.

Fordice played upon the popular "outsider" theme that many challengers have used effectively this election year. Mississippi is in bad shape -- both economically and educationally -- and Fordice's message was obviously well received by voters. Fordice was able to overcome the Governor's traditional voter coalition advantage of blacks, educators, and labor. Record numbers of Mississippi Republicans turned out in both the primary and general elections, making the future very bright for the state GOP.

The Bush-Quayle ticket won Mississippi in 1988 59% to 40%.

Secretaries Skinner and Madigan went into Mississippi prior to the primary to campaign for the Mississippi GOP, and the Vice President made a trip on September 23. You participated in a video commercial message and telephone call-in for Fordice.

Kirk Fordice can be reached at the following phone numbers on Wednesday, November 6, 1991:

Morning: 601-944-1150, extension 2019, 2020
Afternoon: 601-636-4482

With 99% of the votes counted:

Eddie Briggs (R) 49.6%
Brad Dye(D) 42.7%

In addition to Fordice's upset, Republican State Senator Eddie Briggs defeated incumbent Lt. Governor Brady Dye. Briggs, like Fordice, ran against the Democrat establishment and becomes only the second Republican to ever win the Lt. Governorship in Mississippi. Briggs was considered an underdog, but was expected to run a close race.

US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SPECIAL ELECTIONS

With 100% of the votes counted:

George Allen 63%
Kay Slaughter 35%

In Virginia (CD-07), Republican George Allen, Jr. soundly defeated Democrat Kay Slaughter in this special Congressional election. The vacancy was created by the retirement of four term Republican Congressman D. French Slaughter for health reasons. Allen served in the Virginia Assembly as Assistant Minority Leader for the past nine years.

Many voters were confused by Slaughter's last name -- she is French Slaughter's cousin. Allen had to educate voters that he was the Republican nominee, not the Democrat Slaughter.

Allen's effective fundraising and grass-roots efforts, coupled with a strong Republican base in the seventh district, greatly assisted his efforts. In 1988, the Bush-Quayle ticket won the Seventh Congressional District over Governor Dukakis 66%-33%.

You signed a Get-Out-the-Vote letter on Allen's behalf just over a week ago, and participated in an Oval Office photo opportunity and video message for Allen.

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In Pennsylvania, the second Congressional District was contested.

Blackwell is a former Philadelphia councilmember. Eighty-nine percent of the district is Democrat. Bill Gray resigned from this seat to become President of the United Negro College Fund.

STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES

In New Jersey, all seats in the State Assembly (43D-37R) and State Senate (23D-17R) were up. The net Republican gain in the New Jersey Senate was 10 seats. The net Republican gain in the New Jersey Assembly was 21 seats. The Republican goal was to capture at least four new seats in each house to yield a majority. The Republican objective in the election was to capitalize on the economic problems in New Jersey by linking the issue to the poor leadership ability of Governor Jim Florio. Florio's popularity dropped dramatically following enactment last year of \$2.8 billion in higher taxes to balance the budget. Florio declared last week that this election would be a referendum on the policies of the Bush Administration. Republicans controlled the Assembly from 1986 to 1989. The State Senate was last under Republican control in 1973.

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Approximately 50 Republican State Legislators met with you in the Roosevelt Room a month ago to participate in a photo-opportunity with you and meet with key Senior Administration officials.

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Kathy Whitmire (D) 20%
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The run-off election is no surprise in this hotly contested race, but Kathy Whitmire's resounding defeat is. Whitmire served five terms as Mayor -- a Houston record -- but continued to drop in the polls in the final two weeks of the campaign. Democrat Bob Lanier was strongly supported by Penny Butler and a number of other prominent Houston Republicans. Sylvester Turner was the true surprise in this election, making strong gains in the final days of the campaign. Turner, the only black candidate in the race, will be formidable in the run-off because most experts expect Whitmire's voters to favor him over the conservative Lanier.

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In Texas, Proposition 11 regarding the lottery passed with an overwhelming amount of support 60% to 40%. Governor Ann Richards strongly supported the lottery proposal.

Also, in Houston (Harris County), city council term limitations (Citizens Proposal) passed 57% to 43%.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 6, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: RONALD C. KAUFMAN *RCU*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

FROM: DAVID M. CARNE *DC*
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR,
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: 1991 ELECTION RESULTS

US SENATE SPECIAL ELECTION

With 90% of the votes counted:

Dick Thornburgh (R) 44%
Harris Wofford (D) 56%

In Pennsylvania, what once appeared to the pundits as an easy victory for the Republican Party to the U.S. Senate became a hotly contested race. Harris Wofford ran a campaign positioning himself as a Washington outsider and Dick Thornburgh as an insider and used national health care as a key theme. Thornburgh stated that he was opposed to a national health care plan. A Pittsburgh Post-Gazette poll indicated that 94 percent of Pennsylvanians said that their decision in this race would be based on the candidate who could best ensure that adequate health care is available.

Wofford and Democrat spinsters recently defined the campaign as a referendum on the policies of the Bush Administration. Wofford criticized Thornburgh as the candidate who would protect the status quo and linked Thornburgh to the Administration at every opportunity, including the S&L issue and BCCI. Even with a 6.5% unemployment rate compared to the national average of 6.8%, the Wofford campaign was able to negatively link Thornburgh to the Administration following the veto of the extension of unemployment benefits.

Many believe that Thornburgh's message failed to provide any definition to his campaign - no articulation of his sense of the future for Pennsylvania. There are approximately 330,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans in the state. In 1988, Bush-Quayle won the state 51% to 48%.

Wofford was endorsed by all of the major newspapers in Pennsylvania, including both papers in Thornburgh's hometown of Pittsburgh. This is the first time in 20 years that the Pittsburgh Press has endorsed a Democrat Senate candidate. Pennsylvania has not sent a Democrat to the United States Senate in 23 years.

