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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 26, 1990

To GWS-
FYI
Hudy

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

FROM

DEBRA ANDERSON *DA*

SUBJECT

1990 BALLOT MEASURES IN THE STATES/ENVIRONMENTAL

In our ongoing discussions of environmental issues, I thought it would be interesting to look at how the environmental ballot measures fared in November in the states. In brief:

CALIFORNIA:

1. As you know, Big Green failed Big. The industry-sponsored alternative to also regulate pesticides failed.

2. Forests Forever (out of Redwood Summer)--banning clearcutting, etc. failed. Here again there was a milder industry-sponsored alternative--which also failed.

OREGON:

1. A measure to shut down the Trojan nuclear power plant was defeated 59-41.

2. The Recycling and Solid Waste Reduction Act (banned plastic cans, had numerous packaging mandates and recycling mandates) failed 57-43.

NEW YORK:

This environmental bond act would have authorized \$2 billion worth of bonds for: closing landfills, parks and recreation, purchasing environmentally sensitive lands, new sewage treatment plants, and conservation, among other things. Cuomo and leaders and both political parties supported it--it failed.

MISSOURI:

The Natural Streams Act would have banned development, business, agriculture activities, etc. around and on 55 designated bodies of water. Failed 75-25.

SOUTH DAKOTA:

Would have prohibited new surface or underground gold mines in the Black Hills. Failed 53-47.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON:

A growth management/control initiative requiring municipalities to submit growth plans to the state and remove development opportunities from "environmentally sensitive lands" was defeated 75-25.

TEXAS:

Jim Hightower, the big anti-pesticide and food additive guy, lost to Republican Rick Perry.

I would draw some possible conclusions:

1. Environmentalists don't submit "reasonable" proposals which the public quickly recognizes. Most voters are not absolutists on environmental issues; most proposals submitted by environmentalists ARE absolutist.
2. In tougher economic times, the public is not willing to vote themselves higher taxes (or higher business costs, whether for forestry, ag, whatever) for the environment.
3. The greenies are always talking about environmental calamities that don't come to pass. Plus with the new environmental awareness and good legislation that has come about in the states, they think they're doing enough.

We need to continue to draw the distinction that the President has of balance--economic development and opportunity can coexist with good stewardship. These voters, from California to New York, did not buy the radicals' arguments.

✓ cc: Andy Card

Factbook on John Silber

*by
Concerned Faculty & Students
of Boston University
August 1990*

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**For further information, copies of this factbook
or for interviews, contact:**

617-721-4229

Factbook on John Silber

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Introduction

John Silber, President of Boston University, is running for governor of Massachusetts. He has one great advantage. The citizens of Massachusetts do not know who he is.

They know the illusion, the facade, the image.

- They hear his claim that he made B.U. financially sound, but are not told that he plunged the university into huge debt.
- They are told he is a "straight shooter" but not that he made a fortune while university president, through real estate and stock deals with the Trustees.
- They hear he is a Democrat, but are not told of his record as a strike-breaker, or how he destroyed civil liberties on campus.

We are present and former faculty and students of Boston University. We know Silber from the inside. The faculty twice voted Silber unfit to be president. We watched him create a dictatorial political machine at B.U. When student newspapers criticized him, he instituted censorship of the student press. When faculty opposed him, they found themselves out of a job, or their salary raises and promotions vetoed. Silber proclaimed publicly: "The more democratic a university is, the lousier it is."

The media have too often focused on Silber's personality, his "style". They speak of his "rough edges". The problem is deeper.

A Boston Globe columnist, comparing Silber to the evil character Darth Vader, reported that Silber is described as "angry, paranoid, bitter, caustic, sadistic, hectoring, abusive, mean, bullying, combative, disputatious, mercurial, scornful, authoritarian, dictatorial, and derisive."

Such adjectives suggest that the problem with Silber is more serious than "personality". It is *character* — it is his greed, his cruel treatment of people, his contempt for democracy.

Here are some of the facts that will be expanded upon and documented in this booklet:

- When Silber became President of Boston University, its debt was \$ 8 million. Now the debt is \$250 million.
- While plunging the university into debt, and becoming a millionaire himself, he kept down the salaries of B.U. employees — teachers, secretaries, buildings and grounds workers — fought their unions, forced them to go on strike to get more pay and decent health benefits.
- Silber was found guilty of sex discrimination by a United States District Court, and was ordered to pay \$215,000 to the faculty member he had discriminated against.

- Journalists for the New York Times and other publications reported again and again that B.U. faculty are afraid to give their names when talking about what Silber has done to the university, for fear of retribution.
- When students and faculty formed picket lines, the campus police were sent out to photograph them.
- While flaunting the name of Martin Luther King, Jr., Silber repeatedly called police to break up non-violent demonstrations on campus.
- The Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts received more complaints about violations of free speech at B.U. than about any other institution in Massachusetts.
- Silber claims to be a Democrat, but he voted twice for Reagan, and then for Bush.
- With death squads operating in El Salvador, Silber, as a member of Reagan's Commission for Central America, urged that military aid be given to El Salvador even if its human rights record did not improve.

In short, Silber is not a man for our time. He is a militarist, an elitist, a man with a totalitarian mentality, when all over the world people are trying to move towards peace, freedom of expression, democracy.

His public relations people have tried to create a favorable image. It is a false one. We want to show the reality. Our evidence comes from B.U. budget data, newspaper reports, magazine articles, court records, radio & TV commentary, Silber's own speeches and interviews.

We hope the citizens of Massachusetts will read this material and decide for themselves if this man should be governor of our state.

Mismanagement and Corruption

A huge public relations campaign has been conducted by Silber, designed to portray him as the kind of manager needed by the state of Massachusetts. He says he took a university in deep financial trouble, straightened it out, built it up, put it in the black.

The facts are:

- When Silber became B.U.'s president in 1971, the annual operating deficit was only 2.4 million dollars. During the preceding ten years, there had been surpluses accumulated in the amount of \$13 million. (*Source, B.U. Proposed Budget Fiscal Year 1971-72, p.1, B.U. Archives, Mugar Library*)
- It is true that Silber has been able to show budget surpluses since he took office. However, he did this by increasing tuition enormously. There was a 215% tuition increase in the first ten years of Silber's presidency. In that period the cost of living went up only half that much. In recent years, Boston University has been consistently on the *U.S. News & World Report* list of the ten most expensive private universities, but *not* on its list of best universities.
- At the same time tuition was going up by leaps each year, Silber spent a smaller proportion of these tuition dollars on teaching. In 1971-72, B.U. spent 45% of the tuition paid by students at its College of Liberal Arts to put teachers into the classrooms. In 1978, after six years of Silber's presidency, only 23% of tuition money was spent on teaching. (*Sources, B.U. Budgets 1971-72, 1988-89, B.U. Fact Book; Provost's Report on Faculty Salaries, B.U. Archives, Mugar Library*)
- While a smaller proportion of the budget went into teaching, a larger proportion went into administration. When Silber arrived, B.U. had three vice presidents and no provost, and managed to run efficiently. Today there are twelve vice-presidents, six associate vice-presidents, ten assistant vice presidents, one provost, two associate provosts, and one assistant provost. (*Source, The Link, Feb. 1990 [an official B.U. publication]*)
- Another way Silber was able to "balance" the budget was by borrowing huge amounts of money. The result was to show the university in the black in each annual budget while it was actually accumulating a huge debt. When Silber became president (1971-2) B.U.'s debt was \$8 million. After 18 years of Silber's presidency, B.U.'s debt is now about a quarter of a billion dollars. The interest on this debt in 1989 was about \$18 million, which means that \$1000 of every student's tuition is used to pay the interest on the debt Silber accumulated. (*Sources, Fiscal Year-1990, Fiscal Year 1991 Approved Budgets, B.U. Archives, Mugar Library*)
- Silber has increased B.U.'s endowment. But here too, much of this is

borrowed money. The university's debt of \$240 million is greater than its endowment of \$194 million.

- Silber has a habit of investing university money in absurd schemes. One example of Silber's poor financial management was described by investigative reporter Charles Radin of the *Globe*: "In the spring of 1974 Norman Foster, an American who spends most of his time in Germany, sang Schubert's Lieder to John R. Silber at a private performance in the Boston University president's home. Less than a year after Foster and Silber met that night, the singer had been installed by Silber as director of a B.U.-financed, B.U.-affiliated theater institute in Hamburg, with a \$30,000 a year salary, a \$10,000 maintenance allowance, and an apartment leased in B.U.'s name. Less than a year after that, Silber ordered the institute — which never had more than three full-time students — closed. B.U. was nearly \$400,000 poorer for the venture." (Source, *Boston Globe*, Nov.11, 1976).
- Perhaps Silber's most bizarre fund-raising scheme occurred in 1989, when he decided a great way to raise money would be to take out insurance policies on B.U. students and collect when they died. (Source, *Boston Globe*, April 20, 1989) When students objected that this was a sick idea, Silber defended it. He told a television reporter that at least they would be contributing to the university "instead of dying with nothing to show for their lives...." (Source: WGBH Channel 2 interview by David Boeri)

- Silber's management has at times raised questions of corruption. In 1978, a student newspaper secured a confidential transcript of a meeting of B.U.'s Select Committee on University Needs. The transcript indicated that Silber was admitting students to the law and medical schools in exchange for contributing to the university. The transcript quoted Silber speaking to the committee:
- "There have been any number of people crawling all over me for admission to our Medical School and our Law School who have never been tapped systematically for a gift to this University. I'm not ashamed to sell those indulgences."
- According to *Newsweek*, "Silber verified the accuracy of the transcript, but made no apologies, insisting this his comment about indulgences was offered as a 'humorous aside'." But Silber went on to say that of the 85 openings to the School of Medicine, 50 were chosen for their outstanding academic records, but the remaining 35 were "qualified" but were chosen for racial, sexual and geographical balance, but also for "family wealth" (our emphasis). (Source: *Newsweek*, March 27, 1978. Also *New York Times*, March 15, 1978).

A financial writer for the Boston Globe, evaluating Silber's fiscal management, wrote: "An increasing number have also begun to question Silber's claim that he has put B.U. on sound financial footing. They say he has gambled on high-risk investments...and borrowed great sums at a time when enrollment — which translated to revenue — is falling off....A review of financial documents shows an outstanding debt of \$240 million...." (Source, Boston Globe, May 24, 1990)

- By "high-risk investments", the *Globe* was referring to the fact that in 1987 Silber personally persuaded the Board of Trustees to invest \$25 million of borrowed money in a little-known biotechnology company called Seragen." By now B.U. has about \$50 million riding on the firm's success, the equivalent of about one in every three dollars of its endowment and a larger portion of endowment than any other major American university currently has committed to any single investment." Henry Morgan, a retired dean of B.U.'s School of Management, said: "John Silber and the trustees are endangering Boston University's future with this investment." (Source, *Boston Globe*, April 2, 1989)
- It turned out that ten B.U. trustees had a personal stake in Seragen, having invested hundreds of thousands of dollars in it. So the trustees were simultaneously investing in Seragen, and, at John Silber's urging, voting to invest university funds in the same company. (Sources, *Washington Post*, January 2, 1990; *Wall Street Journal*, April 13, 1989)
- "Several former university officials who requested anonymity said they believed the 10 trustees' personal holdings in Seragen constitute a clear conflict of interest." (Source, *Boston Herald*, May 19, 1990)
- By early 1989, B.U. was losing \$16 million a year by having to bail out the Seragen company. The *Globe* reporter investigating this wrote: "Silber and other university officials have said repeatedly that none of the investment has come from the endowment. They have said all of it has and will come from the university's 'current fund accounts', which also pay for faculty, classrooms and libraries. That has prompted Morgan, the school's retired management school dean, to demand trustees answer: 'Are funds going to Seragen at the expense of quality education?'" (Source, *Boston Globe*, April 14, 1989)

"Besides its Seragen stake, B.U. has millions more invested in other small start-up ventures, and a larger portion of its \$161.9 endowment devoted to what are generally considered risky investments than any other major American university...." (Source, *Boston Globe*, April 14, 1989)

David Warsh, financial writer for the *Boston Globe*, commented: "... Silber's Seragen investment, plus a much-ridiculed scheme to increase B.U.'s endowment by taking out life insurance policies on its students, make his managerial style look more like a gambler's itch to make it big than the deliberate approach of an institution builder." (Source, *Boston Globe*, Dec. 10, 1989)

Silber's management of B.U.'s finances may prove to be fatal to the University, but his relations with students and faculty have already destroyed the trust essential to the efficient functioning of a university. Faculty and students have repeatedly expressed their lack of confidence in Silber. The mistrust of Silber by alumni is a major reason many of them won't contribute money to B.U.

- After Silber's fifth year in office, 772 faculty were asked by mail if Silber had "inspired confidence and trust among the faculty." Of the 460 who responded, three fourths of them (76%) said no. (Source: *Daily Free Press*, Oct. 7, 1976)
- In April of 1976, an official assembly of the Faculty voted 377 to 117 that Silber should resign. Students and staff agreed. "Faculty, staff, undergraduate and graduate students called for the resignation of President John R. Silber in a mass meeting yesterday." Six hundred were at the meeting. They listened to Silber try to defend his record, and then voted for his resignation. (Source, *Daily Free Press*, April 7, 1976).
- On December 18, 1979, a faculty meeting was called to vote on a recommendation to dismiss Silber. Again, the vote was overwhelming, 457-215, that Silber was unfit to be president. The faculty said, in part:

"John Silber has allocated the monies of the University without proper regard for its central educational mission. While teaching personnel have been eliminated and library capacities reduced, funds have been lavishly allocated to dubious real estate ventures, to excessive public relations, to disproportionate administrative expansion, and to legal and consulting fees to stop unionization....

"John Silber has created conditions so unstable, so fraught with internal conflict, as to blight teaching and learning. A President who plunges the university into turmoil again and again (with four strikes in twelve months), disrupting the educational process and undermining the morale of faculty, staff, and students, is irresponsible and incompetent, and should be removed."

- When Silber announced his candidacy for governor, the *Boston Globe* spoke to B.U. faculty. "Several of those interviewed said Silber would lock onto ideas and make decisions alone, without going through a process of consultation.... Critics point to Silber's 1974 decision to give Norman Foster \$400,000 for a short-lived music theater institute in Germany after hearing Foster sing one night at his home; his reshuffling of B.U.'s School of Dentistry, in which he imported two Italian specialists without consulting the rank and file, leading at least 22 veteran faculty members to resign; and his 1986 appointment of East German defector H. Joachim Maitre as dean of B.U.'s College of Communication. Maitre used government funding to teach journalism to Afghanistan rebels and produced a film for Nicaraguan contras." (Source, *Boston Globe*, May 24, 1990)

Personal Enrichment

While John Silber was dragging Boston University deeply into debt, he personally became a multi-millionaire. He was head of a non-profit institution; yet he used his contacts with men of wealth and power to make a fortune in stocks and real estate. The details are fascinating.

In 1981, Silber persuaded the Board of Trustees to sell him a three-story townhouse on Bay State Road for \$139,000 (much below its market value) for his personal investment. The President of B.U. already lives in a luxurious home, provided rent-free. The trustees not only sold Silber the house for much less than it was worth, but also lent him the money to pay for it, without interest. The story was not uncovered until a year later by a *Boston Globe* reporter. The townhouse is now worth \$441,000 (Source, *Daily Free Press*, Sept. 9, 1982). *Boston Globe*, June 27, 1990)

Meanwhile Silber, who proposes the budget to the Trustees, raised his own salary dramatically. Today he makes \$275,000 a year (more than the presidents of Harvard, Yale, M.I.T., and more than the president of the United States). Silber also receives an employee benefits package worth \$47,000, according to B.U.'s annual report on file in the attorney-general's office. (Source, *Boston Herald*, June 6, 1990).

At the same time, he was keeping the salaries of faculty so low they had to form a union and go out on strike in order to get more pay. For instance, in the year 1986, Silber received a \$50,000 raise in pay, to \$240,000, while the average faculty salary was \$40,000. His increase was 26%, the faculty increase 6%. (Source, *Daily Free Press*, February 12, 1987)

Defending his enrichment while President, Silber said: "There is nothing wrong with someone in a position like mine wanting to leave this job without being poverty stricken." (Source, *B.U. Exposure*, April, 1986)

In the fall of 1987, Silber went on leave at full pay. (Source, *Daily Free Press*, Feb. 24, 1987) Two and a half years later, in early 1990, he asked for and was given another leave for the year, so he could run for governor, again at full pay. In effect, he is using university funds to help him run for governor.

While President of B.U., Silber, acquired stock in the Electronics Corporation of America, owned by Arthur Metcalf, chairman of B.U.'s Board of Trustees. When he sold the stock in 1986, it was worth about \$2 million. (Source, *Boston Globe*, Dec. 1, 1986)

Silber was reluctant to let the people of Massachusetts know about the sources of his income. But as a candidate for governor, he faced public pressure for him to do so. The *Boston Herald* reported: "An indignant John Silber grudgingly released his 1988 tax returns yesterday, disclosing total income of more than \$500,000 and the sale of investments with a value in excess of \$2 million....Silber donated \$1,186 to charity in 1988 — an amount equal to about one-fifth of 1 percent of his income." (Source: *Boston Herald*, June 6, 1990)

His 1988 tax return indicated that Silber owned real estate in Georgia, New Hampshire, Texas, and Vermont, all worth approximately \$1.5 million. He also had an interest in eleven companies. He was holding stock in two companies that do business with South Africa. (Source, *Boston Globe*, June 6 & June 27, 1990).

A number of these holdings were in partnership with trustees of Boston University, and this raises questions of ethics. Investigative reporter Charles Radin wrote:

"Two trustees of whom Silber speaks most highly, Gerald W. Blakely, Jr. and Paul Hellmuth, have major interests in Cabot, Cabot and Forbes, a financially overextended Boston-based development giant whose investments in Texas overlap the B.U. president's. C.C. & F. has in recent years built and promoted a very large shopping center and development on land in San Antonio owned by Northcross Associates Ltd. Silber is one of four Northcross partners...." (Source, *Boston Globe*, Nov. 12, 1976.)

Silber used his B.U. presidency to promote the book he published in 1989, and used the book to promote his candidacy for governor. The press reported:

"Democrat John Silber spent \$6314 in campaign funds to buy hundreds of copies of his recently published book from the Boston University Bookstore, finance records show. In turn, the university's book store intends on writing a personal check for a similar amount payable to Silber, said Peter Smokowski, the bookstore's manager. Campaign officials insist Silber is not profiting from the deal, but it raises questions about the extent to which campaign funds can be converted to personal use." (Source, *Boston Herald*, July 11, 1990)

Despite Silber's pressure on the bookstore, his book did not sell widely, and he complained:

"I don't think very many people even understand how to read a book like this because they have been so corrupted by television....They don't understand that there is such a thing as rational discussion." (Source, *The New Republic*, Dec. 11, 1989)

Silber, running for governor, portrays himself as an "outsider" in politics, but Globe reporter Brian Mooney wrote:

"The friends of John Silber, B.U.'s real estate consultants, lobbyists and development facilitators in state and city government read like a Who's Who of Massachusetts politics in the last decade. Among them are Bulger, McGee, White, former Senate President Kevin Harrington and his cousin, former U.S. Rep. Michael Harrington....Opponents say all these connections belie Silber's 'political outsider' billing." (Source, *Boston Globe*, June 27, 1990)

Silber has a habit of hiring ex-officials at high salaries.

