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Politics 1991 [2]

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There were three important elections on Tuesday:

- (1) Pennsylvania (If we lose, say that special elections are not, historically, leading indicators of the next presidential election.)
- (2) New Jersey, where Republicans won both Houses of the legislature in a historic landslide.
- (3) The most important of all, Washington State, where voters passed term limits, including on the most powerful liberal Democrat in Washington D.C., Speaker Foley. Foley stumped the state and convinced the voters that they were voting against their local pork barrel interests, against their own pocketbooks, to favor term limits. But, they threw him out anyway, in disgust at the leadership of the Congress.

Governor Roemer's comments

1. His statement re the impact of a Duke governorship on jobs in Louisiana, i.e., that this would be economic suicide, made an immediate difference. Edwards called Roemer to thank him for the impact this made in the polls.
2. Duke's only issue, for all practical purposes, has been welfare. In Roemer's view, this is nonsense for he believes Louisiana has had more welfare reform than any state in the nation.
3. Duke's true campaign issues are racism and anti-semitism. Roemer says that Duke attended a Nazi rally in Chicago immediately after winning his legislative seat.
4. Duke is a professional politician, who will be running for something the rest of his life, and he's an evil man.
5. Duke is a Republican only by virtue of his lips; he is not a Republican in his soul.
6. Comments emanating from Washington, D.C. will have little effect on the election. But even if they might, he believes President Bush should speak out vigorously on moral grounds.
7. The President should make a statement, not out of bitterness or anger, but out of compassion for and interest in the people of this nation. That statement should clearly assert that he as President, opposes with heart and soul the contemptible racism, divisiveness and anti-semitism that Duke represents.

(CY 11/5)

I do not wish to tell the people of Louisiana how to cast their ballots next week. That is a right we all cherish, and a very personalized one. So Louisiana voters must and will make their own decisions.

Nevertheless, when someone asserts that the holocaust did not occur, I do not believe such an individual can ever merit public trust.

When someone endorses and distributes Mein Kampf--as recently as two years ago--it is inconceivable that such a person can legitimately aspire to a leadership role in a free society.

When someone has a long track record of blatant racism and bigotry, that record cannot be erased by the glib rhetoric of a political campaign.

David Duke is an insincere charlatan who is attempting to hoodwink the voters of Louisiana. He should be rejected for what he is and what he stands for.

We have constructed this nation on a foundation of fairness, equality, openness, and justice for all--concepts which are foreign to the character of a David Duke. He does not have a legitimate role in American politics.

St. Ronkafin
FYE

COPY

Andy

Andy

I assume this thought
has already being discussed
and is being acted upon
but just in case....

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

I was visiting with my
good friend, the newly discovered
star, Phyllis Berry a couple of
days ago and she indicated
her willingness to become a
very active surrogate for the
President.

I will tell you she is one great
human being and I believe if
utilized, would be a tremendous
asset

Best
Phyllis

Dear John:

I cannot stress too strongly how vital the President visiting the GOPAC charter members and having them visit him would be to our ability to raise our resources for 1992.

Thanks for carrying the attached letter to him.

Your friend,
Newt

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

NEWT GINGRICH
REPUBLICAN WHIP

10/17/91

To General Sununu

Dear John

I cannot stress too strongly how vital the President visiting the GOPAC charter members and having them visit him would be to our ability to raise our resources for 1992

Thanks for carrying the attached letter to him

Your friend

Newt

speech before dinner
on 11th
NO dinner
cc to Super



THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

October 8, 1991

Hon. George Bush
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to ask you to speak to the GOPAC Charter Meeting, on November 10-11. GOPAC is a major building block in our effort for a House Republican majority and for a successful second term for your Presidency.

As you know, I've served as General Chairman of GOPAC since 1986, and Bo Callaway, former Secretary of the Army and a Member of the Base Closing Commission, has served as Chairman over the same period. During this time, GOPAC has contributed nearly \$2 million to candidates for state and local offices, while at the same time providing training seminars for literally thousands of Republican candidates and activists.

Because of the unique opportunities to pick up House seats in 1992, GOPAC has undertaken a new project called "Change Congress Now!" This project focusses on 170 House districts now held by Democrats, and includes programs designed to:

- o Attract and recruit the best possible candidates in all 170 districts;
- o Identify 100 contributors per congressional district who are willing to raise \$1,000 for each challenging campaign in order to raise \$100,000 in each district;
- o Identify 1,000 or more volunteers to work in Get Out the Vote activities on behalf of the entire Republican ticket.

In addition, GOPAC will be continuing its training and candidate support activities at both the state and local level and in support of challenger candidates for the U.S. House. We expect to contribute nearly \$1 million in cash to candidates in this cycle alone.

GOPAC Charter Members, who include many of America's most successful businessmen and leaders, contribute at least \$10,000 annually to GOPAC. In addition, our 150 Charter Members are actively involved in politics, both through GOPAC and directly in various campaigns at the local, state and national level.

Our next Charter Meeting, on November 10-11 this year, provides an opportunity for us to kick off our 1992 program. You would do us a great honor, and me a great favor, if you would consider hosting the Charter Group at the White House anytime between noon on November 10 and the evening of November 11.

Alternatively, should an event at the White House not be possible, I very much hope you would consider joining us for a brief reception on either the evening of November 10 or the evening of November 11. On November 10, we will have a reception with Bob Michel at Louise Gore's estate in Maryland. Your presence there would be a special treat, especially because we understand that Louise has always wished to have a Presidential helicopter land on her lawn -- which apparently is well suited to accommodate your arrival.

On November 11, we plan to have a reception and dinner at the Willard Hotel. Your presence at either event would be a perfect way for us to close out the meeting.

Obviously, we are prepared to pay all costs associated with your visit, and to adjust our schedule to meet your needs.

Mr. President, I know the demands on your time are extraordinary. I do believe, however, that GOPAC's 1992 program merits your support and hope that, at a minimum, I might have a chance to speak with you to explain the program and the reasons why I believe your participation is worthwhile.

Your friend,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Newt", with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Newt Gingrich

J

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

October 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

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

SUBJECT: HARKIN LETTER

This is for your information.

AMERICANS FOR HARKIN

2116 GRAND AVENUE
DES MOINES, IA 50312



Senator Tom Harkin

September 25, 1991

Dear Fellow American:

Ten days ago, near Des Moines, Iowa, not far from where I grew up, I announced that I'm running for President of the United States.

A lot of politicians tell me I can't win. They say George Bush can't be beat in 1992.

But I don't believe that for a minute. And you shouldn't, either.

I'm writing you because I believe with all my heart that I can defeat George Bush next year. And if you'll take a few minutes to read what I have to say, I think I can convince you.

I'll tell you right from the start: I'm ready for this race. And I hope you're ready, too, because I'm going to need a lot of help. Your help.

First, let me tell you why I'm running for President, when so many other Democrats are running for cover.

It's simple, really.

For more than a decade, Ronald Reagan and George Bush have been operating a shell game.

They've been telling their fat cat friends, "Don't invest in that company -- buy another one. Don't train those workers -- just lay them off, and send their jobs overseas.

"Don't develop a better product -- make a quick buck. You don't have the cash? Sell junk bonds. And we'll bail you out if things go wrong."

Junk bonds! Bailouts! That's the Reagan-Bush-Republican economic plan.

And if you say, "Let's invest in our schools and colleges, and invest in research and development," they say, "Can't do that. That's government spending!"

You want money for health care? "Sorry, that's government spending, too!"

"And besides," they say, "after we pay for the bailouts, and



more tax cuts for the rich, we'll need even more of your money for Star Wars. Gotta protect ourselves from the Communists!"

That's George Bush's idea of who and what comes first in America. And that makes me mad.

When I get mad, I fight back. I think the average American's ready to fight back. And I hope you're ready, too.

George Bush used to call the Republican plan "voo-doo economics." But ever since he got into the White House, he's been telling us prosperity would "trickle down" to average Americans.

Well, it hasn't.

We've waited ten years for that prosperity to "trickle down" to ordinary people.

But the rich have just gotten richer under Ronald Reagan and George Herbert Walker Bush. A lot richer. They did it with your money -- and off your hard work. And they piled up a load of debt that you and your children and your grandchildren are going to be paying back for years to come.

Now, the time has come for you and me to tell George Bush that the Democratic Party is alive and well. That we're going to stand up for the average American, and we're ready for a fight.

I'm ready. Are you?

I'm ready to ask the American people:

After four years of George Herbert Walker Bush, is it easier to make ends meet? Are your streets safer? Are your kids' schools better? Is it easier to pay your medical bills? Are your roads in better shape?

Well, if you believe, the way I do, that the answer to each and every one of these questions is NO, then I want you on the Harkin Team.

As a team, we'll tell George Bush that our idea of leadership isn't a bunch of "photo opportunities" in Greece, Kuwait, Germany, and the Ukraine.

We'll tell George Bush that the real threats to our nation aren't halfway around the world. They're halfway down the block.

The time has come to put ordinary Americans first.

It's time to invest in the wisdom of the average American citizen. In the future of our children. In the safety of our neighborhoods. In good jobs at decent wages. In a health care system that everyone can afford.

I grew up believing in the American Dream. My father was a coal miner and he worked for the WPA during the Depression. My mother was a Yugoslavian immigrant. And now, I sit next to a Rockefeller in the United States Senate.

For me, the American Dream came true. I was able to climb the ladder of opportunity.

And it used to be that the American Dream came true for lots of people. Until George Bush and the Republicans got to the top, and pulled the ladder of opportunity up behind them.

Well, the time has come to reclaim the American Dream.

Half a century ago, FDR asked the American people to roll up their sleeves and roll back the Great Depression. And he asked for their help to win the great war in Europe and the Pacific.

Americans did the job.

Harry Truman challenged the American people to rebuild Europe -- and to build America into an economic power able to feed and clothe and house and care for all its people.

Americans did the job.

John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson called on us to put an American on the moon, and to bring about a revolution in civil rights here on the earth.

Americans did those jobs, too.

Now, our job is to ensure that the rich possibilities of life in America are within the reach of average American citizens, not just a rich and privileged few.

And to do that job, we need vision. Leadership. And teamwork.

That's why I want you to join me on the Harkin Team. I want you by my side as I carry the fight directly to George Bush.

With your support, I can draw from the best of the past, and present a new vision to the American people -- a vision of an America that spends smarter, that invests in the future so that our people will be the healthiest, most productive, and best educated in the world.

To those who say we can't do it, I say they're just plain wrong. We're Americans. We can do it. With the will I know is there, and with new Presidential leadership to take us into the next century.

By taking a bold leadership stand early in the campaign and joining the Harkin Team, you can help me mobilize a massive grassroots campaign all across America -- and prove to the press and the public at large that America is ready for change.

And, as a member of the Harkin Team, you can help provide the key early financial support that will send a message to the politicians and the political experts -- that America is ready for a clear alternative to George Bush.

But there's not a single day to lose. I must demonstrate strong, early support from thousands of far-sighted Americans. Though the first election contests will be held in February, the contest in the press has already begun. I need your help today.

I ask that each member of the Harkin Team make an investment of \$30, \$50, \$100, \$250, or more in America's future with a contribution to my campaign for the Presidency.

Your gift is an investment in your future, your children's future, and your grandchildren's future. Because that \$30, \$50, or more will help me get my message out all across America.

To reach millions of Americans -- in their homes and churches and union halls, in their factories and farms and campuses -- I urgently need your financial support. But I want your political and moral and personal support as well.

I want you on my team in the fight to reclaim the American Dream.

Are you ready? I am!

With high hopes,



Senator Tom Harkin

P.S. Please make sure you complete the enclosed "Harkin Team Acceptance Form" and mail it to me with your gift of \$30, \$50, \$100, \$250, or more no later than Tuesday, October 15. That way, my staff can ensure that you receive a complimentary "Harkin Team" campaign button and a copy of the very first issue of our campaign newsletter. Thank you!

Tom Harkin: "Reclaim the American Dream"

Fighting Iowa Senator Is Delivering a Powerful, Upbeat Message

WASHINGTON, DC—Some call him a "prairie populist," others an "unabashed liberal," the "inheritor of the Hubert H. Humphrey wing of the Democratic Party." They say he's "pro-Choice, pro-labor and progressive." But U.S. Senator Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) doesn't care much for labels.

"Let's just be *Democrats*," the Senator from Iowa says. "Democrats like Franklin Roosevelt, and Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy."

"I say it's time for the Democratic Party to stop being a party of accommodation to the Republican agenda. It's time for us to start being a party of *opposition*, advancing our own Democratic agenda. We can't beat the Republicans by imitating them."

The plain-spoken, 51-year-old Senator points to his own life story as the source of his values and his optimism.

"I came from the wrong side of the tracks," he explains.

The Harkin story

"My father was a coal miner who didn't even have an eighth grade education. My mother was an immigrant with no formal education."

"My parents raised six kids in a small, two-bedroom house. And I was the youngest. My father was 54 and working on WPA when I was born."

"We were poor. But my parents instilled in us certain fundamental values. Hard work. Being frugal. Taking responsibility for your actions. Faith in God. Love of country. Taking care of family and community. And having a care and a concern for those less fortunate than yourself."

"My mother died when I was ten. Through high school, I worked a number of jobs on road crews, building the interstate highway. To get through college, I continued to work on construction crews, then was fortunate to earn an ROTC scholarship."

"To pay back my time, I served over 8 years

as a jet pilot in the U.S. Navy. And I was proud to do so. Proud to serve my country. Then, 23 years ago, Ruth and I got married. We both worked during the day and went to law school at night. I also got help from the GI Bill."

Winning uphill battles

In 1974, Harkin ran for Congress in a solidly Republican district, and won. He served in Congress for 10 years, taking leadership roles on agriculture and science and technology issues. He also became a leading advocate for human rights worldwide.

Against great odds, Harkin defeated a Republican incumbent to win his first term in the U.S. Senate in 1984. In 1990, he became the first Democrat Senator ever to be reelected in the history of the State of Iowa.

"Today," he says, "this son of a coal miner and an immigrant mother sits next to a Rockefeller in the United States Senate. That's what the American Dream is all about."

Last year, Harkin was the principal sponsor of the landmark Americans with Disabilities Act, which guarantees freedom from discrimination to people with disabilities. Harkin says the day the bill was signed by the President was the proudest moment of his 16 years in Congress.

"I know what it is to achieve the American Dream. I had lots of help on the way up. The ladder of opportunity was left down for me. But George Herbert Walker Bush and his fat cat friends have been pulling the ladder up after them. I want my children, Amy and Jenny, to live in an America where the ladder is left down for everyone."

Reclaiming the American Dream

"The time has come to reclaim the American Dream," Harkin says.

"The American Dream can be just as real for our children and our grandchildren as it was for me."



Insiders say "Senator Tom Harkin knows how to run against Republicans."

"If we reclaim the American Dream, the American flag can fly proudly over American schools which are the best schools in the world. And over American hospitals that are the best hospitals in the world. And over American factories and farms that are competitive with factories and farms anywhere on this earth. And over American homes where people feel safe and secure and hopeful about their future and their children's future."

"Today, the American Dream means profound respect for the natural wonders all around us, and for our responsibility as stewards of the earth. It means profound respect for each other's freedom and privacy, and for our responsibility to guarantee every American an equal shot at life's potential for personal fulfillment."

"America's future is worth fighting for. And it's a fight *we can win*." ■

To: Senator Tom Harkin

FROM:

**▶ IMPORTANT
INFORMATION
ON REVERSE SIDE**



RECYCLED PAPER

62032



Yes, Tom, I'm ready to beat George Bush, and stop waiting for prosperity to "trickle down" to average Americans.

I agree with you that the time has come to put America first. To invest in the wisdom and the potential of the average citizen and reclaim the American Dream.

To help you present a clear alternative to George Bush and mobilize a massive grassroots campaign all across America, I'm rushing you my personal check (payable to "AMERICANS FOR HARKIN") in the amount of:

☐ \$30 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100
☐ \$250 ☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$_____

I understand that this political contribution is not deductible as a charitable gift.

**Please return this memo no later
than Tuesday, October 15.**

- ☐ Sign me up as a member of the Harkin Team! My check for \$30 or more is enclosed. Send me your newsletter and a campaign button—and give me the special "Harkin Hotline" telephone number for updates on the progress of the campaign. And be sure to tell me what else I can do!
- ☐ Sign me up as a member of your LEADERSHIP FORUM. My leadership gift for \$250 or more is enclosed. Send me a signed copy of your announcement speech, plus your newsletter—and give me the special "Harkin Hotline" telephone number for updates on the campaign. As soon as it's ready, please ship me a copy of your campaign film.
- ☐ I understand that, under current law, every dollar of what I contribute up to \$250 will be matched by the Federal Election Commission, dollar for dollar. To be sure you receive those matching funds, here's the additional information you're required to report:

My occupation _____

My employer _____

Important Information for Harkin Team Members

1. Tom is ready to take the fight directly to George Bush, and we've got the campaign machinery in place -- but your financial and political support are the key. With your help, we can reach millions of Americans with Tom's message about reclaiming the American Dream. And we can win.
2. The campaign has already met the requirements to receive Federal matching funds. That means that, under current law, every dollar of your \$250 investment will be matched by the Federal Election Commission. So your check could be worth twice the amount you contribute.
3. \$250 is the maximum amount that the Federal Election Commission will match with federal funds. But the legal limit on contributions is \$1000 per person.
4. We cannot accept contributions from any corporation or labor union. What we really need is your personal contribution.
5. Tom Harkin will beat George Bush only if everyone on the Harkin Team pitches in and helps get out the message. That's why every member of the Leadership Forum will receive all the following campaign materials:
 - A "Harkin Team" campaign button.
 - Our campaign newsletter, *The Harkin Team*, beginning with the very first issue.
 - The special "Harkin Hotline" telephone number, so you can stay up-to-date on the progress of Tom's campaign.
 - A signed booklet containing the full text of Tom's announcement speech.
 - As soon as it's ready, a complimentary copy on videotape of the campaign film we're planning to produce.
6. Tom Harkin is going to beat George Bush by presenting a clear alternative to Reagan-Bush-Republican policies -- and by combining state-of-the-art-technology with good, old-fashioned grassroots organizing. That means we'll be looking to YOU for information and advice -- and, if you wish, volunteer time, too. We'll make it as easy as possible for you to participate in any way you wish.

Welcome to the Bush Hall of Shame

Republican Ethics and Sleaze in the Bush Administration

DNC Research
Working Draft
September, 1991

"It's not really very complicated. it's a question of knowing right from wrong, avoiding conflicts of interests, bending over backwards to see that there's not even a perception of conflict of interest."

-- George Bush, 1/25/89

* * * * *

Just five days into his presidency, George Bush told America that a new era of ethical behavior would reign over his presidency and promised an end to the ethical abuses of the Reagan years.

If only it could have turned out that way.

Unfortunately, the new ethical breeze of the Bush Administration only lasted two weeks - when it was discovered that C. Boyden Gray, Bush's designated ethics czar, had received over \$85,000 from his family business while serving on the Vice President's staff.

The Gray case was just the beginning. Since Bush took office, the Bush team has set a torrid pace of ethical impropriety that actually exceeds the unethical prowess of the eight-year Reagan presidency.

All told, there are at least 100 cases of ethical missteps: enough violations, in fact, to require additional space in the Republican Hall of Shame first built during the 1980s. The Bush Hall of Shame report was prepared by Julie Loughran, under the direction of Dan Carol.

Therefore, with much ado, we welcome you to the opening tour of the new George Bush Wing -- built by our dedicated research staff here at the DNC. Turn the page for your tour to begin.

Ronald H. Brown
Chairman

A BRIEF TOUR OF THE BUSH HALL OF SHAME

Since taking office, the Bush Administration has lived up to an unfortunate Republican tradition: a tradition that sees government not as an instrument of change or public service, but simply as a means to advance the financial interests of the well-to-do -- often at taxpayer expense.

STOP NUMBER 1: THE ROYAL FAMILY

Richard Nixon had his Donald. Jimmy had a Billy. But few Presidents have seen so many of their close family members ensnared by ethical problems as George Bush.

PRESCOTT BUSH: The outsider cashing in

George Bush had barely taken the oath of office when presidential big brother Prescott began to mastermind how best he could "employ" the family name in his business pursuits. First there were Prescott's highly publicized dealings with China over two satellites -- a transfer on which the Bush Administration had to rule. More recently, Prescott reportedly helped West Tsusho, a Tokyo firm with strong ties to Japanese gangsters, acquire Asset Management, a U.S. financial services company.

According to Securities and Exchange Commission documents, West Tsusho paid Prescott Bush a \$250,000 finders fee and signed a three-year, \$750,000 consulting contract with him.

GEORGE W. BUSH: The insider cashing out

Nearly a million dollars seems to have slipped the mind of the President's eldest son for nearly a year. In March 1991, George W. Bush, second generation oil man and owner of the Texas Rangers, finally remembered to report to the federal government that he had earned \$848,560 from the sale of 67 percent of his holdings in Harken Energy Corporation, an oil and gas explorer for which he serves as both a director and a consultant.

Apparently, George Jr. forgot that Securities and Exchange Commission regulations stipulate that an "insider" stock sale of this nature should have been reported by July 10, 1990. The SEC has launched proceedings against individuals for such clear violations in the past.

NEIL BUSH: A sweet deal

Most Americans know the Neil saga. Appointed to an S&L board of directors before his thirtieth birthday, Neil received a \$100,000 personal loan that he doesn't have to pay back and returns the favor by approving large loans to his beneficiary, Ken Good. Only after the scandal breaks, however, does Bush report the loan. Bush admits that the arrangement "sounds fishy" and was "an incredibly sweet deal." For these dealings, Neil receives a slap on the wrist from federal regulators.

However, most Americans don't know the whole story about Silverado -- and how federal regulators kept Silverado open until after the 1988 election was history. The chief federal regulator of Silverado, Kermit Mowbray, testified under subpoena in 1990 that he was "ordered" by a high official in Washington to keep Silverado open until after the November 1988 elections were over -- after regional regulators recommended that Silverado be shut down. Unfortunately, the regulator "can't recall" who made the call.