The Wofford campaign spent dollar for dollar what the Thornburgh campaign spent on paid media. The National Republican Senatorial Committee contributed approximately \$1.3 million to the Thornburgh campaign.

Six Administration officials -- the Vice President, Mrs. Bush Secretaries Derwinski, Sullivan, Alexander and Kemp -- went in to help Thornburgh's campaign. You traveled to Pennsylvania on Thornburgh's behalf twice (9/12/91 and 10/2/91).

You also participated in Thornburgh's direct mail program through an absentee ballot letter on behalf of the State Party and a mailgram which was sent out to 2,000 County Precinct workers on Saturday, November 2.

Wofford's campaign tactics were clearly far better than Thornburgh's.

Also in Pennsylvania, prior to today's election, the Republicans controlled 41 of 67 of the 3-member county court house boards. The election resulted in Republican control of 51 of the 67 boards for a net gain of 10.

GUBERNATORIAL RACES

With 97% of the votes counted:

Larry Hopkins (R) 35%
Brereton Jones (D) 65%

In Kentucky, Lt. Governor Brereton Jones was favored from the outset of this campaign because of the Democrat's large voter registration advantage (2:1) and because of the divisive Republican primary election. Congressman Larry Hopkins and former Kentucky GOP Chairman and Bush '88 State Chairman Larry Forgy engaged in a bitter primary fight that left the Party split and loyalties divided. After the primary, though, Forgy did campaign hard for Hopkins when asked.

Hopkins was faced with the daunting task of demonstrating why he was the best man to replace fairly popular Democrat Governor Wallace Wilkinson. While Jones and Wilkinson do not get along personally, Wilkinson has worked hard and been a great asset for Jones' campaign. Hopkins attacked Jones for refusing to disclose his income tax returns -- an issue that has not attracted much

voter attention. Hopkins also favored right to work legislation, upsetting Kentucky's large labor force.

It was disclosed that Hopkins bounced 32 checks at the House Bank totalling \$40,000. This somewhat muted his attack on Jones' financial matters.

While Hopkins' loss was not a surprise, the margin was. Hopkins spent nearly \$3 million dollars in this race and only received 35% of the vote. Kentucky is still a strong Democrat state, and Hopkins was largely unsuccessful reaching Democrat cross-over voters. In 1988, the Bush-Quayle ticket carried Kentucky 56% to 44%.

Secretaries Skinner, Madigan and Kemp traveled to Kentucky for Hopkins. The Vice President made two trips on the Congressman's behalf, and you visited Louisville on October 2.

You participated in an Oval Office photo-opportunity for Larry Hopkins this fall.

MS - with 99% of the votes counted:

Kirk Fordice (R) 51%
Ray Mabus (D) 48%

In **Mississippi**, Republican businessman Kirk Fordice scored a stunning victory over incumbent Governor Ray Mabus. Fordice was the definite underdog in this race -- no Republican has ever won the Governorship in Mississippi. Fordice defeated State Auditor and party switcher Pete Johnson in a spirited Republican primary.

Mabus also faced a strong primary challenge from former Congressman Wayne Dowdy. Mabus spent over \$2 million in the primary, only to get 51% of the vote. Fordice was the underdog in the GOP primary, and was outspent 2:1 by Johnson.

Fordice played upon the popular "outsider" theme that many challengers have used effectively this election year. Mississippi is in bad shape -- both economically and educationally -- and Fordice's message was obviously well received by voters. Fordice was able to overcome the Governor's traditional voter coalition advantage of blacks, educators, and labor. Record numbers of Mississippi Republicans turned out in both the primary and general elections, making the future very bright for the state GOP.

The Bush-Quayle ticket won Mississippi in 1988 59% to 40%.

Secretaries Skinner and Madigan went into Mississippi prior to the primary to campaign for the Mississippi GOP, and the Vice President made a trip on September 23. You participated in a video commercial message and telephone call-in for Fordice.

Kirk Fordice can be reached at the following phone numbers on Wednesday, November 6, 1991:

Morning: 601-944-1150, extension 2019, 2020
Afternoon: 601-636-4482

With 99% of the votes counted:

Eddie Briggs (R) 49.6%
Brad Dye(D) 42.7%

In addition to Fordice's upset, Republican State Senator Eddie Briggs defeated incumbent Lt. Governor Brady Dye. Briggs, like Fordice, ran against the Democrat establishment and becomes only the second Republican to ever win the Lt. Governorship in Mississippi. Briggs was considered an underdog, but was expected to run a close race.

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THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

M E M O R A N D U M

d
DATE: October 1, 1991

TO: John Sununu

FROM: Phil Gramm *PG*

RE: Senate Races

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Bob Kasten
Bob Packwood
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Talking Points on the South Carolina Senate Race

Senator Fritz Hollings is one of the weakest senators up for re-election in 1992. Some key statistics:

Re-elect Hollings	35%
New Person	30%
Favorable	44%
Unfavorable	29%

Governor Carroll Campbell currently leads Hollings by 22 points and would be an almost-certain winner in the race.

Campbell	59%
Hollings	37%

In addition to Hollings's own weaknesses, the presidential election in '92 will make it even more difficult for him to win.

- If history is any guide, President Bush will win big in South Carolina, probably reaching 65% of the vote.
- Presidential vote totals since 1980:

Reagan '80	50%
Reagan '84	64%
Bush '88	62%

There are a number of key issues on which Hollings is very vulnerable. Details follow:

- The Persian Gulf resolution vote (Hollings has been repeatedly booed by audiences in South Carolina since that vote, but has steadfastly maintained that, given recent events in the region, his vote was correct).
- Quotas
- His repeated calls for a national sales tax *and a value added tax.*

By virtue of his stature, Campbell would become not only an instant leader in the Senate, but if he entered this race, it would help with recruitment nationwide.

Governor Campbell will be mostly finished with his major initiatives and redistricting by the time he would leave the governor's office in January 1993.

South Carolina needs two senators, not one, to support the President and his programs.

Senator Thurmond intends to run again in 1996 and, assuming his health remains good, would be re-elected.