One of the most notorious instances was his hiring of ex-Mayor White, who was soon receiving a salary of \$100,000 a year. Silber made misleading statements in connection with this. On March 16, 1983, he wrote an indignant letter to the *Boston Globe*: "I was astonished when the Feb. 20 *Globe* published what it called a 'rumor' that I was 'thinking of starting up B.U.'s own Institute of Politics' and that Mayor White would be its director....For the record I want to make it clear that the story is completely false." Shortly after that, White was hired by Silber. He was listed in the 1984-85 University Directory as "Program Director, Institute for Study of Political Communication."

As Silber's gubernatorial campaign got under way, the Boston Herald headlined: "Power Brokers Pour In Cash for Silber." The story was by reporter Jonathan Wells:

"Democrat John Silber's swelling list of financial backers has become a mosaic of past and present Massachusetts power-brokers from the world of politics, racetracks and real estate....One donor who captures the unusual flavor of Silber's contributor list is a retired Bay State racetrack owner whose lengthy resume includes alleged ties to organized crime and prohibition-era bootlegging....Seabrook, N.H. race-track owners Edward Keelan and Joseph Carney each contributed \$1000 to Silber this month." (Source, *Boston Herald*, July 5, 1990)

Silber and the Trustees

John Silber could not have made millions as president of B.U. without the compliance of the Board of Trustees, and especially the aid of his friend Arthur Metcalf, who became Chairman of the Board in 1976.

Silber seems to have gained control of the Trustees (who are supposed to control him) after 1976, when faculty, students, and deans overwhelmingly demanded Silber's removal. A number of trustees voted for Silber to leave, but they were outvoted. Metcalf became Chairman of the Board that year, and by 1979, according to the *Boston Globe*: "Seven or eight trustees who attempted to oust Silber two years ago have since resigned or were not invited to return to the board once their terms expired." (Source, *Boston Globe*, April 26, 1979.) One of those was Trustee Peter Fuller, who said when he resigned: "I agree with the perception of the Board as a group of rubber-stamping individuals." (Source, *Daily Free Press*, April 24, 1980).

In November of 1980, Trustee James Pappas resigned from the Board of Trustees, saying it was largely a "rubber-stamp" for Silber. (Source, *Boston Globe*, Nov. 9, 1980)

One of the fruits of the Metcalf-Silber alliance was the erection of a new \$100 million Science Center. The Center was named for Metcalf. Inside the Center is a great black marble plaque with an inscription praising Silber. New York Times writer Fox Butterfield commented: "His critics jest that the plaque is reminiscent of the icons erected to Stalin during his lifetime." (Source: *New York Times Education Supplement*, 1987)

In 1983, Trustee Jacob Saliba left the Board, saying Silber and Metcalf were trying to control the nominating committee of the Board of Trustees. In a letter to Metcalf, he protested: "In one way or another any dissent on the part of a B.U. Trustee has usually led to his or her early departure from the Board." Saliba said of Silber; "He wants to pack that board so he will be in there forever. Silber wants just one thing: total control of Boston University." (Source, *Daily Free Press*, September 23, 1983, *Boston Globe*, Aug. 3, 1983)

An Atmosphere of Fear

The Daily Free Press at Boston University interviewed an assistant professor of political science, who said: "In terms of political theory, this is a case study in an authoritarian regime, bordering on totalitarianism....There is a purely personalized rule here. Total power lies within the central administration....When you're up for tenure, your loyalty to the personality is critical....I have never been at a university with such a low morale among faculty members, or at least among junior faculty members....People are fearful here. They're fearful in what they say, do, or write." (Source, Daily Free Press, March 3, 1988)

A reporter for the *New York Times*, investigating the situation at Boston University, found: "In one recent case Mr. Silber called the candidate for tenure into his office and grilled him for several hours about his leftist political views, the professor charged. He asked that his name not be used, because he said he felt 'scared and intimidated'. 'It is a feudal system. He runs the place like a plantation.'" (Source, Fox Butterfield, *New York Times Educational Supplement*, 1987)

An article examining charges that Silber had admitted applicants to the B.U. Law School on his own, stated: "...there are many people at Boston University who say that they fear Mr. Silber. Few of his critics will speak for attribution, and some point to the heavy turnover of administrators as evidence of what happens to those who disagree openly with Mr. Silber." (Source, *New York Times*, March 18, 1978)

A Boston Globe investigative reporter, looking at John Silber's administration after five years, wrote:

"More than 25 administrators, faculty members and former B.U. employees approached by the *Globe* to discuss the current state of Boston University either insisted on anonymity or refused to talk to reporters because they said they feared retributions against themselves or their associates by the administration of John Silber."

He quoted a former Dean of the College of Liberal Arts: "Silber has used salaries as rewards and punishments." And a former administrator: "He thinks people operate best when scared so he constantly and deliberately erodes their self-respect." (Source, series of articles by Charles Radin, *Boston Globe*, November, 1976)

While researching an article for the *New York Times Magazine*, writer Helen Epstein reported: "Most of the people — B.U. students and faculty, former faculty, former trustees — interviewed for this article, even those with nothing critical to say, wished to remain anonymous for fear of reprisals." (Source, *New York Times Magazine*, April 23, 1988)

Freedom of Speech on Campus

The joke around Boston, when it was learned Silber was writing a book, was that it would be called Mein Kampus.

In 1977 and 1978, John Silber established censorship of student newspapers at Boston university. A few instances (*Source for these items, Report of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, Nov. 29, 1979*):

- 1 His administration objected to the political content of some articles in the 1977 Yearbook. Publication was delayed, and when it was printed finally, in 1978, the "political" material had been censored.
- 2 In the Spring of 1978, the Women's Center at B.U. published a B.U. Yellow Pages. In listing the Health Clinic, it said: "The clinic had a history of employee harassment and unjust firings." The B.U. administration refused to release funds for the booklet (under Silber the administration took control of the Student Activities Fee) until that sentence was eliminated. The booklet was printed with a blacked-out space.
- 3 The B.U. Exposure, a student newspaper that had been harshly critical of Silber, was denied any funds to operate. When student organizations allocated money for the Exposure, the allocations were vetoed by the Administration. The editors sued the B.U. Administration, and won an out-of-court settlement.
- 4 In the contract negotiations with the faculty union in 1978—79, the Silber administration asked that the Trustees be given the power to screen and forbid textbooks planned for classroom use.

In 1978, Steve Slade, Executive Director of the Boston University radio station (WBUR) was ordered to delete from the tape of a speech a joking reference to John Silber. He refused, and was fired. (*Source, Boston Herald-American, Nov. 27, 1979*)

In its report of 1979, the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts noted that it had "never, in memory, received such a large and sustained volume of complaints about a single...institution" as about Boston University under Silber. The report said that its investigation produced information "which, in the absence of a persuasive, and in fact any, rebuttal from the B.U. administration, was sufficient to constitute reason to believe that B.U. has violated fundamental principles of civil liberties and academic freedom."

In the Spring of 1985, students and faculty, walking on a peaceful picket line calling for divestment of B.U. funds from South Africa, found themselves being photographed, close-up, by B.U. police. The *Daily Free Press* later reported: "Members of the B.U. Police Department routinely take photographs and maintain files of students taking part in on-campus rallies and demonstrations, university officials confirmed recently." (*Source, Daily Free Press, Nov. 14, 1985*)

Dean of Students Ron Carter said that B.U. students were photographed almost every time they demonstrated, and that this had been done since he arrived at B.U. in 1971 (which was when Silber arrived). (*The Tab, April 8, 1986*)

In the Spring of 1985, an honor student at B.U., was interviewed for a B.U. brochure. She was told she could not say that a certain faculty member, a critic of Silber, was one of her favorite professors. The *Boston Herald* reported:

"A Boston University student says her remarks were banned from a B.U. publication aimed at incoming students because she praised radical Howard Zinn as one of the School's best professors. Maureen Judge, 21, of Seattle, a graduating senior, said B.U. admissions officials told her they couldn't run the interview with her if she insisted on listing Zinn as one of her most inspiring and enjoyable professors. 'I told them that if Howard Zinn can't be in the book, I can't either.'" (Source, *Boston Herald*, May 16, 1985)

The case of B.U. student Yosef Abramowitz became national news when the Silber Administration removed from his dormitory window a sign with one word: "Divest", and then threatened him with eviction when he kept replacing the sign. He sued B.U., with the help of the Civil Liberties Union. The judge ordered B.U. to stop threatening Abramowitz. Silber claimed B.U. was not concerned about the content of the sign, only that it hurt the looks of the neighborhood! The judge however, said B.U.'s actions were motivated by "B.U.'s desire to prevent the exercise of free speech rights." (Source, *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 1986, *Boston Globe*, Dec. 3, 1986)

B.U. students constructed a shanty, representing South African apartheid, on a grassy area in front of the Student Union. Similar shanties were built at Yale and other universities. The president of Yale, Benno Schmidt, said that the shanties built outside his office were "appropriate for universities to live with as part of a greater commitment to freedom of expression." But Silber called the police to tear down the shanty at B.U. and to arrest the students for trespassing." (Source, *New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1986)

Silber declared on national television that "the more democratic a university is, the lousier it is." He wrote: "The government must be democratic....But it does not follow that every institution within a democracy should be organized democratically. In fact, most institutions ought to be run on an elitist basis ..." (Source, *New York Times* Sept. 1, 1976)

A group of student leaders, in the spring of 1990, wrote a letter of protest about the fact that students were ignored in making decisions. They wrote:

"It is our education, our development, our vision for the future and yet our role in all of these areas is noticeably absent....The implication is that we need to be told how to act, how to think and how to live....There are multiple examples of overt ways in which the members of the oligarchical university administration exert their power over students and faculty...." (Source: *Daily Free Press*, March 26, 1990)

Silber said, responding to students demand for more say in university policy: "When you buy a car, you buy only the right to own the car. You don't buy the right to run the company." (Source, *Daily Free Press*, Nov. 14, 1977)

A student publication commented: "Silber views himself as a car dealer, and we are the swindled customers. But this is not a car dealership. This is a community of people." (Source, Publication of "The Coalition at Boston University", Spring, 1990)

Treatment of Employees

The record on this is clear. Silber has treated his employees — secretaries, buildings and grounds workers, librarians, technical workers, teachers — shamefully. He has fired people who criticized working conditions. He has refused to recognize unions organized by B.U. employees. He has been found guilty of unfair labor practices. He threw the campus into disarray with four strikes in one year. Note how often Silber is involved in the nasty treatment of women.

After Silber had been at B.U. four years, a group of women at the B.U. Health Clinic complained about working conditions (The Director, Wilbur Hemperley, whom Silber had appointed, had no previous experience in health management, was the husband of Silber's assistant). The women were berated for having a meeting, and then four women were fired. A decision of the National Labor Relations Board on March 9, 1976, found that Silber and B.U. had "unlawfully discharged" Elizabeth Hirsh, Arlyn Boudreau, Patti Schiffer, Kathy Walshe, and ordered "immediate and full reinstatement". The Board ordered B.U. to "cease and desist from threatening employees...or coercing its employees in the exercise of their rights. It ruled that B.U. must post notices for 60 days that it was guilty of "unfair labor practices." (Source, N.L.R.B. Decision, March 9, 1976)

The women were rehired, and discharged again. They sued B.U., charging threats of violence, pointed out that Hemperley kept a gun in his Health Clinic office. B.U. settled out of court for \$100,000.

Despite a shortage of nurses in Massachusetts in the 1980s, Silber closed the School of Nursing, claiming it was not profitable. Women on the School's faculty were put out of work, though they had been there twenty-five years and more. Eight women, all over forty (Mary Corcoran, Eleanor Pajunen, Margaret Sawyer, Gladys Scipien, Katherine McCarty, Margery Chisholm, Sylvia Bruce, Arlene Connolly) filed suit against Silber and B.U. for sex and age discrimination for failing to find placement for them and refusing severance pay. The case has not yet been heard. (Source, Daily Free Press, May 26, 1988, and various articles in Boston Globe and Boston Herald.)

Many employees who disagreed with Silber's political views found themselves out of a job or their salaries kept down. A few examples:

Professor Elizabeth Bettenhausen, in the School of Theology, publicly criticized Silber's grant of an honorary degree to Napoleon Duarte, president of El Salvador. She pointed to the continuation of death-squad terrorism in that country under Duarte. Her contract was not renewed. (Source, Daily Free Press, Sept. 11, 1987)

Dean of College of Liberal Arts Robert Cohen argued that two professors critical of Silber were entitled to substantial raises on the basis of their scholarly work and teaching. Cohen stated to reporter Charles Radin that an academic vice president told him "it is the president's opinion that they should get no raises." (Source: Boston Globe, Nov. 8, 1976)

"Boston University yesterday defended the dismissal of a secretary who voted

for Lt. Gov. Evelyn Murphy rather than John Silber at the Democratic State Convention. Dennis Berkey, B.U.'s provost and dean of the College of Liberal Arts, said that Dorothy Hahn, 58, was being laid off due to a 'reorganization' of her department. But Silber gave a different story, saying: "She was fired as an unsatisfactory employee." Hahn had worked for B.U. for fifteen years and said she had never received a negative evaluation. She said, according to reporter Fehrstrom "it was common knowledge she supported Murphy and claimed she had told Silber's field workers of that fact when they asked for her delegate vote." (Source: *Boston Herald*, July 11, 1990)

After a series of strikes at Boston University in 1979, by buildings and grounds workers, secretaries, librarians, and faculty, Dr. William H. Hebert, executive director of the Massachusetts Teachers Association, said: "The actions of the Silber administration are reprehensible and have no place on a campus of higher learning anywhere in this country." (Source: *Statement of Dec. 4, 1979*)

Silber boasts that he has brought important people to the B.U. faculty. What he does not tell is how many distinguished teachers and scholars have left B.U., and denounced his rule. For instance:

Two years after Silber becomes President, Professor Richard Newman announced that he was leaving B.U. because of the "arrogance of power". He said: "it was not possible to have a rational discussion with the President...to disagree with the President is to be put on the Enemies List." (Source: *B.U. News*, Sept. 13, 1973)

Frances Fox Piven, one of the nation's most eminent political scientists, left B.U. in May of 1982, with an open letter to Silber saying she was leaving "because your administration has created a situation where good academic work is no longer possible." (Source: *Boston Globe*, May 18, 1982) When Piven was informed that Silber was running for governor, she told a reporter:

"One imagines the political leader of a state as someone who listens to others and considers a wide range of opinion, then tries to come to a decision based on some measure of that range of interests. John Silber isn't capable of that. He ran B.U. as a personal fiefdom, intimidated other constituencies, personally attacked and excoriated people and drove trustees off the board. There's a record here that makes it clear he would be...unresponsive to any group he disagreed with. It's mind-boggling to imagine a personality like John Silber as head of a democracy." (Source: *Boston Globe*, May 24, 1990)

Shortly before leaving B.U. for Harvard, Helen Vendler, a renowned literary critic, a Pulitzer Prize judge, a winner of an award for excellence in teaching, said that since Silber arrived there had been a "catastrophic decline in morale" among the faculty. She wrote:

"Courteous relations prevailed until John Silber took office....In this University, everyone's personal and professional lives are subject to harassment: we are spied on and photographed from behind parked cars....Respectable universities do not operate in this way.....Rational speech with him is impossible; he does not listen, and he resorts to vilification without provocation....[His administration] has corrupted life and liberty on this campus." (Source: *Statement of Dec. 17, 1979*)

Discrimination Against Women

John Silber has a long record of discrimination against women, denying tenure to qualified women faculty, treating women employees with arrogance, speaking about pregnancy and abortion and rape in ways that demean women.

One recent case involved English professor Julia Brown, who received a 22-0 vote of support for tenure by her department, a 9-0 vote in favor by a faculty committee of the College of Liberal Arts, and a 9-2 vote of support by a university faculty committee, and then a 2-1 favorable vote by three outside scholars (the one vote against her was by the scholar appointed by the Administration). Silber turned her down for tenure.

Professor Brown had been active in the faculty union. During its strike in 1979 she had picketed openly in front of Silber's office, a daring move when she did not have tenure and when Silber's men were photographing pickets. She had written a book on Jane Austen, one of the great English novelists, but Silber did not consider Austen an important enough subject.

She sued Silber in federal court. In 1987, a jury found Silber and B.U. guilty of sex discrimination, awarded Julia Brown \$215,000. The judge ordered B.U. to give her tenure. She said: "I feel that I was only one of many persons at B.U. who have borne the brunt of John Silber's high-handed and unjustified conduct in discriminating against women and against members of the union as well."

Silber appealed. A U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the verdict. The court said that Silber's various comments "reflected a patronizing attitude towards women" Silber had spoken of the English department as a "damned matriarchy". He had told one female professor worried about losing her job: "...your husband is a parachute, so why are you worried?" (Source, *Brown v. Trustees of Boston University*, 891 F.2d 337(1st Cir. 1989. *New York Times*, Dec. 1989)

Silber, who had already spent a huge amount of the university's money on this case, decided to spend more and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court refused to hear the case.(Source, *Boston Globe*, June 19, 1990)

Fighting Julia Brown's tenure would cost the University over a million dollars. According to the *Globe*: "Freda Rebelsky Camp, a psychology professor who is president of the B.U. chapter of the American Association of University Professors, yesterday accused Silber of wasting university money on a personal test of wills with Brown. 'It's a misappropriation of university funds...'" (Source, *Boston Globe*, June 19, 1990)

Two women students at B.U., surveying the situation after Silber had been in office nine years, found serious discrimination against women. They noted the case of philosophy professor Elizabeth Rapaport, who had received the unanimous endorsement of her department for tenure, plus the overwhelming approval by another faculty committee, but was turned down by Silber. They wrote:

"The situation of Elizabeth Rapaport is a most blatant form of this

discrimination. In essence, one man overrode the unanimous vote of an entire department, committee, and dean. Are all of these people wrong, or misguided in their evaluation of Rapaport's work?" Silber had objected to Rapaport's writing, which dealt with feminist issues. She said: "The President does not recognize the legitimacy of feminist inquiry." Rapaport sued Silber and B.U., charging sex discrimination, and B.U. settled out of court rather than face a trial. (Source, *Daily Free press*, Jan. 31, 1980)

Silber had turned down a number of women for tenure who had overwhelming faculty and student approval. Among them:

- Roslyn Feldberg, who had been active in the union and in feminist studies, was approved for tenure in 1983, 16-2 by her Department, 7-2 by College of Liberal Arts faculty committee, and 8-0 by a university faculty committee. She was vetoed by Silber.
- Seyla Benhabib, a distinguished philosopher and brilliant teacher, received overwhelming approval by her department and the various faculty committees, was turned down for tenure by Silber, and hired by Harvard University.

Silber's views on childbirth, abortion, and welfare reveal narrowmindedness and callousness with regard to the problems of women, especially poor women.

Campaigning for governor in Western Massachusetts, Silber told a group of supporters, according to the Springfield Union News: "The fact is, young girls are having babies in order to drop out of school and get on welfare....With regard to a teen-age mother, she ought to be educated right from the start to understand that this is her one and only opportunity. That if she gets pregnant again, until she is married and capable of taking care of her own children, she will receive no welfare whatsoever. And if she cannot care for her child, her children will be taken away from her and put into a state institution where they can get adequate care." (Source, *Boston Globe*, May 1, 1990)

The Springfield Union News editorialized on Silber's remarks: "...he was appealing to those mean spirited voters who agree with the racist and divisive themes of his campaign. How simplistic. How racist. How uncaring. How untrue."

People in the field of human services were appalled by Silber's words. Loretta Kowal, executive director of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, said that Silber's suggestion would only hurt the children. "When you deprive a mother of benefits, you deprive the child."

According to the Globe article: "Philip Johnston, secretary of human services, said the concept of placing children in institutions has been rejected long ago as a way to help children....The existence of orphanages destroyed the lives of tens of thousands of children."