JEB BUSH: Sibling Rivalry

Perhaps jealous that brother Neil had enjoyed too much time in the S&L spotlight, Jeb Bush managed to get his own taxpayer-financed S&L bailout in 1990. The second Bush bailout worked like this: first, Bush and business partner Armando Codina secured a \$4.56 million loan from Broward Federal Savings, which then went broke. Then, after Broward was declared insolvent -- in part because of its proprietor's liberal lending practices -- the government had to step in and honor the failed thrift's loans, including Jeb Bush's millions. In an even better turn of events for Bush and his partner, they were then allowed to keep the building after the government decided it couldn't recover its costs by selling the property.

This is not the first time that Jeb has run into problems. Young Bush's behavior also raised eyebrows in the 1980s when he lobbied federal officials on behalf of a health care entrepreneur who paid Jeb \$75,000 for a few phone calls. Jeb's benefactor is now a fugitive from Medicaid fraud and owes \$230 million in unpaid health claims. Surprisingly, Dad's Justice Department has failed to undertake extradition proceedings...

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH: The Royal Lie

George Bush has repeatedly insisted that he has released "minute-by-minute certification as to where I was" when an alleged deal to delay the release of the hostages was made by the 1980 Reagan campaign and Iranian officials. For the record, the Bush Administration has failed to adequately account for Bush's whereabouts for the period in question and has not released minute-by-minute evidence. Don't believe us -- just call and ask them.

STOP NUMBER 2: JUST PUT IT ON MY TAB

Unfortunately for American taxpayers, John Sununu's stamp and ski trip escapades are hardly an isolated case. A number of high-ranking Bush officials have abused the privileges of federal service.

K. MICHAEL MOORE: Get Me to the Interview on Time

U.S. Marshals Service Director K. Michael Moore spent over \$20,000 of taxpayers' money for a trip to Los Angeles where he opened a Marshals' exhibit and bestowed awards on Bob Hope, Gene Autry, and Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC). The flight for Moore, Thurmond, and four aides would have cost only \$2,928 on a commercial airline. The cost of the trip grew when the group made a single twelve-minute trip to Los Angeles International Airport in a Customs Service twin turbojet Blackhawk helicopter that cost taxpayers \$2,040. The six could have made the trip in under an hour in a taxicab for roughly \$40.

Moore claimed the helicopter flight to the airport was justified because it allowed him to stay through the entire awards ceremony before catching an overnight flight to Florida, where he interviewed for a federal judgeship for which Thurmond had endorsed him.

DICK THORNBURGH: "Book 'em Dan-O"

Attorney General Dick Thornburgh has been taking travel tips from White House Chief of Staff John Sununu. Thornburgh, who established strict travel rules when he assumed his position in 1988, has nonetheless used government planes and personnel -- paid for by taxpayers -- for hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of trips.

During his first year in office alone, the attorney general clocked \$191,000 worth of travel, including a jaunt to Hawaii with five aides. Thornburgh and his co-travellers were the only people aboard the Boeing 727. This one trip alone cost American taxpayers \$38,000.

The Government Accounting Office (GAO) reports that Thornburgh's 39 trips on government aircraft during his first year as attorney general also included the use of an FBI plane to attend a Yale class reunion.

MANUEL LUJAN: The Free Lunch Program

Whoever said there's no such thing as a free lunch? Certainly not Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr., who billed the government \$26 a day for lunches at his home in Albuquerque, N.M. from 1989-1991. Lujan ceased the practice

following press inquiries in June, 1991.

Lujan's remorse, however, does not run deep. Though he requested -- after press inquiries -- that his staff stop billing per diem expenses for him during his stays at home, Lujan does not feel compelled to return the approximately \$500 he received in lunch expenses for a three-week trip to New Mexico last August during which he worked out of local Interior Department offices.

Lujan's reasoning is simple: "Nobody's requested that I return it, and I don't think it's that big a deal."

IVAN SELIN: Office Politics

Ivan Selin, Bush's newly appointed chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, wanted to be sure he milked his \$20,000 1988 donation to the Republican Party for all he could. Falling slightly short of his initial investment, Selin managed to spend \$16,000 on renovations for his personal office.

Among his furnishings and changes: several hundred dollars worth of new lighting; a \$4,000 expense to tear down one wall and install a new one that would provide more soundproofing; a refrigerator for his personal bathroom (which required a new water line); \$2,000 oak shelves; a newly replaced toilet seat complete with cover; a new bathroom sink and counter to match the tiling; new flags; and three clocks.

STOP NUMBER 3: DIRTY COPS

In 1978, the U.S. Congress gave expanded powers to federal agency inspector generals - to strengthen their ability to fight waste and fraud in government and encourage federal "whistleblowers" to come forward with evidence without fear of retribution. Unfortunately, the Bush Administration has turned this process on its head. Senate investigators conducting a five-month study of the inspector general system in 1990 found widespread patterns of wrongdoing and graft in the very offices charged with exposing federal corruption.

RICHARD P. KUSSEROW: Dirty Cop #1

Richard P. Kusserow, inspector general at the Department of Health and Human Services, was among those implicated. Kusserow, whose job is to protect whistleblowers and investigate their complaints, instead revealed the identity of a deputy regional administrator who had accused his supervisor of waste, fraud, and

mismanagement. Not only did Kusserow expose the whistleblower's identity, but he also leaked details of correspondence from the whistleblower during the investigation.

Days after the case was closed, the whistleblower was transferred to a new, menial post not commensurate with his qualifications. Not until Congress and the Office of Personnel Management intervened was the man reassigned to an appropriate post.

JOHN C. LAYTON: Dirty Cop #2

Despite Secretary of Energy James Watkins' 1989 pledge to reform the DOE and stress its accountability on the environment and safety issues, the DOE Inspector General's office, headed by John C. Layton, has allied itself with officials at the Hanford nuclear weapons site in the interest of silencing whistleblowers.

In recent years, several workers at the Hanford site have gone public with evidence of shocking abuses and environmental threats at the nation's largest nuclear weapon factory. Rather than investigate and remedy the claims, Hanford and the DOE have embarked on a spree of intimidation and cover-up, forcing whistleblowers from their jobs and engendering an atmosphere of repression for others who might hold information that could be damaging to those administering the site.

PAT McFARLAND: Dirty Cop #3

Betty Heitman, director of the President's Commission on Executive Exchange -- which arranges for business executives to spend one-year stints with the federal government and for federal workers to gain a year of private sector experience -- was accused of misconduct in her firing of whistleblower Gordon Hamel. During the summer of 1990, Hamel reported mismanagement of tens of thousands of dollars at the commission, much of it for posh, non-competitive travel expenditures.

In response to Hamel's allegations, Heitman had him escorted from his office by armed guards and placed him on administrative leave without pay. Hamel, convinced he had made the correct decision in exposing the commission's wasteful activities, appealed to Pat McFarland, Inspector General of the Office of Personnel Management. Here again, Hamel's overtures were rebuffed.

ED BRANNON: Dirty Cop #4

As a hydrologic technician for the U.S. Forest Service at Kalispell National Forest in Montana, Don Kern measured the environmental damage caused by clearcutting in that national forest. When he attained curious results from a Forestry

Department computer program designed to indicate the maximum clearcutting permissible without engendering serious negative effects, Kern decided to investigate.

What he found was an appalling environmental coverup. After dissecting the program, Kern discovered that the program had been purposely rigged to consistently underestimate the environmental damage caused by clear-cutting by 20 percent. The false data generated by the program allowed the Forest Service to clearcut 20 percent more trees than would be permissible by law and environmental standards. After ignoring a warning that the Forest Service could not accept further negative publicity from him, Kern was notified that his appointment would not be renewed for "budget" reasons.

STOP NUMBER 4: LINING THEIR POCKETS WITH OUR MONEY

Republican ethics under Bush continues as before -- ignoring the public trust, Bush officials are simply using their posts to line their own pockets or those of their friends in business.

ROBERT CLARKE: Both hands in the cookie jar

Comptroller Robert Clarke has bought and sold more than \$1.7 million worth of high-risk junk bonds even though he serves as a key official of the Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC). The RTC, the single largest owner of junk bonds, is charged with disposing nearly \$6 billion in junk bond holdings of failed S&Ls. Clarke's questionable financial dealings do not stop there. Two of Clarke's business partnerships are being investigated for possible conflict of interest, including one deal in which Clarke provided a company with \$1.1 million in loans and indirectly guaranteed another \$200,000 in loans to the firm from C&S (an Atlanta and Richmond banking that Clarke regulates).

JOHN W. MILTON: This is affirmative action?

John Milton, a former attorney for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, was apparently less committed to eradicating discriminatory employment practices than he was to filling the pockets of friends and families with federal funds. In January, 1991, Milton was indicted for conspiring to steal over \$70,000 of funds he was supposed to channel to victims of hiring discrimination. Instead, Milton paid over a dozen false claims to friends and associates.

RNC AND WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS: What's a million dollars between friends?

Although federal law requires that the government be reimbursed for the costs of the president's campaign-related travel, some of the travel funds for President Bush's busy fundraising schedule seem to have been lost en route to the U.S. Treasury.

Maybe taxpayers can find it at the RNC. To replenish the taxpayers' purse for Bush's political forays, benefitting campaigns first issue checks to the Republican National Committee and the RNC then reimburses the Treasury. Yet on trips logged by Bush through August, 1990, nearly a million dollars of campaign receipts had disappeared before reaching the Treasury.

WILLIAM SEIDMAN: S&L revolving door

In yet another manipulation of the messy S&L cleanup, William Seidman and the RTC oversight board are offering sweet deals to firms who created the thrift situation in the first place.

By law, any actor who incurred over \$50,000 in costs to the RTC bailout effort -- costs absorbed by the taxpayer -- is restricted from doing business with the RTC. The RTC Oversight Board, however, is applying the provisions for granting waivers to this rule so liberally as to make it a sham.

For example, Coopers and Lybrand, an accounting firm that has agreed to pay the government a \$20 million settlement for its role in the collapse of Neil Bush's Silverado Savings and Loan Association, remains the fifth largest RTC contractor, garnering some \$38.3 million in fees thanks to a special waiver to continue its RTC dealings.

THE OFFICIAL BUSH ADMINISTRATION HALL OF SHAME

SPENCER ABRAHAM: Michigan Moonlighting

Spencer Abraham was a busy man in 1990. In addition to serving as Vice President Quayle's Deputy Chief of Staff, Abraham was chairman of the Michigan State Republican Party. Unfortunately, Abraham seems to have been ignorant of the conflict of interest inherent in sporting both hats.

By raising money for state GOP candidates while serving as a member of the Vice President's staff, Abraham flagrantly violated the Hatch Act. In particular, two sections of the Act prohibit all non-exempted federal employees from active involvement in political campaigns. A 1977 Attorney General's opinion specifically ruled that employees of the Vice President's office were not exempted under these provisions and therefore were "Hatched."

PAUL ADAMS: Barking up the wrong tree

Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Inspector General Paul Adams, the man who should be ferreting out waste in his agency, is busy fighting other battles against HUD employees. In response to National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) 197, which requires government agencies to establish security awareness and "hostile contact" procedures, Adams issued a memorandum to all HUD employees in February 1990.

By way of outlining the procedures he thought necessary to counter espionage in the housing arena -- an unlikely spy target -- Adams' memo required that all HUD employees "immediately report contacts ... either within or outside the scope of official duties ... with a foreign national from the Soviet Union, other Soviet bloc countries, or certain other foreign nationals from countries whose beliefs and practices are in opposition to those of the United States."

Of over 13,700 HUD employees, only some 230 have security clearances and are in any danger of seeing classified documents. Because housing and urban development matters are not likely targets of espionage-related activities, the Adams memo lies completely beyond the scope of security measures proportional to a likely security threat.

SHAIK SAUD NASIR al-SABAH: The mother of all opportunists

The Kuwaiti Ambassador to the United States -- having mastered the U.S. public relations circuit during the Gulf War -- is moving on to new challenges on the rubber chicken circuit. In his spare time, the gracious al-Sabah has taken to stumping for GOP

candidates and making cameo appearances at Republican fundraisers. For example, al-Sabah has visited Philadelphia twice at the invitation of Congressman Curt Weldon (R-PA) -- once to attend a series of meetings to publicize the Kuwaiti case and once to advise local companies on winning Kuwaiti reconstruction contracts. On the second trip the ambassador made a surprise stop as the featured speaker at a local annual GOP fundraising dinner.

In July, the busy al-Sabah made his way to North Carolina to donate \$100,000 to a museum and research center honoring Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC). In making his gift, the Ambassador didn't hesitate to make his interests in U.S. policy abundantly clear, extolling Helms for backing the President on the Gulf War.

Al-Sabah's appearances -- from one ruling party to another -- are an insult to the many non-Republicans who fought bravely to save his country from annexation and destruction.

THOMAS "LUD" ASHLEY: The Family Fixer

Chalk another one up to the appearance of impropriety. Thomas Ashley, a college chum of George Bush, is busy looking out for the President's interests -- and sometimes his own. Wearing one hat, loyal "Uncle Lud" took it upon himself to establish and run a trust fund to cover the legal expenses of the President's son, Neil Bush, who has been the object of government investigation and litigation as the former director of the collapsed Silverado Banking, Savings & Loan Association.

Meanwhile, as president of the Association of Bank Holding Companies, Ashley has become one of the most influential voices designing and lobbying for President Bush's bank deregulation legislation.

While Bush and Ashley seem oblivious to the conflict, close Ashley associates question the arrangement. Asserts Martin Farmer, executive director of government relations for a bank in Ashley's group: "I don't think Lud should have done it... It creates an appearance of influence. Here's somebody pushing major deregulation, and his trade association wants it. And here's the president's son."

JAMES BAKER: International Dealings

During his tenure at the State Department, Jim Baker has had a hard time mixing and matching his job duties with his extensive stock holdings. Two months into office, a reluctant Jim Baker had to sell off over \$250,000 of holdings in the Chemical Banking Corporation of New York after a news story exposed his first conflict of interest -- the bank was neck-deep in \$4.5 billion worth of outstanding loans to less-developed countries. As Secretary of State, Baker plays a key role in formulating U.S. policy on Third World debt; large investments directly affected by debt policy might have tugged at the strings of self-interest.

After this experience, Baker appeared to have turned over a new leaf: the Secretary of State recused himself from the greenhouse effect issue because of his extensive oil and gas dealings. Yet perhaps he only did so out of simple fear of butting heads with 800-pound gorilla John Sununu. Why else wouldn't a newly virtuous Mr. Baker recognize the same conflicts of interest in dealings with the Middle East?

SAMBHU BANIK: Here's to Your Health

Senator Al Gore (D-TN) has registered concern that the President's Committee on Mental Retardation, headed by executive director Sambhu Banik, intentionally postponed -- for political reasons -- a report commissioned by the Department of Health and Human Services.

The report concerns impoverished children and lifelong learning disabilities. Its author, Vanderbilt University professor Alfred Baumeister, criticized the Bush Administration for its efforts to prevent mental retardation and called for improved access to health care for poor people. Baumeister delivered his report in April 1991, expecting its release in May. When Baumeister and Gore objected, Banik called the incident a misunderstanding over the actual release date.

Gore, on the other hand, has questioned whether foul play and the political concerns of an administration not eager to meet the challenges of poverty and healthcare kept the administration from releasing a report it commissioned but with which it does not agree.

HENRY G. BARR: Behind Bars

Henry Barr, a former top aide to Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, was convicted in February 1991 of two counts of cocaine possession, two counts of making false statements to the government, and one count of conspiracy. Barr, who followed his mentor Thornburgh to the Department of Justice in 1988, was sentenced to 16 months in prison and fined \$10,150 for possessing cocaine and lying about drug use when he applied for employment with the Justice Department.

Although sentencing guidelines called for only a two to eight month prison term, U.S. District Court Judge Edwin Kosik imposed the stricter sentence because of Barr's betrayal of the public trust.

Interestingly, the Barr case was ignored by Justice Department officials -- including Attorney General Dick Thornburgh -- who recused themselves from investigating the case.

HECTOR BARRETO: Friends in High Places

A member of then-Vice President George Bush's staff intervened on behalf of Hector Barreto, a stalwart Reagan/Bush campaign supporter, to secure \$500,000 of HUD money.

Barreto -- then president of the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in Kansas City, Missouri -- was determined to win HUD funding for a trade center, despite the fact that HUD had ruled in 1985 that the project was ineligible.

After Barreto informed DuBois Gilliam, the HUD deputy assistant secretary who originally rejected the request, that he would contact Mr. Bush to appeal the decision, a Bush staff member contacted Gilliam's office. After being told that the Vice President's office wished the project to be funded, Gilliam says that he arranged for funds to be diverted to the project from a federally funded community development grant.

Gilliam was sentenced to 18 months in prison for accepting payoffs while a HUD official. The White House, not surprisingly, reports that it knows nothing of the incident.

DAVID BATES: Game, Set, Match

George Bush's travelling companion and cabinet secretary David Bates was just one among the White House faithful to jump to the defense of his benefactor when the October Surprise issue surfaced. Bates stands firm in his belief that he and the President played tennis at the country club on the October day disbelievers allege Bush was conspiring with Iranians in Paris to delay the release of 52 American hostages.

It must have been a slippery day for tennis, volleying through the .35 inches of rain that fell on Washington that day. The fact remains there are no facts detailing 21 October hours during which Bush's whereabouts are uncertain.

JOHN A. BETTI: Business as Usual

After demanding that our allies repay the U.S. for the Gulf War, Americans might be surprised to learn that the Defense Department -- and especially DOD Undersecretary for Acquisition John A. Betti -- is going easy on companies who owe U.S. taxpayers billions.

General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas owe the government a disputed \$1.35 billion for an aborted contract to develop the A-12 Avenger warplane. But when the Pentagon sent the bill, it included a courteous provision that the companies did not have to pay up right now if "immediate payment is not practical or if the amount is disputed."

Not surprisingly, the companies did dispute the bill and did call it impractical. They say they owe nothing and want time to prove it. The deferral agreement gives them until December 1992 before the Pentagon will again bother them for money. Who will have to cover the potential \$1.35 billion loss? Taxpayers.

RALPH C. BLEDSOE: Research, Reagan style

In a markedly weak attempt to put October Surprise allegations to rest, ex-President

Reagan enlisted Ralph C. Bledsoe, a former White House aide and current director of the new Reagan library, to investigate allegations that the Reagan-Bush campaign intervened to delay the release of the 52 American hostages being held in Iran until after the 1980 election.

Amazingly enough, Bledsoe, Reagan's former flunkey and current keeper-of-the-faith didn't turn up a thing. But he did set a new land speed research record -- poring over 100,000 pages of campaign pages in under a week.

ED BRANNON: Seeing the Forest Through the Trees

As a hydrologic technician for the U.S. Forest Service at Kalispell National Forest in Montana, Don Kern measured the environmental damage caused by clearcutting in that national forest. His task was to determine if erosion caused by water runoff conformed to regulations and did not endanger indigenous species.

Kern, an environmental activist, had also become a computer guru of sorts in his office. When he attained curious results from a Forestry Department computer program designed to indicate the maximum clearcutting permissible without engendering serious negative effects, Kern decided to investigate.

What he found was an appalling environmental coverup. After dissecting the program, Kern discovered that it had been purposely rigged to consistently underestimate the environmental damage caused by clear-cutting by 20 percent. The false data generated by the program translated directly into allowing the Forest Service to clearcut 20 percent more trees than would be permissible by law and environmental standards.

After ignoring a warning that the Forest Service could not accept further negative publicity from him, Kern was notified that his appointment at Kalispell under Forest Supervisor Ed Brannon would not be renewed for "budget" reasons. After he sought legal intervention as a protected whistleblower, Kern was reinstated.

DEAN BURCH: Tennis, Anyone?

Bush's 1980 campaign manager Dean Burch is among those scampering to provide the President with alibis for October 19, 1980 -- the day Bush allegedly met with representatives of the Iranian Ayatollah Khomeini in Paris to ensure that 52 American hostages would not be released until after the election.

When allegations surfaced, Burch quickly trumpeted forth assuredly that he and the vice president-to-be played tennis the afternoon of the supposed Paris meeting. Burch should have done a little research before chiming in on his boss' behalf -- the National Weather Service reports that it rained all that day.

FREDERICK BUSH: False Testimonials

Frederick Bush -- no relation to the president -- is but one example of those who had hoped to benefit from lavish presidential patronage, and would have if the nation's chief executive had gotten his way.

President Bush nominated Fred Bush as Ambassador to Luxembourg in 1989 -- thanks for a job well done as one of the president's chief campaign fundraisers during the 1988 campaign.

Mr. Bush was forced to withdraw his name from consideration for the ambassadorial post, however, after it was discovered that he had made inaccurate assertions under oath in testimony relating to the HUD scandal. Bush's lobbying firm received over \$600,000 in HUD grants and consulting fees.

But all was not lost. The President was able to compensate Fred Bush for his troubles by appointing him to be the U.S. Commissioner General to the 1992 World's Fair. For his trouble, Mr. Bush garners travel and per diem expenses for his frequent trips to Barcelona, Spain. Fortunately for Fred Bush, Senate confirmation is not required.

GEORGE W. BUSH: The Insider Cashing Out

Nearly a million dollars seems to have slipped the mind of the President's eldest son for nearly a year. In March 1991, George W. Bush, second generation oil man and owner of the Texas Rangers, finally remembered to report to the federal government that he had earned \$848,560 from the sale of 67 percent of his holdings in Harken Energy Corporation, an oil and gas explorer for which he serves as both a director and a consultant.

Apparently, George Jr. forgot that Securities and Exchange Commission regulations stipulate that an "insider" stock sale of this nature should have been reported by July 10, 1990. The SEC has launched proceedings against individuals for such clear violations in the past.

PRESCOTT BUSH: The Outsider Cashing In

George Bush had barely taken the oath of office when presidential big brother Prescott began to mastermind how best he could "employ" the family name in his business pursuits. First there were Prescott's highly publicized dealings with China over two satellites -- a transfer on which the Bush Administration had to rule.