- He is urging both Senator Gramm and President Bush to coax Gov. Campbell into the Senate race.
- Senator Thurmond himself hasn't called Gov. Campbell because he is concerned that the governor may mis-interpret Senator Thurmond's gesture to mean that he wants Campbell in the '92 race so he won't be factor in the '96 primary.

In short, this is an opportunity that may not come up again for a long time and can't be passed up.

Photo Copy Preservation

Steve Symms



UNITED STATES SENATOR • IDAHO

AUGUST 7, 1991

Recent speculation by the media and others regarding my intentions toward another campaign for the United States Senate are symptomatic of the predicament in America and Idaho today. You're focused on the wrong thing: "Will Symms run or won't he?" This has taken center stage since the moment my prospective opponent formed an exploratory committee in Washington D.C.

There are hundreds if not thousands of other issues more significant.

In a global sense, whether or not Steve Symms runs is not important. What is important are the ideas, philosophy and principles of the candidate. Eighteen years ago an apple knocker from Sunny Slope ran for Congress, not knowing whether or not I would win, but determined to add the word freedom to the campaign rhetoric. I didn't promise to make government efficient. I didn't promise to streamline government. I said I'd try to REDUCE government. Those who would listen heard me say government was the problem, not the solution. Enough people agreed that the unexpected happened. I went to Congress.

For the last two decades, its been exciting--first as a candidate, then a Member of the House, and now a Senator, I have been able to press my belief that freedom works, that individuals should be able to work and enjoy the fruits of their labor unencumbered by the octopus of government. I've kept my promise. I have TRIED to reduce government and maintain my sense of humor and perspective in the process.

And I'm not finished! As long as there's a heartbeat in this chest, I'll continue the quest for freedom. I don't intend to give Ted Kennedy, Jesse Jackson...or Dick Stallings a free rein.

My two Senate campaigns against Frank Church and John Evans were as much fun as anything I can remember. Not because I doubted either of these men's sincerity, but because these races presented Idahoans with a clear choice between MORE GOVERNMENT or MORE FREEDOM. Freedom won both times. Given that choice, Idahoans will choose freedom again.

Stallings now says Idaho has changed, Steve Symms hasn't. He says I'm out of step. He cites a poll - a survey of a few hundred people -- as proof. Well, he's half right. Steve Symms hasn't changed. I hope I've grown. After 18 1/2 years my

perspective is much broader--but my beliefs are even more confirmed.

The last eighteen years have given me plenty of opportunity to joust with the news media too. Freedom is one dimensional to most folks in the media. They understand freedom of the press, but they take on a blank look when you start talking about individual liberty or the responsibility that goes along with it. What really galls the brethren of the press is that the people of Idaho still have such good common sense in spite of the barrage of propaganda. The Idaho voter is somehow able to see through the bias. And, when given a clear choice, they consistently vote for freedom, and ignore the messianic insight of the holier-than-thou editorial writers. Fortunately, I've always tried to give them that choice.

As I said in 1972, I went to Washington to reduce government. But there are some things government should do. National defense comes to mind. I'm proud to say I've been a constant supporter of a strong national defense. I've also supported using our military to keep the peace and promote freedom. Angola and Central and Latin America are moving to democratic capitalism. The Persian Gulf experience is proof positive that my position was and is the correct one. Yet, even with the stunning victory in Kuwait, as a percent of gross national product, America is spending the least amount on national defense since just before the Korean War. History tells us this is risky at best.

I was privileged to support President Reagan when he proclaimed America was back. It's no accident the Berlin Wall came down. Who would have thought that a Soviet dictator would attend, hat in hand, an economic summit of free, capitalistic nations. Gorbachev is begging for dollars to keep his bankrupt economy afloat while he continues to spend billions on missiles, tanks, ships and bombers. The Communist/Socialist command-control societies can't compete. Gorbachev and his cronies can no longer repress their people's right to the freedoms we take for granted.

Peace is breaking out in the Third World too. No doubt you didn't hear or read about it in Idaho, but I'm proud to have played a role in that process: Angola by passage of my amendment to repeal the Clark Amendment and the work of the Central America Task Force.

Transportation is another area where the federal government has been able to coordinate our resources to improve our transportation. Thanks to President Eisenhower who recognized the need to move armies rapidly, we've built the best

transportation system in world and I'm proud to have played a role in this.

Private property is the foundation of all freedom. The harshest policy is that which takes private property during one's life and the cruelest tax is that which confiscates private property upon the death of the owner.

But... all that is in the past. What is Steve Symms going to do in the future? Am I going to run or not?

I am looking forward to the 1992 Senate race. It's going to be a lot of fun. I believe Idaho voters will again have a clear choice. Stallings is on the left, sometimes the far left, of the political spectrum (left of the United Nations resolution on the gulf). Idahoans, at least the vast majority of Idahoans, are from the center to the right. Most Idahoans are common sense conservatives who believe in hard work, the family, and individual liberty.

Stallings decided to run for the U.S. Senate because he took a poll. If you ask me, a poll is a pretty shallow reason for wanting to be a Senator. What's he going to do if he's elected, take a poll every time there's a tough vote? Being a Senator means taking a stand, believing in something, voting your conscience and taking the heat.

Stallings says his poll tells him he can defeat me. That's what the polls told Frank Church and John Evans. Well, they aren't the only ones who can take polls. I took a poll and it shows that in a contest between Steve Symms and Richard Stallings, Symms wins! When the Stallings' record is exposed, the people of Idaho reject the wet-finger policies of the left-leaning Democrat who says one thing but votes the other way.

What's more, my poll says that when you pit Stallings against either Boise Mayor Dirk Kempthorne, Lieutenant Governor Butch Otter, or former Attorney General Jim Jones, he loses. And there may be others who could win if they choose to run. The candidate who reflects the center-right will win. The candidate who believes in and votes for freedom, for individual liberty, for a strong national defense and for limited government will win when they run against Stallings, a left-leaning Democrat who worships at the altar of big government and crows to the union bosses.