Columnist Margery Eagan commented: "OK John. How about this for a new Silber campaign motto: 'The first one's yours, mom, the second one's ours.'" (Source, *Boston Herald*, May 3, 1990)

On abortion and poverty: Silber believes that "the fetus is human and that consequently abortion is homicide....the mere convenience or preference of the mother does not justify killing the fetus." He says he does not believe his view should be written into law, but he would not give medical benefits to poor women who need abortions. He writes: "Many who advocate abortion speak of it in terms of a woman's right to do as she sees fit with her own body. What does this have to do with the issue of abortion?" (Source, John R. Silber, Straight Shooting, pp. 192-195.)

A student activist of the Boston University Women's Center, Hillary Brooks, spoke angrily in the spring of 1990 about: "John Silber — A History of Sexist Leadership". She reported Silber's comments on rape April 4, 1988, speaking at a B.U. dormitory. He had said: "Rape has been tragically assumed to include any sexual activity that a woman regrets later and decides to protest....One who succumbs to an act of seduction may have fulfilled the requirement of consent and yet....having regretted that consent, falsely claim to have been raped." (Source, Boston University Women's Center, May 3, 1990, Speech of Hillary Brooks,

A woman who dealt with rape problems at the B.U. Police Department, Peggy Jablonski, openly contradicted Silber's views on acquaintance rape. She was fired seven months later. (Source, Daily Free Press, February 13, 1989) To illustrate what the U.S. Court of Appeals had called Silber's "patronizing attitude towards women", Hillary Brooks cited an interview in which Silber remarked: "There's not very many years that a woman is a beautiful girl. Those years — maybe, say, roughly from 15 to 25 — ten years, that's not a long time. If they had beautiful hair, they wouldn't have made it look dirty and stringy and knotty, they would have been very happy to comb it. They revealed themselves decorously, showing relatively little, but enough for those with imagination to fill out the rest." (Source, Daily Free Press, April 212, 1987).

Along with his sexism, Silber has consistently been hostile to the rights of gay people. At Boston University, the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Civil Rights, came out against Silber for governor, on the ground of his insensitivity to their problems, as well as to women, immigrants, and working people in general.

The Coalition pointed to the fact that for ten years it had asked Silber to include in the University anti-discrimination policy a clause about the right of students to their own "sexual preference", a principle which was adopted by the City of Boston in 1986. Silber consistently refused, insisting that to do so would mean that B.U. was accepting homosexuality as "a normative way of life". He spoke about homosexuality in the same breath as child molestation and bestiality. (Source, Speech to Towers Residence Hall, April 4, 1988)

Silber as Militarist: John Silber vs. Martin Luther King, Jr.

While frequently invoking the name of Martin Luther King, Jr. Silber's political philosophy is opposed to King's on almost every issue.

King spoke out strongly against the Vietnam war. Silber did not. When a resolution came before a faculty assembly condemning the bombing by B-52s of civilian neighborhoods in Hanoi and Haiphong in December, 1982, Silber declared the resolution out of order. He criticized such statements by faculty or students as attempts "to legislate political and moral orthodoxy". (Source, David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, Chapter 10; *Straight Shooting*, p.97)

King called for sanctions against South Africa. Silber opposes sanctions. He worries that if African National Congress, takes power in South Africa, it will "destroy what is now the most dynamic economy in Africa...." (Source, *New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1964; *New York Times*, Oct. 9, 1986)

King stood for non-violence in international affairs as well as at home. Silber supported military solutions to foreign policy problems in El Salvador and Nicaragua. (Source: *Straight Shooting*, p.271, 277)

King supported unions, was killed while helping striking garbage workers in Memphis. Silber has fought unions tooth and nail at Boston University.

King engaged in sit-ins and non-violent demonstrations. When students did this at Boston University, Silber called out the police, and when they beat students and arrested them, Silber praised the actions of the police. (*B.U. News*, March 28, 1972) One journalist commented: "At the university whose most illustrious graduate was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., John Silber was quick to call the police — dogs, clubs, and all — to break up a peaceful student demonstration against the Vietnam war...." (Source, Article by Stephen Arons, *Saturday Review*, March 15, 1980)

King was the victim of police-state tactics — surveillance and wire-tapping. Silber's police take photos of people on picket lines. (Source, *Daily Free Press*, Nov. 14, 1985)

King was a man of peace, who rejected the fierce jingoism that sets nations against one another. Silber repeats the simplistic slogans of that jingoism: "Young people of today will not keep their freedom long if they announce to the world that they are unwilling to fight, and if need be, to die for it." (*B.U. Sentry-Courier*, Feb. 1981)

In a speech in 1984, Silber opposed the War Powers Act. Congress, conscious of how presidential action had brought us into the Vietnam war, passed the Act in 1973 in order to limit the power of the president to send troops into combat on his own. Silber wanted the president to be able to engage in military action without the consent of Congress. He opposed restrictions on the President's actions. "Since 1978, for example, it has been illegal to sell anti-personnel weapons to the Salva-

doran Air Force." (Source, Address by John Silber to the 66th Annual Convention of the Massachusetts Department of the American Legion, June 28, 1984)

After the draft was instituted in 1979, Silber decided to police it himself. He ruled that B.U. would take away its financial aid from students who did not register for the draft. And editorial in the student newspaper called this "ideological blackmail", and said: "Dr. Silber chose this issue because he has been a long-outspoken advocate of a strong military, and was instrumental in bringing the R.O.T.C. to B.U. He is backed in this ideology by Arthur G.B. Metcalf, chairman of the board of trustees of Boston University, who is chairman of the Electronics Corporation of America, a military supplier." (Source, Daily Free Press, March 4, 1983)

Silber, appointed to Reagan's Commission on Central America, dissented from the final report of the majority in the fall of 1983. The report had urged that future military aid should be withheld unless certain conditions were met, including "termination of the activities of the so-called death squads." Silber along with Kissinger and one other member disagreed, said that arms should continue to flow to El Salvador even if its human rights record did not improve. (Raymond Bonner, *Weakness and Deceit*, p. 383-84).

Almost exactly at the time this report was made, there was an Associated Press news report from El Salvador: "Army troops rounded up and killed more than 100 leftist sympathizers, including women and children, in three small towns in northern El Salvador, residents told foreign journalists who visited the area." (Source, New York Times, Nov. 18, 1983)

Silber's aggressive super-patriotism seems to express it self also in hostility to people other than native-born Americans, especially if they are poor. Speaking about Cambodian refugees arriving in Lowell, Silber asked: "Why has Massachusetts suddenly become so popular for people who are accustomed to living in the tropical climate? Amazing. There has got to be a welfare magnet going on here....Why should Lowell be the Cambodian capital of America?" (Source, Worcester Telegram & Gazette, Jan. 25, 1990)

General Assessments of Silber

Financial writer David Warsh wrote in the *Globe*: "To be in a room with John Silber, to sense both the magnetic presence of the man and the lack of joy, to watch people arrange themselves in clumps at a distance from him, is to be reminded — forcibly — of the most familiar Lucifer-figure in popular culture today, Darth Vader, the 'Star Wars' villain....He doesn't wear a funny helmet; you can't hear him breathe; but there is something of the Death Star about the rhetorical thunderbolts he hurls...." (Source, *Boston Globe*, Dec.10, 1989)

B.U. Trustee Jacob Saliba, resigning from the Board, said that Silber "has made our university the laughing-stock of the collegiate world". (Source, *Boston Globe*, Aug. 3, 1983)

Stephen Arons, after investigating Silber's problems at B.U., wrote: "It is Silber's management and not his personality, that lies at the center of B.U.'s storm. Silber's educational vision seems impaired by his failure to understand and build his university's major asset — the morale, good will, and creative contribution of the faculty." (Source, *Saturday Review*, March 15, 1980)

John Nason, the past president of Swarthmore and Carlton, the author of a study "Presidential Assessment", said: "I view Silber as an embarrassment to higher education and the administration of higher education." (Quoted by Stephen Arons in the *Saturday Review*, March 15, 1980)

The End

A list of sponsors of this booklet, present or former B.U. faculty and students, follows. Many faculty members who still work at Boston University expressed their strong endorsement of this Factbook but did not want their names listed. One tenured professor wrote a letter, saying we could quote from it so long as we respected the writer's anonymity:

"I have fantasized writing a letter to the Boston Globe, or speaking with a reporter, about how capricious, how arrogant, how repressive John Silber is, and to utter dire warnings about what would happen if he were elected as our governor. I have strong feelings and much evidence....John Silber is vindictive. He has punished departments and some outspoken individuals ... by consistently denying even cost-of-living raises, sabbaticals, or leaves of absence for some professors he disliked when I consider what I have to lose, I hesitate to go public in my criticism It is hard enough to find someone who will come here, given Silber's by-now national reputation for denying tenure to fine scholars that he dislikes. I am tired of hearing fine young people tell me they wouldn't even consider B.U. Thus as a tenured person and as one who believes in free speech and unpopular causes — I am quite literally afraid to go public in my opposition to this dangerous and vindictive man. I trust, instead, that the people of Massachusetts will be smart enough to reject him without my evidence."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Ailes Communications, Inc.

CONFIDENTIALTHE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

VIA FAX

TO: Governor Sununu
Ed Rogers
FROM: Roger Ailes *RA*
DATE: November 16, 1990
RE: Miscellaneous Thoughts

With regard to doing a major speech sometime soon, (and there may be no need to do a major speech until the President returns from the Middle East) it is very important that the speech be written well in advance. It appears to me that many of the speeches are being written in first or second draft on the day of the speech. He needs time to get comfortable with the language. A few people should see the copy to punch up the style to make it more interesting and memorable. The speech must be correct in tone. If there is any chance for me to see an early draft of the speech I would like to, because I have a feel for what the American people will accept and respond to.

People want to know why we are in the Gulf and willing to risk American lives. We have given several reasons and they are all valid, but the two best are probably: 1) Hussein has the weaponry and the will to escalate devastation to other countries, and 2) the atrocities being committed by the Iraqi army in Kuwait.

Dress in Desert

For ceremonial functions, the President should dress in suit and tie and be the President of the United States. In the field he should wear khaki slacks, open shirts, long sleeves with the sleeves rolled up. It is my judgement that he should not wear hats or helmets. A fatigue jacket would be fine in the field with the soldiers on Thanksgiving Day.

In general, the President should not look overly military nor should he climb in a tank or handle military equipment. The networks in this country might put the Dukakis footage next to him on the screen.

Be aware of symbolic backgrounds (both Arabic and American) at all times.

Governor Sununu and Ed Rogers
Page 2
November 16, 1990

Miscellaneous

1. I believe it is true that all soldiers in the Gulf volunteered for military service. This is not a situation where we are drafting people and forcing them to face the enemy. These people joined the service knowing a day of battle might come. This message needs to be articulated to the public.
2. If a high enough ranking woman officer is in the desert, she should be included in top briefing sessions. If not, he should meet with her privately.
3. I am sure he will schedule a briefing session with a commander in the field. If the session is scheduled for one hour, and lasted four to five hours, it will heighten the drama for the news media and intensify the pressure on Hussein.
4. Once you have memorable phrases written, don't be afraid to repeat them.
5. Create a single "line of the day" and stick to it.
6. Don't just tell people what you are doing. Tell them why you are doing it and link it to an American value as well as an issue. Don't underestimate the value of defending Israel and innocent people throughout the Middle East from Hussein. The administration has begun to do this by talking about oil in terms of jobs.
7. Be sure that every stop of the President's visit is advanced because a confrontation between a soldier and the Commander in Chief would be blown out of proportion by the media.
8. Advise the loyal spokesmen here at home who have access to the media about the points to be made and the "line of the day". There will be much analysis in this country, and our people should be all over the media to help the President.

Best regards.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Gingrich

GEORGE BUSH

11/27/90

John,

FYI

GB

Lubar & Co.

*cc: John Sununu
fyi*

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November 5, 1990

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
General Chairman
GOPAC
440 First Street, NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Newt:

*Mr President,
Sheldon Lubar is one of
my blind trustees. I did
not speak to him about the
budget/Gingrich. It is interesting
that he understood the issue
so clearly*

NFTS

I am writing in response to your invitation to join GOPAC and attend the November meeting. Scheduling conflicts would not permit my attendance, but in addition I am not comfortable with what I see.

I have listened to your tapes and they are agreeable, but your actions are not consistent. You talk about spending cuts, but I see no evidence that you sponsor or step up to cuts. In terms of fiscal policy we have long ago reached the point where rhetoric can replace necessary action. What you have done is scuttle the first budget compromise and pave the way for a result embodying even higher taxes and less spending cuts. In the process you have humiliated the President and negatively impacted every Republican up for election. Well, at least I have that off my chest.

Newt, I sense your intentions are in line with my thinking, but uncompromising idealogues worry me. For the time being let's allow things to rest. Perhaps at a later date I will reconsider.

Sincerely,



Sheldon B. Lubar

SBL:mbw

S&L Crisis Breeds Tough Group of Regulatory Enforcers

By Jerry Knight
Washington Post Staff Writer

Nobody needs to tell Robert Lackovic how powerful federal banking examiners have become.

For the better part of three months the chairman of First Nationwide Bank, based in San Francisco, watched as 30 examiners from two government agencies pored over the thrift's financial records.

When they finished, the examiners demanded that \$250 million in additional cash be pumped into First Nationwide by its owner, Ford Motor Co.

Ford is no pushover when it comes to dealing with bureaucrats, having recently beaten back government demands to improve the fuel efficiency of its cars. But when the examiners insisted on more capital for First Nationwide, Ford promised the money without a protest.

"They are much tougher," Lackovic said. "They are examining people in much more detail. They pored through the portfolio a lot more than they used to. Maybe if we had been examining institutions like this four years ago, we wouldn't have the problems we've got."

Crises in the nation's savings and loan and banking industries are costing taxpayers tens of billions of dollars and are straining deposit insurance funds. In response, federal bank examiners have cast off their green eye shades and I-get-no-respect demeanor to take up the most influential role they have ever played in shaping the economy.

Once regarded as little more than traffic cops for bookkeepers, bank examiners today make critical decisions that affect every American.

Bank examiners—many are relative newcomers in their twenties or early thirties—are deciding which banks will survive and who will run them, what businesses will get loans and what kind of loans they will receive. Ultimately these examiners could be a major factor in determining whether the nation will suffer a recession and how bad any recession would be.

These new roles have made the issue of bank examinations and their effect on bank lending practices so important that President Bush and members of his Cabinet have talked about the topic four times in the last 10 days as part of a broad review of the economic slowdown.

After hearing complaints from business executives that overzealous bank examiners are making it difficult for businesses to get needed loans and may even be adding to the likelihood of a recession, Bush acknowledged that banks now are paying the price of their "excesses" during the 1980s.

"We had kind of go-go lending policies in some of our financial institutions," Bush said. "Loans were made then that wouldn't be made now."

This newly recognized mission of protecting the nation from imprudent bankers has made major Washington players of government officials who once settled for bit parts in economic policy making:

■ Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. Chairman L. William Seidman has become so controversial and powerful that White House Chief of Staff John Sununu tried to get rid of him—and failed.

■ Comptroller of the Currency Robert L. Clarke is the first person holding that office ever to attract television coverage to his press conferences.

■ Office of Thrift Supervision Director T. Timothy Ryan has taken a job that President Reagan once gave to one of his public relations men and turned it into a high-visibility post that could earn him a shot at a Cabinet office.

■ At the Federal Reserve Board, where Chairman Alan Greenspan has long been a powerful figure, the director of the Division of Banking Supervision and Regulation, William Taylor, has emerged from the obscurity of the Fed's bureaucracy to

earn President Bush's endorsement to succeed Seidman at the FDIC.

The four agencies share power over often-indistinguishable financial institutions. The Office of the Comptroller of Currency regulates 4,000 national banks. The Federal Reserve oversees 1,073 state-chartered banks that chose to belong to the Fed and all bank holding companies.

The Office of Thrift Supervision regulates 2,404 savings and loans including many that call themselves savings banks. The FDIC has responsibility for state banks that are not Federal Reserve members and examines all thrifts as well.

Together, the agencies marshal about 38,000 employees to watch over the health and safety of more than \$3.9 trillion of the nation's wealth.

At a basic level, the bank examiner's job is simple: Examiners periodically visit banks to review records to ensure that federal regulations are being followed and that the banks' public financial reports reflect what is happening at their loan desks and in their boardrooms.

In the current climate, the clout of the four regulatory agencies has grown to such proportions that a dark joke made the rounds this past week at the convention of the U.S. League of Savings Institutions, the trade group for the S&L industry. Question: "What's the difference between a bank regulator and a terrorist?" Answer: "You can negotiate with a terrorist."

It is the take-no-prisoners attitude shown by examiners that has provoked the recent discussions at the White House and Camp David.

Ford's First Nationwide, a chain of thrifts operating in nine states, is one of hundreds of financial institutions that as a result of an examination were forced to write off more bad loans, set aside cash to cover expected losses and strengthen financial bases by raising new money from owners. First Nationwide added \$115 million to its loan-loss reserves and is still negotiating with the FDIC over issues that Lackovic said could lead to further write-downs.

Lackovic said his company disagreed with the examiners over "only a handful" of loans, but the aggressive stance taken by regulators is leading

bankers to change the way they do business. "It's going to force people to get a little more conservative than they might normally be because you're afraid of being criticized," he said.

When bankers are warned about certain kinds of loans, Lackovic said, "They just hunker back and say 'Well, if you don't like this kind of loan, we won't make them anymore' and start to curtail their activity."

*Mr. President
See page 2
NFB*

The central question in the White House debate about examination practices is whether the regulators are the cause of a lending slowdown or merely agents of reality, motivating bankers to do what they already know they should be doing.

Clarke, as currency comptroller and a top banking regulator, said in an interview with Reuter: "We have to maintain proper lending standards and proper supervisory standards to keep the banks in business." He dismissed criticism that his tough policies are pushing the nation into a recession.

Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher and White House Chief of Staff Sununu lead the administration faction maintaining that regulators have gone too far.

On the other side of the issue are Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, Fed Chairman Greenspan and Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, who said regulators have become scapegoats for the economy's problems.

And a few experts outside the government, led by California economist Dan Brumbaugh, said the regulators are not being tough enough.

Bankers can be found on both sides of the issue.

In New England, about 20 percent of the real estate problems stem from "overzealousness by regulators" and about 80 percent of the problems are because of "overzealousness by bankers" said Guiliam Aertsen, who is in charge of New England real estate lending for the Bank of Boston.

"We in the bank rely heavily on suggestions from our regulator friends. We take most of them," he said. "The fact is the real estate markets are down. Banks need to review their ... practices."

As Bush pointed out last week, real estate lending practices grew too loose during the past decade and the

questionable loans now are haunting the banks that made the loans.

Lending standards were relaxed, one federal regulator stationed in New England said, "because people wanted ... to take business away from someone else."

Banking regulators bear some of the responsibility for allowing the rules to be relaxed, bankers and regulators conceded, because the liberalization of lending standards went on with their full knowledge and approval.

"The better time—and the harder time—to do something about it was at the beginning," one congressional banking expert said.

But as the New England regulator said: "It is hard for any regulatory authority to discipline a bank when it has no obvious weaknesses."

A complaint often heard at the savings and loan convention last week was that regulators were overcompensating for their past mistakes, particularly their failure to move quickly when Southwest banks and thrifts got in trouble five years ago.

"They're covering their backsides so much, they're going to get diaper rash," said Donald R. Shackelford, the new chairman of the U.S. League of Savings Institutions.

There is no question that banking regulators have extraordinary power over the institutions they oversee, including regulatory tools that no other federal agency is permitted to exercise. A frequent lament of beleaguered executives is that "bank regulators are God."