More recently, Prescott Bush appears to have made an embarrassing business blunder. As a paid consultant, the President's brother reportedly helped a Tokyo firm with strong ties to Japanese gangsters acquire Asset Management, a U.S. financial services

company.

Bush guaranteed that West Tsusho, an arm of a company controlled by Susumu Ishii, would recoup half of its five million dollar investment in five years. Japanese police say Ishii headed one of the three largest mob syndicates in Japan before retiring last October.

According to Securities and Exchange Commission documents, after the Asset Management deal was completed, West Tsusho paid Prescott Bush a \$250,000 finders fee and signed a three-year, \$750,000 consulting contract with him.

No one in the Bush camp had any comment on the revelations.

NEIL BUSH: A Sweet Deal

Most Americans know the Neil Bush saga. Appointed to an S&L board of directors before his thirtieth birthday, Neil received a \$100,000 personal loan that he doesn't have to pay back and returns the favor by approving large loans to his beneficiary, Ken Good. Only after the scandal brakes, however, does Bush report the loan. Bush admits that the arrangement "sounds fishy" and was "an incredibly sweet deal." For these dealings, Neil receives a slap on the wrist.

If not Neil, then who are the culprits? They must be the regulators who kept Silverado open until it cost taxpayers \$2 billion.

The Chief federal regulator of Silverado, Kermit Mowbray, testified under subpoena in 1990 that he was "ordered" by Washington to keep Silverado open until after the November 1988 elections were over -- after regional regulators recommended that Silverado be shut down. Unfortunately, the regulator "can't recall" who made the call. M. Danny Wall and other top thrift officials in Washington also maintain that they have "no recollection" of the matter.

JEB BUSH: S&L Sweet Deal #2

Perhaps jealous that brother Neil had enjoyed too much time in the S&L spotlight, Jeb Bush managed to get his own taxpayer-financed S&L bailout in 1990.

The second Bush bailout worked like this: first, Bush and business partner Armando Codina secured a \$4.56 million loan from Broward Federal Savings, which went broke a while later. Then, after Broward was declared insolvent -- in part because of its proprietor's liberal lending practices -- the government had to step in and honor the failed thrift's loans, including Jeb Bush's millions. In an even better turn of events for Bush and his partner, they were then allowed to keep the building after the government decided it couldn't recover its costs by selling the property.

Bush and Codina don't exhibit gratitude befitting such a sweet deal -- the two are quick to note that the \$4.56 million forgiven debt is considered income, bestowing them with a \$1.3 million tax bill.

LAURO CAVAZOS: "We love to Fly, and it Shows!"

The inspector general of the Department of Education is looking into allegations that Lauro Cavazos used frequent-flier miles obtained while traveling on official government business to purchase free airline tickets for his wife during his tenure as Secretary of Education. Federal regulations mandate that frequent-flier bonuses be handed over for use by the government.

DICK CHENEY: Ah, Springtime in Paris....

The '91 Paris Air Show was different from those of the past because taxpayer money was used for the first time to help defense contractors show off their wares.

In a complete break with precedent, the DOD reportedly determined that lending planes and pilots at the Commerce Department's request would provide a good opportunity to showcase the U.S. aircraft and weapons that performed so well in the Gulf War. The Defense Department has effectively accomplished these same goals in previous shows by leasing the planes to the benefitting private contractors.

Asked by DNC researchers how much the show had cost taxpayers, the Pentagon continues to stall and provides us with no answer.

ROBERT CLARKE: Both Hands in the Cookie Jar

Comptroller of the Currency Robert Clarke provides plenty of work for the ethics patrol. In May, 1991, Clarke was a subject of an ethics board review of his holdings as a result of new disclosures that he has actively traded in millions of dollars in stocks and bonds.

More specifically, Clarke has bought and sold more than \$1.7 million worth of high-risk junk bonds since becoming Comptroller and continues to trade even after his appointment to the Resolution Trust Corp. The RTC, the single largest owner of junk bonds, is charged with disposing nearly \$6 billion in junk bond holdings of failed S&Ls.

Unlike other administration officials who have placed their assets in blind trusts to avoid conflicts of interest, Clarke actively manages his own portfolio. Although Clarke's dealings with the RTC and his personal junk bond activities could appear improper to even the casual observer, the comptroller contends he has done nothing wrong and refuses to alter his behavior.

If only it stopped there. Two of Clarke's business partnerships are being investigated for possible conflict of interest, including one deal in which Clarke has provided a company with \$1.1 million in loans and has indirectly guaranteed another \$200,000 in loans to the firm from C&S (an Atlanta and Richmond banking company) that Clarke regulates.

Among the issues raised are: whether the hammock company's loans from C&S violated the ban on borrowing from national banks by officials of the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency; and whether Clarke's guarantee of bank loans was itself a violation of the borrowing ban.

NANCY COHEN: Maybe the dog ate her homework?

Nancy Cohen, Director of Congressional Correspondence at the Office of Thrift Supervision (OTS), can count herself responsible for making a mockery of political accountability. As a result of negligence in her office, the OTS seems to have misplaced dozens of letters from members of Congress to S&L regulators. Files at the OTS contain letters -- available to the public under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) -- which may contain evidence that members of Congress exercised influence over regulators on behalf of S&Ls which may have made campaign contributions. The file on at least one member of Congress has been stolen or misplaced.

DANA COOK: Neither a borrower nor a lender be....

Dana Cook, Executive Assistant to the Comptroller of the Currency, apparently underestimates the value of a dollar. Otherwise, it would have been clear to him that accepting a \$250,000 loan from his boss, Comptroller Robert Clarke, clearly violated the Treasury Department Minimum Standards of Conduct, which states that "Employees shall not either directly or indirectly, lend or borrow from other employees, substantial sums of money."

DAVID COOKE: Opening the Revolving Door, Part I

Perpetuating the cycle of corruption and greed that led to the S&L debacle, the Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) -- under executive director David Cooke -- has admitted that it does not perform background checks on purchasers of RTC assets unless the purchaser borrowed from a thrift to finance the purchase.

To the delight of Charles E. Hurwitz and his company, the Maxxam Group (which bought \$130 million in S&L assets last year), the RTC rules allow buyers with questionable histories and intentions to slip quietly through the cracks. In the 1970s, the SEC sued Hurwitz in connection with false statements he allegedly made in stock manipulation scheme. Hurwitz also chaired the United Financial thrift until just 10 months before its failure. The RTC is investigating officers, directors, and other professionals in relation to United's failure.

Maxxam has also come under fire recently from the Department of Labor, which has sued the company for violating the Employee Retirement Income Security Act. It is also the subject of several other lawsuits brought by clients and the Environmental Protection Agency.

JIM COURTER: Military Moonlighter

Jim Courter, the newly-installed chairman of President Bush's commission on military base closures, admitted that Grumman Corporation -- a major defense contractor -- was paying him \$3,000 per month for "lobbying" services. Courter acknowledged that he was negotiating a similar contract with Northrup Corporation, claiming his sway over military bases was entirely unrelated to stumping for Defense contractors. Courter denied any conflict of interest.

In an abrupt reversal the next day, Courter announced he would terminate the Grumman contract.

LESTER M. CRAWFORD: The Stamp of Approval?

Lester M. Crawford, administrator of the USDA's Food Safety and Inspection Service, may win points with the State Department for fostering international commerce, but he and his organization perform a great disservice to millions of Americans who trust USDA approval on beef.

During negotiations for the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement of 1989, the USDA recommended streamlining the inspection system for beef entering the U.S. from Canada. As a result, whereas prior to the agreement one hundred percent of the Canadian beef underwent inspection by USDA inspectors, only seven percent is currently checked for feces, tumors, cysts, and other spoilage.

Under the new system, only one of every fifteen beef-bearing trucks entering the U.S. is checked for contamination -- the other fourteen are flagged straight through carrying meat assumed to be edible. Of the small sampling of meat that is actually checked, at least forty percent is rejected. Moreover, the meat contained on the fourteen uninspected trucks is likely to be even more unsafe because the Canadian meat-shippers personally select the meat to be sampled by inspectors.

Crawford's office is proposing even further deregulation of meat inspections, with the goal of establishing an "open border" for U.S.-Canada and U.S.-Mexico meat trade.

R. HUNTER CUSHING: Cushioning the Blow

In an administration priding itself on avoiding so much as the appearance of impropriety, the bald-faced willingness to place individuals of questionable ethics in positions of public

trust is galling. The example of R. Hunter Cushing, former official in the Bush Administration Commerce Department is illustrative.

Cushing was a key player in the HUD scandal that emerged in 1989. In addition to acting as a liaison between HUD officials, business interests, and politicians, Cushing -- then Deputy Assistant HUD Secretary -- was responsible for the controversial decision that saved wealthy Republican donor Edward Weidenfeld significant amounts of money. According to reports, Cushing intervened with HUD on behalf of Weidenfeld, cutting his debts to the tune of over \$500,000 on nearly \$600,000 of questionable costs on a Georgia housing project.

MICHAEL DELAND: Pollution is our Business

Michael Deland, chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality, will head a two-year project intended to investigate solutions to pollution woes.

On a panel of 25 representatives selected to help the Bush Administration address environmental protection concerns, one might rationally expect environmental groups -- whose business, after all, is to encourage public action to redress environmental ills -- to capture the spotlight. Not so under the Administration of the Environmental President. Instead, the three lonely representatives of environmental and conservation groups on Deland's panel will be joined by voices from the auto, utility, oil, paper, mining, and chemical industries -- all of which are major polluters and Bush political contributors.

JIM DOOCY: Keeping the Boss Happy

Time to check the rule book again. Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner has taken the bounds of his job a bit too far. And FAA Administrator Jim Doocy gave him the green light to do it.

Skinner racked up over \$40,000 worth of flying lessons using government planes and has been under the tutelage of FAA pilots at taxpayers' expense. Skinner logged forty-seven flight hours in just two years.

Flying lessons clearly stretch beyond the bounds of White House policies intended to control government plane costs. Skinner's staff, however, claims that it is important for the transportation secretary to fly to boost FAA morale. This, despite the fact that using government planes and instructors for flight instruction violates FAA policy as well.

Noted Doocy, who approved Skinner's flights, "Those of us who have aviation experience should use it so that we can experience ourselves first-hand the system, the environment that our commercial aviation is operating in. That makes us better regulators, better stewards of the public trust."

KENNETH DUBERSTEIN: Clarence and me

In typical form, what has been described by Ellen Miller of the Center for Responsive Politics as a monstrous conflict of interest* is being swept under the carpet with Judge Clarence Thomas' Supreme Court confirmation hearings. Although both the White House and the Justice Department have their own Congressional liaison staffs, the Bush Administration enlisted the services of Kenneth Duberstein, a high-powered corporate Washington lobbyist and former White House Chief of Staff, to help "sell" Thomas on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Duberstein also just so happens to represent General Motors, which is scheduled to argue a major workers' compensation case before the court next session.

Duberstein's close connections to GM and other members of the nation's corporate vanguard -- many of whom will undoubtedly be affected by future Supreme Court decisions -- can only be strengthened as he helps win Thomas a seat on the court.

LAWRENCE EAGLEBURGER: The China Syndrome

Directly before entering service in the Bush Administration, both Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft worked for Kissinger Associates, an international consulting firm with substantial business dealings in China. Eagleburger, as President of Kissinger Associates, made over \$1 million from the firm during 1988.

Realizing that his post -- as a primary advisor to President Bush on sensitive issues of national security -- could leave him open to conflict of interest charges because of his relationship with Kissinger Associates, Eagleburger wisely promised during his Senate confirmation hearings "to recuse myself for term from any matter that specifically involves Kissinger Associates..."

Dealings with China were more than a passing fancy for Kissinger Associates. In June, 1989, Kissinger Associates planned to launch a new \$70 million joint enterprise with the Chinese government. The group, China Ventures, suspended its plans following the Tiananmen massacre.

But despite his recusal pledge, Eagleburger apparently saw nothing wrong when Bush called on both him and Scowcroft to conduct high-level missions to China in July and December 1989 to "find common ground" with Chinese leaders who ordered the Tiananmen massacre.

Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State and principal of Kissinger Associates, has said that he "was astonished" to learn that Eagleburger would be sent on sensitive missions to China.

DANIEL F. EVANS: Ready for golf

Daniel Evans -- Dan Quayle's former fundraiser, campaign manager, transition team head, and confidante -- is finally reaping the benefits of cronyism. After years of seemingly selfless labor, Evans announced that he expected to be named chairman of the Federal Housing Finance Board (FHFB), which Congress created in the aftermath of the S&L disaster to regulate the 12 regional Federal Home Loan Banks.

But Evans was concerned that the meager \$89,000 annual salary for the full-time position wouldn't suffice. No problem. The Bush Administration agreed to offer him a part-time recess appointment -- which would allow him not only to avoid Senate confirmation, but also to continue in his post as partner of Baker & Daniels, an Indianapolis-based law firm with offices in Washington. No other federal regulatory agency has a part-time chairperson.

Despite Congressional cries that this arrangement could invite conflicts of interest if thrifts seek the services of Evans' law firm, and concerns that part-time attention might fail to serve the regulatory objectives Congress intended, Evans and the Bush Administration stood firm.

JOHN E. FROHNMAYER: Offkey leadership

After being criticized from within his department, National Endowment for the Arts Chairman and amateur baritone John Frohnmayer admitted to having kept two NEA employees after hours several times -- without compensation -- to hone his crooning skills. NEA special assistant Alvin Knutsen and policy director Ann Colgrove -- Frohnmayer's recreational vocal instructor and piano accompanist, respectively -- gave the NEA head over a dozen lessons both after and during business hours.

At first, Frohnmayer claimed he could see no impropriety in monopolizing the time of subordinates for personal whim without offering remuneration. Nonetheless, the lessons ceased after press broke the story. Frohnmayer has abandoned singing as an avocation.

SHERMAN FUNK: Dirty Cop

Sherman Funk, inspector general at the State Department, has been accused by Senate investigators of illegally hiring retired foreign service officers. In an attempt to circumvent laws governing retirement and a \$78,000 salary ceiling, the State Department reportedly hired retired foreign service personnel as "experts" and charged them with overseeing the programs with which they had been involved. Foreign service officers do not qualify as experts according to hiring regulations.

Funk's office denies the allegations.

LOU GALLEGOS: What's Your Bid?

Lou Gallegos, Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Policy Management and Budget, was accused of buckling under pressure from White House aide Ron Kaufman to award a \$127 million computer contract to Data General Corporation, a Massachusetts-based computer firm.

Anonymous Interior Department employees claimed that Kaufman -- who ran the 1988 Bush campaign in New England -- leaned heavily on Gallegos to award the contract to Data General, despite the fact that another company submitted a lower bid and subsequently challenged the decision. The contract was the first in a series that could mean billions of dollars to the successful bidder.

ROBERT GATES: What They Don't Know Won't Hurt Them

In July 1991, ex-CIA official Alan Fiers plead guilty to charges he withheld Iran-contra information from Congress. Fier's testimony included claims that extensive knowledge of the operation existed throughout the CIA, including the man just below Gates, Claire George. The testimony raises the question of how Gates, the number two man in the CIA at the time, could have remained in the dark. Meanwhile, President Bush, never the skeptic, still believes, "Bob Gates is the best candidate to be the director of the CIA."

RNC AND WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS: What's a Million Dollars Between Friends?

Although federal law requires that the government be reimbursed for the costs of the president's campaign-related travel, some of the travel funds for President Bush's busy fundraising schedule seem to have been lost en route to the U.S. Treasury.

Maybe taxpayers can find it with Ben Ginsburg, General Counsel at the RNC. To replenish the taxpayers' purse for Bush's political forays, campaigns first issue a lump sum check to the Republican National Committee, potentially allowing the RNC to earn interest on the funds before remitting it in several smaller amounts to the Treasury. But the RNC remittal department seems prone to some major accounting errors. By September, 1990 the RNC had chosen not to give the government \$951,784.97 that it had received from campaigns for Bush's trips.

Furthermore, campaigns reimburse the government only for a reasonable share of the costs of first class air travel and accommodations for persons involved in Presidential advance. Given that Bush has already made over 50 political swings -- and travelled over 70,000 miles for Republican activities -- through July 1991, the uncounted cost of staff time associated with planning and organizing partisan ventures could well reach hundreds of thousands of dollars.

APRIL GLASPIE: What They Should Know Might Hurt Me

There is mounting concern that April Glaspie, the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq at the time of the invasion of Kuwait, failed to come clean in testimony she presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in March 1991. Glaspie reported to Congress that just days before the invasion she had delivered a strong message to Saddam Hussein indicating the likely U.S. response to aggression.

Several senators, however, have found that her Congressional testimony directly conflicts with two cables she transmitted from Baghdad following her discussions with the Iraqi leader. The cables -- released to Congress in early July -- indicate that Glaspie adopted a conciliatory approach, assuring Saddam Hussein that the U.S. had no interest in "inter-Arab" affairs. Not only Glaspie's ethical fiber but also the Bush Administration's apparent willingness to turn a blind eye to false Congressional testimony -- particularly in relation to such a momentous issue as the Gulf War -- raises a familiar specter disrespect for the constitutional system of checks and balances.

TERESA GORMAN: All Wet on Wetlands

Teresa Gorman, special assistant to the president, tried to interfere with EPA Director William Reilly's Congressional testimony in 1991. Reilly, a critic of a House bill designed to scale back wetlands protection, received instructions from Gorman to avoid criticizing the bill in his testimony to a Senate subcommittee.

A supporter of wetlands protection, Reilly attacked the bill as he had planned.

Not surprisingly, Gorman also chairs the White House wetlands task force, the group responsible for redefining wetlands so that millions of protected acres can be exploited without officially breaking George Bush's "no net loss" of wetlands pledge.

WENDY AND PHIL GRAMM: A Match Made in Heaven

When Wendy Gramm became chairwoman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) three years ago, the conflict of interest specter raised its ugly head. Her husband, Senator Phil Gramm (R-TX) is an influential member of the Senate Banking Committee's securities subcommittee, which oversees the CFTC.

Rather than recusing himself from dealings with the CFTC, Phil -- who assumed the mantle of ranking minority member on the subcommittee after the death of Sen. John Heinz (R-PA) -- claimed that there is no conflict of interest inherent to overseeing his wife's commission.

This should please Wendy. Husband Phil just happens to be among the most ardent advocates of the CFTC in the Senate. In fact, in April 1991, Phil's lengthy Senate floor

speech on behalf of the CFTC ensured that the rival SEC would not be granted authority to regulate certain financial instruments. Heinz had been a major supporter of expanded SEC authority against the wishes of Wendy and the CFTC.

Phil's position on the subcommittee places him in a position to punish financial bodies that thwart Wendy's CFTC activities.

C. BOYDEN GRAY: The Ethics Czar at work

Only two weeks after George Bush announced his intention to establish new ethical standards to avoid the stigma of sleaze that hovered over the Reagan Administration, White House counsel C. Boyden Gray displayed his strange qualifications for the post of ethics czar.

It turned out that Gray had remained on salary as the chairman of his family's \$500 million company, Summit Communications, Inc. while a member of Vice President Bush's staff. As a result of the disclosures, Gray was forced to resign the family position and stop taking annual payments.

Did Gray learn his lesson? Hardly. Since the Summit scandal has cleared, Gray has steadily resumed his insider dealings on behalf of big business. Gray bullied Attorney General Dick Thornburgh into reversing himself on support for tough sentencing guidelines against corporate criminals. After business representatives met with the White House Counsel to object to tough new sentencing guidelines for white collar criminals, Gray called the Justice Department and support for the stringent measures was withdrawn.

Not that it matters all that much, considering that over 21,000 S&L investigations for white collar crime have churned out only a few hundred convictions. The Administration has apparently been too busy posturing on street crime to turn its attention to the white collar criminals who stole \$2000 from every American man, woman, and child in the S&L scam.

ALAN GREENSPAN: Keeping Keating Well-Fed

Representative Henry B. Gonzalez (D-TX), Chairman of the House Banking Committee, is investigating questionable actions undertaken by Alan Greenspan and the Federal Reserve Board on behalf of Charles H. Keating, Jr.'s Lincoln Savings and Loan Association -- Gonzalez has accused Greenspan of steepening S&L failure costs by lending money to insolvent institutions.

The Fed -- which normally loans money only to banks -- lent \$98 million to the failing S&L in a four-month period in 1989 during which Lincoln was under federal control. The loan - the largest of those provided by the Fed to ailing S&Ls -- may have allowed depositors of large amounts of uninsured money to reclaim their cash before regulators closed the

S&L and began to pay off insured depositors.

Greenspan failed to recuse himself from the Fed's decision to provide the funds to Keating's thrift, despite having worked on Keating's behalf in 1985 to ease S&L investment regulation. At that time, Greenspan wrote a memo for Keating stating that his S&L was in good financial health.

MARK HAYWARD: Boiling the Numbers

The U.S. Small Business Administration hired Eileen Trzcinski, an assistant professor of consumer economics at Cornell University, to conduct an employee leave survey and report her findings.

However, when Trzcinski concluded from her data that it would cost employers less to grant the unpaid leave than it would to let the employee quit and hire a replacement, the SBA suspended distribution of the study. Mark Hayward, head of the office of Chief Counsel for Advocacy, sent a letter to Congress explaining that one of the authors had "mischaracterized" the findings.

Trzcinski responded by immediately firing off her own letter to Congress, accusing the SBA of putting out a "misleading" summary of her research claiming instead that the bill would cost employers a minimum of \$1.2 billion per year.

BETTY HEITMAN: Hammering Hamel

Betty Heitman, director of the now-defunct President's Commission on Executive Exchange (which arranges for business executives to spend one-year stints with the federal government and for federal workers to gain a year of private sector experience) was accused of misconduct in her firing of whistleblower Gordon Hamel.

During the summer of 1990, Hamel reported mismanagement of tens of thousands of dollars at the commission, much of it for posh, non-competitive travel expenditures.