When I went to Washington, I said I wanted you to be as free when I left as when I came. At the end of my current term, I will have worked to preserve your liberty for twenty years. I think it is now my turn to seek my own.

I will not be a candidate in 1992--and I look forward to starting another career in the private sector in 1993.

I thank all Idahoans for the opportunity to have represented Idaho in the House and Senate during this time. For the next year and a half, I intend to keep up the fight. My work is not finished. There is a highway bill to complete. The Private Property Rights Act and the National Recreational Trails Fund Act are still pending and there's still plenty of battles to be fought over the budget hemorrhage. As Idaho's Senior Senator, I fully intend to lead this fight.

If there are words which best describe my feelings as I begin the final months of in the Senate, it is UNDAUNTED and REDEDICATED! I'm not going away. I'll be here doing my job. And I will be part of the 1992 Senate campaign.

It has been said that I am a tireless campaigner. I enjoy selling free market ideas, ideals and principles.

As you know, I've never lost a campaign and I don't intend to lose this seat to the Democrats.

I will not sit idly by while a left-leaning Democrat sells the Idaho electorate a bill of goods. Freedom is the mainspring of human progress. I believed it in 1972. I believe it even more in 1991, and it will be an issue in 1992.

I predict here and now that 1992 is going to rain on the Democrat's parade.

My goal is to return Idaho to the Republican column in both the House and Senate. I am convinced that with dedication, hard work and principled ideas--it will happen.

Special thanks goes to my family and Jim Mertz and Dick Buxton, the Chairman and Treasurer of the Symms campaigns.

I thank all of my constituents for their support and look forward to continued contact in the future.

God bless you and God bless America.

M E M O R A N D U M

DATE: June 19, 1991
TO: Governor John Sununu
FROM: Senator Phil Gramm
RE: Call to Terry Considine
(work) 303/863-9200
(capitol) 303/866-4866
(home) 303/694-6477

*Done
6-21
"no commitment"*

There is a general consensus in Colorado, at the Senatorial Committee and among Republican members in the Senate that Terry Considine is our best potential candidate for the Senate in Colorado. He is strongly supported by Hank Brown and Bill Armstrong, both of whom are encouraging him to run.

Terry is a state senator. He is Bo Calloway's son-in-law, a very successful businessman, and he has become reasonably well known statewide for championing a successful ballot initiative to limit the terms of state officials.

NRSC's polling shows that Sen. Tim Wirth is superficially popular with a re-elect number of 52%, but when people learn how he voted on the war and on the 1990 Civil Rights bill, his re-elect number drops to 34%. Considine would begin the race in a fairly competitive position.

Considine is actively considering running. He is on the verge of making a decision and has asked us to do polls and put together a budget for him. I believe the time is right to nudge him over the line. I'm therefore asking the President to call him and encourage him to run.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

AC HAS SEEN

DATE: June 12, 1991

TO: CARD/KAUFMAN/CARNEY

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

Why don't the three of you get together and try to work out a date for Packwood.

Ron - be sure you are in contact with Packwood's office to let him know we are working on it.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

I talked w/ RCK 6/12
we will sit down and
Ron will hold Packwood's hand.
Andy

047206



WASHINGTON, D.C.

AC/ER

BOB PACKWOOD
OREGON

June 6, 1991

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

Dear John:

On a hot Sunday afternoon, June 2, a cadre of the people who will be leading the fundraising event the President will do for me in Oregon, met. Each of the following has agreed to raise \$70,000 for the event.

1. Bill Furman, President of Greenbrier. Greenbrier is a firm that manufactures principally railway cars with 500 to 700 employees.
2. John Stephens, President of Roseburg Forest Products. They employ about 3,000.
3. Leonard Forsgren -- well-known Portland insurance man with contacts in all areas. He has been raising money for Republicans for 35 years.
4. Leonard Schnitzer of Schnitzer Industries -- listed in the top 100 wealthiest families in Fortune. There are five brothers all of whom were descendants of a Russian immigrant peddler. They usually support Democrats but are all strongly behind me.
5. Phil Knight -- founder and still currently Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of NIKE. The man, who even today, is in his mid-40s, but a multi, multi, multi-millionaire several times over.

The Honorable John Sununu
June 6, 1991
Page 2

There were one or two staff members in attendance, my campaign manager, and the general chairman, Tim Lee. Tim is a fellow who worked on my staff in the late 1970s. He realized when truck deregulation, however, that there was an opening for somebody who didn't own trucks but was willing to be a middleman factor between shippers and purchasers. He has built up a company (it is privately owned) to about 200 employees in ten years and turned down an offer to sell out for an excess of \$20 million last year. This is his first major fundraising event and he is doing a whale of a job.

Just want to keep you advised. The committee now says if they cannot get the President committed to a date in July, they would rather have the function in September. To make it different, they are currently thinking of having it at the Portland airbase so that all of the attendees could watch the President land in Air Force One. The meal, or whatever the function may be -- depending on the President's schedule -- will be held in one of the large hangars. I admit it is a mite different from the usual function at the Hilton Hotel, but my hunch is the committee has got right and the difference will be appreciated by those in attendance.

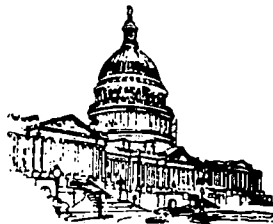
Let me know the President's thinking on a date.

Sincerely,



BOB PACKWOOD

241274



WASHINGTON, D.C.

AC/ER

BOB PACKWOOD
OREGON

May 22, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

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

Dear John:

Enclosed are letters I've sent you before about a Presidential fundraiser for me in Oregon. You've orally assured me that he would come and I indicated we could wait within reason for a date. We can still do that, but my fundraising campaign committee is growing better than I expected and they're getting anxious to show how well they can perform.