For example, Congress has given the FDIC authority to issue orders stopping "any specific activity which poses a serious threat" to the deposit insurance fund. The Office of Thrift Supervision can act as both prosecutor and judge and has accused several thrift executives of looting their institution and ordered them to give back the money.

Historically the bank examiners' power has been wielded with discretion, even reluctance, but as the problems of the banking and thrift industries have worsened, the banking agencies have used all the tools at their disposal.

When the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency took over the National Bank of Washington earlier this year, it used for the first time its power to seize a faltering financial institution before it actually became insolvent. The power came from the S&L cleanup law passed in 1989, when Congress granted the regulators' request for additional authority.

In the past few months, regulators have demanded the firing of the president of Perpetual Savings Bank, the largest thrift in the Washington area, and ordered another local banking company, James Madison Ltd., to close branches and reduce operations.

Even tighter controls have been imposed on MNC Financial Corp., the company that owns Maryland National Bank and American Security Bank. The holding company has been given a

March 31 deadline for raising new capital and has been ordered to sell its prized credit-card business and to stop paying dividends to stockholders.

Such orders often are issued in secret. While they theoretically can be appealed to a court, banks are reluctant to publicly admit they are being disciplined and thus rarely put up a fight.

When bankers do fight, they lose. The FDIC has survived every court challenge to its supervisory powers.

Thrift regulators last summer won a landmark court decision when U.S. District Court Judge Stanley Sporkin threw out a challenge to its authority brought by Charles H. Keating of the failed Lincoln Savings and Loan Association of Irvine, Calif.

And even after a Kansas thrift won a district court decision against the Office of Thrift Supervision a few months ago, the agency used other powers to keep management from regaining control of the institution.

Staff writers John M. Berry, Joel Glenn Brenner and Robert J. McCartney contributed to this report.

Another province
heard from

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

November 30, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ED ROGERS *ER*

SUBJECT:

COALITION FOR AMERICA AT RISK

Just a quick note to alert you to the Coalition for America at Risk. Attached please find today's Washington Post coverage, as well as some of their material.

I've talked with some of their members and while I cannot question their motives or sincerity, the organization employs conservative consultants whose ranks include Richard Viguerie, Howard Phillips and other enemies - even though their names don't appear on the letterhead. Similar groups are cropping up elsewhere.

The Coalition for America at Risk is trying to raise Kuwaiti money, or Arab money at least, to support their "efforts". Thus far, they've been unsuccessful. Members have appealed on several fronts, in an attempt to have us help them with their fundraising. We've kept them at arms length, and Craig Fuller is helping to guide us with groups like this.

cc: Governor Sununu
General Scowcroft

Conservative Group Lobbies for Gulf Policy

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Washington Post
November 30, 1990

A group of conservatives based in Northern Virginia says public support for the U.S. presence in the Middle East is flagging mostly because President Bush has failed to articulate why troops were sent there.

To explain why the United States must liberate Kuwait from Iraq's occupation, the Coalition for America at Risk says it has raised nearly \$1 million, set up a nationwide speaker's bureau, bought full-page ads in leading newspapers, run television commercials and set up two telephone information hot lines.

Sam H. Zakhem, the former U.S. ambassador to Bahrain who is co-chairman of the group, said a divisive congressional debate over the U.S. role could cripple the effort and damage troop morale. He said the hot lines have been flooded with 2,600 calls a day from Americans concerned about the issue.

"The White House is right on target" with its tough stance against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Zakhem said, but "whoever is handling the president's explanation to the American people has failed."

Zakhem said Americans should support the buildup of 400,000 American troops in the Persian Gulf because Kuwait "has been a good friend and American values call for fighting for one's friends," because of vital U.S. interests in the region, and because if Saddam is left unchecked, "everybody will be at harm's reach."

America at Risk was organized in an attempt to counter other conservatives, led by columnist Patrick Buchanan, who have questioned Bush's policies, said the group's spokesman, Craig Shirley. His public relations firm, Keene, Shirley & Associates in Alexandria, serves as headquarters for the coalition.

The language of the coalition's materials pulls no punches. "The Kuwaiti morgues are filled to overflowing and the Iraqis have piled the bodies of murdered Kuwaitis in heaps, as at Auschwitz," reads one coalition leaflet. "Countless Kuwaiti women have been raped and brutalized by grinning Iraqi troops in uniform."

The leaflet goes on to say that "some in America are trying to undermine the overwhelming support for President Bush and his policy of removing Saddam Hussein from Kuwait." It then asks citizens to call the hot lines and leave their names. They are then mailed a "Free Kuwait" bumper sticker and a packet

of form letters to send to key members of Congress, particularly those who are questioning Bush's policies.

Several liberal groups, including one headed by former attorney general Ramsey Clark, are trying to mobilize public opinion against Bush's policies. Clark's New York-based group, the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, is organizing a Jan. 19 march in Washington to demand withdrawal of U.S. troops in the Middle East.

The fight to win public opinion on the U.S. policy in the Middle East is considered critical. Bush said last week that "holding public opinion forever in any country is very difficult to do," when asked why the United States could not simply wait out Saddam.

Martin Binkin, a military analyst at the Brookings Institution, said the "worry is that Bush might make a decision on combat action earlier because of a fear of a loss of public opinion."

The latest public opinion polls show weakened support for the way Bush has handled the crisis. In September, 78 percent approved. By mid-November, the number slipped to 59 percent, according to Washington Post-ABC polls.

Both Zakhem and Shirley said that their group, which they said includes Richard Viguerie, conservative direct-mail fund-raiser; David Keene, chairman of the American Conservative Union; and Scott Stanley Jr., editor in chief of the conservative wire service American Press International, is financed entirely by private citizens.

Zakhem said the group plans to step up its effort if Congress begins debating the issue. The coalition's 30-second television ads feature an unidentified woman, described as a recently escaped hostage, who outlines the plight of those held in Iraq and Kuwait, recounting how courageous Kuwaitis are protecting Americans hiding there. Another ad features an American soldier writing home, outlining the reasons he believes the United States should stand tough against Saddam.

Zakhem said 50 conservatives in the coalition's network are giving speeches around the country to high schools, civic groups and any other forum they can find from Alaska to New York. In Washington, Zakhem has addressed a group of Georgetown University students and is scheduled to address the Institute for Geopolitical Studies today at the Pentagon City Ritz-Carlton Hotel.

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URGENT

**Enclosed: How you can support
President Bush and our brave men
and women in the Gulf to free Kuwait...**

**...this is the EMERGENCY ACTION KIT
you requested. Please open at once.**



PETITION of SUPPORT for PRESIDENT BUSH

Dear Mr. President:

As an American citizen I, the undersigned, support your commitment of our armed forces to the Persian Gulf in order to free Kuwait and deal with the aggressor Saddam Hussein. At the same time, I believe the United States of America should beware of international entanglements, that our forces should not be posted in large numbers at great distances for protracted police actions, and that when our military is placed on a war footing it should never be without complete commitment to preserve and protect America's vital interests.

I therefore take this means to assure you, Mr. President, of my support for your actions in drawing a line against brutal aggression by Iraq's Saddam Hussein. I wholeheartedly agree with you that Iraq must be made to withdraw from Kuwait and the historically legitimate al-Sabah Government restored. I further support your determination to end the threat posed by Saddam Hussein to the peace and security of the Middle East and America's vital interests, by whatever means become necessary.

I know that freedom isn't free, Mr. President. And that commitment to justice is always one of America's legitimate national interests.

Signed _____

(Please sign and return this Petition of Support in the envelope provided.)



YES! I am outraged by Saddam Hussein and other terrorist murderers, and I want to support freedom. Here is my gift to help you get the word out to other freedom-loving Americans:

Please circle one:

\$100

\$50

\$25

Other \$ _____

Please make checks payable to Coalition for America at Risk.

I have enclosed my Petition of Support for President Bush to get Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait now and to continue his fight against terrorism.

Please make any necessary changes or corrections in your name or address.

TEMPORARY MEMBERSHIP CARD



SUPPORTING MEMBER

The bearer of this card is a Supporting Member of the Coalition for America at Risk.

**CO-CHAIRMEN**

William R. Kennedy, Jr.

Scott Stanley, Jr.

Amb. Sam H. Zakhem

**HERE'S YOUR CHANCE TO FIGHT BACK AGAINST TERRORISM
AND ITS FRIENDS RIGHT HERE IN AMERICA...**

COALITION ADVISORS

David Barron

Aram Bakshian

Dr. Robert Billings

Lynn Bouchey

Col. Samuel T. Dickens

Dr. Robert Grant

Benjamin Hart

Gary Jarmin

David A. Keene

Dr. Timothy LaHaye

Amb. Charles Lichenstein

Tom Lizardo

Janet Morris

Grover Norquist

Maj. Gen. George S. Patton, III

Ralph Reed

John Rees

H.L. Bill Richardson

Dr. Miguel A. Sanduval

Duncan Sellers

Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub

Lt. Gen. James Vaught

Doug Weed

Dr. Jack Wheeler

Tony Zagotta

Dear Freedom-Loving American:

Thank you for choosing freedom by responding to our urgent plea. Much is at stake and time is critical. Gas and oil prices are skyrocketing and threaten to bring the world economy to its knees. And that's just for starters. Every day that goes by with Saddam Hussein still terrorizing innocent Kuwaitis - every single day - more people die, more women are raped, more children are mutilated, and more threats of international terrorism are levied against the free world.

WE MUST GET SADDAM HUSSEIN OUT OF KUWAIT NOW!

If we do not act very, very soon, it could be too late. It is already too late for countless murdered Kuwaitis. The enclosed material will show you how to FIGHT BACK and help our President stop this terrifying holocaust.

**WE MUST MAKE IT VERY CLEAR TO SADDAM HUSSEIN THAT IF HE
DOES NOT GET OUT OF KUWAIT NOW - HE WILL PAY THE PRICE.**

This is the Coalition for America at Risk Emergency Action Kit you requested. Enclosed you will find the following important items that require your immediate attention:

- 1) Your Petition of Support for President Bush. Please sign and return this petition in the envelope provided.
- 2) Your Coalition for America at Risk Membership Card.
- 3) Samples of letters to write to your elected representatives, and your local newspaper editor.
- 4) Fact sheets outlining Saddam Hussein's HISTORY of

-2-

terror, his invasion of Kuwait, and testimonies from witnesses to his atrocities.

5) A bumper sticker to display on your vehicle showing your anger at Saddam Hussein's terrorism.

6) Your "900 number" access to the private American Broadcast System, with up-to-date and inside reports, is 1-900-776-7446. As a Coalition member, you may call anytime to hear the latest-breaking stories from the Gulf.

I hope you will carefully study your Emergency Action Kit and act now to help us with this fight. We must show our support for President Bush's policy of removing Saddam Hussein from Kuwait - immediately.

And I hope you will now wish to enclose your most generous contribution. Already the "Hanoi Hundred" and other friends of terrorists have organized to undermine our President and our troops in the field. This is OUTRAGEOUS! Just responding to the usual extremist clique - the Ramsey Clarks and other friends of terrorists - is costing a fortune. Please help us all you can. Your generous gift will support the Coalition for America at Risk and its efforts to support President Bush who has sent our brave men and women in uniform to the Persian Gulf to keep the free world free.

As a Supporting Member of the Coalition for America at Risk, you will be privy to our exclusive American Broadcasting System reports giving the inside story on the latest developments in the Middle East. You'll have information from the inside that not even the network news is willing to tell you. It is not a pretty story, but it must be told.

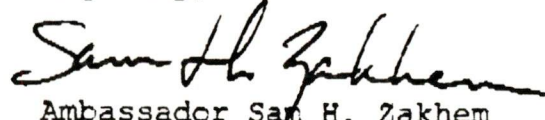
You'll hear latest-breaking stories from Iraqi-occupied Kuwait and geopolitical events that are not only affecting the Middle East, they are affecting you and me. They threaten to cripple the economies of the free world.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH! That's why I urge you to rush your most generous gift-for-freedom right now: \$100, \$50, \$25 - whatever you can send. America has never been in a more critical position than she is right now. Saddam Hussein's one-million-thug terrorist army will not stop with Kuwait.

You have already joined the fight by becoming a member of the

Coalition for America at Risk. PLEASE HELP US CONTINUE. Return your Petition of Support for President Bush, and your generous gift to support freedom right now. The postage-paid envelope will speed your urgent reply to us. America and the rest of the free world are relying upon gifts from freedom-loving Americans like you to support the campaign against terrorist murderers - and their friends. If we don't fight for freedom, no one else will. It is up to us to save America by saving her values. Send your reply immediately.

Urgently,


Ambassador Sam H. Zakhem

P.S. Please don't forget to write letters to your elected officials and to the editor of your local newspaper. They must know that the American taxpayer is not going to sit back and watch freedom being eroded. Urge them to support President Bush and his efforts to stop Saddam Hussein. Urge them to resist efforts by Ramsey Clark and the "Hanoi Hundred" to undermine our President - just as they did in Vietnam. I am anxiously awaiting your urgent reply.

P.P.S. You can help us get the word out by calling your local talk-show and telling them that a representative from the Coalition for America at Risk will be happy to be a guest on their show to tell the REAL story about the invasion of Kuwait. Have your talk-show call Otilie English at (703) 684-0550 for bookings.

SAMPLES OF LETTERS YOU CAN WRITE

To your Senators and Congressman:

The Honorable _____
Capitol Hill
Washington, DC

Dear Senator _____:

Dear Congressman _____:

I hope you will join me in support for President Bush's commitment of our armed forces to the Persian Gulf in order to free Kuwait and deal with the aggressor Saddam Hussein. And I hope you will convey this overwhelming support, shared by millions of other Americans like me, to your colleagues on Capitol Hill. While I believe the United States of America should beware of international entanglements and that our forces should not be posted in large numbers at great distances for protracted police actions, I firmly believe that when our military is sent to war it should never be without complete commitment to certain victory as quickly as possible.

As a result of the recent testimonies of ex-hostages before Congress, you are well aware of the atrocities that continue to occur under Saddam Hussein's brutal tyranny. I want to assure you of my support for direct and forceful action that will exercise the full power of the United States to drive the Iraqi aggressor from Kuwait and restore the historically legitimate and popular al-Sabah Government. And I further urge you to beware of the Ramsey Clarks and his pro-Hanoi friends who would undermine the overwhelming support for President Bush and his position. The American people are behind their President -- and we expect Congress to do likewise.

I know that freedom isn't free. And that commitment to justice is always one of America's legitimate national interests. I fully support President Bush and our brave men and women defending freedom in the Gulf.

Sincerely,

GOVERNOR	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
FEINSTEIN DEM	3287109	46.2
WILSON REP	3473487	48.8
MC CREADY AI	128273	1.8
THOMPSON LIB	135101	1.9
MUNOZ PF	89873	1.3
LT. GOVERNOR	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
MC CARTHY * DEM	3610794	51.7
BERGESON REP	2908208	41.7
SHORT AI	127111	1.8
BAJADA LIB	199383	2.9
KUHN PF	134120	1.9
SEC. OF STATE	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
EU * DEM	3592566	52.0
FLORES REP	2775888	40.2
NICHOLOFF AI	198420	2.9
WATSON LIB	206462	3.0
ALARCON PF	135304	2.0
CONTROLLER	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
DAVIS * DEM	3863113	56.5
FONG REP	2464545	36.1
KAISER AI	116840	1.7
TRYON LIB	253291	3.7
ROSE PF	138039	2.0
TREASURER	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
BROWN DEM	3336387	49.1
HAYES * REP	3058305	45.0
MEEUWENBERG AI	202676	3.0
NAKANO PF	193514	2.8
ATTORNEY GENER	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
SMITH DEM	3144565	46.7
LUNGREN REP	3115729	46.3
GAUTREAU LIB	238458	3.5
EVANS PF	227940	3.4
INSURANCE COMM	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
GARAMENDI DEM	3511025	52.7
BANNISTER REP	2494588	37.4
BROWN LIB	399621	6.0
CONDIT PF	262556	3.9

BOARD OF EQUAL DIST 1	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	7291	7291
BENNETT * DEM	1015754	51.8
WALLACK REP	775977	39.6
IDDINGS LIB	169116	8.6
BOARD OF EQUAL DIST 2	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	6588	6588
SHERMAN DEM	831405	51.6
PARRISH REP	616821	38.2
KUDROVZEFF AI	37706	2.3
SAPOWSKY-SMITH LIB	56149	3.5
LAWRENCE PF	70685	4.4
BOARD OF EQUAL DIST 3	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	7556	7556
MORROW DEM	685717	39.9
DRONENBURG * REP	856838	49.9
CURRIE LIB	105390	6.1
WEBER PF	70350	4.1
BOARD OF EQUAL DIST 4	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	4625	4625
CARPENTER * DEM	524523	48.4
ADAMS REP	477315	44.0
HONIGSFELD PF	82621	7.6
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 1	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	725	725
BOSCO * DEM	89918	42.2
RIGGS REP	91891	43.1
COMINGORE PF	31505	14.8
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 2	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	703	703
RUSH DEM	63720	31.4
HERGER * REP	128943	63.5
CRAIN LIB	10473	5.2
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 3	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	682	682
MATSUI * DEM	122364	60.4
LANDOWSKI REP	70047	34.6
MC CANN LIB	10027	5.0
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 4	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	727	727
FAZIO * DEM	108106	55.0
BAUGHMAN REP	76678	39.0
BIGWOOD LIB	11951	6.1

U.S. CONGRESS DIST 5	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	475	475
PELOSI * DEM	117420	77.4
NICHOLS REP	34318	22.6
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 6	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	531	531
BOXER * DEM	130142	68.2
BOERUM REP	60624	31.8
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 7	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	702	702
MILLER * DEM	114872	61.0
PAYTON REP	73588	39.0
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 8	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	594	594
DELLUMS * DEM	111526	61.9
GALEWSKI REP	68575	38.1
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 9	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	466	466
STARK * DEM	89572	58.8
ROMERO REP	62689	41.2
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 10	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	484	484
EDWARDS * DEM	77184	63.1
PATROSSO REP	45228	36.9
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 11	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	643	643
LANTOS * DEM	93992	66.2
QURAISHI REP	40025	28.2
GENIS LIB	7962	5.6
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 12	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	713	713
PALMER DEM	64474	34.1
CAMPBELL * REP	114238	60.4
OLSON LIB	10412	5.5
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 13	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	545	545
MINETA * DEM	92255	58.2
SMITH REP	56131	35.4
WEBSTER LIB	10025	6.3
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 14	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	925	925
MALBERG DEM	113747	48.8
DOOLITTLE REP	119352	51.2