In response to Hamel's allegations, Heitman had him escorted from his office by armed guards and placed him on administrative leave without pay. Heitman rejected Congressional requests to delay Hamel's termination.

Hamel, convinced he had made the correct decision in exposing the commission's wasteful activities, appealed to Pat McFarland, Inspector General of the Office of Personnel Management. Here again, Hamel's overtures were rebuffed.

CARLA HILLS: Trading Favors

Carla Hills, now the U.S. Trade Representative for the Bush Administration, made a tidy bundle as a consultant lobbying the Department of Housing and Urban Development -- where she had served as HUD secretary in the Ford Administration -- to earn her clients low-income apartment rehabilitation projects.

Hills, who earned nearly \$140,000 for her troubles on behalf of developers, was one of 20 consultants responsible for winning over \$5.7 million in HUD projects in a single program. The program offered developers tax credits and HUD subsidies for low-income tenants. Of 51 projects, 45 were placed in states which by most accounts should not have been the focus of the developmental funds.

ALLAN B. HUBBARD: Regulatory Reliever

As director of George Bush's Competitiveness Council, Allan Hubbard has ushered through several subversive measures to ease the regulatory burdens imposed on the nation's rich-and-well-connected.

To name a few, Hubbard has put more than his two-cents-worth into Competitiveness Council decisions blocking a recycling requirement for municipal incinerators, easing restrictions on a power plant whose sulfur dioxide emissions are accused of obscuring visibility at the Grand Canyon, nullifying several regulatory provisions in the Clean Air Act, and providing more opportunities for large factories to pollute the environment without being subject to state censure.

RONALD KAUFMAN: Reach Out and Touch Someone

White House Political Director and Massachusetts native Ronald Kaufman has also joined the ranks of Bush Administration employees embroiled in controversy. The Massachusetts State Democratic Party has accused Kaufman of disrupting the party's 1990 convention. The convention nearly collapsed when a picketing police union blocked delegates from entering the convention's building.

Representatives of the Massachusetts Democratic Party claim Kaufman was communicating via cellular phone with political operatives who were mingling with the police picket lines. Kaufman denies the charge.

Kaufman also found himself under siege for allegedly leaning on officials at the Department of the Interior to award a \$127 million computer contract to Data General, a Massachusetts-based firm. Interior Department employees anonymously asserted that Kaufman had flexed quite a bit of White House muscle in the direction of assistant Interior Secretary Lou Gallegos to ensure the deal.

DAVID KESSLER: Good Advice, Bad for Business

It seemed simple enough. To help consumers save money, FDA officials recommended that people consider ordering generic drugs by mail. One option, noted the FDA, was to contact the American Association of Retired Persons and inquire about their reduced pricing programs for prescription and non-prescription drugs.

Simple, that is, until the trade association for independent American pharmacists found out about this "free advice." NARD officials then complained directly to FDA Director David Kessler -- and Kessler soon complied with their demands, promising not to endorse any particular product or program in the future.

DONALD E. KIRKENDALL: Keep me posted....

After initiating an investigation into Neil Bush's erstwhile thrift -- the Silverado Banking, Savings, and Loan Association -- Treasury Department inspector General Donald Kirkendall absolved himself of responsibility and turned the investigation over to the FBI.

Agencies typically refer investigations to the FBI if they suspect criminal wrongdoing. In the Silverado case, regulators allegedly postponed the shutdown of the failed thrift until after the 1988 election so as not to harm then-Vice President Bush's campaign. Kirkendall, in fact, launched his inspection after Kermit Mowbray, former president of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in Topeka, Kansas, testified under oath two years later that his superiors had ordered that Silverado's seizure be stalled.

More recently, however, Kirkendall has washed his hands of the issue. Although Treasury claimed last September to be investigating the postponed closure, a spokesperson more recently claimed that the department never investigated the matter, leaving it to the FBI.

In a letter to William Esposito, chief of the FBI's white collar crimes section, a nonchalant Kirkendall indicated that the Treasury Department had closed the Silverado case and was leaving it entirely to the FBI. Demonstrating only limited interest in the issue, Kirkendall only asked Esposito to keep him advised on the case.

RICHARD P. KUSSEROW: Dirty Cop

Senate investigators conducting a five-month study of the inspector general system -- conceived in 1978 with the mission of eradicating waste, fraud, and abuse in government agencies -- found widespread patterns of wrongdoing and graft in the very offices charged with exposing federal corruption.

Richard P. Kusserow, inspector general at the Department of Health and Human Services, was among those implicated. Kusserow, whose job is to protect whistleblowers and investigate their complaints, instead revealed the identity of a deputy regional

administrator who had accused his supervisor of waste, fraud, and mismanagement. Not only did Kusserow expose the whistleblower's identity, but he also leaked details of correspondence from the whistleblower during the investigation.

Days after the case was closed, the whistleblower was transferred to a new, menial post not commensurate with his qualifications. Not until Congress and the Office of Personnel Management intervened was the man reassigned to an appropriate post. Kusserow's office denies the allegations.

JOHN C. LAYTON: Day-Glo Sleaze

Despite Secretary of Energy James Watkins' 1989 pledge to reform the DOE and stress its accountability on the environment and safety issues, the DOE Inspector General's office, headed by John C. Layton, has allied itself with officials at the Hanford nuclear weapons site in the interest of silencing whistleblowers.

In recent years, several workers at the Hanford site have gone public with evidence of shocking abuses and environmental threats at the nation's largest nuclear weapon factory. Rather than investigate and remedy the claims, Hanford and the DOE have embarked on a spree of intimidation and cover-up, forcing whistleblowers from their jobs and engendering an atmosphere of repression for others who might hold information that could be damaging to those administering the site.

The DOE/Hanford cover-up operation is no small matter. Several sources agree that conditions at Hanford are similar to if not worse than those that prevailed at the Chernobyl nuclear site in the Soviet Union. Large leaks and intentional illegal dumping of high level waste pose constant threats to local residents.

MANUEL LUJAN: The Free Lunch Program

Whoever said there's no such thing as a free lunch? Certainly not Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr., who billed the government \$26 a day for lunches at his home in Albuquerque, N.M. from 1989-1991. Lujan ceased the practice following press inquiries in June, 1991.

Lujan's remorse, however, does not run deep. Though he requested -- after press inquiries -- that his staff stop billing per diem expenses for him during his stays at home, Lujan does not feel compelled to return the approximately \$500 he received in lunch expenses for an elective three-week trip to New Mexico last August during which he worked out of local Interior Department offices.

Lujan's reasoning is simple: "Nobody's requested that I return it, and I don't think it's that big a deal."

Lujan also does not think it's a "big deal" to fly seven aides to a Grand Canyon resort to conduct Interior Department business. The trip, which will cost taxpayers roughly \$4,000, ironically brought Lujan and his aides together for a budget-cutting meeting. In defense of the cross-country trip to one of the nation's most popular tourist havens, department spokesperson Steven Goldstein claimed that Interior's Washington headquarters was simply too busy a place to make such important decisions.

EDWARD MADIGAN: Turning the pyramid on its head

The Secretary of Agriculture has a tough job as the person responsible for being both head cheerleader and chief of police for agricultural products. Stepping into a job so obviously ripe for conflicts of interest might be difficult for some, but not Edward Madigan, who is nestled comfortably in the pockets of the meat and dairy lobbies.

The latest example: Madigan's scuttling of the USDA's new "eating-right pyramid," a revised assessment of the relative importance of the food groups. The pyramid, designed to replace the outdated "basic four" food chart, stressed the importance of vegetables, fruits, and grains in a healthy and balanced diet. Informed by decades of research that links meat and dairy products to heart disease and other maladies, the pyramid de-emphasized the desirability of a meat/dairy-intensive diet. This, of course, was unacceptable to the powerful meat and dairy lobbies, who badgered Madigan until he relented and halted the presses on the food pyramid publication.

Good for business? Sure. But try to explain that to another generation sliding down the slippery slope of hardened arteries and heart disease at the hands of deliberate government misinformation.

FREDERIC V. MALEK: The loyal soldier

Frederic V. Malek, former Bush appointee to be Deputy Chairman of the RNC, compiled figures in 1971 on the number of Jewish people among top officials of the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the direction of then-President Richard M. Nixon. Nixon ordered Malek to investigate White House aides' notes described as a "Jewish cabal."

Although revelations of Malek's anti-semitic undertakings forced him to resign, his loyal friendship to the president was not soon forgotten. In 1990, Bush chose Malek to organize the 1990 Economic Summit in Houston, a post that gave him the title of ambassador.

More recently, Malek is reportedly slated to win a major position in the 1992 Bush reelection campaign.

DAVID MARTIN: In need of legal assistance

David Martin, the first individual selected by Bush to head the Legal Services Corporation, came under scrutiny in 1990. It appears that in his previous incarnation -- working in his brother's mortgage-banking business -- Martin embroiled himself in a bit of controversy. The First American Bank of Virginia sued Martin as the mortgage company's loan guarantor for defaulting on a \$321,000 commercial loan.

Despite his legal entanglements, Martin was nominated to head the LSC, which grants millions of dollars for programs that provide free legal services to indigent Americans. Maybe Martin can get some free advice.

JOHN C. MARTIN: Environmental Witchhunter

Based on a request by the Department of Interior (DOI), John C. Martin, Inspector General of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), launched a criminal investigation into the activities of Jeff van Ee, an EPA employee at the Environmental Monitoring Systems Laboratory in Las Vegas.

Van Ee found himself in trouble with the EPA after attending a Sierra Club meeting in January, 1990. A long time environmental activist, van Ee contributed information regarding Interior Department activities to the Sierra Club, which was concerned with threats to the desert tortoise. For this "crime", John Martin requested a criminal indictment from the U.S. Justice Department -- which was denied.

Yet when EPA Director William Reilly met privately with waste industry officials who convinced him to reopen hearings on a strict North Carolina hazardous waste law they opposed, Martin was nowhere to be found.

PAT MCFARLAND: Thanks for Nothing

When Gordon Hamel appealed to OPM Inspector General Pat McFarland to investigate what he perceived as his wrongful termination, he expected something better than the treatment he received from the person who fired him.

But Hamel only found more of the same. After being fired from the President's Commission on Executive Exchange for exposing his boss' mismanagement of federal funds, Hamel sought justice through the office of the inspector general, whose job it is to protect whistleblowers like Hamel. Instead, according to Congressional investigators who looked into the case, Inspector General McFarland's office determined that Hamel had not been wronged and closed the case -- despite the fact that it remained incomplete.

Hamel, who had a glowing history of federal employment, exposed thousands of dollars

of mismanaged funds. He was escorted from his office by armed personnel and fired from the commission.

JOHN W. MILTON: This is Affirmative Action?

John Milton, a former attorney for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, was apparently less committed to eradicating discriminatory employment practices than he was to lining the pockets of friends and families with federal funds. In January, 1991, Milton was indicted for conspiring to steal over \$70,000 of funds he was supposed to channel to victims of hiring discrimination. Instead, Milton paid over a dozen false claims to friends and associates.

K. MICHAEL MOORE: Get Me to the Interview on Time

U.S. Marshals Service Director K. Michael Moore spent over \$20,000 of taxpayers' money for a trip to Los Angeles where he opened a Marshals' exhibit and bestowed awards on Bob Hope, Gene Autry, and Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC). The flight for Moore, Thurmond, and four aides would have cost only \$2,928 on a commercial airline.

The cost of the trip grew when the group made a single twelve-minute trip to Los Angeles International Airport in a Customs Service twin turbojet Blackhawk helicopter that cost taxpayers \$2,040. The six could have made the trip in under an hour in a taxicab for roughly \$40.

Moore claimed the helicopter flight to the airport was justified because it allowed him to stay through the entire awards ceremony before catching an overnight flight to Florida, where he interviewed for a federal judgeship for which Thurmond had endorsed him.

CONSTANCE B. NEWMAN: The Political Correctrix

As Director of the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), Constance B. Newman oversees the agency responsible for what might be a turn back toward McCarthyism and a darker period for employment in American history.

In 1977, the Civil Service Commission concluded that inquiring about individuals' associations might violate Constitutional rights. Since then, the government has not required employees to divulge their interests or activities with associations. In the past year, however, the OPM has issued a new form for agencies to use in security clearance and job evaluations.

Form SF-86 extends far beyond the bounds of determining an employee's qualifications for a position or a clearance based on the requirements of suitability and security. Several questions deal with an individual's past political associations and activities. SF-86 also grants the government the right to obtain academic, personal, criminal conviction,

medical, psychiatric, and employment records on an individual whether or not these records are pertinent to the employment suitability or security clearance application at hand.

Creation and application of the SF-86 by Newman's agency and others offers a frightening indictment of the Bush Administration's views on the Privacy Act and activities protected under the First Amendment.

SHIRLEY OLINGER: Rocky Reasoning

Just two years after the FBI raid and closure of the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons factory, the facility is likely to re-open soon despite DOE documentation that unsolved worker safety and environmental problems continue at the plant.

DOE's own budget reports to Congress cite woefully inadequate fire and security alarm systems, posing an unconscionable threat to workers and the environment in the event of an accident at the nuclear site. The DOE -- which admits that all problems will not be remedied until at least 1998 -- is attempting to push through 80 waiver requests exempting the Rocky Flats facility from DOE's own environmental and safety guidelines and other industry standards.

When questioned about the problems, DOE official Shirley Olinger claimed that the DOE's characterization of the plant as an environmental and public health nightmare was merely a ploy to pique Congressional interest and secure funding for more moderate repairs. Such assertions beg the question of who in the DOE is lying. Either the plant is unfit for operation, or the DOE is flagrantly lying to Congress to circumvent the system. Either way, the American taxpayer will pay a pretty penny to clean up decades of negligence.

GREGG PETERSMEYER: 1,000 Points of Hype

In response to a New York Times article praising Bush's Thousand Points of Light Program, a letter-to-the-editor illustrated the political nature of the choice of a daily "point of light" -- theoretically an honor bestowed for selfless dedication to good deeds -- by noting that volunteers from California, Texas, Florida, and Pennsylvania -- key political states -- are disproportionately represented among the daily honorees. The President's point of light map, pictured in the original article, is in fact a media targeting map. For this, we thank Gregg Petersmeyer, director of the program.

DAN QUAYLE: Making the Rounds

Soon after President Bush promised a full-scale review of the flight records of his Chief of Staff, John Sununu, Vice President Dan Quayle decided to go on a weekend golfing trip at taxpayers' expense. According to CBS News, the weekend of golf at Augusta, Georgia cost the taxpayers \$27,000 -- \$12,000 for flying time, \$10,000 for Secret Service

and military travel expenses, and \$5,000 for meals and lodging for a five member Air Force crew.

MICHAEL QUINLAN: Keeper of the Keys

Brett Kimberlin -- who is currently serving time in Tennessee for drug smuggling and use of explosives -- has accused Federal Bureau of Prisons Director Michael Quinlan of deliberately silencing him in the interest of protecting George Bush and Dan Quayle during the 1988 election. Although Quayle denies ever having used marijuana or met Kimberlin, Kimberlin claims to have supplied Quayle with marijuana during college.

Kimberlin claims that Quinlan ordered he be put in solitary confinement before he was able to place a scheduled conference call to journalists to publicize his alleged connections to the vice presidential candidate. U.S. District Court Judge Harold Greene has refused to throw out a lawsuit filed by Kimberlin alleging a Bush-Reagan administration conspiracy in the case. Quinlan remains Bush's Prison Director.

WILLIAM REILLY: Power Breakfasts

It took only two months on the job for career environmentalist William Reilly, head of the Environmental Protection Agency, to learn the ropes. In March 1989 Reilly had a private breakfast with the chief executive of Waste Management, Inc., the largest waste disposal firm in the country, to hear WMI's concerns.

The day after the meeting, Reilly announced that the EPA would seek to override a North Carolina hazardous waste law that imposed tough restrictions on waste disposal firms - including Waste Management -- operating in the state. Waste disposal companies hoped that resuming hearings on the law might serve their interests.

ROBERT A. REINSTEIN: Environmental Smokescreens

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Environment, Health and Natural Resources Robert A. Reinstein has been accused of intentionally providing false information to the Senate Subcommittee on Environmental Protection. Senator Al Gore (D-TN) asserts that Reinstein willfully misrepresented the determination of the countries of the European Community to reduce carbon dioxide emissions in order to excuse the Bush Administration's own failings to take action. In fact, the EC nations have consistently affirmed their goal of stabilizing carbon dioxide emission levels by the end of the century.

SIG ROGICH: Slam Dunk

President Bush's public image guru Sig Rogich let his passion for basketball embroil him in the conflict-ridden activities of the college team in his hometown, Las Vegas.

Last year the NCAA charged the University of Nevada at Las Vegas (UNLV) basketball team with misconduct in its recruitment of star Lloyd Daniels in 1986. While others among the UNLV faithful were busy procuring a motorcycle for Daniels and paying his bail for a crack-related arrest, Rogich reportedly wrongly gave the young recruit a job with his advertising firm and a car -- leased to Rogich -- for his full-time use.

Although he admits to being named in the NCAA charges, Rogich denies any wrongdoing. Apparently the flap has not ruffled a contented George Bush.

RONNE ROGIN: Doing Their Bidding?

Ronne Rogin, an official at the Interior Department, is embroiled in a controversy over rigged federal contracting. The scandal involves the shady circumstances under which Massachusetts-based Data General Corporation won a \$127 million contract with Interior. For her part, Rogin -- in a phone conversation taped by Data General -- discussed the price and bidding strategy of other contract hopefuls with a Data General employee the day before the contract was actually awarded.

DAVID RUNKEL: Did I Say That?

In 1989, when Congressman Bill Gray (D-PA) was in the middle of an intra-party campaign for Democratic Whip, Justice Department sources leaked that the FBI was investigating financial irregularities in Gray's Congressional office.

Gray immediately denied that he was under investigation and blasted the department, which is led by former Pennsylvania political foe Dick Thornburgh. Gray reacted so strongly that the leak became as big a story as the investigation itself, and the Department of Justice was compelled to take the unusual step of issuing a statement confirming that Gray was not a target of the investigation and pledging to investigate who had leaked the story. The statement was issued by DOJ's Communications Director David Runkel -- who it later turns out was the source of the leak.

MARVIN T. RUNYON

Dan DeFord was a high level nuclear engineer manager at the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). In a March 1989 memo he detailed serious engineering safety and management problems that could have forced the TVA to shutdown several plants. He also reported millions of dollars in waste by contractors. In return, the TVA management -- under presidential appointee Marvin T. Runyon -- tried to fire DeFord by saying they needed a "reduction in force." Top TVA officials also destroyed evidence of harassment. In August 1990 the courts found that the TVA discriminated against DeFord for reporting concerns on nuclear safety.

TIMOTHY RYAN: Hitting the Neil on the hand

After President Bush had trouble finding a new Chief S&L regulator, he decided to pick Tim Ryan, a loyal Republican operative with no relevant experience. Ryan has not disappointed. First he shepherded through the Neil Bush problem with the suitable gravity: Ryan formally reprimanded Neil Bush, stating that the president's 36-year-old son engaged in "unsafe or unsound practices" at the Silverado Savings and Loan and must "cease and desist" from future conflicts of interest.

Banking analysts, such as Bert Ely, a Washington-based consultant on financial institutions, were unimpressed. Ely called the ruling a "slap on the wrist."

Besides "punishing" Neil, Ryan has also found the time to leave the \$500 billion S&L bailout behind and help Republicans raise money. Any wealthy Republican willing to shell out the \$1,000 to attend the Republican Senatorial Inner Circle dinner had easy access to Tim Ryan, head of the Office of Thrift Supervision. The dinner allowed those sufficiently affluent to lobby Ryan on S&Ls and donate to Republican candidates in one convenient location. (blue sheet from Dan)

In unrelated news, Ryan has admitted to cocaine use. One might question the Bush Administration's rhetorical commitment to discouraging and stemming drug use if it turns a blind eye to the activities of its own appointees.

PREM SARIN: Medical Moonlighter

Congressional investigators concluded that Dr. Prem Sarin, deputy to Dr. Robert Gallo, Director of the National Institute of Health's National Cancer Institute (NCI), accepted \$33,000 for doing research for drug companies. Sarin reportedly falsified documents, accepted consulting fees, and used federal facilities and personnel to conduct research in return for fees he funneled into personal bank accounts.

BRENT SCOWCROFT: Get This Man a Blind Trust

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft raised a few Washington eyebrows in November 1990 -- just two months before the outbreak of the Gulf War -- when he sold upwards of \$1 million in stock in several military contractors, including \$500,000 to \$1 million in General Electric stock and \$15,000 to \$50,000 in DBA Systems, a Florida-based military contractor where Scowcroft had served as a director prior to joining the Bush Administration. The stock sales clearly raise questions about the propriety of a national security advisor -- who advises the President on the most serious matters of international affairs -- having large stakes in companies involved heavily in the foreign sales of military and commercial goods. (Similar concerns have also been raised by his past association with Kissinger Associates. See entry for Lawrence Eagleburger.)

Under ethics laws, Scowcroft should be prohibited from acting in any capacity in policy areas affecting firms in which he had financial interest. George Bush, however -- apparently convinced that his adviser was impervious to the tugs of self-interest -- granted Scowcroft a waiver to allow him to act in defense and national security spheres.

WILLIAM SEIDMAN: S&L Revolving Door, The Sequel

In yet another manipulation of the messy S&L cleanup, William Seidman and the RTC oversight board are offering sweet deals to firms who created the thrift situation in the first place.

By law, any actor who incurred over \$50,000 in costs to the RTC bailout effort -- costs absorbed by the taxpayer -- is restricted from doing business with the RTC. The RTC Oversight Board, however, is applying the provisions for granting waivers to this rule so liberally as to make it a sham.

For example, Coopers and Lybrand, an accounting firm that has agreed to pay the government a \$20 million settlement for its role in the collapse of Neil Bush's Silverado Savings and Loan Association, remains the fifth largest RTC contractor, garnering some \$38.3 million in fees thanks to a special waiver to continue its RTC dealings.