July would be a good month for us for the President to come if it fits his schedule. Obviously, we'll take him in August or September also. It just turns out that July would be a particularly good month for us.

Let me know.

Sincerely,

BOB PACKWOOD

cc: Fred McClure
David Carney



WASHINGTON, D C

BOB PACKWOOD
MEMO

April 8, 1991

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

Dear John:

You get this request from all incumbent Senators, probably all Senate challengers, and all members of the House. Nevertheless, let me add my request to the legion of others you get. Would the President do a fundraising dinner for me in Oregon this summer. A copy of a letter I previously sent is enclosed. I do not need a date now. This dinner could be put together on relatively short notice if I had a commitment some months in advance that the President would come at a time as yet unspecified. Could you let me know whether he can accommodate me on this matter.

Thanks, John.

Sincerely,

BOB PACKWOOD



WASHINGTON, D.C.

BOB PACKWOOD
OREGON

February 26, 1991

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is with some embarrassment that I make the request in this letter as you are so beset with similar requests, but nevertheless here it is. Would you be willing to do a fundraiser for me in Oregon during the summer of 1991. I would prefer it during a recess period and preferably July rather than August, but I would take you on any night you can come or any weekend during the day or night.

The reason I prefer a recess is obvious -- there is no danger of missing votes. However, the danger is minimal on any Saturday or Sunday anytime during the summer so I have no fear on those dates. The reason the July recess is better than August, however, is that you run into the usual problem of vacations in August that are less of a problem in July. Let me know at your convenience.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

BOB PACKWOOD

STEVEN D. PIERCE

May 25, 1991

The Honorable John H. Sununu
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Dear Governor Sununu,

As you may know, I am running in the special election to fill the western Massachusetts congressional seat left vacant by the death of Silvio Conte.

Mike Valerio suggested that I write you to give you an update on the campaign.

The latest poll shows that I am running neck and neck with my liberal Democratic opponent.

According to the poll, I had the support of 40% of the voters and my opponent had 42%. That's well within the margin of error which means the race is virtually tied.

We have less than two weeks now until election day on June 4th. The campaign will be won or lost in the next few days.

You may recall that I ran for governor last year on a platform of fiscal responsibility and traditional family values.

I came to Washington to address a CNP meeting in the Spring of last year.

If elected, I will bring to Washington the same anti-tax, anti-government spending philosophy that became my trademark during the 12 years I served in the state legislature.

I will also be a strong pro-life and pro-family voice in Congress.

That's why the National Abortion Rights Action League is pouring \$200,000 into TV ads to try to defeat me.

My opponent is a state senator named John Olver. He is a typical Ted Kennedy, tax and spend liberal.

While I was fighting Governor Dukakis' mis-guided economic policies as House Minority Leader, John Olver was voting with Dukakis right down the line in the state senate.

In fact, John Olver was a founding member of TEAM -- the

state's biggest advocate for raising our taxes.

Massachusetts does not need another tax and spend liberal representing us in Congress!

And America doesn't need another Ted Kennedy in Congress courtesy of Massachusetts voters.

Even though the poll shows that we are doing very well, I am still the underdog in this race. Democrats outnumber Republicans by three to one in the district.

But my legislative district in Westfield was also heavily Democratic. Yet I won re-election year after year.

I'm convinced that I can win if I can reach enough "Silvio Conte Democrats" with my message of lower taxes and lower federal spending. The poll shows that I'm within striking distance.

The only reason I won't be able to reach those voters is if I don't raise enough money.

I've been working very hard to raise enough money to run a winning campaign. Our budget is \$700,000 and I've raised about \$550,000.

But I must raise that last \$150,000 in the next few days to pay for TV, radio and other crucial voter contact activities.

I can't spend much more time raising money. I need to spend every minute I can talking to the voters.

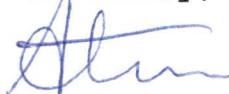
That's why Mike Valerio suggested I write to you. He thought you would be interested in helping my campaign.

Governor Sununu, will you help me raise the last \$150,000 of my campaign budget by sending a contribution of \$1,000?

Your contribution today could mean the difference between victory and defeat. If you can't afford to send \$1,000, could you send at least \$500 or \$250?

This is an election where you can make a difference. Please send the most generous contribution you can afford.

Sincerely,



Steve Pierce

P.S. If you would like more information on the campaign, please call me or my finance director, Stephen Meyers, at 413-572-1990. I will sincerely appreciate any help you can give. Thank you.

Reply to Steve Pierce

TO: Steve Pierce
Pierce for Congress
57 North Elm Street
Westfield, Massachusetts 01085-9903

FROM: The Honorable John H. Sununu
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Steve,

I agree that we don't need another tax and spend liberal in Congress. I'm glad to hear that you have a good chance to win this special election.

I realize you need to raise \$150,000 in the next few days to pay for your crucial voter contact activities. I've enclosed my contribution of:

() \$1000 () \$750 () \$500
() \$250 () \$100 () \$50 () Other (\$_____)

Please make check payable to: Pierce for Congress

M137

Federal Election law requires that we request the following:

Employer _____

Occupation _____

Contributions are not tax deductible for federal tax purposes. Corporate contributions are not allowed.

Paid for by Pierce for Congress Committee.

STEVEN D. PIERCE

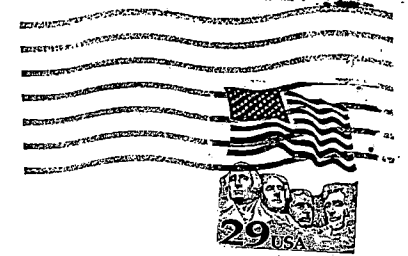
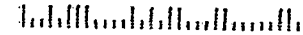


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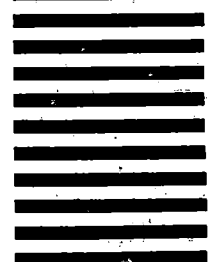
The Honorable John H. Sununu
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500



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STEVE PIERCE
PIERCE FOR CONGRESS
57 NORTH ELM STREET
WESTFIELD MA 01085-9903



283621

AC/TM

Handwritten notes:
Morton
COP
11/4

October 31, 1991

MEMORANDUM

To: John Sununu
From: Morton Blackwell *MB*
Subject: The 1992 Elections

Thanks for taking my call today.