U.S. CONGRESS DIST 15	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 24	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 33	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	513	513	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	367	367	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	537	537
CONDIT * DEM	87134	65.9	WAXMAN * DEM	66103	69.3	WEBB DEM	46619	31.7
BURRIS REP	45096	34.1	COWLES REP	23953	25.1	DREIER * REP	93094	63.3
			PHAIR PF	5277	5.5	LIGHTFOOT LIB	7338	5.0
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 16	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 25	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 34	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	430	430	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	293	293	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	379	379
PANETTA * DEM	122667	74.3	ROYBAL * DEM	44657	70.7	TORRES * DEM	51840	60.9
REISS REP	36085	21.9	RENSHAW REP	15166	24.0	EASTMAN REP	33334	39.1
TUCKER LIB	6276	3.8	SCOTT LIB	3300	5.2			
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 17	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 26	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 35	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	639	639	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	460	460	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	621	621
DOOLEY DEM	77092	54.7	BERMAN * DEM	72529	61.3	NORTON DEM	64379	33.1
PASHAYAN * REP	63894	45.3	DAHLSON REP	40833	34.5	LEWIS * REP	117302	60.4
			ZIMRING LIB	4920	4.2	JOHNSON LIB	12606	6.5
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 18	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 27	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 36	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	677	677	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	505	505	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	518	518
LEHMAN * DEM	91872	100.0	LEVINE * DEM	84556	58.6	BROWN * DEM	68956	53.2
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 19	PREC	RPTG	COHEN REP	53090	36.8	HAMMOCK REP	60779	46.8
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	648	648	FERRER PF	6618	4.6			
FERGUSON DEM	68655	45.6	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 28	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 37	PREC	RPTG
LAGOMARSINO * REP	82053	54.4	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	386	386	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	840	840
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 20	PREC	RPTG	DIXON * DEM	64849	73.1	WAITE DEM	95226	45.1
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	631	631	ADAMS REP	19339	21.8	MC CANDLESS * REP	104407	49.5
THOMAS DEM	58770	34.9	WEBER LIB	1993	2.2	ODOM AI	5874	2.8
THOMAS * REP	100137	59.5	WILLIAMS PF	2539	2.9	FLICKINGER LIB	5569	2.6
DILBECK LIB	9497	5.6	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 29	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 38	PREC	RPTG
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 21	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	335	335	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	442	442
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	679	679	WATERS DEM	48769	79.8	JACKSON DEM	39736	41.9
FREIMAN DEM	64043	34.5	DE WITT REP	11186	18.3	DORNAN * REP	55158	58.1
GALLEGLY * REP	107531	57.9	BOCTOR LIB	1194	2.0			
CHRISTENSEN LIB	14249	7.7	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 30	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 39	PREC	RPTG
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 22	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	329	329	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	635	635
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	574	574	MARTINEZ * DEM	42263	58.7	HOFFMAN DEM	49844	31.3
BAYER DEM	57012	34.7	FRANCO REP	26279	36.5	DANNEMEYER * REP	103341	64.9
MOORHEAD * REP	97495	59.3	FEGER LIB	3437	4.8	QUIRK PF	6169	3.9
WILSON LIB	6139	3.7	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 31	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 40	PREC	RPTG
TUCKER PF	3643	2.2	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	369	369	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	769	769
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 23	PREC	RPTG	DYMALLY * DEM	53239	67.6	GRATZ DEM	62776	32.9
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	553	553	SATO REP	25488	32.4	COX * REP	128186	67.1
BEILENSON * DEM	94688	62.1	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 32	PREC	RPTG	U.S. CONGRESS DIST 41	PREC	RPTG
SALOMON REP	51399	33.7	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	431	431	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	667	667
HONIGSFELD PF	6304	4.1	ANDERSON * DEM	63536	61.9	KRIPKE DEM	85022	44.1
			KAHN REP	39093	38.1	LOWERY * REP	93897	48.7
						WORKS PF	14021	7.3

U.S. CONGRESS DIST 42	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 12	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 32	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	609	609	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	595	595	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	537	537
KIMBROUGH DEM	62496	36.9	MC CORQUODALE * DEM	97187	59.1	BECKTELL DEM	46914	38.8
ROHRBACHER * REP	99685	58.9	KENNEDY REP	67344	40.9	ROYCE * REP	74117	61.2
MARTIN LIB	7155	4.2						
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 43	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 14	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 34	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	1019	1019	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	625	625	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	562	562
PACKARD * REP	135089	67.7	MADDY * REP	125615	100.0	AYALA * DEM	77342	52.0
ARNOLD LIB	27941	14.0				BADER REP	71340	48.0
HANSEN PF	36475	18.3						
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 44	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 16	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 36	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	414	414	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	673	673	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	797	797
BATES * DEM	45189	45.1	GONZALES DEM	65072	44.5	PRESLEY * DEM	103330	54.0
CUNNINGHAM REP	46171	46.1	ROGERS * REP	75225	51.5	HAYNES REP	88005	46.0
WALLNER LIB	3961	4.0	SAURENMAN LIB	5858	4.0			
WHITE PF	4796	4.8						
U.S. CONGRESS DIST 45	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 18	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 38	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	876	876	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	711	711	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	990	990
HUNTER * REP	111274	72.7	HART * DEM	99905	60.8	CRAVEN * REP	152213	66.3
SHEA LIB	41749	27.3	ROGERS REP	57202	34.8	OLMSTED LIB	34930	15.2
			WOOD LIB	7086	4.3	EVANS PF	42527	18.5
STATE SENATE DIST 2	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 20	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 40	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	738	738	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	471	471	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	531	531
KEENE * DEM	117465	53.9	ROBBINS * DEM	68792	58.5	DEDEH * DEM	67245	56.8
HANDLEY REP	100531	46.1	PODEGRACZ REP	39769	33.8	WATSON REP	43102	36.4
			MIRKEN LIB	8940	7.6	MOTHS LIB	3682	3.1
STATE SENATE DIST 4	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 22	PREC	RPTG	BATCHELDER PF	4325	3.7
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	829	829	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	630	630	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 1	PREC	RPTG
THOMPSON DEM	120080	48.0	ROSENTHAL * DEM	120080	65.2	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	412	412
NIELSEN * REP	116172	46.4	SCHRAGER REP	55644	30.2	CAUDLE DEM	51183	43.3
HENDRICKS LIB	8939	3.6	HINDS PF	8336	4.5	STATHAM * REP	66917	56.7
SUTLEY PF	5161	2.1						
STATE SENATE DIST 6	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 24	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 2	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	773	773	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	250	250	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	387	387
GREENE * DEM	118367	53.8	TORRES * DEM	36912	69.7	HAUSER * DEM	65843	55.2
SULLIVAN REP	88517	40.3	MARSH REP	12621	23.8	WILLIS REP	37565	31.5
MURRAY LIB	12961	5.9	WILSON LIB	3418	6.5	ANDERSON PF	15965	13.4
STATE SENATE DIST 8	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 26	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 3	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	601	601	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	394	394	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	434	434
FITZGERALD DEM	27602	18.3	CALDERON * DEM	56667	63.2	HATAMIYA DEM	53543	46.1
SILVESTRI REP	13774	9.1	URQUIDI REP	28264	31.5	CHANDLER * REP	62485	53.9
KOPP * IND	109391	72.6	GOLDSWORTHY LIB	4709	5.3			
STATE SENATE DIST 10	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 28	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 4	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	526	526	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	494	494	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	334	334
LOCKYER * DEM	105342	61.1	WATSON * DEM	95950	85.3	HANNIGAN * DEM	59164	57.9
HERTZ REP	67197	38.9	KASIMOFF PF	16476	14.7	FORD REP	36294	35.5
						PRESLEY LIB	6679	6.5
STATE SENATE DIST 30	PREC	RPTG	STATE SENATE DIST 30	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 5	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	388	388	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	388	388	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	474	474
DILLS * DEM	60176	68.7				BUONAIUTO DEM	47278	37.8
POLING REP	27375	31.3				LESLIE * REP	77848	62.2

STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 6	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 16	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 26	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	340	340	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	249	249	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	381	381
CONNELLY * DEM	57535	58.1	BURTON * DEM	56171	100.0	JOHNSTON * DEM	54342	66.4
MARSH REP	36251	36.6				KEASTER REP	25164	30.8
ENGELHARDT LIB	5195	5.2	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 17	PREC	RPTG	KLOHS LIB	2298	2.8
			100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	298	298			
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 7	PREC	RPTG	BROWN * DEM	61290	64.5	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 27	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	560	560	FAULKNER REP	25478	26.8	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	263	263
WATERS * DEM	73356	49.0	WHISMAN LIB	8280	8.7	CANNELLA * DEM	42997	51.4
KNOWLES REP	76503	51.1				LANG REP	37774	45.2
			STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 18	PREC	RPTG	SHIMP LIB	2853	3.4
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 8	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	263	263			
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	442	442	EASTIN * DEM	61800	100.0	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 28	PREC	RPTG
HANSEN * REP	87877	76.2				100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	302	302
ROBERTS LIB	27445	23.8	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 19	PREC	RPTG	FARR * DEM	72237	71.9
			100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	304	304	WALKER REP	28211	28.1
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 9	PREC	RPTG	SPEIER * DEM	48539	100.0			
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	319	319				STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 29	PREC	RPTG
BRONSHVAG DEM	49391	42.6	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 20	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	291	291
FILANTE * REP	59529	51.3	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	434	434	LYBARGER DEM	36993	35.3
BRIGHT LIB	4419	3.8	LEMPERT * DEM	62290	63.5	SEASTRAND REP	67708	64.7
PERSILY PF	2735	2.4	RINEHART REP	31097	31.7			
			SIGMUND AI	1901	1.9	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 30	PREC	RPTG
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 10	PREC	RPTG	INAMA LIB	2788	2.8	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	331	331
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	428	428				COSTA * DEM	36206	63.9
ISENBERG * DEM	64420	56.3	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 21	PREC	RPTG	HURT REP	20430	36.1
GRIFFIN REP	43663	38.1	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	310	310			
RUFER LIB	6414	5.6	SHER * DEM	59091	71.1	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 31	PREC	RPTG
			GARRIS REP	23968	28.9	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	397	397
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 11	PREC	RPTG				BRONZAN * DEM	50404	100.0
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	352	352	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 22	PREC	RPTG			
CAMPBELL * DEM	69184	100.0	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	380	380	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 32	PREC	RPTG
			LEVY DEM	36279	35.0	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	394	394
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 12	PREC	RPTG	QUACKENBUSH * REP	60991	58.8	MC GOLDRICK DEM	30950	31.5
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	354	354	PETERSEN LIB	6526	6.3	JONES * REP	67224	68.5
BATES * DEM	76910	68.1						
GEAR REP	28913	25.6	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 23	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 33	PREC	RPTG
FEINLAND PF	7072	6.3	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	268	268	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	312	312
			VASCONCELLOS * DEM	41437	63.0	HARVEY * REP	49077	100.0
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 13	PREC	RPTG	VALLADARES REP	24378	37.0			
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	255	255				STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 34	PREC	RPTG
LEE DEM	49432	79.9	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 24	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	427	427
THOMAS REP	12445	20.1	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	333	333	WYMAN * REP	74189	76.0
			CORTESE * DEM	45679	56.4	TISBERT LIB	23486	24.0
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 14	PREC	RPTG	GRANADA REP	30607	37.8			
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	259	259	SOMMER LIB	4662	5.8	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 35	PREC	RPTG
KLEHS * DEM	53190	66.2				100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	342	342
GRUNDMANN REP	21079	26.2	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 25	PREC	RPTG	O'CONNELL * DEM	52881	67.7
NYGREN LIB	6101	7.6	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	243	243	O'SHAUGHNESSY REP	25189	32.3
			AREIAS * DEM	49246	63.5			
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 15	PREC	RPTG	GILMORE REP	24607	31.7			
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	441	441	HINKLE LIB	3729	4.8			
WILLIAMS DEM	57646	45.4						
BAKER * REP	69326	54.6						

STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 36 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING CONNELL DEM 37275 36.0 MC CLINTOCK * REP 60234 58.2 HARNER LIB 5899 5.7	PREC 393 393	RPTG 393 393	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 44 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING HAYDEN * DEM 54227 56.9 BETETA REP 35713 37.5 DONNER LIB 3447 3.6 BURDICK PF 1843 1.9	PREC 313 313	RPTG 313 313	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 53 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING FLOYD * DEM 33365 60.6 DAVIS REP 21718 39.4	PREC 213 213	RPTG 213 213
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 37 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING PETRIE DEM 41116 39.4 WRIGHT * REP 56572 54.2 SPOONER LIB 6707 6.4	PREC 407 407	RPTG 407 407	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 45 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING MARGOLIN * DEM 46917 65.7 MICHAEL REP 20291 28.4 STALEY PF 4179 5.9	PREC 266 266	RPTG 266 266	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 54 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING MURRAY * DEM 28301 50.4 HART-HOLIFIELD REP 22884 40.8 OLIVIER LIB 3275 5.8 LYNN PF 1679 3.0	PREC 242 242	RPTG 242 242
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 38 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING ALLERT DEM 38699 44.0 BOLAND REP 46165 52.5 NAJBERGIER PF 3049 3.5	PREC 316 316	RPTG 316 316	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 46 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING ROOS * DEM 18874 68.3 CHURCH REP 6671 24.2 EVERLING LIB 809 2.9 ROBRISH PF 1264 4.6	PREC 123 123	RPTG 123 123	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 55 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING POLANCO * DEM 27597 78.7 OLVERA LIB 7488 21.3	PREC 178 178	RPTG 178 178
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 39 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING KATZ * DEM 35301 67.7 CERAVOLO REP 16804 32.3	PREC 226 226	RPTG 226 226	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 47 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING HUGHES * DEM 12863 100.0	PREC 150 150	RPTG 150 150	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 56 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING ROYBAL-ALLARD * DEM 14705 100.0	PREC 104 104	RPTG 104 104
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 40 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING BANE * DEM 43847 65.9 GABRIEL REP 18539 27.9 VERNON LIB 4101 6.2	PREC 247 247	RPTG 247 247	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 48 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING ARCHIE-HUDSON DEM 24331 79.5 SALAZAR REP 4618 15.1 CASTANEDA LIB 1646 5.4	PREC 186 186	RPTG 186 186	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 57 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING ELDER * DEM 30072 67.7 GUARNERI REP 14318 32.3	PREC 204 204	RPTG 204 204
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 41 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING MANN DEM 31666 38.9 NOLAN * REP 45079 55.4 HELMS LIB 2876 3.5 VELASQUEZ PF 1800 2.2	PREC 298 298	RPTG 298 298	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 49 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING MOORE * DEM 50646 73.5 GIVENS REP 14688 21.3 ROGERS LIB 1608 2.3 MILES PF 1969 2.9	PREC 272 272	RPTG 272 272	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 58 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING PRYOR DEM 38890 40.9 MAYS REP 51825 54.5 STIER LIB 4342 4.6	PREC 347 347	RPTG 347 347
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 42 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING FIERRO DEM 30393 39.3 MOUNTJOY * REP 44190 57.1 FRITSCHLER LIB 2774 3.6	PREC 293 293	RPTG 293 293	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 50 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING TUCKER * DEM 41695 84.9 LONG PF 7432 15.1	PREC 230 230	RPTG 230 230	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 59 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING BECERRA DEM 32120 61.3 LIEBERG REP 18085 34.5 PENCALL LIB 2171 4.1	PREC 226 226	RPTG 226 226
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 43 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING FRIEDMAN * DEM 56990 61.0 PASSI REP 29969 32.1 ROTTER LIB 2457 2.6 LINDBLAD PF 4008 4.3	PREC 340 340	RPTG 340 340	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 51 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING LANDAU DEM 36323 38.0 FELANDO * REP 55422 57.9 GAILLARD LIB 3938 4.1	PREC 329 329	RPTG 329 329	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 60 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING TANNER * DEM 23807 61.3 AGUIRRE REP 15040 38.7	PREC 182 182	RPTG 182 182
			STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 52 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING NEELY DEM 29468 41.7 HORCHER REP 41172 58.3	PREC 288 288	RPTG 288 288	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 61 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING JOHNSON DEM 40231 38.1 WOODRUFF * REP 59393 56.2 HARBOUR LIB 6013 5.7	PREC 335 335	RPTG 335 335
						STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 62 100.0 PERCENT REPORTING CALNAN DEM 29207 36.0 LANCASTER * REP 51873 64.0	PREC 296 296	RPTG 296 296

STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 63	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 74	PREC	RPTG	SUPREME COURT	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	235	235	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	601	601	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
EPPLE * DEM	33791	59.6	FRANKLIN DEM	35226	31.8	LUCAS *	3273477	22.1
BOGGS REP	22873	40.4	FRAZEE * REP	62668	56.5	ARABIAN *	2502709	16.9
			HUNT LIB	8569	7.7	BAXTER	2951333	19.9
			RICO-WEBBER PF	4411	4.0	KENNARD *	3128422	21.1
						PANELLI *	2985501	20.1
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 64	PREC	RPTG	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 75	PREC	RPTG	COURT OF APPEA DIST 1	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	321	321	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	426	426	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	4630	4630
GARDNER DEM	27434	34.5	ALPERT DEM	52102	45.9	STEIN *	535716	11.6
JOHNSON * REP	52099	65.5	MOJONNIER * REP	46281	40.7	KLINE *	538755	11.7
			MURPHY LIB	12414	10.9	PETERSON *	520113	11.3
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 65	PREC	RPTG	HUYNH PF	2784	2.5	CHIN	499079	10.8
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	317	317				MERRILL *	522082	11.3
ERWIN DEM	37225	40.4	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 76	PREC	RPTG	STRANKMAN *	486905	10.6
BRULTE REP	54890	59.6	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	752	752	ANDERSON *	513062	11.1
			THORNE DEM	35546	27.7	PERLEY *	509972	11.1
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 66	PREC	RPTG	HUNTER * REP	74434	58.0	HANING *	480139	10.4
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	290	290	HOLMES LIB	12128	9.5			
EAVES * DEM	42994	59.6	KLINE PF	6214	4.8			
HALL REP	29117	40.4						
			STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 77	PREC	RPTG	COURT OF APPEA DIST 2	PREC	RPTG
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 67	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	323	323	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	7472	7472
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	413	413	CONNOLLY DEM	32569	35.4	ORTEGA *	769905	6.7
SMOLLER DEM	31258	33.7	BENTLEY * REP	49119	53.4	VOGEL *	849354	7.4
LEWIS * REP	61526	66.3	DENIS LIB	5741	6.2	GATES *	753748	6.6
			EDELMAN PF	4585	5.0	KLEIN *	820709	7.2
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 68	PREC	RPTG				CROSKEY *	738691	6.5
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	385	385	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 78	PREC	RPTG	HINZ *	713855	6.3
CLUTE * DEM	47189	58.0	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	300	300	EPSTEIN *	741570	6.5
HAGE REP	34109	42.0	GOTCH DEM	37727	45.7	GEORGE *	741329	6.5
			MARSTON * REP	35869	43.5	GOERTZEN *	714205	6.3
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 69	PREC	RPTG	MC WILLIAMS LIB	5060	6.1	TURNER	761323	6.7
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	360	360	BARDELL PF	3884	4.7	BOREN *	721077	6.3
TOLEDANO DEM	34765	37.2				GRIGNON	767484	6.7
FRIZZELLE * REP	58764	62.8	STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 79	PREC	RPTG	ABBE *	708402	6.2
			100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	250	250	LILLIE *	817146	7.2
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 70	PREC	RPTG	CHACON * DEM	29104	56.7	WOODS *	787655	6.9
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	509	509	COVALT REP	18534	36.1			
ADLER DEM	46060	35.7	TERRILL PF	3715	7.2	COURT OF APPEA DIST 3	PREC	RPTG
FERGUSON * REP	82964	64.3				100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	3040	3040
			STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 80	PREC	RPTG	PUGLIA *	371533	17.1
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 71	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	299	299	DAVIS *	368152	16.9
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	315	315	PEACE * DEM	34391	58.1	MARLER *	372415	17.1
MATHEWS DEM	30074	39.8	KELLY REP	20456	34.5	RAYE	353799	16.3
ALLEN * REP	45510	60.2	BELL AI	2632	4.4	SCOTLAND *	355944	16.4
			MYRSETH LIB	1751	3.0	SIMS *	351444	16.2
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 72	PREC	RPTG						
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	214	214						
UMBERG DEM	22102	51.5						
PRINGLE * REP	20785	48.5						
STATE ASSEMBLY DIST 73	PREC	RPTG						
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	433	433						
STRAIT DEM	50261	44.1						
KELLEY * REP	63828	55.9						