IVAN SELIN: Office Politics

Ivan Selin, Bush's newly appointed chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, wanted to be sure he milked his \$20,000 1988 donation to the Republican Party for all he could. Falling slightly short of his initial investment, Selin managed to spend \$16,000 on renovations for his personal office.

Among his furnishings and changes: several hundred dollars worth of new lighting; a \$4,000 expense to tear down one wall and install a new one that would provide more soundproofing; a refrigerator for his personal bathroom (which required a new water line); \$2,000 oak shelves; a newly replaced toilet seat complete with cover; a new bathroom sink and counter to match the tiling; new flags; and three clocks.

Selin claims the modifications are befitting an agency chairperson. Furthermore, he points out that government regulations in fact allow him a private shower and dining room -- which he has graciously declined.

WILLIAM SESSIONS: Who Needs Free Speech?

In violation of the First Amendment prohibition of government interference with a person's right to free speech, FBI Director William Sessions acknowledged that the FBI routinely performs background checks on individuals who object to a new FBI program.

Specifically, documents released to the public under the Freedom of Information Act indicate that the FBI has investigated people who have voiced their opposition to the bureau's Library Awareness Program (LAP), a program designed to obtain the library borrowing records of suspected spies. The FBI reportedly performed 266 investigations on individuals to determine whether spies or just plain folks were voicing their concerns with the intention of publicly discrediting the LAP.

Sessions indicated that the FBI does background checks on anyone writing to the FBI director or objecting to FBI policy. Knowledge that objection to government policy will result in investigation may seriously impede free expression of dissenting viewpoints. If that observation does not persuade Mr. Sessions, perhaps he ought to consult section (e)(7) of the Privacy Act, which states that the government may not maintain files on individuals' activities that are specifically sanctioned by the First Amendment.

JOY SILVERMAN: Ambassadorships, Three for a Dollar!!

Joy Silverman is, herself, not guilty of any monumental misdeed, other than being a shining example of the Bush Administration's penchant for crony-istic mediocrity in its ambassadorial appointments.

Many of Bush's ambassadorial appointees have been -- not surprisingly -- among the largest Republican campaign donors in recent years. And Silverman is no different. In fact, it might not be unreasonable to think that \$300,000 in contributions to Republican causes might have bought the New York socialite an ambassadorship to Barbados, despite the fact that she had no job history whatsoever, let alone any demonstrable knowledge of foreign policy or interest in the region.

Nonetheless, Bush was forced to rescind Silverman's nomination after the Senate had held several hearings on ambassadorial qualifications and had sent the Silverman appointment back to the White House.

All patronage was not lost, however. Bush was finally able to repay Silverman for her service to the GOP by naming her to the Kennedy Center Board of Trustees -- a post immune from Senate scrutiny.

SAMUEL SKINNER: Wanna Ride?

Secretary of Transportation Samuel Skinner felt a little ethical heat when he tried to pass the bills for his flying lessons to taxpayers (see entry for Jim Doocy). Maybe that's why he seems to think it may be better to let special interests foot the bill for his penchant for travel.

Skinner reportedly has allowed several large corporate interests to jet him around the country to private events. For example, after a golf sortie to Georgia, Amoco flew the

Transportation Secretary back to Washington aboard a company-owned jet. Shortly thereafter, Skinner let Smithfield Foods, Inc., fly him to a fundraiser.

VICTOR STELLO: Still in the Saddle

In 1990, Victor Stello, nominated by George Bush to be Assistant Secretary for Defense Programs at the Department of Energy, was accused of overlooking safety considerations in order to benefit utility companies while he was executive director at the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. He also stood accused of making contradictory statements in Congressional testimony and of prosecuting a vendetta against another NRC official.

Stello wisely withdrew his name from consideration for the post. Disturbingly, however, Stello has been allowed to retain a civilian post at the DOE and will still oversee the restarting of the Savannah River and Rocky Flats nuclear facilities. Stello was allowed to remain in this position in spite of the allegations of his lax eye toward safety issues.

LOUIS SULLIVAN: Weird Science

Faced with growing concern in the medical research community, HHS Secretary Louis Sullivan was compelled in August 1989 to admit that a Bush Administration abortion litmus test -- rumored for months -- did in fact exist. Sullivan stated that the test was being applied to candidates for positions at the assistant secretary level and above.

In a department responsible for ensuring that the country's best scientific minds and judgements are serving the American population on a broad array of health issues, it is more than a bit disheartening to see non-scientific considerations guiding hiring decisions.

If only it stopped there. Just this year, Sullivan buckled under the pressure of conservative groups and canceled a government-funded five-year survey of teenage sexual activity.

Sullivan claimed the survey was flawed, despite its having been reviewed and approved by several administration health officials. In reality, Sullivan didn't seem to discover the so-called flaws until the pressure was on.

With AIDS and pregnancy among teenagers rampant and on the rise, it's good to know officials like Sullivan are more concerned with their image among conservative hardliners than with the health concerns of an entire generation.

JOHN SUNUNU: I'm a travellin' man.

It's no surprise that White House Chief of Staff John Sununu joins the Bush Hall of Shame for his taxpayer-funded excursions.

Yet not all of Sununu's trips were simply a case of an avid stamp collector gone awry. Sununu's relationship with Philip Gravink is a case in point. Gravink is a long-time political supporter who paid for past Sununu ski trips and lobbied the Chief of Staff for EPA/Forest Service approval to double his own ski resort. Sununu, who is on record in favor of the expansion, has checked several times on its progress with Federal officials, claiming he only pressed for a "speedy resolution" and did not specifically call for its approval.

ROBERT SWANSON: Talking Out Of Turn

Robert Swanson took a step into the mud over the issue of adjusting the 1990 U.S. census to reflect the addition of about 5.3 million people thought to have been missed by census-takers. Swanson, a critic of census adjustment on C. Boyden Gray's staff, lobbied a member of Commerce Secretary Mosbacher's non-partisan adjustment panel to vote against any adjustment.

After the press found out, the Bush Administration called Swanson's target, Princeton statistics professor John W. Tukey, to apologize for Swanson's unauthorized behavior.

WILLIAM THIEL: The S&L Double-Dipper

As if the S&L scandal wasn't bad enough, the RTC seems intent on multiplying the mess by unethically hiring consultants who still have significant personal interest in the millions of dollars being pushed around in the clean-up.

William Thiel is a case in point. Thiel was the president of a subsidiary of Empire America, a large New York thrift that failed. After seizing Empire America's assets, the RTC kept Thiel on to run the S&L, knowing that he had also been retained for consulting services by another firm -- a firm which eventually took some of Empire's most lucrative assets off the government's hands.

Mr. Thiel's cut on the deal as a consultant? Thiel can expect to earn up to \$600,000 from a percentage of the assets' future profits. Not bad for a day's work -- and we pick up the tab for his incidental expenses.

CLARENCE THOMAS: Any Opinion on This?

Bush's nominee to succeed Thurgood Marshall on the U.S. Supreme Court was accused of taking retaliatory measures against a whistleblower during his tenure as chairman of

the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

When St. Louis EEOC Director Lynn Bruner exposed mismanagement in age discrimination cases to Congress and the press, she suddenly received two unsatisfactory performance evaluations. Bruner was then demoted following a flap with Thomas over her public disclosure of EEOC flaws.

Thomas denies that Bruner's demotion was political, insisting that her performance was substandard. He does, however, have difficulty explaining that Bruner's evaluations contained language castigating her for speaking to the press and "placing the Chairman in a negative light."

ROBERT THOMPSON: Succeeding for Fail

Robert Thompson, a former aide to then-Vice President Bush, has been accused of interest peddling in his successful lobbying of federal officials for a client who took over 15 failed S&Ls. Thompson helped James Fail take over fifteen failed thrifts and form Bluebonnet Savings Bank of Dallas. As a result, Fail stands to earn over \$1.8 million in taxpayer subsidies.

Senator Howard Metzenbaum, concerned by the perception and reality that people like Thompson sell access to powerful government officials, subpoenaed Thompson to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Business Rights. Thompson and his firm stand to collect at least two percent of Fail's earnings and a \$160,000 bonus. Thompson was also scrutinized for securing \$500,000 in loans from Fail's operations.

Fail had entered a guilty plea to a fraud charge against one of his business interests. Federal regulators claim that the plea should have disqualified him from acquiring the S&Ls.

RICHARD THORNBURGH: A Slippery Situation

Attorney General Richard Thornburgh supervised the Exxon-Valdez oil spill fiasco for more than a year before seeking a conflict-of-interest waiver for a case that directly involves some of his financial holdings. Thornburgh has \$32,296 invested in two corporate owners of the Trans Alaska Pipeline. In seeking the waiver, Thornburgh told Bush: "My familiarity with, and experience in, this matter to date make it impractical to reassign supervision of the matter to another department official at this late date."

A week after receiving the March 7 waiver, Thornburgh approved the Exxon settlement which shielded the pipeline operating company and its executives from criminal prosecution.

TIM UENES

Tim Uenes, a 26-year-old employee of the Republican National Committee was accused of raping an 18-year-old college student in Waco, Texas, where he was serving as a member Vice President Dan Quayle's advance team.

The RNC relieved Uenes of his duties.

CHASE UNTERMEYER: Proving Your Vote Counts

Despite Bush's vow to "put the very best people we can find to work on our environmental agenda," the Bush Administration seems more interested in handing out patronage jobs than in protecting the environment. Applicants for Bureau of Land Management jobs, for example, were asked five questions in a White House letter: four dealt with whom they backed in the election; only the fifth questioned professional qualification. Who can America thank for this abomination? Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel Chase Untermeyer.

JAMES WATKINS: More Air Time

It seems no one is immune to the travel bug. Energy Secretary James Watkins is among those implicated for allowing corporate entities to escort him around the country on their bill.

The Los Angeles Times reports that Watkins -- along with Secretaries Mosbacher and Skinner -- is among the heaviest user of corporate-sponsored travel in the cabinet. Watkins also allowed another federal agency, the Bonneville Power Administration, to provide him with travel to a fundraiser in the Northwest.

Under the law governing such trips -- which was liberalized in 1989 at President Bush's request -- corporations need not be reimbursed for flying administration officials to nonpolitical events. The American people might be wise to question just how far private interests should be allowed to go in attempting to get the ear of public officials.

WILLIAM WEBSTER: I Was Only Joking...

William Webster, who is resigning his post as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, may just take the whole CIA with him. During the Congressional debate over the relative merits of launching an offensive war against Iraq or maintaining sanctions in the hope of securing political objectives without resorting to violent destruction, Webster caused quite a stir on Capitol Hill when he reversed his views on the effectiveness of sanctions. In December testimony, Webster testified that sanctions would severely disable Iraq's economy and war machine in 3-9 months; yet 3 weeks later, Webster told the Congress that sanctions were ineffective and would take much, much longer to work. The reversal

seemed to suggest that the CIA's neutral role in gathering information and making intelligence estimates had been politicized.

Following the reversal, a furious Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) proposed that the CIA be abolished and its intelligence functions be split off into the Departments of State and Defense; Senator Boren and Congressman McCurdy (intelligence chairs in the 102nd Congress) have since suggested that a long hard look be taken at an intelligence apparatus that failed to anticipate the emerging Iraqi threat. Either way, Webster's vacillations have severely undermined the credibility of the CIA for years to come.

EDWARD WEIDENFELD: The HUD Hopper

Little more than a year after the scandal-ridden HUD demanded that he and his partners repay \$700,000 of ill-gotten funds, Edward Weidenfeld was found trying his luck with HUD again. The former Reagan-Bush campaign lawyer and his partners tried to secure hundreds of thousands of HUD dollars to dig them out of a \$1.2 million debt they incurred-- without HUD approval-- on a Savannah, GA apartment project. They, themselves, would only put up \$30,000 to \$50,000 of the debt.

FRED AND HOWARD ZEDER

Fred Zeder, president of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) and a close personal friend of President Bush, was a key player in the 1986 negotiations that brought independence for the Marshall Islands. In a propitious demonstration of the trickle-down effect, Zeder's son, Howard, has found the Marshalls' independence personally lucrative.

Despite complaints from the House Interior Committee, Howard Zeder became the maritime commissioner for the Marshall Islands and a part owner of the country's ship-flagging registry -- a venture that promised to prove very profitable. Criticism from the Committee -- which oversaw the legislation creating the new republic -- centered on the belief that those close to the negotiations should not profit directly from the islands' new independence.

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #1: FDA

A federal grand jury is reviewing evidence against several FDA officials -- at least one of whom works in the FDA's Center for Drug Evaluation and Research -- who allegedly left a sloppy trail of dealings with private investment houses which would be eager to have confidential inside information regarding the progress of drug approval applications.

The largest case involves Chicago-based FDA officials who allegedly leaked information to Feshbach Brothers, a Palo Alto, California investment firm. The Securities and Exchange Commission, the inspector general's office at the Department of Health and Human Services, and a federal grand jury are looking into investor stock trading that may

have been based on inside information provided by FDA officials.

Large investors can earn tidy profits with inside information from the FDA -- pharmaceutical companies' stocks routinely rise and fall steeply following news of FDA drug approval or rejection.

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #2: Commerce Department

Evidence indicates that officials at the Commerce Department altered documents pertaining to militarily useful exports to Iraq so that they might appear more innocuous to the House Subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs. Although government agencies frequently edit documents before they are released to the public, the discrepancies between the Commerce Department's internal documents and those offered to the Committee suggest that Congress was intentionally deceived.

The Bush Administration's export control policies -- already under siege in the aftermath of the Gulf War for being too lax -- may have benefitted from the Commerce Department's subversive editing practices to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars: the documents under investigation refer to \$1.5 billion in goods approved for export to Iraq between 1985 and 1990.

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #3: The White House

White House officials wanted Dennis E. Kloske, undersecretary for export administration, fired after he testified before Congress that the Bush administration had battled internally over the sale of U.S. technology to Iraq.

Kloske, who has worked for the Pentagon, the White House and the Commerce Department since 1987, told the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international economic policy and trade that administration officials, especially in the State Department, ignored his calls last year to curb technology exports to Iraq.

Commerce Secretary Mosbacher and White House Chief of Staff Sununu denied through a spokesman that Kloske had been fired for his congressional testimony. It's not that they didn't want to, but he had already submitted his resignation early last month.

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #4: The White House

White House aides quietly devised a plan to allow spouses of White House and Cabinet officials to travel on government planes or cars or to have the Treasury Department pay for commercial transportation for trips associated with "official spousal activities." The fate of this attempt to suck more taxpayer blood for Bush Administration perks remains unknown.

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #5: CIA

Attorney General Dick Thornburgh apparently did a favor for officials at intelligence agencies who argued that disclosing classified information related to the Iran-Contra affair would be harmful to national security. By ruling that the information could not be disclosed under the Classified Information Procedures Act, Thornburgh allowed Joseph F. Fernandez, the former CIA station chief in Costa Rica, to avoid being prosecuted for misleading investigators about his part in aiding the Contras.

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #6: CIA

Evidence suggests that the CIA tampered with Noriega regime records seized during the December 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama. According to U.S. government sources, Army intelligence officials became concerned about the CIA's role in the recovery of sensitive Panamanian documents when members of a special Army document team said CIA personnel in Panama asked them to leave a building that housed one of Noriega's primary offices.

The source said the Army document collection unit, assigned to the 470th Military Intelligence Brigade based in Panama, did not return to the building for about 2 1/2 days. When the Army team did return to the building -- which was viewed as a likely source of documents on Noriega's activities -- it did not uncover records that Panamanian informants had assured them were housed in the building.

A senior Justice Department official involved in the Noriega case, Charles Saphos, said he had heard a report that documents were removed by "a particular agency for its own nefarious purposes" but added that an inquiry convinced him that no documents had been improperly removed.

This reported incident was a primary reason Army intelligence officials involved in the document collection operation expressed concern that the CIA either may have removed or destroyed documents to cover up aspects of its controversial relationship with Noriega, the source said.

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #7: EPA, USDA, Justice Dept., Commerce Dept., USTR

It seems that when George Bush pledged to be the "Environmental President" he meant it to apply only to the U.S. environment-- although that too is subject to question. American chemical companies, including some of the largest and most respected, profit from the overseas sales of pesticides and other products that the EPA has determined are too dangerous for domestic use. Exportation to and widespread usage in developing countries threaten the health and safety of millions of people in the world's most vulnerable nations -- and U.S. citizens when food is imported back to this country.

Federal agencies have known about the catastrophic effects of pesticide exports and the "circle of poison" for years. Yet large and politically powerful chemical companies have convinced the Bush Administration that the minor damage to their bottom lines resulting from lost sales outweigh the concerns of hundreds of millions of people worldwide. As a result, the EPA, Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of Justice, and the U.S. Trade Representative have convinced George Bush that he should side with the chemical industry in opposition to legislation that would curb the export of the deadly pesticides -- and end the "circle of poison."

MYSTERY MAN OR WOMAN #8: OMB

James Hansen, head of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies, was set to testify before the Senate on the issue of global warming. Hansen planned to tell senators that global warming will raise temperatures and cause droughts, and that they should act immediately to implement environmental policies to prevent these effects.

However, OMB officials -- cheered from the sidelines by George Bush and John Sununu - had other ideas and made Hansen "soften the warnings and proposals, saying proof is lacking." Marlin Fitzwater, spokesman of the so-called "environmental" president, on the watered down testimony: "the administration stands behind it." Senator Al Gore has another view: "It was fraudulent."

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If you have questions regarding documentation and source material for the Bush Hall of Shame, please contact Dan Carol or Julie Loughran at the DNC Research Division at (202) 863-8020.



HAROLD W. BURNS
SPEAKER

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
CONCORD 03301

September 4, 1991

Gov. John Sununu
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Governor Sununu:

Thank you for your call yesterday afternoon.

I was glad to hear that speculation that President Bush might bypass the New Hampshire primary was unfounded.

I have enclosed articles from the Union Leader and the Concord Monitor that prompted my letter to the president.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Harold W. Burns".

Harold W. Burns
Speaker of the House

Hugh Gregg: Bush May Pass NH Primary

CONCORD (AP) — In 1988, George Bush said "Thank you, New Hampshire." Next year, he may say "no thanks" and skip the nation's earliest primary, a prominent state Republican said yesterday.

"People don't really get excited if there's nobody out there to run against them," said former Gov. Hugh Gregg, New Hampshire's representative to the Republican National Committee. "There's no reason for him to spend the time, money, resources and energy when he has no competition."

As Democrats began dropping through the state this spring and summer, Bush's appearances were limited to airplane hops through the former Pease Air Force Base on the way to his Maine summer home.

Vice President Quayle visited in mid-July, spurring talk that he was trying to boost his own sagging popularity, primarily in the only state that has a separate ballot

in the primary for a vice presidential candidate.

The four previous sitting vice presidents in New Hampshire primaries haven't registered for the primary, apparently thinking it was insignificant.

But a write-in campaign in 1956 saved Richard Nixon when President Eisenhower was thinking of dropping him from the ticket, Secretary of State William Gardner said.

"There was a write-in effort for Nixon, he got a strong vote, and some people credit the effort in New Hampshire with keeping him on the ticket," Gardner said last month when Quayle visited.

Whether a similar effort would help Quayle is irrelevant if Bush doesn't announce his intentions in time to register for the primary, Gregg said. Candidates must register between Dec. 9 and Dec. 23.

"Bush has been saying he won't announce until the

first of the year, in which case there won't be a ballot for either of them," Gregg said.

Gregg said he doesn't know Bush's plans for an announcement.

As Bush passed through Pease yesterday afternoon, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, another former New Hampshire governor, was asked when Bush might announce his candidacy.

"We'll announce when we announce," Sununu said.

No candidate since 1952 has gone to the White House without winning New Hampshire. If Bush, with whatever running mate, doesn't decide to announce until January, it doesn't mean he'll run much risk of losing the bellwether primary, Gregg said.

"There'll be big write-ins for both of them," he said.

What might spur Bush to act sooner is a heavyweight contender, even of the other party, joining the race.

EVTD AI EVTD AI EVTD AI

Bush might not bother with state's primary

Hugh Gregg: No point with no competition

By **FELICE BELMAN**
Monitor staff

George Bush, who credited New Hampshire with his presidential win in 1988, may not bother to put his name on the state primary ballot in 1992.

That's according to Hugh Gregg, the former governor and head of the state's Friends of George Bush organization.

"My hunch is that since the president

has said he won't announce until after the first of the year, that means he wouldn't be on our ballot because you have to file by December," Gregg said yesterday.

"It makes sense, since there's no competition," he said.

Gregg said he hasn't spoken to anyone on Bush's staff and doesn't think they've made up their minds about New Hampshire yet. But, he said, with no competition from Republicans and no serious competition from the Democrats, it may not be worth Bush's time to officially register here.

■ See **BUSH** — Page B-6

Time for the people to pick VPs

By **FELICE BELMAN**
Monitor staff

When Vermont Gov. Richard Snelling died last week, he was automatically replaced by a lieutenant governor who'd been separately elected by the voters.

Hugh Gregg, the former governor of New Hampshire, liked the way that worked. And it has solidified his thinking that there should be a change in the

process when presidents die.

It's not because he's frightened about the prospect of Dan Quayle becoming president.

"I have no problem with Quayle but with the system," Gregg said yesterday. "But I know people are thinking about this more now because of Quayle."

Last month, Gregg wrote a newspaper column suggesting that Quayle put

■ See **VP** — Page B-6

■ **VP** Continued from Page B-1

his name on New Hampshire's vice presidential primary ballot. "It might be helpful to Quayle to participate in this primary, and it would definitely enlighten — and perhaps relieve — the electorate," he wrote.

In this case, however, Gregg said he is merely concerned about the process, not the person.

When governors die, they are replaced by subordinate elected officials or by newly elected governors. When presidents die, they are replaced by vice presidents, whom the voters never elect separately from the president.

Gregg, the Republican National Committeeman for New Hampshire, doesn't think that's right. He wants the 25th amendment to the U.S. Constitution changed so that Congress would have to confirm any person succeeding a president who died in office.