I learned through John Fund of the WSJ that David Duke has contacted a ballot access attorney regarding procedures for getting on state presidential ballots next year.

He wants details on GOP primary ballot position and on independent ballot position in November.

It's logical for Duke to run. Matching funds will subsidize a nationwide direct mail operation and create a truly massive list of donors. This list will be a giant cash cow for Duke to milk for the rest of his life.

In the current environment, an independent Duke campaign in November would draw in the range of 10% to 20% of the votes, quite possibly enough to elect a Democrat. And recent presidential elections have shown it's not too hard to get on the ballot everywhere.

George Wallace got 13% of the popular vote in 1968. John B. Anderson ran in the 1980 primaries, dropped out in April and still got on the November ballot.

Duke is a skilled opportunist and can be expected to do whatever is in his interest. He was pro-abortion, even pro sterilization, when the issue was framed as limiting the number of welfare babies (read blacks).

But in the gubernatorial race, with Edwards and Roemer antagonizing Louisiana's powerful pro-life forces, Duke saw his opportunity and switched. He now sounds like Henry Hyde on the issue.

If we let him, he could capture the leading-edge position on most issues central to the winning coalition of 1980, 1984 and 1988. One can easily imagine him describing the current civil rights legislation as a quota bill,

page 2

citing the Chamber of Commerce as an expert witness.

I can hear him arguing next year that both parties have failed miserably to deploy a strategic defense system at a time when a dozen third world regimes are developing nuclear weapons and no one knows who will be in control tomorrow of missiles scattered all over the old Soviet Union.

There's no way for Duke to win the election, of course. But all he has to do to defeat President Bush is to convince enough people that their interests will be served by a vote for him. A repeat of 1912.

The moderate Republican instinct will be to run from any issue Duke espouses. A fatal mistake which will enable Duke to steal our legitimate issues and drive a wedge between major elements of our winning coalition.

Right now a great many California grassroots conservatives, for example, believe that the White House is in cahoots with Gov. Wilson to destroy them. They are already angry. Can the President carry California without them if they find some place else to go in the privacy of the voting booth?

From this point on, a kinder and gentler, apparently compromising Administration would play into Duke's hands.

The only way to cope successfully with Duke, if he behaves as I expect, would be for the Administration to become much more confrontational with the liberals.

If the President were to emerge over the next few months as the intransigent leader of the conservative position on the wide range of issues which he so forcefully espoused in the summer and fall of 1988, Duke would be reduced to a "me too" role and lose his potency as a protest candidate.

If the President actually captures the enthusiasm of conservatives, he will be the only realistic alternative to a liberal takeover. He can reassemble the coalition, even with somewhat damaged credibility over the "no new taxes" pledge.

President Nixon was called "Tricky Dick" by his foes as well as by many who voted for him. Still he crushed McGovern because he really was in stark contrast against McGovern.

page 3

President Bush is still likely to have a wacko Democratic opponent.

Democratic nomination rules prevent them from responding credibly to majority opinion on limited government, national defense and traditional values.

Barring some unexpected crisis like Watergate, President Bush is still able to do as he did in 1988, solidify the winning coalition put together first for Ronald Reagan.

Assuming the Duke problem is solved, I'd like to discuss a further question. Will another landslide presidential election mean a successful second term for President Bush? Not necessarily.

Let me suggest to you the real measure of success for a 1992 Bush campaign victory.

1992 is roughly analogous to 1972 and 1984, in that an incumbent Republican president may win a landslide re-election.

The natural tendency of those who manage a president's re-election campaign is to think their success will be measured by the percentage of the popular vote the president receives, state by state and nationally.

Many of us active politically in the GOP in 1972 still gnash our teeth at the counter-productive "survey and get-out-the-vote" effort at CREEP.

In states where Nixon was already getting, say, 58 percent of the vote, his organization systematically dragged to the polls Nixon supporters whom they knew would vote against the rest of the GOP ticket. The completely predictable result: a useless, bigger victory for Nixon in that state, but the defeat of other GOP candidates.

There was, I'm sad to say, no indication in 1984 that the Reagan re-election managers missed any opportunity to pile votes on a winning margin rather than expend any political capital trying to help Republican congressional candidates.

The true measure of the success of the Bush managers in 1992 will be how they contribute to a successful second term for President Bush.

It hardly matters at all for the Bush second term whether

page 4

he wins re-election by 56 or 61 percent of the vote.

What really matters is whether or not he gets chewed up later by a hostile Congress.

Given the behavior of past Republican presidential re-election campaign managers, it's no coincidence that Republican presidential second terms are less successful than first terms.

The congressional election results, far more than the percentage of his re-election victory, determine the history of a president's second term.

If the liberals get a veto proof congress, the second term will be Hell for President Bush.

But, in fact, on some issues there's almost a veto proof Senate already. Jade West head of the Senate Steering Committee staff (and former Arlington Republican chairman) could tell you about this month's shocking weakness of the putative Bush forces in the Senate on the parental leave measure.

Already, GOP prospects appear grim in the 1992 Senate races. Poor recruitment of candidates and many incumbents now very weak in the polls.

President Bush and his White House Staff have the power to direct firmly the state and national campaign staff and the RNC staff. But, without firm guidance, the national party and the national presidential campaign staff will give congressional candidates only lip service and often treat them with loathing and contempt.

And I mean firmness. The GOP national chairman and each state Bush chairman should be given a sheet of written instructions, with an order to re-read the instructions weekly. The instructions for state Bush chairmen and all Bush fieldmen and RNC field staff could read as follows:

"Your job is to carry your state(s) for the President and to win all the Senate and U.S. House seats you can in your state(s). If you win a state by a landslide but narrowly lose any House or Senate races, you will have failed.