COURT OF APPEA DIST 4	PREC	RPTG	PROP 128 (ENVIR. HEALTH)	PREC	RPTG	PROP 139 (INMATE LABOR)	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	7058	7058	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
BENKE *	775184	9.6	YES	2479528	36.4	YES	3535382	53.5
FROEHLICH *	744385	9.2	NO	4340570	63.6	NO	3078136	46.5
HUFFMAN *	735941	9.1						
NARES *	698868	8.6	PROP 129 (DRUG ENFOR BOND	PREC	RPTG	PROP 140 (TERM LIMITS,RET	PREC	RPTG
TODD *	758258	9.3	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
DABNEY *	728869	9.0	YES	1882486	28.4	YES	3438057	51.8
HOLLENHORST *	712616	8.8	NO	4738490	71.6	NO	3195531	48.2
TIMLIN *	724790	8.9						
SILLS	752642	9.3	PROP 130 (FOREST ACQUISIT	PREC	RPTG	PROP 141 (PUBLIC WATER 65	PREC	RPTG
CROSBY *	740101	9.1	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
MOORE *	745397	9.2	YES	3215526	47.3	YES	3081311	48.4
			NO	3584038	52.7	NO	3280113	51.6
COURT OF APPEA DIST 5	PREC	RPTG	PROP 131 (TERM, ETHICS)	PREC	RPTG	PROP 142 (VETERANS BONDS)	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	2017	2017	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
BEST	238000	15.6	YES	2541525	38.1	YES	3841528	59.0
ARDAIZ *	205741	13.5	NO	4125885	61.9	NO	2667376	41.0
DIBIASO *	199041	13.1						
HARRIS	221243	14.5	PROP 132 (MARINE RESOURCE	PREC	RPTG	PROP 143 (COLLEGE BONDS)	PREC	RPTG
STONE *	233219	15.3	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
THAXTER *	220925	14.5	YES	3644636	55.5	YES	3183710	48.7
VARTABEDIAN *	205060	13.5	NO	2920429	44.5	NO	3349708	51.3
COURT OF APPEA DIST 6	PREC	RPTG	PROP 133 (DRUG/TAX PRISON	PREC	RPTG	PROP 144 (PRISON BONDS)	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	1843	1843	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
BAMATTRE-MANOUK *	245485	20.3	YES	2114815	31.9	YES	2526363	40.1
CAPACCIOLI *	235690	19.5	NO	4505045	68.1	NO	3772404	59.9
COTTLE *	255989	21.1						
ELIA *	234497	19.4	PROP 134 (ALCOHOL SURTAX)	PREC	RPTG	PROP 145 (HOUSING BONDS)	PREC	RPTG
PREMO *	239168	19.8	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
PROP 124 (LOCAL HOSPITAL)	PREC	RPTG	YES	2109140	31.0	YES	2785638	44.6
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	NO	4694119	69.0	NO	3453966	55.4
YES	2983608	45.8						
NO	3526862	54.2	PROP 135 (PESTICIDE REGS)	PREC	RPTG	PROP 146 (SCHOOL BONDS)	PREC	RPTG
PROP 125 (RAILS, TAX USE)	PREC	RPTG	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	YES	2017696	30.3	YES	3266151	51.9
YES	2996619	45.7	NO	4645730	69.7	NO	3027560	48.1
NO	3561033	54.3						
PROP 126 (ALCOHOL BEV TAX	PREC	RPTG	PROP 136 (STATE,LOCAL TAX	PREC	RPTG	PROP 147 (LOCAL JAIL BOND	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
YES	2784885	41.1	YES	3159633	47.6	YES	2283348	37.3
NO	3993164	58.9	NO	3482672	52.4	NO	3838082	62.7
PROP 127 (QUAKE FIX EXEMP	PREC	RPTG	PROP 137 (INITIATIVE/REF.	PREC	RPTG	PROP 148 (WATER QUAL BOND	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
YES	4024814	60.7	YES	2899662	44.7	YES	2698188	44.0
NO	2609000	39.3	NO	3589409	55.3	NO	3430030	56.0
			PROP 138 (TIMBER HARVEST)	PREC	RPTG	PROP 149 (PARK/REC BOND)	PREC	RPTG
			100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060	100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
			YES	1934478	28.6	YES	2974904	47.4
			NO	4823987	71.4	NO	3296041	52.6

GENERAL ELECTION - SEMI-OFFICIAL CANVASS
NOVEMBER 6, 1990 RACE SUMMARY REPORT

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
SECRETARY OF STATE
MARCH FONG EU

PAGE: 8
PRINTED ON 11/07/90 AT 10:29

PROP 150 (COURTHOUSE BOND	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
YES	1634219	26.6
NO	4506266	73.4
PROP 151 (CHILD CARE BOND	PREC	RPTG
100.0 PERCENT REPORTING	26060	26060
YES	2986672	47.7
NO	3269375	52.3

NEXT PONYRC

COUNTY NAME	TOTAL PRECINCTS	PRECINCTS REPORTING	PERCENT REPORTED	REGISTERED VOTERS	BALLOTS CAST	PERCENT TURNOUT	TIME OF 1ST REPT	TIME OF LAST REPT	RPT #	RPT TYPE
ALAMEDA	1023	1023	100.0	652,400	354,555	54.3	062239	070144	6	C
ALPINE	5	5	100.0	692	474	68.4	062358	062358	1	F
AMADOR	28	28	100.0	17,227	12,236	71.0	062218	070026	3	F
BUTTE	210	210	100.0	98,925	62,253	62.9	062156	070334	8	F
CALAVERAS	43	43	100.0	18,712	12,687	67.8	062148	070333	5	F
COLUSA	16	16	100.0	6,743	4,537	67.2	062051	062311	4	F
CONTRA COSTA	906	906	100.0	453,435	260,599	57.4	062156	070518	11	F
DEL NORTE	16	16	100.0	11,104	6,795	61.1	062006	062219	2	F
EL DORADO	164	164	100.0	72,804	43,286	59.4	062006	070534	11	F
FRESNO	743	743	100.0	285,282	139,353	48.8	062227	070200	12	F
GLENN	22	22	100.0	10,577	7,381	69.7	062043	070150	4	F
HUMBOLDT	118	118	100.0	70,885	46,165	65.1	062203	070212	6	F
IMPERIAL	74	74	100.0	34,947	18,267	52.2	062028	070154	7	F
INYO	30	30	100.0	10,504	7,226	68.7	062225	070105	2	F
KERN	485	485	100.0	231,600	106,297	45.8	062013	070531	11	F
KINGS	81	81	100.0	31,788	17,105	53.8	062243	070149	3	F
LAKE	58	58	100.0	26,331	17,221	65.4	062245	070356	7	F
LASSEN	25	25	100.0	11,388	8,576	75.3	062004	070112	6	F
LOS ANGELES	6279	6279	100.0	3,487,180	1,775,308	50.9	062001	070328	27	F
MADERA	64	64	100.0	35,225	20,000	56.7	062156	070346	7	F
MARIN	196	196	100.0	138,779	93,278	67.2	062156	070122	2	F
MARIPOSA	20	20	100.0	9,238	6,366	68.9	062021	062321	3	F
MENDOCINO	75	75	100.0	42,827	28,428	66.3	062148	070022	4	F
MERCED	86	86	100.0	64,392	32,901	51.0	062211	070048	5	F
MODOC	21	21	100.0	5,492	3,783	68.8	062103	062322	3	F
MONO	13	13	100.0	5,233	3,114	59.5	062248	070211	2	F
MONTEREY	177	177	100.0	139,633	76,305	54.6	062015	070142	7	F
NAPA	121	121	100.0	60,010	38,854	64.7	062215	070416	3	F
NEVADA	113	113	100.0	48,371	48,371	100.0	062030	070733	18	F
ORANGE	2352	2352	100.0	1,090,954	617,482	56.6	062156	070805	12	F
PLACER	250	250	100.0	95,783	62,181	64.9	062243	070146	6	F
PLUMAS	31	31	100.0	11,322	8,349	73.7	062216	070318	6	F
RIVERSIDE	985	985	100.0	499,475	253,943	50.8	062209	070356	8	F
SACRAMENTO	1086	1086	100.0	557,520	317,059	56.8	062157	070109	7	F
SAN BENITO	30	30	100.0	14,994	8,966	59.7	062054	070035	5	F
SAN BERNARDINO	956	956	100.0	602,428	298,214	49.5	062025	070345	11	F
SAN DIEGO	2661	2661	100.0	1,200,120	618,849	51.5	062157	070110	6	F
SAN FRANCISCO	621	621	100.0	409,334	229,372	56.0	062156	070414	7	F
SAN JOAQUIN	456	456	100.0	204,182	106,594	52.2	062156	070959	14	F
SAN LUIS OBISPO	148	148	100.0	116,901	68,828	58.8	062048	070257	7	F
SAN MATEO	747	747	100.0	324,483	183,637	56.5	062156	070446	11	F
SANTA BARBARA	386	386	100.0	179,137	96,938	54.1	062203	070453	10	F
SANTA CLARA	1404	1404	100.0	725,347	402,823	55.5	062214	070311	7	F
SANTA CRUZ	232	232	100.0	129,150	72,174	55.8	062145	070229	8	F
SHASTA	134	134	100.0	74,266	48,800	65.7	062043	070146	4	F
SIERRA	19	19	100.0	2,230	1,226	54.9	062306	070036	4	F
SISKIYOU	75	75	100.0	23,692	16,248	68.5	062153	070330	6	F
SOLANO	253	253	100.0	151,625	82,992	54.7	062240	070331	3	F
SONOMA	496	496	100.0	220,066	131,193	59.6	062157	070453	9	F
STANISLAUS	244	244	100.0	155,603	79,498	51.0	062043	070347	8	F
SUTTER	66	66	100.0	28,707	19,101	66.5	062218	070109	6	F
TEHAMA	48	48	100.0	24,247	16,602	68.4	062259	070313	6	F
TRINITY	21	21	100.0	7,918	5,644	71.2	062035	070104	4	F

October 29, 1990

1990
Six Principles:

- 1) Get on the offensive for the last 8 days -- throw Congressional Democrats on the defensive. "Polarize and partisanize."
- 2) The President looks like a leader: a stabilizing force, tough and decisive.
- 3) The President makes it clear he was the victim of narrow Congressional partisanship and politicking during the budget debate.
- 4) Congressional delay has put government/economy/country at risk.
- 5) The President has accomplished as much as he can with this Congress. He has a positive plan for the future, but he needs help. For America to get a Better Deal, America needs a better Congress.
- 6) Since the ultimate goal is to enhance the President's image of leadership, we should look for opportunities to make tough statements about Saddam Hussein.

Six speeches after today:

- 1) Tuesday/DC: "Dead Cat." Hit Democratic leadership for calling for higher taxes (attached). Refer to the Democratic attempt to conceal a \$40 billion assault on the middle class behind a \$5 billion nick on the rich. Who's better at defending the middle class? Re-emphasize "Better Deal" theme.
- 2) Wednesday/DC: "Lawrence Welk." Our chance to define the President as the enemy of insider Congressional business-as-usual spending and loophole making. Cite the specifics of all the special interest/pork spending (Lawrence Welk, zebra mussel, etc.) as well as smoke-filled-room tax breaks (UNUM insurance, etc.). Ridicule is the most effective mode of attack. Use these examples to renew the President's call for a line item veto and a balanced budget amendment.
- 3) Thursday/MA: "Do Nothing/Above the Law Congress." The President represents the National Interest, Congress caddies for the special interests. Hit the Congress on three tracks. First: all the money it spends on itself: staff, the frank, travel/junkets -- see "Prime Time Live." [Allusion to pay raise? e.g. "at a time when the Congress is in line for a 33% pay increase they are asking the American people to..."] Second: all the money it takes in from PACs and special interests to maintain

the permanent House of Lords. Third: all of this abuse has led to a Congress so arrogant and choked with greed that it can no longer do what it was elected to do: pass legislation for the national interest. Cite failure of campaign finance reform, enterprise zones, educational excellence, gutting of crime bill, adulteration of HOPE, etc. Push term limits and tougher ethics.

4) Thursday/FL: "Sunbelt Inflation." In Florida, the President returns to the somewhat neglected theme that overspending and the resulting deficits are inflationary. Reminds senior citizens about the high inflation/interest rates of the 70s, and the dangers of renewed inflation if we don't stay vigilant.

5) Friday/OH, MI, IA: Press Conference. Tough opening statement. Emphasize the consistency of message: "As I said earlier this week..."

Also: "Rust Belt Recession." The President gets on the right side of economic uncertainty by making it clear that a possible recession is Congress' fault. Do a chronology of the negotiations, emphasize that the delay, the smaller spending cuts and the larger tax increases were the result of Congressional politicking and incompetence. Throw in phrases like "playing chicken" with the economy and "Russian Roulette."

6) Saturday/CA: "Accomplishment." The President inoculates himself against the allegation that he is being too negative by signing the Clean Air Bill and citing other positive accomplishments (immigration, ADA, child care) of the first two years of his presidency. There's no reason to even mention the Congress, let alone give them any credit! Emphasize future-oriented issues, like educational choice and empowerment.

###



Republican
National
Committee

Lee Atwater
Chairman

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

November 8, 1990

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

Dear Mr. President:

The uproar from the off-year elections was a resounding dud. It's already over as far as the media is concerned. The gang (Governor Sununu, Charlie Black, Ed Rogers and Mary Matalin, etc.) did very well.

We won California, which I stated one hundred times was our number one goal, as did you. We won Michigan, Massachusetts, Ohio, and a Black congressman, etc., and Claytie lost Texas. I hate to put it that way, but this is true, and this is not a public communique.

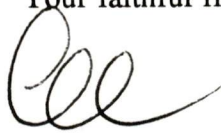
You are back dealing through strength again. Keep it up. It is natural looking and there is nothing to politicize the atmosphere.

On a purely personal note, I did not think the brown outfit you wore today suited you as well as most of the things you wear, but that is your business.

Congrats again on the off-year election, and thank goodness you are back dealing through strength. You just can't go wrong.

Love,

Your faithful friend,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Lee Atwater', written in a cursive style.

Lee Atwater

cc: Governor Sununu
Ed Rogers
Mary Matalin

1990

LOST 6 OPEN

CRAIG

TAKE SEAT

WON

LOST 8 INCUMBENTS

PETER SMITH VT.

STAN PARLIS VA.

CHUCK DOUGLAS NH

BILL GRANT FLA

JACK HILTON IND. 51/49.

ALLEN STANGLEN MINN. PHONE CALL

DENNY SMITH ORG > S/C

CHIP PASIMAYAN CAL

TOOK 6. DEM. INCUMBENTS

NET LOSS OF 8.

JACK BEUCHNER -

S = 50 VOTES / WAITING FOR ABSENTEES

Incumbent Losses: 8

CA-17 Chip Pashayan
 FL-02 Bill Grant
 IN-03 Jack Hiler
 MN-07 Arlan Stangeland
 NH-02 Chuck Douglas
 OR-05 Denny Smith
 VT-AL Peter Smith
 VA-08 Stan Parris

GOP Challenger Wins: 6

CA-01	(Doug Bosco)	Frank Riggs
CA-44	(Jim Bates)	Randy Cunningham
MD-01	(Roy Dyson)	Wayne Gilchrest
NC-11	(Jamie Clarke)	Charles Taylor
PA-18	(Doug Walgren)	Rick Santorum
WI-02	(Bob Kastenmeier)	Scott Klug

GOP Open Seat Losses: 6

AR-02	(Tommy Robinson)	Jim Keet
HI-01	(Pat Saiki)	Mike Liu
ID-01	(Larry Craig)	Skip Smyser
IL-16	(Lynn Martin)	John Hallock
RI-02	(C. Schneider)	Trudy Coxe
UT-03	(Howard Nielsen)	Karl Snow

GOP Open Seats Retained: 12

CA-14	(Norm Shumway)	John Doolittle
CO-04	(Hank Brown)	Wayne Allard
CT-05	(John Rowland)	Gary Franks
IA-02	(Tom Tauke)	Jim Nussle
KS-05	(Bob Whittaker)	Dick Nichols
MI-10	(Bill Schuette)	Dave Camp
MN-03	(Bil Frenzel)	Jim Ramstad
NE-03	(Virginia Smith)	Bill Barrett
NH-01	(Bob Smith)	Bill Zeff
NJ-12	(Jim Courter)	Dick Zimmer
OH-07	(Mike DeWine)	David Hobson
OH-08	(Buz Lukens)	John Boehner

Likely Recounts:

<u>CD</u>	<u>GOP</u>	<u>DEM</u>	<u>Comments</u>
CA-44	Cunningham	Bates	Cunningham has a 982 vote lead
IA-02	Nussle	Tabor	Jim Nussle has a 1502 vote lead
GA-06	Gingrich	Worley	Gingrich has a 1021 vote lead
MO-02	Buechner	Horn	Horn has a 52 vote lead

1990 ELECTION RESULTS
Printed: 11/7/90.....12:01 PM

REPUBLICAN INCUMBENTS DEFEATED [8]

(267/168) 102nd
(259/176) 101st

CA 17 PASHAYAN
 FL 2 GRANT
 IN 3 HILER
 MN 7 STANGELAND
 NH 2 DOUGLAS
 OR 5 D. SMITH
 VA 8 PARRIS
 VT/AL SMITH

REPUBLICAN CHALLENGERS ELECTED [6] INCUMB. DEMOCRAT DEFEATED

CA 1	FRANK RIGGS	Doug Bosco
CA 44*	DUKE CUNNINGHAM	Jim Bates
MD 1	WAYNE GILCHREST	Roy Dyson
NC 11	CHARLES TAYLOR	James McClure Clarke
PA 18	RICK SANTORUM	Doug Walgren
WI 2	SCOTT L. KLUG	Bob Kastenmeier

OPEN SEATS REPUBLICAN WINNERS [-6 net] PREVIOUSLY HELD BY

CA 14	JOHN DOOLITTLE	SHUMWAY [R]
CO 4	WAYNE ALLARD	BROWN [R]
CT 5	GARY FRANKS	ROWLAND [R]
IA 2*	JIM NUSSLE	TAUKE [R]
KS 5	RICHARD NICHOLS	WHITTAKER [R]
MI 10	DAVID CAMP	SCHUETTE [R]
MN 3	JIM RAMSTAD	FRENZEL [R]
NE 3	BILL BARRETT	V. SMITH [R]
NH 1	BILL ZELLIF	BOB SMITH [R]
NJ 12	RICHARD ZIMMER	COURTER [R]
OH 7	DAVID HOBSON	DEWINE [R]
OH 8	JOHN BOEHNER (Special Election)	LUKENS [R]

18 Republican seats at stake

12 Retained

OPEN REPUBLICAN SEATS LOST [6]

AR 2 Tommy Robinson
 HI 1 Pat Salki
 IL 16 Lynn Martin
 ID 1 Larry Craig
 RI 2 Claudine Schneider
 UT 3 Howard Nielson

SEATS TO BE RECOUNTED

CA 44	CUNNINGHAM	+1010 (possible) vs Rep. Jim Bates [D]
GA 6	GINGRICH	+1020 VOTES
IA 2	(TAUKE SEAT)	+1318 (possible) Jim Nussle (R) vs Eric Tabor
MO 2	BUECHNER	- 52 (94,248 - 94,300)

Ailes Communications, Inc.~~**CONFIDENTIAL**~~

TO: President Bush
FROM: Roger Ailes **RA**
DATE: October 30, 1990
RE: Addendum to Campaign '90 Memo

This is a follow-up to the memo sent earlier today.