"The public has no voice in the selection of the vice president of

the United States. This is because the president chooses his own running mate. It is simply accepted practice for the delegates to go along with the president's choice. So, in reality, the vice president is selected by only one person: the presidential nominee," Gregg, the father of Gov. Judd Gregg, said.

"Congressional ratification is required for cabinet officers and Supreme Court justices. Should we not set at least an equal standard for succession to the highest office

in the land?" he asked. "The more you study it, the more absurd it is."

Gregg said there are other alternatives, too. The vice president could be given more responsibilities, he said, so that if he had to assume the role of president, he'd have more experience.

On the other hand, Gregg said, the country could do away with the office of vice president altogether and let a senior cabinet officer succeed the president with the approval of Congress.

■ **BUSH** Continued from Page B-1

Instead, Gregg said, Bush supporters would probably mount a write-in campaign for Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle.

There is at least one person who could change that scenario: Mario Cuomo, the Democratic gov-

ernor of New York.

Gregg said a Cuomo candidacy might make Bush more interested in campaigning in the New Hampshire primary.

"If Cuomo runs, it's a whole new ball game," he said.

would close the loophole starting in the next fiscal year. That means New Hampshire would still be eligible for most of the money it was counting on but not the 1993 allotment — worth \$41 million.

Altogether, Zelf said, states are costing the federal government \$5 billion through the program; he thinks that's too big a drain on the treasury.

Zelf: Close Medicaid loophole

First District Rep. Bill Zelf thinks the government should close the loophole that has allowed New Hampshire to apply for an extra \$118 million in federal Medicaid money.

Zelf, a Republican, supports a proposal that

Lawmakers' travel declines

State lawmakers spent \$78,981 on out-of-state travel during the fiscal year that ended June 30.

State records show the figure has declined over the last two years. Lawmaker travel costs were \$102,712 for fiscal year 1990 and \$128,453 for 1989.

House Speaker Harold Burns headed the travel list last year with six trips totaling \$6,335.

Burns and Senate President Ed Dupont approve or deny payments for travel and expense costs. Some of the travel expense vouchers turned down by them include a \$5 tanning session, a \$45 massage and a \$7.49 voucher for an in-hotel-room movie.

Education lawsuit in court

What happens next in the battle over how the state pays for public education hinges on a judge's order.

The five school districts involved in the Claremont lawsuit — including Allenstown, Franklin and Pittsfield — argue that the state's reliance on property taxes to pay for education violates the state constitution.

The state rejected the districts' conclusion. It also denied the data they presented and the charge of unconstitutionality.

Lawyers for both sides met with Superior Court Judge George Manias yesterday to discuss procedure. Within the next week or so, Manias will set up a schedule for unfolding the case, said John Garvey, one of three lawyers representing the school districts.

"We were not able to agree on a plan of action and how much time it should take," Garvey said.

Concord Monitor 8.20.91

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Paper	From Peter Secchia to John Sununu Re: Summary of Articles from Italian Newspapers [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (2 pp.)	8/27/91	P 5 , (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Politics 1991 [2]

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 (Document Follows)
 By JF (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed: 1/5/2005	OA/ID Number: 29167-007
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
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 financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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8/27 - 2 -

To: GOV. SUNUNG

THE CHIEF of STAFF

"The Third Revolution" -- Alberto Ronchey on the front page of leftist, independent La Repubblica: "Thanks to the failed coup attempt, a multiparty system seems to be a 'fait accompli' in the Russian world. There is a Yeltsin party already, a Shevardnadze party is being born, separate parties are mushrooming in the republics.... One can be concerned about too many parties, chaos, anarchy and dangerous conflicts. However, the Russian world, which has already experienced the horrors of civil war in this century, is very unlikely to want another one."

THOUGHT
YOU MIGHT
BE ABLE TO
USE THESE
SOMETIME.

(6)(6)

"Let's Not Forget Those Six Years..." -- Alberto Virgilio in Rome centrist Il Tempo: "At a time when the fate of the USSR is completely changing, we should give credit to Gorbachev for bringing about this decisive turn in the history of his country.... While it is fair and understandable to see Yeltsin as the real winner...it seems exaggerated to consider Gorbachev politically downgraded or defeated. It would be unfair to deny Gorbachev's role as the father and leader of perestroika, of the new course which has destroyed the myth of this century."

RF
(SECCHA)

"No Blank Checks From Bush" -- Washington correspondent Vittorio Zucconi in leftist, independent La Repubblica: "Calm, prudence, caution. No hasty decisions which could favor anarchy and chaos. And no blank checks for the Russians. Bush won't move and won't be moved. In line with his cautious, rational, cold style, the U.S. president pointed out the 'special responsibility' of the world's only superpower in dealing with the USSR.... His main concern is not to make a false step, not to make irreversible commitments before having the 'big picture' in front of him."

"Bush Afraid Of Anarchy Now" -- New York correspondent Stefano Trincia in Rome centrist Il Messaggero: "The U.S. decision not to let itself be overwhelmed by Soviet events was evident on the issue of Baltic independence.... The U.S. wants to see things more clearly before announcing formal recognition of the Baltic republics.... The U.S. president's support for Gorbachev has clearly softened, but he did not 'throw him overboard' as Secretary of Defense Cheney seemed to be doing the day before."

"Bush: 'There Is No Hurry On the Baltics'" -- Washington correspondent Paolo Passarini in centrist La Stampa: "While expressing deep satisfaction for the break with the past in the USSR and for the 'death knell' of Communism, Bush is anxiously wondering about the possibility of chaos in the months to come. Important victories often come with a high price."

- 3 -

More comments from last Sunday's papers:

Bernardo Valli in the Sunday issue of leftist, independent La Repubblica: "Once again, Europe was unable to take an autonomous, independent position and ended up following the lead of the United States, a lead which proved to be correct during the attempted coup in the Soviet Union as it was during the gulf crisis.... After his initial hesitation, President Bush firmly supported Russian resistance.... The U.S. president was the conductor and, after several sour notes, the Europeans followed the rhythm of his baton.... Both during the Soviet coup and the gulf crisis, Europe was unprepared. In both cases, the U.S. played a key role, even though in different ways."

Gian Giacomo Migone in the Sunday issue of Communist daily L'Unita': "Bush was the first to express doubts about the outcome of the coup attempt in the USSR. He later refused to acknowledge the coup leaders as interlocutors, thus setting himself apart from European leaders.... Bush was able to organize the international isolation of the conspirators, which was one of the main causes of their defeat."

The Sunday issue of leftist, independent La Repubblica quotes Walter Veltroni, press chief for the Democratic Party of the Left (former Communist Party), on President Bush's performance during the coup attempt in the USSR: "In the last few days, we have seen a confrontation between two political conceptions. The first, personified by Kohl and Andreotti, is Machiavellian, too pragmatic, and somehow a product of the cold war. The second, personified by Bush, is more faithful to principles and less opportunistic."

ENDIT,

BAROLI/SKIPPER

COMPLEMENTI
BUON LAVORO
(COMPLIMENTS
GOOD WORK)
[Signature]

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August 24, 1991

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

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Dear Governor Sununu:

A letter from a Houston group called Republicans for Responsible Decisions (attached) is currently circulating among Republican officials. The letter reports on a survey they circulated among members of republican women's clubs in Harris county as well as members of their own group. They make the claim that those who responded to their survey think that "President Bush is out of step with the views of Republican women in his home community" on the issue of abortion on demand in America.

I must suggest to you that the results of the survey indicate that its participants are the ones who are out of step. Unlike some Harris County republican women, the vast majority of the American people oppose 95% of the abortions currently being performed in the U.S.. A recent Gallup poll, the most comprehensive surevy ever done on abortion and related issues, showed that 77% of the American people believe that abortion takes a human life and an overwhelming majority favor laws requiring parental consent before a minor child undergoes an abortion.

In case Republicans for Responsible Decisions has contacted you, let me point out a few things:

1. The names listed on the left hand side of the RRD stationery consist of people who are known to be pro-abortion choice.
2. Friends of mine who are active Republicans and members of RWC's in Harris County tell me the survey was so biased pro-life members found it impossible to answer. The survey results cannot be characterized as an accurate view of the opinions of Harris County republican women.
3. Even if it were true that the RRD survey represents an accurate sampling, it's a good thing President Bush did not base his presidential campaign on the opinions of the Republican women of Harris County instead of the American people as a whole. Had he done so, he might have lost the election.

Honorable John Sununu, Page 2.

4. The Republican Party of Texas has had a pro-life platform since 1978 and, in 1988 unanimously adopted the strongest one in our history which was overwhelmingly re-adopted in 1990.

5. Attempts by Republicans for Choice to make inroads at the Republican Party of Texas state convention in 1990 were an abysmal failure, due to their small numbers and their reliance on help from their Democrat friends in the Texas Abortion Rights Action League and NOW, which did not go unnoticed by the delegates.

Our Platform with its pro-life statement of principle is responsible to a great degree for the large numbers of Democrats and Independents who voted for President Bush.

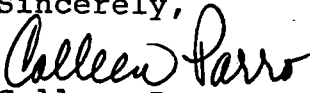
For an accurate reading of the level of support for the pro-life plank in the Republican National Platform and for President Bush's strong opposition to abortion on demand, please note the enclosed list of endorsers of RNC/Life.

You will observe large (this is only a partial listing) and broad based support for the Platform plank among public and party elected officials. In Texas we have an especially long list of supporters, among them numerous county chairmen and state executive committee members who represent the grassroots. Hundreds of precinct chairmen have signed our Pledge (enclosed). Unfortunately we don't have room to print their names.

We are impressed and gratified by President Bush's outstanding commitment to the principles embodied in our Party's Platform, a document that will continue to serve him well.

It is our hope that the small but noisy group of divisive "abortion-choice" proponents will put the best interest of the Party first and, in the spirit of party unity, come together with the majority in Houston to re-adopt our winning Platform. Then, once again, Republicans will join hands with Democrats and Independents who like what we stand for to re-elect President Bush and Republican candidates nationwide.

Sincerely,


Colleen Parro

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FAX (214) 387-3830

Recognizing that the Republican Party was founded on the principle that no human being should be considered the property of another, and

Recognizing that the principled planks in the Platforms adopted by our Republican National Conventions in 1988, 1984, and 1980 were ratified each time by the American voters,

I pledge --

1. To work to reaffirm at the 1992 Republican National Convention the Party's principled commitment "That the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed."

2. To help elect qualified pro-life Republicans at every level of our Government and Party.

Signature _____

Printed Name _____

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State Committee
Dorothy Webster, MI
State Committee
Sen. Jack Welborn, MI
State Senate
Nancy Welsh, MI
Genesee County Chairman
Eleanor Whitson, MI
VP/MI Republican Women's Fed.
David Yardley, MI
Vice Chairman Young Republicans
Charles Yob, MI
National Committee
Evie Axdaht, MN
National Committee

Francis Graves, MN
National Committee
Hon. JoAnn Growe, MN
Aroon Hills City Council Member
Rep. Phil Krinke, MN
State House of Representatives
Duane McCarty, MN
County Commissioner
Sen. Barbara Blanton, MS
State Senate
Sen. Buddy Bond, MS
State Senate
William C. Denny, Jr., MS
State House of Representatives
Jim Ellington, MS
State House of Representatives
Marion Falster, MS
Pres. Hinds County RWC
Evelyn W. McPhail, MS
State Chairman Rep Party
Clarke Reed, MS
State Committee
Sen. Vincent Scoper, Jr., MS
State Senate
Rep. Ken Stribling, MS
State House of Representatives
Ann Wilson, MS
National Committee
Rep. W. Todd Akin, MO
State House of Representatives
Rep. Laurie Donovan, MO
State House of Representatives
Rep. George R. Engelbach, MO
State House of Representatives
Rep. Martin Hohulin, MO
State House of Representatives
Earlene M. Judd, MO
Committeewoman, 1st District
Leroy John Judd, Jr., MO
Senatorial District Committee
Rep. William C. Linton, MO
State House of Representatives
Jean H. Matthews, MO
Committeewoman/Florissant Twp.
Rep. Joseph R. Ortwerth, MO
State House of Representatives
Rep. Delbert L. Scott, MO
State House of Representatives
Rep. Donald Steen, MO
State House of Representatives
Rep. Todd Smith, MO
State House of Representatives
Rep. Merrill M. Townley, MO
State House of Representatives
Jeanne Ambsberry, MT
Pres., MT Federation Rep. Women
Betty Babcock, MT
Dir/State Fed of Republican Women
Hon. Allen E. Kolstad, MT
Lieutenant Governor
Rep. Thomas Lee, MT
State House of Representatives
Rep. Char Messmore, MT
State House of Representatives
John Nehring, MT
Gallatin County Chairman
Rep. Thomas Nelson, MT
State House of Representatives
Elizabeth Paulsen, MT
State Fed of Republican Women
Sen. Tom Rasmussen, MT
State Senate
Rep. Jim Rice, MT
State House of Representatives
Sen. David Rye, MT
State Senate
Rep. Norm Wallin, MT
State House of Representatives
Robert Clements, NE
Cass County Chairman
Judy M. Cresanta, NV
National Committee
Richard Haas, NV
State Committee
Brenda Harrison, NV
State Committee
Judith Moss, NV
School Board/Sparks
Kenneth Sawyer, NV
State Chairman
Assemblywoman Gaylyn Spriggs, NV
State Assembly
Bonnie Weber, NV
State Committee
Rep. Harry Accornero, NH
State House of Representatives
Philip Daigneault, NH
County Committee
Edward Fitzgerald, NH
County Attorney
Rep. Peter Jay Zaharchuk, Jr., NH
State House of Representatives
Anthony Bucco, NJ
Freeholder - Morris County
Assemblyman Jack Collins, NJ
State Assembly
Sen. John H. Dorsey, NJ
Minority Leader, State Senate
Assemblywoman Clare Farragher, NJ
State Assembly

Assemblyman Chuck Hardwick, NJ
State Assembly
Patric Hyland, NJ
Freeholder
Robert Morris, NJ
Mantoloking Chairman
Peter O'Hagen, NJ
Freeholder - Morris County
John O'Keeffe, NJ
Freeholder - Morris County
Assemblyman Gary Stuhltrager, NJ
State Assembly
Denis Dillon, Esq., NY
District Attorney, Nassau County
John Doyle, Jr., NY
Brighton Town Board
Peter King, NY
County Comptroller
Joseph Mondello, NY
Nassau County Chairman
Jeffrey Vogt, NY
Chautauqua County Committee
Rep. Michael P. Decker, Sr.
State House of Representatives
Rep. Theresa Esposito, NC
State House of Representatives
Sen. James S. Forrester, NC
State Senate
Rep. Charlotte Gardner, NC
State House of Representatives
Rep. Joe H. Hege, Jr., NC
State House of Representatives
Melvin S. King, NC
Alamance County Chairman
Rep. Bradford V. Ligon, NC
State House of Representatives
Rep. Coy C. Privette, NC
State House of Representatives
Paul "Skip" Stam, Jr., NC
Wake County Committee
Rep. Peggy A. Wilson, NC
State House of Representatives
Peter Witteveen, NC
Guilford County Chairman
Gary D. Zacht, NC
Wake County Committee
Sen. Duane Mutch, ND
State Senate
Bunny Chambers, OK
State Committee Secretary
Sen. Thomas Cole, OK
Exec. Dir., NRCC
Rep. Carolyn Coleman, OK
State House of Representatives
Rep. Mary Fallin, OK
State House of Representatives
Linda Harrison, OK
District Committee
Sen. Howard Hendrick, OK
State Senate
Rep. Charles Key, OK
State House of Representatives
Victor Rivera, OK
County Chairman
Richard Roberts, OK
Washington County Committee
Mary Rumph, OK
National Committee
Brent Schvaneveldt, OK
National Vice Chmn CRs
Rep. Raymond Vaughn Jr., OK
State House of Representatives
Thomas Bailey, OR
Former State Chairman
Linda Brown, OR
2nd District Chairman
Sen. Jim Bunn, OR
State Senate
Anita Conn, OR
Coos County Committee
Arthur Crino, OR
1st District Chairman
Larry Farris, OR
Lane County Vice Chmn.
Michael Hamilton, OR
Yamhill County Chairman
June Hartley, OR
Malheur County Chairman
Ellen Husel, OR
Jackson County Chairman
Lon Mabon, OR
5th District Chairman
Robert Sampson, OR
Lane County Chairman
Marge Woodall, OR
State Committee
Donald R. Wyant, OR
National Committee
Rep. Thomas Armstrong, PA
State House of Representatives
Rep. Jerry Birmelin, PA
State House of Representatives
Jeff Burkholder, PA
Ex. Bd - PA YR's
James Huber, PA
County Commissioner
Rep. John A. Lawless, PA
State House of Representatives
Rep. Dennis E. Leh, PA
State House of Representatives

Rep. Marin Mele, PA
State House of Representatives
Rep. Joseph R. Pitts, PA
State House of Representatives
John Wise, PA
Butler County Clerk of Courts
Lourdes Ramos, Puerto Rico
Puerto Rico YRs
Rep. Ken Corbett, SC
State House of Representatives
Rep. Michael L. Fair, SC
State House of Representatives
Rep. Terry Haskins, SC
Minority Leader
State House of Representatives
Rep. Thomas G. Keegan, SC
State House of Representatives
Raymond P. Litts, SC
Greenwood County Chairman
Joyce Parks, SC
Elmer Rumminger, SC
Rep. Lewis R. Vaughn, SC
State House of Representatives
Rep. Carole C. Wells, SC
State House of Representatives
Timothy Amdahl, SD
Commissioner School/Public Lands
Sen. Richard G. Belatti, SD
State Senate
Rep. T. Loren Christianson, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Elmer Diedrich, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Randall D. Frederick, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Larry E. Gabriel, SD
State House of Representatives
Sen. Harold Halverson, SD
State Senate - Pres. Pro Tempore
Rep. Marie C. Ingalls, SD
State House of Representatives
Sen. William J. Johnson, SD
State Senate
Rep. Howard L. Kennedy, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Harvey C. Krautscheur, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Alice Kundert, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Charles Mateer, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Kenneth McNenny, SD
State House of Representatives
Hon. George Mickelson, SD
Governor
Hon. Walter D. Miller, SD
Lieutenant Governor
Sen. Roger A. Porch, SD
State Senate
Rep. J.E. "Jim" Putnam, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Thomas G. "Torchy" Ries, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Lola Schreiber, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Mike Shaw, SD
State House of Representatives
Sen. James L. Stoick, SD
State Senate - Majority Whip
Rep. Robert Weber, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Deila M. Wishard, SD
State House of Representatives
Rep. Royal J. "Bud" Wood, SD
Speaker, House of Representatives
Rep. Richard H. Nuber, TN
State House of Representatives
Sen. Lou Patten, TN
State Senate
Rep. Bobby Wood, TN
State House of Representatives
Ernest Angelo, Jr., TX
National Committee
Hon. Jerry Bartos, TX
Dallas City Council
Steve Bartlett, TX
Former Member of Congress
Rep. Bill Blackwood, TX
State House of Representatives
Bill Borden, Jr., TX
State Committee
Janet Born, TX
Jackson County Chairman
Glenn Box, TX
Dallas City Council
Hon. Earl Bullock, TX
Dallas County Clerk
Penny Butler, TX
National Committee
Karen Cameron, TX
State Committee
Rep. Ben Campbell, TX
State House of Representatives
Rep. John Carona, TX
State House of Representatives
Coleman Carter, Jr., TX
Polk County Chairman
David Childs, TX
Dallas County Tax Assessor

Fran Chiles, TX
 Former National Committee
 Deanne Clark, TX
 Castro County Chairman
 Incz Clayton, TX
 Borden County Chairman
 Al Clements, TX
 State Committee
 Robert Driegert, TX
 State Committee
 Jim Duvall, TX
 Hays County Chairman
 C.E. Ebner, TX
 Newton County Chairman
 Neloia Eppes, TX
 State Committee
 James Evans, TX
 Terry County Chairman
 Janelle Evans, TX
 State Committee
 Sarilee Ferguson, TX
 State Committee
 Sarah Fleming, TX
 Red River County Chairman
 Joel Franke, TX
 Washington County Chairman
 John Gill, TX
 Briscoe County Chairman
 Gloria Goodrich, TX
 Taylor County Chairman
 J. Randall Grimes, TX
 Williamson County Chairman
 Beth Halbert, TX
 Hale County Chairman
 Nell Hardy, TX
 Delta County Chairman
 Rep. Will Harrett, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Sen. Chris Harris, TX
 State Senate
 Larry Hatfield, TX
 Tom Cotton County Chmn.
 Rep. Talmadge Heflin, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Patricia Henningsen, TX
 Childress County Chairman
 Sue Hershey, TX
 Dallam County Chairman
 James T. Hickey, TX
 Sheriff, Corpus Christi
 Rep. Fred Hill, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Jim Horn, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Allan Horton, TX
 McLennan County Chairman
 Joyce Hugman, TX
 State Committee
 Amanda Innis, TX
 State Chairman CRs
 Commissioner Jim Jackson, TX
 Dallas County Commission
 Nancy E. Judy, TX
 Dallas County Commissioner
 Rep. Ted Kamel, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Barbara Kasmiroski, TX
 McLennan County Secretary
 Leon Kelley, TX
 State Committee
 Don Kent, TX
 State Committee
 Scott Kurth, TX
 State Committee
 John Langhoff, TX
 DeWitt County Chairman
 Sen. John Leedom, TX
 State Senate
 Bill Leftwich, TX
 Jeff Davis County Chairman
 Wilda Lindstrom, TX
 State Committee
 Bill Long, TX
 Dallas District Clerk
 Jerry Madden, TX
 Collin County Chairman
 Rep. Kenny Marchant, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Barbara Martin, TX
 State Committee
 Debbie Maxwell, TX
 Yoakum County Chairman
 Bill Melton, TX
 Dallas County Treasurer
 Dr. Jimmy Morgan, TX
 State Committee
 M. Patricia Musgrave, TX
 State Committee
 Rep. A. R. (Augie) Ovard, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Carolyn Park, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Beverly Parks, TX
 Hamilton County Chairman
 Jay Patterson, TX
 State Committee