"We don't need a landslide. We want to win politically. And that means the president's campaign must be willing to bleed as necessary for congressional candidates. We need and want the electoral votes and the House and Senate votes."

page 5

Reports of RNC staff and Bush campaign staff should be required to include the status of relevant congressional races and what the presidential campaign and RNC are doing to insure as many House and Senate victories as possible.

In past presidential re-election years, the presidential campaign staff and the RNC staff have treated local Senate and U.S. House candidates, particularly non-incumbent GOP candidates, as ugly ducklings. Or as uninvited guests to the party.

Without going through a state by state analysis, right now, absent the firm campaign strategy I've just described for the congressional campaigns, I'd say the GOP will approximately break even in the U.S. House of Representatives, primarily due to the inevitable gains through reapportionment of seats to GOP areas.

But the Senate races look bad, very bad. I predict a loss of five to seven seats.

It doesn't have to be that bad. A thoroughly confrontational presidential campaign, a mass-based youth effort and a purposeful plan to elect Republicans to the Congress could retain the White House, net us a few U.S. Senate seats and net us twenty-five or thirty seats in the House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

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

SUBJECT: New Jersey election returns

This is for your information.

Thanks.

TO: THE WHITE HOUSE
FROM: JOSEPH A. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM J. PALATUCCI
DATE: NOVEMBER 6, 1991
RE: NEW JERSEY ELECTION RETURNS - ANALYSIS

For two consecutive years New Jersey has provided the national Republican Party some much needed "good news" on election night. Last night, New Jersey Republicans again bucked the national trend and won with a campaign platform of anti-taxes and pro-middle class.

President Bush correctly referenced New Jersey in his press conference at 6:45 a.m. this morning.

However, the national party should examine New Jersey and the important lessons from the 1990 and 1991 cycles in New Jersey:

- * Republicans have more credibility with the voters.
- * The Republican Party has successfully portrayed itself as the party for change. Most Republican candidates ran on a platform of term limitations, initiative and referendum and recall.
- * Education funding and property taxes were the issues; not health care. But that will change next year. Governor Florio's statement last night blamed the loss on the voters reaction to the "national recession and poor health care insurance."
- * This a strong trend in the state. Most Republican candidates were largely outspent by Democrat incumbents. In some cases, Republican challengers won in the face of being outspent by margins of 3 to 1 or 4 to 1.
- * Republicans won local elections at all levels across the state.

There are many opportunities here for President Bush, as well:

- * Beating up on Jim Florio is now a popular sport in New Jersey. The President should come and get in on the fun.

Page two

- * President Bush has an excellent record on taxes, especially when compared with Jim Florio. We would urge the President to come to New Jersey and take advantage of this anti-tax climate. "One thing George Bush will never do, and that's raise taxes by 25% like Jim Florio did."
- * The 1992 Republican controlled legislature will roll back New Jersey's sales tax from 7 cents to 6 cents. The President should applaud that effort and endorse it. It shows that Republicans are the party trying to cut taxes.

New Jersey continues to be a key state for the President and the national Republican Party. As a northeastern swing state with a slow economy, New Jersey Republicans continue to win election victories.

HALEY BARBOUR

11/13

Governor —

If you think it is appropriate, perhaps this would be for The Camp David reading file — There's a copy for you.

You looked as if you'd lost weight on Larry King last night — Only one or two chins — I'm dying to get to know that make-up man!

Harbor, Haley

BARBOUR & ROGERS

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

Suite 1010

600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20037

HALEY BARBOUR

ED ROGERS

(202) 333-8767

Fax (202) 338-5950

November 12, 1991

Honorable George Bush
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

In my August 15 letter after the Camp David meeting on the campaign, I said I would like to send an occasional follow-up note as matters develop. I hope it is not presumptuous to do so now.

My first point in August was to sustain your base, and this continues to be my main concern. Clearly there are rumblings on the right, especially inside the Beltway. While I do not think they are not as bad as last October/November, the political environment is worse because of the economy and the lack of the Persian Gulf issue. It seems to me this dissatisfaction should fade when our people focus on the Democrat opposition. However, that will be some time off, at least until the 1st of February, and some damage may be done in the interim. Internally we should accept this, and it is all the more reason not to be tempted to play the Democrats' game.

The conservatives who make up a substantial majority of your base are confronted constantly with the appearance the liberals are making all the progress. Moreover, they do not sense we are fighting for the policies they voted for. Perception is reality in politics, and increasingly things like the civil rights bill, tax increases, etc. are giving them a negative perception and shaking their confidence. We should be especially mindful of this at this early stage of our campaign.

Of course, the problems with the economy adversely impact our base, too, and some people will desert you because of economic harm or, more likely, fear of it. We are, however, exacerbating this when we allow people to think we are not fighting against the wrong solutions as well as proposing the right ones.

As I said in my August letter, your base will stand by you when you resist those who equate having a domestic agenda with more government spending, programs and regulations. Similarly, they wilt when it appears we cave in to the Democrats on these fronts.

My recommendation is for us to stand up for our principles, not just politically but in terms of government policy.

Your recent political speeches have been good, and Sununu's working the television talk shows helps with our base, but during this time another good tactic would be to get more aggressive with our political surrogate, op-ed and letters to the editor efforts. I will certainly do my part. In the near term, I encourage a more organized effort to take some of the load off you.

On policy, our base is joined by a majority of voters in supporting our principles of economic growth through low taxes, less government (both spending and regulation) and peace through strength. While the world situation has taken the steam out of the last one, the first two still command majority support. Therefore, if we "tend our flock" we support good policy, which is also supported by the majority of Americans. As the Master said, "Feed your sheep."

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Haley Barbour". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "H".