After rereading the memo I sent to you this morning, I thought that you might get the impression that I felt the Democrats could not be blamed for what is going on. That is not the case.

What I am referring to more than anything else is the tone and the attitude of your approach. I don't think we should allow the news media to force you into "hot" language. I think we should force them into covering full statements of yours in a very calm and reasoned way. We need to continue to say that the Democrats are in control of Congress. The Democrats always do everything they can to avoid spending cuts or controls, and that they in fact did tax the middle class. "Congress is to blame" is a fine theme. "Give me a Republican Congress" is a good theme. It's all a matter of tone.

###

GOVERNOR SUNUNU

Ailes Communications, Inc.

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: President Bush
FROM: Roger Ailes
DATE: October 30, 1990
RE: Campaign '90

RA

Mr. President, I am not convinced that a harsh attack on the Democrats with one week to go is going to work, and I'm not sure it is in character with you as the President. This is not 1988. The mood is different and the press is looking to make you the issue. You, in effect yelling away at Democrats and letting the network do negative analysis afterward may hurt Republicans and not help them. I know this is contrary to the popular thinking and a lot of people think that you can reassert yourself now by hammering Democrats. My problem with that thinking is that I believe it may give up some of the dignity of the Presidency. It's more important to maintain and stabilize that at the moment.

A very thoughtful speech to the American people between now and the election on how the budget is decided on and what really took place from your point of view might be better and more effective. I'm afraid "red meat language" now is not the answer. It perhaps could have worked a couple of months ago, but because of the actual budget situation that wasn't possible. Even if you give a thoughtful speech and only a few words are "hot", those are the words the evening news will run. I would rather force them to run intelligent, well thought out but memorable statements which demonstrate to the public that you know exactly what is going on.

I don't mean to try to confuse the issue or throw a monkey wrench into the current planning at this point if the decision has already been made to move forward. But if it hasn't, I would urge you to rely on your own instincts here. Listen to everybody and nobody. You are President of the United States, and nobody understands this process better than you. You went through the budget process by saying "I am going to try to forge a budget so that we can govern this country". To back off that 100% now and blame the Democrats when they have the media spinning for them may not be viable.

A better approach might be to get off the road as soon as feasible and craft a speech that explains to the people what the budget process is and why you did what you did. Even

President Bush

Page 2

October 30, 1990

admit that you perhaps miscalculated the Democrats partisanship and ability to inflict political damage when they saw an opportunity. I think the tone of your speeches and the rhetoric should be clever but thoughtful, and that your pitch, style and tone should be straightforward but not overly energetic. You did what was right--now you have to communicate it.

The Presidency is a series of defining events. Up until the budget crisis, every time you handled a defining event you handled it brilliantly, and it worked for you. There is a media perception that you are bored with and don't particularly like domestic politics, so you have turned it over to others. All of that doesn't matter now. It only matters how you handle the next defining event. Until then you should be calm, tough, specific in language, even tempered and confident. I just don't believe you personally should be the issue on everybody's lips on Election Day. And if you are out there giving the media a sideshow every night between now and the election, you will be. If you go out there and bang away at Democrats for one week (not enough time), and any Republicans lose, the media will blame it all on you, and it will further weaken the poll numbers. Also the message on the *Middle East* is "unity". The message on the budget is "hit the Democrats". They can't work in the same speech.

I am sorry to come at this so directly at such a critical time because I know there are others offering a different point of view, and obviously my feelings won't be hurt if this is rejected out of hand. However, I would not feel good if I didn't at least give you my best advice.

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THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

1

SEND AMERICA A NEW CONGRESS

1990
Send America a Congress that will:

Stick to the budget they agree to. This Congress has continually waived the Budget Act. This Congress has failed to meet a single statutory deadline for the FY 91 Budget. This Congress has not yet adopted a budget at all, even though the law requires budget reconciliation to be complete by June 15.

Send America a Congress that will:

Understand the need to cut spending as the best way to balance the budget. From the first day to the last in the summit negotiations the Democratic Congressional leadership hammered on their insistence on radical increases in domestic spending for the next five years. The best I could get from them was a freeze adjusted for inflation. America needs a Congress that will cut waste and eliminate unnecessary spending programs.

Send America a Congress that will:

Stop the pork barrel. I've been asking for a line-item veto from my first day as President. Congress refuses to consider that, and adds pork in virtually every spending bill they pass. I sent Congress a \$700 million urgent supplemental in February 1990--and they sent back a \$4 billion porker in May. Just last Saturday the House passed the VA-HUD Appropriations bill. The bill contained \$54 million for 61 pork barrel projects automatically funded with no competitive bids, no authorization, each earmarked for a pork project for the state or district of an Appropriations Committee members.

Send America a Congress that will:

Stop trying to raise taxes on the savings and income of middle-income Americans. The House passed, along virtually party lines, the Democrats' tax plan to raise taxes of low and middle income Americans by eliminating the indexation of tax brackets. This amounts to a hidden annual tax increase for American working families.

Send America a Congress that will:

Offer prosperity and economic expansion for the 1990s by restoring a tax cut on capital gains. No other industrialized nation in the world taxes capital gains at the same rate as earned income. This one change would provide new jobs and economic growth. I've pleaded, insisted, cajoled, negotiated, and pounded the table, but this Congress is deaf and blind to the new jobs that

capital gains would offer.

Send America a Congress that will:

Stand up for our national security. I sent Congress a blueprint for restructuring defense to meet the national security needs of the 1990s. They sent me back a defense bill with pork, politics, and micro-management. I asked them to make choices - keep the best defense weapons and programs and keep them strong; they sent me back a defense bill that tries to fund everything - good, bad, and ugly - but with just enough funding to get by, not enough in any area to do the job. I've negotiated the best defense bill I can get this year. Next year send me a Congress that will provide for the nation's defense first, not for their own politics.

Send America a Congress that will:

Stop playing politics with the civil rights of Americans. I've sent Congress a civil rights bill that will protect the rights of black Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, women, the elderly, and disabled Americans without quotas and without new litigation and without trying to make plaintiff's lawyers richer. This Congress just keeps playing politics as usual--they passed a bill that imposes racial quotas on the job and brings on new costly, lengthy lawsuits. Send me a Congress that cares more about civil rights than politics.

Send America a Congress that will:

Honor the stay-at-home mom at least as much as working parents. I have insisted on child care legislation from my first day in office that gives choices of child care back to parents. I want to offer tax credits and vouchers that help mothers stay home with their young children if they choose, or use their church as a child care source, or grandma, or another relative or neighbor. The choice of child care should be the parent's choice; this Congress keeps trying to make it the choice of the Federal Government.

Send America a Congress that will:

Care about, and act on, education reform. I sent Congress a \$500 million Education Reform Bill 18 months ago. Since that day I have requested, pushed, negotiated, cajoled, and demanded action on the bill. At last they sent back a compromise containing most of my programs but with another \$400 million in studies, boards, commissions, task forces, and giant new programs, and 18 months late. Send me a Congress that cares about true education reform.

Submitted by: Steve Bartlett
October 20, 1990

**1990 GUBERNATORIAL RACES
PUBLIC POLL UPDATES
NOVEMBER 6, 1990**

(-10) OR WORSE	-5 TO -9	-4 TO +4	+5 TO +9	+10 OR MORE
AZ-Symington	CT-Rowland	MA-Weld	VT-Snelling	IA-BRANSTAD
AR-Nelson	NM-Bond	IL-Edgar	TX-Williams	NH-GREGG
CO-Andrews	AK-Sturgelewski	NE-ORR	KS-HAYDEN	WI-THOMPSON
WY-Mead	OK-Price	CA-Wilson	AL-HUNT	SC-CAMPBELL
CA-Isakson	OR-Frohnmayr	MN-Carlson		SD-MICKELSON
HI-Hemmings	FL-MARTINEZ	ME-MCKERNEN		OH-Voinovich
MD-Shepard				
MI-Engler				
NV-Gallaway				
NY-Rinfret				
RI-DIPRETE				
PA-Hafer				

* No public data for ID and TN.

CURRENT STATUS: 21R 29D

SEATS UP: 16R 20D

SEATS AT RISK: 8R 6D -2 NET
(+4 or worse)

POTENTIAL RESULTS (win all/lose all in -4 to +4 range):

U.S. Best Case: 21R 27D/2I 0 Net
U.S. Worst Case: 15R 33D/2I -6 Net
"Big Nine" Best Case: 5R 4D +1 Net
"Big Nine" Worst Case: 2R 7D -2 Net

LEGEND:

Regular = GOP Challenger
Italic = Open Dem. Seat
Bold Italic = Open Rep. Seat
BOLD CAPS = GOP INCUMBENT

**1990 SENATORIAL RACES
PUBLIC POLL UPDATES
NOVEMBER 6, 1990**

(-10) OR WORSE	-5 TO -9	-4 TO +4	+5 TO +9	+10 OR MORE
AL-Cabaniss IL-Martin RI-Schneider MI-Schuette MT-Kolstad NE-Daub NJ-Whitman OK-Jones MA-Rappaport GA(*) AR(*)	IA-Tauke	HI-Saiki NC-HELMS	MN-BOSCHWITZ	CO-Brown ID-Craig IN-COATS KS-KASSEBAUM KY-McCONNELL ME-COHN SD-PRESSLER TX-GRAMM NH-Smith OR-HATFIELD VA-WARNER* MS-COCHRAN* SC-THURMOND*

---No public data for AK, DE, NM, TN, WV, and WY.

* Denotes unopposed incumbent.

CURRENT STATUS: 45R 55D

SEATS UP: 18R 16D

SEATS AT RISK: 1R 1D 0 Net
(+4 or worse)

POTENTIAL RESULTS (win all/lose all in -4 to +4 range):

Best Case: 46R 54D +1 Net
Worst Case: 44R 56D -1 Net

LEGEND:

Regular = GOP Challenger
Italic = Open Dem. Seat
Bold Italic = Open Rep. Seat
BOLD CAPS = GOP INCUMBENT

U.S. Gubernatorial Election Results 1948-1990

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Rep. Seats After Election</u>	<u>Seats Up Total/Rep.</u>	<u>Rep. Net Gain</u>
1990		36/16	
1988	22	12/8	-1
1986	24	36/9	+8
1984	16	13/7	+1
1982	16	36/16	-7
1980	23	13/3	+4
1978	18	36/9	+6
1976	12	14/6	-1
1974	13	35/12	-5
1972	19	18/8	-1
1970	21	35/24	-11
1968	31	21/8	+5
1966	25	35/15	+8
1964	17	25/7	+1
1962	16		0
1960	16		+1
1958	14		-6
1956	20		-1
1954	21		-8
1952	30		+5
1950	25		+7
1948	18		-9

U.S. Gubernatorial Election Results 1948-1990

Talking Points

Off-year elections historically see a high turnover in governorships. The average performance for the President's party in off-year elections is a net loss of 5 governorships. This year, 11 Republican seats and 7 Democratic seats are competitive. Of these, current polls show a net Republican loss of between 0 and 5 seats (or slightly less than the historical average. [note: average turnover in Presidential election years is +1, in odd-years is -1].

The historical average reelection rate for incumbent governors in off-year elections is 76%. This year 21 incumbents are running for reelection, so 5 defeats would match the historical average. Current polls show 7 governors in competitive races (6 Republican, 1 Democrat).

Of the nine largest states, 4 currently have Republican governors. In a worst case scenario, Republicans could lose all 4 and pick up 0. In a best case scenario, Republicans could keep all four and pick up 2 (Ohio and Massachusetts). Current polls point to a net change of between -3 and +1.

Current projections show Republicans picking up governorships in 2 states that accounted for 26 total electoral votes in 1988, and losing governorships in 4 states that accounted for 38 total electoral votes in 1988. 6 states (103 electoral votes) are currently too close to call. Overall best case scenario is a net change of 0 governorships (but +11 electoral votes); overall worst case scenario is a net change of -5 governorships (and -76 electoral votes).

In each of the last three off-year elections, one geographic region has been especially ripe for party turnover. In 1978, 3 out of 4 governorships in the Midwest Plains states (SD, KS, NE) changed parties; in 1982, 4 out of 5 governorships in the Great Lake states (OH, MI, MN, WI) changed parties; in 1988, all 4 governorships in the Southwest (TX, OK, NM, AZ) changed parties. In every case, the high-turnover region was in the midst of a recession. This year, with the New England area facing a recession, 5 out of 6 governorships there may change parties (2 Republican, 3 Democrat).

U.S. Senatorial Election Results 1948-1990

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Rep. Seats After Election</u>	<u>Seats Up Total/Rep.</u>	<u>Rep. Net Gain</u>
1990		34/18	
1988	45	33/15	0
1986	45	34/22	-8
1984	53	33/19	-1
1982	54	33/13	+1
1980	53	34/10	+12
1978	41	35/17	+3
1976	38	33/11	0
1974	38	34/14	-5
1972	43	33/19	-2
1970	45	35/10	+3
1968	42	34/11	+6
1966	36	35/15	+4
1964	32	35/9	-1
1962	33		-3
1960	36		+2
1958	34		-13
1956	47		0
1954	47		-1
1952	48		+1
1950	47		+5
1948	42		-9

U.S. Senatorial Election Results 1948-1990

Talking Points

The average performance for the president's party in off-year senatorial elections is a net loss of 3 seats. This year, 3 Republican seats and 2 Democratic seats are competitive. Of these, current polls show a net change for Republicans of between -1 and +1 (or better than the historical average).

The historical average reelection rate for incumbent senators in off-year elections is 84%. This year 30 incumbents are running for reelection, so 5 defeats would match the historical average. Current polls show 5 senators in competitive races (3 Republican, 2 Democrat).

In the nine largest states, 4 senate seats are being contested (1 Republican, 3 Democrats) with the incumbents favored to win in all 4.

U.S. House Election Results 1946-1990

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Rep. Seats After Election</u>	<u>Rep. Net Gain</u>	<u>Net as pct of Base¹</u>	<u>Rep. Vote Percent</u>
1990				
1988	175	-3	-1.6	45.5
1986	177	-5	-2.7	44.6
1984	182	+16	+9.6	46.8
1982	166	-26	-13.5	42.9
1980	192	+33	+20.1	48.0
1978	159	+16	+11.1	44.7
1976	143	0	0.0	42.1
1974	143	-48	-25.1	40.5
1972	191	+11	+6.1	46.4
1970	180	-12	-6.2	44.5
1968	192	+5	+2.6	48.2
1966	187	+47	+33.6	48.0
1964	140	-36	-20.5	42.4
1962	176	+1	+0.6	47.1
1960	175	+22	+14.4	44.8
1958	153	-48	-23.8	43.6
1956	201	-2	-0.9	48.7
1954	203	-18	-8.1	47.0
1952	221	+22	+11.1	49.3
1950	199	+28	+16.3	48.9
1948	171	-75	-30.5	45.4
1946	246	+55	+28.7	56.6

¹As percent of seats won in previous election by Republicans

U.S. House Election Results 1946-1990: Talking Points

Largest midterm losses of seats by party in White House: Democrats lost 55 in 1946, 47 seats in 1966; Republicans have twice lost 48 seats, in 1958 and 1974.

Smallest midterm losses of seats by party in White House: Democrats lost 1 in 1986, and 16 in 1978; Republicans lost 5 in 1986, and 12 in 1970.

A loss tonight of 10 seats would be a drop of 5.7% against the current GOP base, or on the order of the GOP loss in 1970. This would put it as the second smallest midterm loss for Republicans when a Republican was in the White House in the post-war period.

A loss of 20 seats, when calculated as a 11.4% drop against current base, would place it as the fourth largest Republican loss in the seven midterm elections for Republican presidents since 1946.

Of six prior Republican presidential midterm elections since 1946, the percentage of the vote nationwide cast for Republican candidates has ranged from 47.0% (1954) to 40.5% (1974).

In Republican presidential midterms, the Party has been able to gain on average only about 88% of the number of seats it would win if seat apportionment were based on the nationwide vote for Republican congressional candidates. The Reagan midterms saw average performances by this score (88% in 1982 and 91% in 1986), the best year for translating votes into seats was 1954 (99%), and the worst were 1958 and 1974 (80%).

Based on the average Republican presidential midterm national vote to seats translation rate, if GOP congressional candidates nationwide win 43% of the vote, a 10 seat loss can be expected. If they win 40% of the vote, over a 20 seat loss can be expected.

**Midterm U.S. House Election Results
'October Indicators': 1946-1990**

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>GOP Seats after Election</u>	<u>Net GOP Gain</u>	<u>Vote Percent</u>	<u>Gallup Pres. Appr.</u>	<u>Infla.</u>	<u>Unempl.</u>	<u>Change in Personal Income¹</u>
1990				53	8.3	5.7	-0.8
1986	177	-5	44.6	63	2.4	7.0	2.6
1982	166	-26	42.9	42	6.0	10.4	0.0
1978	159	+16	44.7	49	9.6	5.8	3.4
1974	143	-48	40.5	55	10.2	6.0	-2.3
1970	180	-12	44.5	56	7.0	5.6	3.0
1966	187	+47	48.0	48	4.2	3.3	3.9
1962	176	+1	47.1	67	-1.1	4.6	2.6
1958	153	-48	43.6	56	-1.0	5.5	-0.5
1954	203	-18	47.0	65	-3.5	4.2	-0.6
1950	199	+28	48.9	43	8.1	5.7	5.9
1946	246	+55	56.6	32	33.3	3.5	-2.6

¹ Change in real disposable personal income in year preceding election.

Midterm U.S. House Election Results and 'October Indicators': Talking Points

A model measuring pocketbook issues' and Presidential approval's effect on the nationwide vote for congressional candidates of the party in the White House since 1946 finds:

a 1.2 percentage point change in the mid-term vote for Republican candidates is tied with each 10 point change in Gallup's presidential approval -- the twenty point drop from August to October has cost about a 2.5 percentage drop in the Republican vote for Congress.

a change between 0.6 and 0.7 percentage points in the mid-term vote for Republicans is tied to each 1 point change in the growth of real disposable income per capita. During October 1988, through July, 1990, the growth of real disposable income was 2.1% -- now through September, this figure is just -0.8. The rapidly softening economy has cost Republicans about a 1.9 percentage point drop in the Republican vote for Congress.

If this model holds for this election (it had trouble with 1982, but was nearly perfect for 1986) and if Republicans have their average 88% success rate at translating national vote into Congressional, then a near 20 seat loss can be expected.

Every seat less than twenty lost by Republicans should be credited to good politics on our part, or, a sense on the part of the public that even though things are not perfect, the Democrats are not seen as an acceptable alternative to Republican leadership.