Wilson Patefish, TX
 State Committee
 Floyd Petty, TX
 Gillespie County Chairman
 Mary Pluff, TX
 State Committee
 Darryl Pool, TX
 State Committee
 Terese Raia, TX
 Vice Chmn - Fort Bend County
 Diane Ralh, TX
 State Committee
 Rep. Glenn A. Repp, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Roland Rich, TX
 Angelina County Chairman
 James Rominger, TX
 Stephens County Chairman
 Gay Rowe, TX
 President Odessa RWC
 Rep. Dan Shelley, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. John Smithce, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Richard Stadelmann, TX
 State Committee
 George Strake, Jr., TX
 Former Secretary of State
 Former State Party Chairman
 Rep. M. A. Taylor, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. William Thomas, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Don Truman, TX
 Victoria County Chairman
 John Vance, TX
 Dallas County District Attorney
 Jim Vaughn, TX
 State Committee
 Charles Walker, TX
 Jefferson County Chairman
 Gayle West, TX
 State Vice Chairman
 Harriette Williford Whatley, TX
 Freestone County Chairman
 Spencer Wolfe, TX
 Howard County Chairman
 Thurl Wood, TX
 Orange County Chairman
 Rep. Gerald "Jerry" Yost, TX
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. David Adams, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Jeff Alexander, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Lee Allen, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Irby Arrington, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Sen. Delpha Baird, UT
 State Senate
 Rep. Rob Bishop, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Stephen Bodily, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Richard J. Bradford, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Glen E. Brown, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Melvin Brown, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. R. Lee Ellertson, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. R. Mont Evans, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Christine R. Fox, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Lloyd Frandsen, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Kevin Garn, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. J. Brent Haymond, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Zenda Hull, UT
 National Committee
 Rep. Fred Hunsaker, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. J. Reese Hunter, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Jerrold Jensen, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Brad Johnson, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Donald R. LeBaron, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Nancy Lyon, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Sen. LeRay L. McAllister, UT
 State Senate
 Rep. Merrill Nelson, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Norm Nielsen, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Hon. Val Oveson, UT
 Lieutenant Governor
 Rep. Dan Price, UT
 State House of Representatives

Rep. Ray Short, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Robert Slack, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Ann Smedley, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Richard Snelgrove, UT
 State Chairman
 Rep. Phil H. Uipi, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. John L. Valentine, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Michael Waddoups, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Bill Wright, UT
 State House of Representatives
 Helen Blackwell, VA
 State Committee
 Marilyn Caro, VA
 State Committee
 Dr. Gary Crum, VA
 State Committee
 Janet Daugherty, VA
 Prince Wa. County Committee
 Sen. Mark Earley, VA
 State Senate
 Kevin Gentry, VA
 Fairfax District Chairman
 William Hurd, VA
 State Committee
 Anne Keast, VA
 8th District Chairman
 George Lukas, VA
 County Committee
 Craig Markva, VA
 Fairfax County YR Chairman
 Steve Mullins, VA
 Fairfax County Committee
 Richard Overy, VA
 James County Committee
 Bobby Puri, VA
 State Chairman/CR's
 Edward Rollins, VA
 Eva Scott, VA
 State Committee
 Robin Spraggs, VA
 Executive Dir/YR
 Michael Thomas, VA
 State Committee
 Michael Thompson, VA
 State Committee
 Forest Waller, VA
 State Committee
 Sen. Ann Anderson, WA
 State Senate
 Sen. Ellen Craswell, WA
 State Senate
 Nickie Dickinson, WA
 State Committee
 Rep. Steve Furman, WA
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Harold Hochstotter, WA
 State House of Representatives
 Jacquelyn Holy, WA
 Lincoln County Chairman
 Tom Johnson, WA
 State Committee
 Irene Kuhlmann, WA
 State Committee
 Allan Mack, WA
 Stevens County Commissioner
 Cathy Mickels, WA
 State Committee
 Rep. Mike Padden, WA
 State House of Representatives
 Janet Shaw, WA
 Acotin County Chairman
 Mary Sheffels, WA
 State Committee
 Sen. Linda Smith, WA
 State Senate
 Marcella S. Smith, WA
 National Committee
 Rep. Duane Sommers, WA
 State House of Representatives
 Don Top, WA
 State Committee
 Dr. John Vasko, Jr., WA
 State Committee
 Jim Youngsman, WA
 Former State Representative
 Mary Buestrin, WI
 Past President WFRW
 Sen. Carol Buettner, WI
 State Senate
 Rep. Marc C. Duff, WI
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Stephen Freese, WI
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Eugene Hahn, WI
 State House of Representatives
 Sen. Richard Kreul, WI
 State Senate
 Rep. Rudy Silbaugh, WI
 State House of Representatives
 Rep. Susan Vergeront, WI
 State House of Representatives

(Limited space prevents complete state listings.)

Republicans for Responsible Decisions

5644 Westheimer, No. 282 • Houston, Texas 77056

We are a growing state-wide group of Republicans with diverse beliefs about abortion and other issues. We are among the majority who are uncomfortable with the extremist positions of the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice movements. A major concern is that the voices of those who occupy the broad center of the Republican party are being drowned out by the noise coming from extremists on both sides of the abortion issue.

Most of us have worked long and hard in Republican campaigns on the local, state and national levels. We know it is hard for elected officials to stay in touch with what the majority of their constituents think. Therefore, we are sending you the results of a survey we did in late 1990.

Those who responded were members of Republican Women's Clubs in Harris County and surrounding areas (71%), as well as RRD members (29%). We believe their opinions fairly represent the thinking of a majority of Republican women and especially those who are not single-issue voters.

Some of the responses surprised us and we think they will surprise you, too. Because the respondents are active workers in the Republican party, their views should be particularly interesting to you.

We will be happy to have your comments about the survey and its results. In addition, if there are other topics you would like to see surveyed, please let us know.

Republicans for Responsible Decisions

5644 Westheimer, No. 282 • Houston, Texas 77056

June, 1991

Dear Republican Friend,

As we promised, here are the results of our survey. Thanks to you we had an almost 20% response which is extremely good for a mail questionnaire. Individuals polled were selected at random from the membership rosters of TFRW-affiliated Republican Women's Clubs in Harris, Fort Bend, Brazoria and Montgomery Counties as well as the Clear Lake area which lies partly within Galveston County. In addition all RRD members were polled. Most RRD members in the Houston area are affiliated with one or more Republican Women's Club. Lists were cross-checked to avoid duplication. Of those who responded 71% were TFRW members and 29% were RRD members.

Responses ranged from very permissive to very restrictive but, when offered a choice, most of you took moderate positions. For example, the first 3 questions were multiple choice and many of you chose more than one option. While this made tabulations more difficult, it also gave us a better insight into your thinking on this very complex issue.

Of those we surveyed, 4% believe that abortion is strictly a moral issue. Over half (53%) think it is strictly a personal issue while 33% believe it to be both a moral and a personal issue. Thus, an overwhelming 90% hold the opinion that abortion is not an issue the government should be involved in.

The second question, which dealt with when or whether abortion should be permitted, elicited the greatest variety of responses. Fifty percent of you chose a single option from the 7 we provided but the other 50% chose more than one option. Included with those choosing only one option, 12% believe abortion should be permitted until "viability", 9% think it should be prohibited in the third trimester (except to save the mother's life) and 17% believe it should be available on demand. Those three options appear to represent only 38% of respondents. However, when we look at the combinations of those options chosen by the other 50% a very different picture emerges.

A total of 8% would permit abortion until "viability" and prohibit it in the third trimester except to save the life of the mother. Another 8% agree with those 2 options and would also make abortion available on demand. A smaller number (5%) believes abortion should be available on demand but prohibited in the third trimester except to save the mother's life. An additional 4% thinks that abortion should be available on demand and permitted until "viability".

Thus, when we tabulated the results for all the single answers and all the different combinations of answers to Question 2 it became obvious that almost two-thirds (63%) of those responding would permit abortion until "viability", prohibit it only in the third trimester (except to save the life of the mother) and believe it should be available on demand.

The option that is espoused by the national party, i. e. permitting abortion only in the cases of rape, incest or danger to the life of the mother, was taken by only 13% of respondents either as the sole choice (6%) or in combinations with other options (7%). When faced with the most restrictive options, only 3% would outlaw abortion altogether while 7% believe it should be permitted only when the mother's life is in danger.

Call Abbott
Gloria Aldridge
Scott Anderson*
Agnes Barrett
John Barrett*
Karen Ann Barrett*
Terry Beverly*
Martha L. Blomquist
Ann Bothe*
Mary Botts*
Harold Brick*
Donna Broussard*
Joan Buschor
Julie Carr*
Marie Clark*
Dee Coats*
Joyce Cooke*
Vince Cortese*
Clara Gregg*
Nancy Crouch
John DeNoylles*
Shirley Dickinson*
Charles Duran*
Herri Easterly*
Cody Edwards*
Betty L. Entekin
Sondra Epstein
Dorothy Ferguson
Beverly & Stan Fisher*
Carol Fleming
Carmen Forbes
Carol Frank*
Raymond Garcia
Ann Gleason*
Susan Gnospeilus
Billie Gregory*
Lou Guillion
Sherron & Lyman Hardy*
Dan Harrison*
Julia Hartman
Ann Heesch
Nancy Hekimian
Dodie & James Helke
Kathy Hevett
Wanda Hudson*
Millie Iarossi
Tim Irvine
Ann Jackson
Ray Johnson
R. Bruce Johnson*
Barbara Jordan*
Reta & Bob Kelley*
Rosemary King
Jo Konen*
Betsy Lake
Linda & Joe Langlitz*
Senya Lemus*
Jean Lester*
Raye Lokey*
Fred Loomis
Pat Luffman*
Eleanor MacMahon
Pat L. McNelly
Catherine McCulley

Perhaps the most surprising response was to Question 3. Only 50% of respondents favored strict penalties for doctors who perform illegal, late-term abortions. However, among that 50% almost half (41%) favored all the penalties proposed, including jail time.

On the question of parental consent, 65% were opposed with 23% in favor and 12% undecided.

Notifying a spouse prior to an abortion was opposed by 59% but a significantly higher 78% were against obtaining permission of the spouse before an abortion could be performed.

On the question of permitting abortions for women who are HIV carriers, AIDS infected or drug addicts, 91 to 92% were in favor. In a similar strong response, 90% felt it is more important to eliminate the need for abortion than it is to outlaw abortion (10%).

A large majority (75%) believes teaching sex education in public schools would help reduce the need for teenage abortions and an even larger number (92%) favors teaching young people more about human reproduction.

An overwhelming number of respondents (88%) thinks an individual's position on a single issue (including abortion) should not determine whether he or she is fit to run for or hold public office. An almost equal number (79%) believe the future of the Republican Party is seriously endangered by continued spotlighting of the abortion issue.

All in all the responses to our survey reveal at least 4 things:

1. Republican women hold diverse but mostly moderate views about abortion.
2. Republican women do not align themselves with either of the vocal extremes.
3. Positions taken by party leaders are not reflective of the party as a whole, and
4. President Bush is out of step with the views of Republican women in his home community.

Thank you again for you responses. We hope you find them as interesting as we did and that you will pass them along to your elected officials and candidates on the local, state and national levels.

Please also share this information with your Republican friends. Ask them to fill out the form below and mail it back to us if they agree with our effort.

E. L. McGee*
Salley & Wm. McKenzie*
Dottie Mae McKinney
Miriam & Roy McNeil*
Michael McProud
Henry McCreedy, Jr.
Elaine Christ Moore
Jeannette D. Naman
Margaret & Jack Nelson*
Dan O'Keeffe*
Linda Patterson
Jim Peacock*
Margaret Pickering
Caroline Pierce
Donnie & Carl Pietrzak*
Dee Price
Aileen Rains
Evalyn Ratcliff
Natalie Rowe
Sylvia Robirds
Kitty Scharlach
Elaine Scott
Jack Selcraig*
Harriet L. Seymour
Janet Sims
Judy Smith
Pat Snyder*
Olga Soliz*
Jane L. Sommer
Dakota Sterling
Sheila Stewart
Carolyn Tarleton*
Ricki Teal
Barbara Thomas
Hal Thomas*
Ricky Thompson*
Peggy Trahan
Peggy Turentine
Lois Van Wart
Al Vera
Mary Ann Wall*
Joanne Ray Walling
Millicent K. Wear
Anelita Weaver
Jody Weaver
Diane & Jack Webb
Clara Welsh
K. A. (Toy) Wood
(partial list)
*present or former pct. chair

DONALD G. FISHER
CHAIRMAN AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

G A P

August 1, 1991

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Gingrich:

I am writing in response to your letter of July 23 concerning our ad in Roll Call for a Washington representative.

Our search for a staff person in Washington is an effort to supplement existing resources and capabilities of the company in the government relations area. Because I have been active in support of President Bush and other Republicans, we felt it was important for us to add someone with a background on the Democratic side of the aisle. Our purpose is balance, not partisanship. We agree that it is important for us to maintain our contacts with members in both parties.

By no means will this person be the only representative of The Gap engaged in government relations activities in Washington. In addition to the activities of other executives in the company, we also draw upon the advice of outside advisors in Washington, including former Republican National Committee Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf.

I hope this clarifies our intent and objectives. If you have any further questions, I hope you will feel free to call me.

Sincerely,



cc: The Honorable John Sununu
Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole
House Republican Leader Bob Michel
Senate Republican whip Alan Simpson
Republican National Committee Chairman Clayton Yeutter

THE GAP, INC.
ONE HARRISON
SAN FRANCISCO
CA 94105
TELEPHONE
415 952 4400
FAX
415 495 2922

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1991

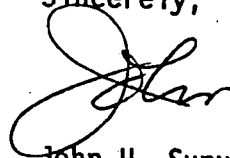
Dear Matt,

Thank you very much for letting my know of your interest in being involved in the 1992 political effort.

I passed your thoughts on to our political folks and I'm sure you'll be hearing from them once we have an organization in place.

Thanks again for your letter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John H. Sununu", written over the typed name.

John H. Sununu
Chief of Staff

The Honorable Matthew Rinaldo
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MATTHEW J. RINALDO
7TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2469 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-5361

DISTRICT OFFICE:
1961 MORRIS AVENUE
UNION, NJ 07083
(908) 687-4235

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

COMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND COMMERCE
SUBCOMMITTEES:
TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND FINANCE
(RANKING MINORITY MEMBER)
TRANSPORTATION AND
HAZARDOUS MATERIALS
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON AGING
(RANKING MINORITY MEMBER)

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

August 2, 1991

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

Dear Governor Sununu:

As dean of the New Jersey Republican congressional delegation, I am writing in anticipation of the upcoming Presidential campaign to offer my strong support for the President's bid for re-election.

As you may know, the 7th District, which I represent, is an overwhelmingly Democratic district. The largest municipality, Elizabeth, is a city of 110,000 people, where Democrats outnumber Republicans by roughly 15-1; the entire city council is Democratic, as is the Mayor and every state legislator. It is, however, an area that is typical of New Jersey as a whole: voters are independent and willing to cross party lines for candidates they support. As a result, I have been able to carry Elizabeth and have also fought for other Republican candidates there, including the President.

In order to do well in New Jersey, however, it is important to strike the right themes and to reach out to the voters by stressing issues of importance to them: lower taxes, a tough stance on crime and against drugs, and - particularly in a state which has had its share of acid rain, Superfund sites, and medical waste washing up on the shore - a strong commitment to a clean environment. The Bush Administration, in my view, has compiled an excellent record on all three of these major issue areas, and the 1992 Presidential campaign should not lose any opportunity to reinforce the President's image on all three fronts: as a leader opposed to new taxes, as one fighting to reduce crime and drugs, and as the first President in over a decade to take a leadership role in calling for reauthorization of the Clean Air Act.

We must stress to the voters that without the commitment of George Bush, we would not have seen a major new law that will help to reduce smog in our cities, acid rain in the northeast, and a reduction in airborne toxic emissions.

The Honorable George Sununu
August 2, 1991
Page Two

As a Republican leader in Congress who has staunchly supported the President in these areas and fought for the Administration's agenda, I want to do everything I can to assure an overwhelming victory for the Bush-Quayle ticket next year, and I am writing to you to express my personal willingness to commit the time, energy and resources to next year's campaign, as well as my interest in taking on a leadership role in the campaign.

I believe that my own political experience would be an asset to the President in 1992 in New Jersey. As a leading spokesman for the ticket, I could reach out to members of organized labor (with whom I have an excellent rapport); to the environmental community; to senior citizens (as the ranking Republican member of the House Select Committee on Aging); to the business community (as the senior Republican on the Telecommunications and Finance Subcommittee); and to the Italian-American community (which constitutes a significant portion of the electorate in my state).

In conclusion, I hope you will keep my interest in mind as you consider the structure for the President's reelection campaign in New Jersey.

If you have any questions, or would like to discuss this matter further, I hope you will not hesitate to let me know.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,



MATTHEW J. RINALDO
Member of Congress

MJR/p

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JHS talked
with Secchia
7-25-91

DATE: July 18, 1991 (enroute Athens)

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: John Sununu

John, how should I handle this??

Let's discuss later on the trip.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Letter	From Peter Secchia to Patty Presock Re: Attached Letter to POTUS (1 pp.)	6/29/91	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Politics 1991 [2]

Date Closed:	1/5/2005	OA/ID Number:	29167-007
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Letter	From Peter Secchia to POTUS Re: Future Plans (2 pp.)	6/29/91	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Politics 1991 [2]

Date Closed: 1/5/2005	OA/ID Number: 29167-007
FOIA/SYS Case #: 1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/15/91

TO: Gov. Sununu

FROM: FRED MCCLURE *FM*
Assistant to the President for
Legislative Affairs
2nd Floor, West Wing, x2230

PLEASE:

☒ Read/FYI

☐ Prepare response

☐ Handle

☐ Comment and return

☐ Review with me

Doolittle's letter says he discussed this matter with the President. I do not know whether the President is expecting a response. Given the nature of the letter, I decided to send it to you.



275827

JOHN T. DOOLITTLE
MEMBER OF CONGRESS

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT
CALIFORNIA

10/2/91

1223 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515
(202) 225-2511

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for the opportunity to discuss
reapportionment last evening. I have
enclosed some material that will
give you a sense of the trouble
that Gov. Sarnowski's statement, as
used by Pete Wilson's staff, has caused
me.

Please let me know what you think.

Sincerely,

John
Doolittle

SEPTEMBER 13, 1991

STATEMENT BY GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU, CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR REDISTRICTING FOLLOWING THE 1990 CENSUS GIVES THE PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA A CHANCE TO GAIN REPRESENTATION CONSISTENT WITH THE PARTY AND THE PHILOSOPHY THEY SUPPORT WHEN THEY VOTE. TO ACHIEVE THAT REDISTRICTING, IT MUST BE BASED ON FAIRNESS AND CONSISTENCY AND NOT DESIGNED TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE INCUMBENCY.

THERE ARE PROPOSED PLANS BEING CONSIDERED AND SUPPORTED BY SOME INCUMBENTS, INCLUDING REPUBLICAN INCUMBENTS, WHICH FAIL TO FULLY ADDRESS THIS NEED FOR FAIRNESS AND PROPER REPRESENTATION ACROSS THE STATE. I WOULD URGE REPUBLICANS IN CALIFORNIA TO WORK TO SUPPORT A REAPPORTIONMENT EFFORT BASED NOT ON INCUMBENT PROTECTION, BUT TO GIVE CALIFORNIA A FAIR PLAN WHICH GIVES IT THE REPRESENTATION REFLECTIVE OF ITS CLEAR SUPPORT FOR REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

FOR A DECADE AND LONGER, CALIFORNIANS HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF AN OUTRAGEOUS GERRYMANDER. IT WOULD BE AN OUTRAGE NOW IF THE CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY -- ELECTED OFFICIALS AND PARTY WORKERS -- WERE TO SETTLE FOR A REAPPORTIONMENT BILL THAT FAILS TO REALIZE THIS ONCE IN A DECADE OPPORTUNITY FOR A RETURN TO FAIRNESS.

Governor faces GOP split over remapping

By J.P. TREMBLAY
UNION CAPITOL BUREAU

Reapportionment, which usually triggers bitterness between Democrats and Republicans, this year also has sharply split GOP conservatives and moderates.

Normally, redistricting is strictly Democrats and Republicans locked in a game of chess to determine how many seats each party will get in the Legislature and congressional delegation.

But the so-called "new conservative" group led by Gov. Wilson is feuding with conservatives led by Reps. John Doolittle of Rocklin and Duncan Hunter of Coronado for control of the delegation and possibly the Legislature. So the once-a-decade process has become more convoluted.

Although the governor's spin doctors are working diligently to stress that the fight between Gov. Wilson and conservative representatives is nothing more than a numbers game, the resulting waves threaten to wash across party ranks.

During the past week, as the Legislature struggled to pass a package of plans that included three different sets of maps for Assembly, Senate and congressional districts, the governor's staff has tirelessly attacked a proposal advanced by Reps. Doolittle and Hunter as an incumbent-protection plan.

They have solicited and released to the media a memo from White House Chief of Staff John Sununu blasting any incumbent-protection plan as "outrageous."

They have also cited a Republican National Committee analysis which says the Doolittle-Hunter plan only produces 22 to 23 safe Republican seats and solidifies the 27 Democratic seats.

By contrast, they argue that the governor's proposal, which has never been released publicly, creates 24 to 25 GOP seats with 23 Democratic seats and three or more "competitive" seats.

"This is not an ideological division," it is just members trying to protect their own districts, said gubernatorial

• See GOP, Page A10

GOP

• From Page A1

spokesman Dan Schnur.

By the same token, the two conservative congressmen accused the governor's staff of trying to fix congressional and legislative districts for political allies of Mr. Wilson, a charge denied by the administration.