Haley Barbour

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August 15, 1991

The Honorable George Bush
The President
Post Office Box 492
Kennebunkport, Maine 04046

Dear Mr. President:

Before sharing my ideas on the campaign, thanks for the very thoughtful note about Reeves (my 12 year old) and my leaving the meeting early for the baseball tournament. His team finished third in the state, and they did, in fact, win the night I had been with you at Camp David. All the boys on the team were excited to know that you had wished them luck, and I am grateful for your sentiments about my perspective and priorities.

The Camp David session was full of good commentary, and I hope this letter will not prove repetitious.

SUSTAIN YOUR BASE. Conservatives, whether old line GOP, recent converts or nominal Democrats, are the backbone of that 56-64% national majority Teeter alluded to at our meeting. Sometimes we ignore our base or take it for granted, but it needs sustenance. Particularly because many in our base are not party-loyal Republicans, the need to nurture them is even greater. The earlier you can emphasize some good conservative themes and issues, the better.

Make sure your issues package not only is solid on policy but that sufficient PR attention is focused on issues that are important to conservatives. The media have often tended to give great fanfare to areas where you differentiate yourself from Reagan or the commonly-held conservative position. Many times this has been a plus for you politically, but your base cannot flourish on a steady diet of that.

The Honorable George Bush
August 15, 1991
Page Two

Some in the Washington community, especially in Congress and the media, equate a "domestic agenda" with more government spending, programs and regulations; they will urge you leftward in the coming months to "prove" you have a domestic program. Although I know you will not be tempted, I want you to know your base will be with you when you resist that advice.

Finally regarding your base, the campaign should be inclusive. At every level bring conservatives into the campaign. Create structures that allow them seats at the table. Where the best people to be in charge are not from the conservative side, be sure conservatives are included on the committees, the staff, etc. This applies at the state and local level as much as in Washington, although Washington is very important, too, as that is where the "echo chamber" begins. Most conservatives really want to help you. A few need to be included just to keep them in line. As Lyndon Johnson said, "It's better to have them inside the tent pissing out than on the outside pissing in."

HAVE A GENERAL ELECTION STRATEGY. Everything the campaign does from the outset should be aimed at November 1992, and there is a tremendous amount that can be done pre-convention that will pay big dividends in the general election. The law allows you to raise and spend \$36 million or so, including the federal match, to "win the nomination." To the extent possible, all of that should be spent on activities that inure to your general election benefit.

Organizational and logistical activities come to mind as the first ways to effectively spend money in the spring that will have a payoff in the fall. The Reagan campaign had a very successful registration program in 1984, and there are functions like list development, computer capacity, targeting, opposition research, etc., that can be performed out of pre-convention money, thereby conserving general election funds. At the same time it may be smart to actually have some advertising during the pre-convention period, either for bolstering our support in key states or responding to scurrilous attacks by the Democrats. It is very possible their nominee will be decided by March, and once decided, he will spend his remaining pre-convention budget attacking you.

A corollary to this line of thinking is the need to raise the pre-convention money as quickly as possible. This allows the campaign to more effectively spend money in the spring and summer. It also allows us to get the pre-convention Presidential fundraising out of the way, in order to clear the field for the RNC, NRSC, NRCC and RGA. Those that made this point at Camp David were right on the mark.

The Honorable George Bush
August 15, 1991
Page Three

Not only the timing but also the manner in which the pre-convention money is raised should consider the need for the other committees to raise money. From the outset contributors to the pre-convention campaign should be told that major fundraising will continue through the fall of '92, but soon contributions will go to the RNC. We must make sure people understand from the beginning that a check to Bush-Quayle '92 this fall (whether in the amount of a \$1,000 or \$250, which is the maximum amount the federal government will match) is only the first step in funding your reelection. Fundraisers need to be recruited and indoctrinated with that in mind.

BE PRESIDENT AND NOT A CANDIDATE FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. As I said at the meeting, there is a contradiction between starting the campaign early (which is absolutely necessary) and your staying Presidential and "above the fray". Nevertheless, it is essential that the campaign be sensitive to the benefits of your not being perceived as a "candidate" who is driven by reelection politics.

To the extent possible, campaign activities in the next few months should be carried out without your personal participation. I disagree with your appearing at campaign fundraisers this fall. At a minimum I believe the campaign should attempt to raise the money without your personal participation, and I would not involve you as a speaker at Bush-Quayle fundraisers except as a last resort.

Simultaneous to your trying to stay above the fray, it will be necessary for there to be White House involvement in the campaign. A threshold issue in the Bush-Quayle campaign plan is the division of labor among the White House, the campaign and the RNC. For a variety of legal and financial reasons, the RNC should be responsible for several major functions. At the same time, however, the campaign should control the RNC's performance of those functions. It would be a mistake to let the RNC run the campaign; rather, the campaign must run the RNC.

That brings me to the relationship between the campaign and the White House. Having been around in 1976 and 1984, I am convinced that the White House has to have the lead role in the campaign. Obviously, the majority of the work and decisionmaking will be at the campaign; however, the White House is where you are, and its staff is the one that has constant communication with you. In terms of strategy and major decisions, the campaign should look to the White House in the same way that the RNC looks to the campaign.

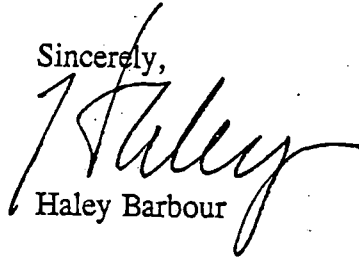
The Honorable George Bush
August 15, 1991
Page Four

It seems to me the relationship between the campaign and the White House should be good. I do not know who will be doing what, but all that major players know each other and have worked together. Governor Sununu is an effective political Chief of Staff, who is a good anchor for conservatives. He, Mosbacher, Malek and Teeter all complement each other well. With Charlie Black and others, they make a first-rate team.

These are some basic thoughts about the campaign. As time goes by, I would like to send you an occasional note on more specific strategy or tactics.

Please know I want to help anyway you see fit.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Haley Barbour', written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with a large initial 'H' and a long, sweeping tail.

Haley Barbour