They have also allied themselves with Democratic Reps. Howard Berman of Los Angeles and Vic Fazio of West Sacramento "depending on the beneficence of Democrats" in an attempt to get their reapportionment plan implemented.

As evidence of the charge of fixing seats, Mr. Doolittle pulls out a memo which he says he personally delivered to the governor on Sept. 12. It raised his concerns about rumors of gubernatorial staffers working to create a congressional seat for a Democrat in San Diego.

Less than 24 hours after the memo was delivered, the Sununu comments and staff attacks on the Doolittle-Hunter plan began, Mr. Doolittle noted.

He also cites the fact that, the night before the Legislature voted on the three reapportionment bills, the conference committee was asked by Assemblyman Steve Peace, D-San Diego, to amend the Doolittle-Hunter plan to create a more Democratic district in the south.

That amendment was defeated, but Mr. Doolittle cites the attempt as evidence that the rumors were true.

(Since that night Mr. Peace has announced he doesn't intend to run for Congress. But he said he will "more than likely" run for the seat of state Sen. Wadie Deddeh, D-Bonita, who said Thursday that he would run for the new congressional district in the San Diego area.)

The governor's office denies any deal-making and says it is only trying to create a plan that is fair and creates as many competitive seats as is possible in the congressional delegation.

But Mr. Doolittle refuses to back down.

"They have taken cheap shots at us in the press. Frankly, they have made open ideological warfare on us, and you know what? I believe in fighting back," he said after a week of backroom battling.

The governor's staff fires back with their own charge that Mr. Doolittle and Mr. Hunter

are simply trying to salvage their pride and their proposal which is nothing more than an "incumbent-protection plan" for Republicans and Democrats.

"Any loyal Republican ought to be appalled that any member of Congress is trying to undermine the governor's redistricting negotiations," said one gubernatorial staffer.

The three different proposals, plan A, B and C, that were passed by the Legislature and sent to the governor each reportedly contain elements that the different parties in the negotiations want.

Plan A favors the Democrats and closely follows current legislative lines and creates congressional districts for Democratic legislators who are looking to move up to Washington.

Plan B contains elements that are more to the liking of the conservative Republicans and creates congressional districts for conservative legislators whom the backers of the plan hope will split with Gov. Wilson and support an override of his promised veto.

Plan C, on the other hand, contains districts that would more easily be won by allies of Gov. Wilson, which the advocates hope will make it more palatable to the administration.

In all of the congressional plans, however, the present Democratic delegation is fairly well protected and locked in at about 26 or 27 members.

Gov. Wilson said Wednesday, before the Legislature acted on the proposals, that he will veto all of the plans. He is not willing to negotiate until the Democratic leadership is willing to talk seriously about new maps. He also indicated his readiness to go to court, if needed.

Conservatives in his party however, apparently are a little more reticent about turning to the judicial branch for resolution.

They repeatedly mention the reapportionment plan of the 1970s, when then-Gov. Ronald Reagan vetoed the maps, which sent it to court. Plans that were produced ended up being worse for the Republicans than the plans the governor vetoed.

Assemblyman William Baker, R-Danville, characterized the Republican way of thinking very well when he said, "The court is uncertainty. A plan that you can see is certainty. Politicians like certainty."

Congressional remap feud

Wilson charges incumbent protection in Doolittle plan

By J.P. TREMBLAY
UNION CAPITOL BUREAU

The split between Republican Gov. Pete Wilson and his party's congressional delegation grew wider Monday as charges of incumbent protectionism and misrepresentation of facts again flew between camps.

Gov. Wilson, who is in the middle of stalemated negotiations with Democratic Assembly leaders over proposals to draw new Assembly and congressional districts, reiterated his charge through his staff that the reapportionment plan advanced by the Republican congressional delegation is an "incumbent protection plan."

The Republican congress members counter that the governor's staff is misrepresenting their proposal and underestimating the figures.

"I'll receive their criticism if they have something to criticize about the plan or how we've conducted ourselves. But don't lie about it. And that's what the governor's staff has done. They've lied about our plan," said Rep. John Doolittle, R-Rocklin, one of the authors of the GOP congressional proposal.

The Republican proposal pushed by Rep. Doolittle and Rep. Duncan Hunter of San Diego, "just simply undermines the Republican position," said George Gorton, Gov. Wilson's political adviser on reapportionment.

According to Mr. Gorton, the Doolittle-Hunter proposal, which was drawn with the help of Democratic political consultant Jerry Zinelli, creates only 22 or 23 safe Republican seats.

He also charged that Mr. Zinelli has been soliciting Republican lawmakers to support a Wilson

veto override should the governor kill the GOP congressional proposal.

Mr. Doolittle denied the veto override charge, saying that tack isn't being considered "at this point" and "I resent being portrayed by the governor's staff as leading a gerrymander."

If the governor has proof the GOP congressional plan will cost Republican seats, Mr. Doolittle said he would like to see it. He cites a national Republican analysis of his plan that supports his claim of 24 safe seats.

The governor's staff cites their own analysis and that of Republican National Committee reapportionment analysts, which say the plan creates only 22 or 23 GOP seats.

"Even though the governor's staff has made war on us ... we support what the governor says he wants, which is a fair plan for Republicans," said the congressman.

The GOP congressional plan produces 24 safe Republican seats — districts that have Republican registration of 42.09 percent or higher and supported Mr. Wilson in the 1990 election, he said.

Over the weekend, the governor's office circulated a statement from White House Chief of Staff John Sununu that fired a softball attack at the Republican proposal, but by Monday the staff took a harder line, hitting Reps. Hunter and Doolittle for working to undermine the process.

"The governor's unhappy," said Wilson spokesman Dan Schnur. "Hunter's got the governor mad, he's got the White House mad and he's getting himself in more trouble than he understands," he said.

Rep. Hunter is accused of sellout

By DANIEL C. CARSON
Staff Writer

SACRAMENTO — The Wilson administration yesterday accused two conservative Republican representatives of selling out the GOP by promoting a redistricting plan that would protect their seats but leave Democrats with a stranglehold on the state's congressional delegation.

The condemnation of Reps. John Doolittle of Rocklin and Duncan Hunter of San Diego marks another confrontation between Republican Gov. Wilson and the conservative wing of his own party.

A mildly worded statement last weekend by White House chief of staff John Sununu criticized unnamed "Republican incumbents" for offering remap plans that "fail to fully address the need for fairness and proper representation across the state."

Yesterday Wilson aides went much further, identifying Doolittle and Hunter by name and harshly attacking their redistricting plan, which was crafted with the help of Democratic political consultant Jerry Zanelli.

Wilson spokesman Dan Schnur said Hunter "has got the governor mad. he's got the White House

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

Dispute in GOP imperils remap

By Tupper Hull
and Steven A. Capps
EXAMINER SACRAMENTO BUREAU

SACRAMENTO — A major split between conservative and moderate Republicans in Congress and the Legislature threatens to stall the final critical stages of reapportionment.

Key legislators, including Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, D-San Francisco, met throughout the day Saturday with Gov. Wilson in an effort to resolve the disputes over proposed new political boundaries, which must be redrawn to conform to the 1990 census. The talks were to continue Sunday.

The state Senate, meanwhile, unveiled a revised redistricting plan this weekend that would dramatically alter the existing boundaries of San Francisco's two Senate districts, creating seats favorable to Asian and gay and lesbian voters for the first time.

Both houses of the Legislature had been scheduled to adjourn for the year Friday. They agreed to meet through the weekend and into next week in an effort to put together an acceptable plan.

At the heart of the dispute is a split between right-wing Republicans and moderates like Wilson.

Rep. John Doolittle, an arch-conservative from Sacramento,

has offered a congressional reapportionment plan that protects the 19 Republicans now in Congress and would probably give the GOP 23 of the 52 seats the state will have in the House of Representatives.

Wilson wants more. Aides to the governor say he believes a fair plan would give his party as many as 28 of the 52 seats, or a majority of the state's delegation. However, some districts would not necessarily be tailored to protect incumbents.

State Senate Republican leader Ken Maddy of Fresno said he sees little progress being made on plans for new Assembly or congressional districts.

"My understanding is there are about five factions running around here trying to draft Republican (congressional) plans and none of them are talking to each other," Maddy said. "I haven't heard any good news that Assembly people themselves are even close."

Even the White House has weighed in on the battle, on the side of Wilson.

"For a decade and longer, Californians have been the victims of an outrageous gerrymander," White House Chief of Staff John Sununu said in a statement released Saturday by Wilson aides.

"It would be an outrage now if the California Republican Party,

elects officials and party workers, were to settle for a reapportionment bill that fails to realize this once-in-a-decade opportunity for a return to fairness," Sununu said.

Whether Wilson can resolve the differences is likely to determine whether legislators can come to agreement on a compromise, bipartisan plan early next week.

Democrats have enough votes in the Legislature to approve a reapportionment plan without Republican support. But such a plan almost certainly would be vetoed by Wilson, throwing the issue before the politically conservative state Supreme Court, something Democrats hope to avoid.

Conservative Republicans in Congress also want to avoid having the plans end up in court, fearing a court-written plan would not adequately protect incumbents.

"There's an interesting dynamic there," said Assemblyman Tom Hannigan, D-Fairfield, noting that liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans rarely find themselves allied on an issue as important as reapportionment.

Said Assemblyman Richard Katz, D-Panorama City, "Reapportionment is real tough for everyone — Democrats and Republicans alike."

In the state Senate, where the drawing of new districts is proceeding more smoothly, Asian and Pacific Islander voters would make up 30 percent of the district now represented by independent Quentin Kopp.

The district represented by Democrat Milton Marks would for the first time consolidate the portions of The City containing the highest concentrations of gay and lesbian voters.

My Statement
[Signature]

Saturday, October 5, 1991

B-12

The San Diego Union

Col. Ira C. Copley, 1864-1947
James S. Copley, 1916-1973

Editorials/Opinion

Helen K. Copley, Publisher
Gerald L. Warren, Editor

 A Copley Newspaper

A fair reapportionment

The dean of California's GOP congressional delegation, Rep. Carlos Moorhead, R-Glendale, is striving to restart redistricting negotiations that have stalled amid fierce Republican infighting. That's a positive step. But it's decidedly unhelpful that the chief Republican congressional negotiator, Rep. John Doolittle, R-Roseville, and Rep. Duncan Hunter, R-Coronado, have continued to undermine Gov. Wilson's efforts to provide for competitive districts.

This week, Doolittle and Rep. Randy Cunningham, R-San Diego, went so far as to take their case to President Bush in a bid to gain his support for their misguided battle against Wilson. Doolittle and Hunter have sold their party and the voters short by collaborating with Democratic gerrymanderers on a plan for California's 52 congressional seats, including seven new ones.

The two conservative congressmen produced an incumbent preservation plan that would create too few competitive districts and too many safe Democratic seats. The Doolittle-Hunter plan closely resembles one of three Democratic redistricting plans for Congress that passed the Democratic-controlled Legislature on a party-line vote and were vetoed by Wilson.

The similarities are hardly surprising, given the Democrats' role in the plan. Doolittle hired

Democratic political operative Jerry Zanelli, a former top aide to Senate President David Roberti, D-Los Angeles, to help write his plan. Doolittle also admits that in drawing the lines, he and Hunter were in close contact with Rep. Howard Berman, D-Los Angeles, the Democrats' point man on congressional redistricting.

Equally disturbing are accusations by Wilson's

Doolittle and Hunter have sold their party and the voters short by collaborating with Democratic gerrymanderers.

aides that Hunter and Doolittle urged Republican legislators to override the governor's veto. If an override attempt had been successful, California voters would be stuck not only with unfair congressional districts for the next decade but also with incumbent-protection plans for the Assembly and Senate. All of the plans were part of one bill.

For his part, President Bush has continued to give strong support to Gov. Wilson. As White House Chief of Staff John Sununu said: "For a decade and longer, Californians have been the victims of an outrageous gerrymander. It would be an outrage if the California Republican Party, elected officials and party workers were to settle for a reapportionment bill that failed to realize this once-in-a-decade opportunity for a return to fairness."

A key reason Wilson ran for governor was to ensure the adoption of fair political boundaries based on the 1990 census. He vowed to use his veto to prevent a repeat of the Democratic gerrymander that followed the 1980 census. By working for a gerrymander in concert with the Democrats, Hunter and Doolittle have hurt themselves, their party and the public's stake in a fair reapportionment.

B-13

Another View

Gov. Wilson is fumbling redistricting opportunity

By DUNCAN HUNTER

Every 10 years, redistricting gives the ever-growing Republican Party of California an opportunity to dramatically increase our number of congressional seats.

This year the opportunity is greater than ever, with seven new congressional seats coming into existence.

Unfortunately, this chance of a century is being flubbed up by a governor who seems to be intent on snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.

Several months ago, the California GOP congressional delegation began to build a plan which would give six of the seven new congressional seats to the Republican column. We began by electing Congressman John Doolittle, a Sacramento conservative, as our redistricting chairman and liaison to the state legislature and governor's office.

After weeks of meetings, countless phone calls, and input from all members of the California delegation, we did produce a plan that, in addition to our 19 existing congressional seats, provided solid Republican constituencies in six of the seven new districts for a total of 25 Republican seats.

Republicans deserved six of the new congressional seats to bring into balance the outrageous gerrymander of 1982 at the hands of Jerry Brown and a Democrat-dominated Legislature. At that time a "23 Republicans, 22 Democrats" split was widened into a "17 Republicans, 28 Democrats" gerrymander.

Congressman Doolittle and I spent most of the first half of September simply saying "no" to Democrat demands from their redistricting leader, Howard Berman.

As a result of the solid Republican position of six of the seven new seats, the Democrats were ultimately forced to

collapse the seat of an incumbent Democrat congressman from Los Angeles. The Republican demand was strengthened by Assemblymen Ross Johnson, Pat Nolan and Bill Baker and Senators Ed Royce, John Lewis and Frank Hill making strong statements of support for the GOP numbers.

Late in the game, a near fatal problem developed. An amendment to the Assembly congressional plan was offered by Democrat Assemblyman Steve Peace and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. This

amendment, had it passed, would have converted U.S. Rep. Duke Cunningham's district in San Diego into a Democrat district for the benefit of Peace. When Congressman Doolittle and I heard of the amendment, we rushed to the state Capitol to fight it. We argued that, while Peace had every right to advance his party's cause, any reduction of Republican seats was unacceptable.

Interestingly, while the fight over the "Peace amendment" was taking place, neither the governor nor his staff were anywhere to be found.

Ultimately, Peace's amendment was defeated despite a vigorous argument on his part, and Duke Cunningham's district and the Republican "six-of-the-seven-new-seats" position were maintained.

Under the GOP congressional delegation plan, two of the new Republican seats are in the Sacramento area, two are in Orange County, one is in Long Beach, and one is in San Diego.

In these new Republican seats, Pete Wilson secured between 54.87 percent and 64.13 percent of the vote in 1990... percentages which "are well within the range which have been consistently won by GOP candidates," according to Thomas Hoeffler, the redistricting director of the National Republican Congressional Campaign Committee.

So what did Gov. Wilson do when the GOP congressional delegation presented him with the plan which places six of the seven new seats in the Republican column, and which, according to House GOP Whip Newt Gingrich, "dramatically increases opportunities in the House of Representatives for the Republican Party?" Unexplainably, the governor immediately attacked the GOP delegation plan.

His aides launched, not only an attack on the plan, but a personal barrage against our elected chairman, Doolittle, and myself, hurling charges of "sellout," "selfish" and even such silliness as the Dan Schnur allegation that "Hunter is in trouble with the White House." Additionally, the Wilson operatives continued to call the GOP plan a "22- or 23-seat plan."

Now, due to Wilson's opposition, the redistricting plan will be decided by the courts and a great opportunity lost to the Republican Party.

I called Gov. Wilson and, along with expressing disappointment with his personal conduct, asked him the question "Which of the six new seats do you contend are not true 'Republican' seats?" Pete Wilson gave me no answer.

Hunter is a congressman representing the 45th District in San Diego and Imperial Counties.

JOHN SEYMOUR
UNITED STATES SENATOR



276278
CALIFORNIA

10-3-91

John,
attached for your information is
a memo describing Peter's hoped for
redistricting plan. This plan is far
superior to the incumbent protection
plan pushed by John Doolittle and
Duncan Hunter. Their plan was
worked out by Jerry Zanelli, former

Chief of Staff of David Roberti,
Democratic President Pro Tem of the
Calif. State Senate. I was there
in 1982 when Zanelli, then Chief of
Staff, and Doolittle worked closely
together to develop the last
incumbent protection plan.

Deja Vu! Best Regards,
John

Chief of Staff of David Roberti,
Democratic President Pro Tem of the
Calif. State Senate. I was there
in 1982 when Zanelli, then Chief of
Staff, and Doolittle worked closely
together to develop the last
incumbent protection plan.

Osja Vu! Best Regards,
John



PETE WILSON
GOVERNOR

State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO, CA 95814

TELEPHONE
(916) 445-2841

DATE: 9/27/91 PAGES (including cover): 3

TO: Senator John Seymour

FAX PHONE NUMBER: 202/ 224-0656

FROM: Governor Pete Wilson

Please contact Doris

at () 916/ 445 2843 if all pages have not been received.

NOTE:

4.2
1.9
2.3

1.9 121
1.9 130
40
38
20

JOE SHUMATE & ASSOCIATES, INC.

September 26. 1991

To: Governor Wilson

Fm: Joe Shumate *JS* *6-4m*

Re: Congressional Redistricting Plan

The draft memo attached describes what the Governor's congressional redistricting plan will do. It includes statistics that show the plan is a 28 to 29 seat plan where every incumbent except Riggs is protected. It gives us six safe new seats and would defeat four Democrat incumbents. The plan includes a Smoley seat, a Baker seat, a Harvey/Wyman seat, a Nolan seat, a Leonard seat, and an Orange County/L.A. seat that would be a natural for Ross Johnson.

D R A F T

September 26, 1991

To:

Fm:

Re: Congressional Districts

Political statistics for Governor Wilson's congressional plan are listed below. These statistics clearly show that the plan provides for safe seats for all Republican incumbents and six new seats that will be safe Republican. In addition, four existing seats with Democrat incumbents will be weakened to the extent that they will eventually be won by Republicans, and the Boxer seat is moved to 37.5% Republican which will give Bill Filante an excellent chance.

In summary, there will be:

Safe Incumbents	18
New Seats	6
Demo Collapses/Opportunities	4
Competitive	1
Potential Total Seats	29

The breakdown is as follows:

<u>Incumbent Republicans</u>	<u>% GOP Regis</u>	<u>Pct Bush</u>	<u>Pct Wilson</u>
Riggs	32.55	42.00	41.74
Doelittle	43.74	57.16	53.34
Herger	44.44	58.43	56.55
Campbell	43.64	52.82	46.65
Thomas	43.90	58.13	57.93
Lagomarsino	46.50	55.38	51.90
Galleghy	48.67	62.25	57.01
Moorhead	48.85	56.07	55.27
Dreier	51.57	62.85	60.40
Dannemeyer	53.80	66.99	62.55
Dornan	47.79	62.56	59.15
Rohrabacher	54.36	66.19	61.70
Packard	55.95	65.98	61.48
Lewis	44.10	58.16	54.29
McCandless	50.69	61.00	57.44
Hunter	41.98	57.31	54.35
Lowery	49.54	58.97	54.88
Cunningham	43.27	53.13	51.29

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<u>New Open Seats</u>	<u>% GOP Regis</u>	<u>Pct Bush</u>	<u>Pct Wilson</u>
Sacramento/San Joaquin	42.89	58.52	57.41
Alameda/Contra Costa/ San Joaquin	46.60	56.96	51.22
Kern/LA	52.00	68.32	61.70
Glendale & LA	46.88	55.97	52.56
San Bernadino	47.55	60.21	54.79
San Diego	47.26	58.80	54.95

<u>Vulnerable Democrats</u>	<u>% GOP Regis</u>	<u>Pct Bush</u>	<u>Pct Wilson</u>
Dooley	44.45	55.70	56.76
Levine	47.82	59.09	56.62
Anderson	47.55	62.95	59.87
Brown	43.77	57.24	53.63

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10-7-91

TO: Gov.

FROM: **RON KAUFMAN**
Deputy Assistant to the President

F41

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Ron-
FYI
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Honorary Co-Chairs:
Hon. George Shultz
Hon. David Packard
Hon. Marian Bergeson

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 4, 1991

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
Ron Smith 213/276-8898

Finance Chair:
Sally Herrick

CAMPBELL INCREASES LEAD IN CALIFORNIA POLL

Congressman Tom Campbell widened his lead against primary opponent Bruce Herschensohn in the race for the six-year senate seat being vacated by Alan Cranston.

The California Poll, conducted by the Field Research Institute, shows Campbell at 33% and Herschensohn at 26%. The poll surveyed 998 California adults September 19-25. Questions on the Republican race for the U.S. Senate were asked of the 402 self-identified Republican poll respondents. The margin of error is plus or minus 5 percent.

A June poll conducted by the same organization showed Campbell leading Herschensohn by only two points. (See chart below).

Ron Smith, Campbell's chief strategist said, "We're delighted with the numbers. We are on target and our momentum continues to grow. Herschensohn has been on Los Angeles TV -- the largest media market in the state -- for over a decade; all logic would say that with his years of exposure in voter-rich Southern California, and with one statewide campaign already under his belt, Campbell should be a blip in the polls and Herschensohn leading handily."

In addition to his lead in the polls, Campbell has a substantial lead in fundraising. The campaign topped the \$2 million mark in early August. The June 30 FEC report showed the Campbell campaign with a 13 to 1 cash-on-hand advantage over Herschensohn. Major Campbell fundraising dinners are scheduled in November in San Diego, Los Angeles and Orange County.

	9/19-25 SEPTEMBER	5/30-6/10 JUNE
CAMPBELL	33%	24%
HERSCHENSOHN	26%	22%

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¹ Paid for by the Campbell for U.S. Senate Committee. Contributions to the Campbell for U.S. Senate Committee are not deductible as charitable contributions for federal income tax purposes.