Trend in Voter Turnout in Mid-Term Elections

Percent

50

48 —

46 —

44 —

42 —

40 —

38 —

36 —

34

'66

'70

'74

'78

'82

'86

48.4

46.8

38.3

37.8

40.5

36.3

Sources: Republican Almanac 1989, and ABC News The '88 Vote
RNC Survey Research

	MINNESOTA		MONTANA	NEBRASKA		NEW HAMPSHIRE	NORTH CAROLINA		OREGON	RHODE ISLAND		SOUTH DAKOTA				
	Daily	Roll	-	Daily	Roll	Brush	Brush	Brush	Brush	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Brush	Brush	
Field Date(s)	30	28-30		24-25	24	21-24	25	28	23	25	30	25-30	30	24-30	21-22	28-29
# Interviews	150	450		400	150	600	300	300	400	400	150	600	150	600	500	500
	wt	wt		wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt
			Final Track		Final Track			Final Track						Final Track		
BUSH JOB								* Whites*								
Approve	na	na	48	66	64	64	na	na	na	na	na	48	48	62	51	
Disapprove	na	na	38	24	27	33	na	na	na	na	na	37	36	27	41	
PARTY BALLOT																
Republican	na	na	30	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	35	34	41	43	
Democrat	na	na	54	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	49	50	35	34	
REP CAND ID																
Favorable	63	60	35	42	39	44	49	43	40	57	52	73	77	74	70	
Unfavorable	33	35	39	43	40	18	21	43	43	28	32	19	16	18	23	
DEM CAND ID																
Favorable	51	50	72	64	70	24	24	42	43	37	40	86	82	38	38	
Unfavorable	27	27	22	26	20	31	41	34	30	25	25	11	13	36	37	
CANDIDATE BALLOT																
Rep Candidate	54	49	30	28	27	50	60	48	44	53	48	37	37	60	58	
Dem Candidate	42	44	63	53	59	31	29	44	46	35	41	54	54	24	29	
INCUMB REELECT																
Reelect	na	na	57	58	61	na	na	na	22-Hard	41	38	58	56	57	55	
New Person	na	na	34	31	29	na	na	na	na	41	47	36	37	31	36	
REP INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	na	na	67	54	55	na	na	na	na	83	77	74	72	56	62	
More Likely	na	na	18	12	11	na	na	na	na	29	25	22	22	22	20	
Less Likely	na	na	29	32	25	na	na	na	na	27	29	13	16	9	14	
DEM INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	na	na	77	60	62	na	na	na	na	65	62	73	70	51	55	
More Likely	na	na	40	21	25	na	na	na	na	19	22	20	22	13	14	
Less Likely	na	na	18	15	11	na	na	na	na	21	20	10	11	22	22	

NRSC TRACKING	COLORADO		HAWAII		IDAHO		ILLINOIS		INDIANA		IOWA		KENTUCKY		MASSACHUSETTS	
UPDATE: 31 OCT	Brush	Daily	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll
Field Date(s)	23-24	30	30	28-30	30	24-30	24	21-24	30	24-30	24	21-24	30	27-30	30	24-20
# Interviews	600	300	150	450	150	750	150	600	150	600	150	600	150	600	150	750
Weighted/Unwtd	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt	wt
	Final Track		Final Track		Final Track		Final Track		Final Track		Final Track		Final Track		Final Track	
BUSH JOB																
Approve	50	52	62	62	43	40	50	51	56	58	50	55	62	55	52	53
Disapprove	36	33	28	26	31	34	36	34	38	35	37	31	32	34	30	32
PARTY BALLOT																
Republican	na	na	na	na	42	40	35	37	na	na	na	na	41	38	40	36
Democrat	na	na	na	na	46	38	52	49	na	na	na	na	43	46	44	46
REP CAND ID																
Favorable	65	61	na	na	52	57	34	31	62	58	38	41	60	56	39	34
Unfavorable	21	26	na	na	33	29	32	32	18	15	45	39	27	26	45	46
DEM CAND ID																
Favorable	37	37	na	na	28	27	64	64	18	17	60	60	47	48	45	51
Unfavorable	42	43	na	na	38	40	25	26	16	11	26	25	31	30	41	35
CANDIDATE BALLOT																
Rep Candidate	61	59	48	44	58	60	34	34	61	57	38	36	54	48	40	36
Dem Candidate	32	35	40	40	35	33	55	55	31	29	55	55	40	42	50	53
INCUMB REELECT																
Reelect	na	na	na	na	na	na	54	49	na	na	45	47	47	43	41	42
New Person	na	na	na	na	na	na	38	39	na	na	34	36	39	40	49	46
REP INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	97	95	na	na	71	76	54	50	na	na	81	72	79	78	77	77
More Likely	48	47	na	na	30	35	13	13	na	na	21	15	na	na	23	22
Less Likely	26	29	na	na	20	23	21	21	na	na	27	26	na	na	37	42
DEM INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	98	97	na	na	65	69	72	60	na	na	77	71	71	70	66	71
More Likely	27	30	na	na	17	20	31	23	na	na	30	25	na	na	20	29
Less Likely	54	52	na	na	34	35	18	15	na	na	23	25	na	na	27	26

October 9, 1990

1990
Memorandum

Re: Update on the Truman Strategy

Five points to think about:

1) A Plan

There is a perception that, in sharp contrast to foreign affairs, the Administration does not have a fully developed plan for domestic policy. This belief hurt us in the budget vote, when the media harped on the lack-of-a-predicate charge and the Congress rejected a package that appeared to land from outer space at five before midnight. The American people aren't terribly ideological, but like to think that their leaders have an overall plan guiding their actions.

Truman had a plan -- the Fair Deal. It was not a precise blueprint -- it was the next step in the New Deal: civil rights, national health care, federal aid to education, housing, etc.

The Bush domestic agenda hasn't been capsulized into a catchy phrase, but the President did articulate four key themes to the Cabinet a few weeks ago:

- growth agenda/avoiding a recession
- education/empowerment/kinder, gentler
- crime and drugs
- energy and environment

We should concentrate on developing these into a guiding philosophy that can be repeated and repeated and repeated, until the American people have a sure sense of where the President stands. If these themes resonate with the American people as well as we expect, the momentum will make the President more effective in all domestic areas, including the budget.

Remember, Truman's Fair Deal wasn't a cut-and-paste job whipped up for the campaign: it was a strategy that rose from Truman's ideological impulses and political priorities. Truman first proposed national health insurance in November, 1945. He defended price controls and other wartime planning legacies to the bitter end. He did as much as he could unilaterally do for civil rights. Truman's domestic presidency was defined by issues: some popular, some controversial, but all pointing toward his goal of re-election with a mandate. The bottom line: for better or worse, Truman had a clear-cut substantive identity going into 1948. Over 24 million voters decided it was for the best!

We'll get criticized for anything we do, but we can't let that

stop us. If we emphasize the Bush Agenda and then give up or lose interest when we take some flak, it will be obvious that we didn't have much of a strategy.

Note: this is not negative campaigning. Truman was all positive when he talked about enlarging the welfare state and helping those in need. (The "negativity" came later, when Truman attacked the Republicans who controlled the 80th Congress for voting down his programs. And why shouldn't he have? The American people decided in November of '48 that Truman's campaign was in bounds.)

2) Take the Battle to Congress

Tourists booed the Congress from the galleries over the weekend. The headline on the front page of Monday's USA Today read "Anger focuses on Congress in crisis." In spite of the best efforts of the pundits, the polls as well as anecdotal evidence indicate that the voters blame the Congress much more than the President. The Post poll, for example, shows 57% blame Congress, while only 14% blame the President.

Note: We should not be deterred by the data that subdivide the 57% into 30% blame for the Democrats in Congress and 27% for the Republicans. A trivia monger could remind us that the Democrats had 44% (well over veto strength) of the seats in the 80th Congress. That never stopped Truman from assaulting "Congress"! The voters don't care about head counts and other legislative inside baseball. By the time Truman was through campaigning, they understood the high concept: that the "do-nothing" 80th Republican Congress was trying to turn the clock back to the bad old days of Hoover (who left office 16 years before) even as it blocked the President's visionary plan for moving the country forward.

In a sound-bite world, one President can deliver a simple message more effectively than the "loyal opposition," riven as it inevitably is by factional and institutional rivalries.

We should think seriously about really turning up the heat on Congress, not only on our legislative proposals that they have sat on for the last year or two, but also on populist anti-incumbency barn-burners like term limitation, the frank, ethics, PAC reform, etc. (We don't need to mention the infamous pay raise, because the voters have never forgotten that flagrant example of congressional misfeasance!)

3) Don't Worry About Losing (in the short term)

Robert Caro writes in the second volume of his LBJ biography that the Democrats in the 80th Congress came to Truman and said that they did not have the strength to sustain his veto of the GOP-

sponsored Taft-Hartley bill. They asked Truman if he would compromise on the restrictive labor legislation. Truman just looked at them. His attention was on the long term. He didn't much care if his veto was sustained. He didn't want a notch in his legislative belt, he wanted the issue! Truman's veto was in fact overridden 331-83, with most Democrats (including LBJ) voting against him. But who was vindicated? It was a pyrrhic victory for the Republicans: they lost nine Senate seats and 75 House seats - and control of both chambers -- in the next election, in large measure because the AFL, the CIO, the Mine Workers, etc. went all out for Truman.

4) Get a Firm Grip on the GOP Presidential Coalition

The Conventional Wisdom was that the FDR/New Deal coalition was dead and buried after the '46 midterms, when the GOP took back the Congress for the first time since the Depression. Bob Taft said that the country was finally returning to political "normalcy," an allusion to Harding's most famous utterance.

Truman knew better. He knew that America was still a liberal country, and that the midterm results were a spasm, not a tectonic shift. He knew that if he systematically rallied the country, region by region, group by group, interest by interest, he could put together a majority. So that's what he did. Truman reminded labor, farmers, ethnics, and blacks what he had done for them. Then he told them what he would do for them if he won a mandate and a cooperative Congress. Finally, he scared them with forecasts of what the Republicans would do if they got complete control of the federal government. That was enough to rally the latent Democratic majority, leaving Dewey with barely 45% of the vote. Truman's "give 'em hell" rhetoric was a small part of the package; the spice on the big enchilada.

The key question in thinking about the Truman Strategy in '92 is whether or not coalition that elected the President in '88 is still out there. Most say that it still is, that a majority of Americans are generally anti-tax, and quite a few are more bluntly anti-government. There was a lot of visceral support for the President when he vetoed the CR and shut the government down. People know that's not a serious option, but we should factor in the strong feelings of our political base. That single veto undid much of the damage from the budget vote the day before by signalling that the President was prepared to hang tough.

The polls show overwhelming majorities against Medicare cuts, etc., but the Times poll also shows that a 43% plurality support across-the-board spending reductions. This is the post-Reagan tension that has confounded Washington: the American people want less spending, but they also want concern and stewardship. So why don't we try -- try harder -- to give them what they want? The key is the classic Republican theme of reform. Qualitative, as

opposed to quantitative, thinking becomes paramount. New ideas like choice in education, empowerment, and decentralization give people hope that a 90s synthesis of frugal compassion can be achieved. Why shouldn't the President articulate this desire for lean, competent government? We need some sort of domestic perestroika.

Truman demonstrated that it's not necessary to complete or enact every new initiative in time for the next election. However, it is necessary to galvanize your people with new ideas! Recall that Truman's civil rights proposal didn't pass until 1964 -- sixteen years after Mayor Hubert Humphrey, acting as an agent for the White House, put civil rights in the platform at the Philadelphia convention. The idea of civil rights -- the prospect of an integrated, racially just America -- cemented the black vote and energized the liberals from 1948 on.

The American people like grand goals. They want the lift of a driving dream. The corollary is this: the American people do not like "deals." (The unbroken string of 44 governors since 1933 who were defeated in the next election after appointing themselves to the US Senate is one small indicator of this intuitive truth.) Inside "deals" are elixir inside the Beltway, but they generally get blown if the public gets involved. People accept the necessity of smoke-filled rooms, but they don't like to be confronted with the ugly reality that that's the way the public business is transacted. They especially want their President to represent and articulate their higher aspirations.

The irony of the Truman Strategy is that Truman was, by nature, a consummate deal-making insider! He was a product of the Kansas City machine who became a loyal member of "the club" in the Senate. He was promoted to the '44 ticket precisely because he was more reliable than Henry Wallace. Truman's background suggests that Truman's "give 'em hell" campaign was not his first choice: rather, that it was imposed on him by circumstance. Truman got the message from the '46 midterms: the country was weary of the "in-party." It would take a new approach in '47-8 to remind the voters why they were Democrats. As a smart politician, Truman could see that the road to victory was not the metaphorical Beltway, but rather Main Street.

5) The Truman Strategy is NOT Irresponsible

Truman had an agenda. He stuck to it. When thwarted by the Congress and special interests, he took his case to the people. After receiving a mandate in the '48 elections, he went right back to pushing the Fair Deal: expanding Social Security, raising the minimum wage, "slum clearance," home rule for the District of Columbia, etc. We may not agree with everything Truman stood for, but he conducted himself in an honorable manner. And he is remembered as one of our great presidents. By contrast, few people

remember Bob Taft anymore, not to mention Speaker of the House Joe Martin!

Similarly, the President today is confronted with a Democratic Congress so arrogantly cocksure of its invincibility that they have lost any real desire to negotiate or even legislate. The "do nothing" 80th Congress looks positively hyperactive compared to the 101st, to wit: child care, clean air, crime, campaign finance, education, and of course, the budget.

As Eisenhower said, the cure for the problems of democracy is more democracy. Why can't we go to the voters in '90, and more importantly, '92, and offer them this choice: do you want more status quo, business-as-usual gridlock, or do you want a renewed agenda of growth, education, empowerment, victory against drugs, and a balance between the environment and safe energy?

###

MONDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1990

GOP Strategists Advise Hill Republicans In Tight Races to Run Against President

With NRCC Backing, McCrery Opposes the Budget Package And Pulls TV Spots With Endorsements From Bush Off Air

By Kim Mattingly

Given all the hype about anti-incumbent sentiment, freshman Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La) provides a striking example of how vulnerable Republican incumbents can survive on Election Day.

GOP strategists say that the key to success for McCrery — and others in a similar spot — is to run against the President's position on the budget.

McCrery, 41, a top Democratic target, won re-election to a second term with an impressive 55 percent of the vote in the Oct. 6 open Louisiana primary.

Because of the state's unique open system, he faced Democratic state Sen. Foster Campbell one-on-one in the first round. And despite several trends working against him, McCrery swept the marginal district by a solid 10 percentage points.

The win followed careful crisis planning by the National Republican Congressional Committee, where strategists admit they were extremely worried about losing the seat. NRCC officials said the campaign was such a successful test case that it will now provide the recommended formula for several other competitive races.

McCrery's defense centered on opposing the White House stance on the budget, giving a direct answer on the pay-raise issue, and establishing his credibility on seniors' issues. Here's how it worked.

A few days before the Saturday election, even McCrery's 1988 campaign press secretary, who's now a political columnist for the Shreveport Journal, was predicting a Campbell win.

That's because anti-incumbent sentiment was running strong, and Campbell was pounding McCrery for his vote in

Continued on page 34



Rep. McCrery's anti-Bush victory strategy is now the recommended formula for Republicans in trouble.

Running Against Bush On Budget Pact Helps McCrery Win La. Race

Continued from page 1

support of the pay raise and opposition to the original minimum wage bill. This issue definitely hurt some incumbents, including Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa), in earlier primaries and was striking a chord in Louisiana's 4th district.

McCrery's staunch pro-life position was also a prominent issue, along with skepticism among senior citizens about his commitment to Social Security and Medicare.

Democratic black voters were expected to turn out in high numbers for a mayoral race featuring the city's first black candidate and to vote against white supremacist David Duke (R), who was running for US Senate. And finally, the budget fiasco was just heating up, leading to an increase in anti-Washington sentiment.

Politicos figured the combination was enough to put Campbell, who had lost to McCrery by just 1,376 votes in 1988, over the top.

NRCC strategist and communications director John Roberts agreed the outlook was bleak and said the committee held several long sessions to figure out how to proceed.

First piece of advice: Vote against the compromise budget package.

McCrery was undecided on the package up until Thursday, the morning of the vote, just two days before the Louisiana election. After a little coaching and internal wrangling, he decided to vote against it — and the campaign swung into action.

Immediately, radio spots and phone banks went to work, proclaiming McCrery's opposition to Medicare cuts (part of the budget compromise) and his commitment to protecting Social Security.

An elderly woman's voice said in one radio commercial, "We understand that Jim McCrery is trying to stop the politicians in Washington who are spending money in the Social Security trust fund — money that they ought to be saving for our grandchildren's retirement."

The campaign also scuttled plans to run TV spots with endorsements by President Bush. McCrery wanted to appear as far removed as possible from the budget package and Bush's open-door position on taxes.

NRCC officials now believe this pointed move away from the President may have won McCrery the election.

They are similarly recommending to many Republican candidates in other campaigns that they run against Washington, the President, and new taxes, Roberts said.

On abortion, McCrery simply didn't waver from his position — which political experts now regard as the best strategy. To handle the pay-raise issue, the candidate taped a TV spot at the NRCC one week before the election.

Titled "The Truth," the spot featured McCrery talking directly into the camera: "He tells you I voted for a pay raise for

Congress," the Congressman says of Campbell. "What he doesn't tell you is that I also voted to take away an equal amount of income Congressmen could receive from special interests.

"He tells you I voted against an increase in the minimum wage. What he doesn't tell you is that I voted for an increase of \$4.25. And that's the bill that passed the Congress and is now the law. This country needs leadership, not politics."

In a corresponding radio spot on the pay raise, McCrery says, "I knew when I voted for the bill that my political opponent would tell half-truths about it and try to use it against me. But I voted for it because it

was in the best long-term interests of this country."

The direct approach appeared to stop the hemorrhaging on the pay-raise issue, and the NRCC is recommending it for other incumbent campaigns.

The committee, however, is not recommending that candidates say that supporting the budget agreement is in the "best long-term interests" of the country. They want candidates to cling to the no-new-taxes pledge, pulling away from Bush and positioning themselves in a way that can take advantage of a slumping economy and anti-Washington sentiment.

McCrery's example gives them hope.



Republican National Committee

Lee Atwater
Chairman

October 25, 1990

6
The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was great to hear from you today, as usual. It means a great deal to me for you to take the time to call.

Now that you have a budget compromise that you are happy with, and looks to me like it makes sense, perhaps it's time to shift the agenda. Your great strength is personal diplomacy as it has related to the Persian Gulf and world affairs.

This strength has been largely responsible for your higher than average job-approval rating. Why not try to get back to that now and shift the agenda. Be seen meeting with and talking to world leaders. I truly believe this effort would be the greatest use of your time between now and election day. It would help us with the Party, with candidates, and with the general public, and I see no downside even if you don't sweep candidates into office.

By dealing from your biggest strength, every time you, George Bush, are seen dealing with a world leader, you are winning, regardless of how much it is helping other candidates. I would urge you to get on that phone and be seen many times a day with Middle Eastern and world leaders talking about meaningful peace.

There are millions of people out there still scared. When they see the leader of their country in action, it only helps, and from a political standpoint, regardless of what you are doing with voters, you are still on the offense -- and you are much better on the offense than on the defense.

Please take this in a positive manner from one of the longest-time Bush observers in the country.

I love you, Mr. President,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Coe', is written below the text 'I love you, Mr. President,'.



Republican
National
Committee

October 17, 1990

Lee Atwater
Chairman

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

You are getting somewhere. You've got the other party coming out for an individual tax increase. Hold them there. Don't do anything that allows them to back off. It's the most unpopular move they've ever made. It will be obvious soon.

You've suffered minimal political damage. This time next week, nothing, if anything, will be showing up in the polls -- maybe a five-point decrease, but that would have happened anyway by now.

I would suggest that you or Sununu figure out the details on the tax increase that the Democrats are offering and then start jamming it down their throats until they start crying "uncle."

Don't let them seek the high ground on the rich man-poor man issue. I know you know that one better than I do.

I am more and more convinced that people are looking for good, hard, sharp talk and are looking for leaders who say what they mean and mean what they say. I truly believe in the Atwater B.S. theory and feel that it comes into play in all of this.

Now that you are articulating a position, stick with it. People are looking for a politician who won't move off the dime, regardless of what the dime is. Advisors such as Teeter, Sununu and Ed Rogers can work out the small photographs; you should stick with the big picture as you have been doing and this dilemma will be over in ten days.

Your pal,

Lee Atwater

LA/lg



KY STATE DEM. PARTY
"FDR"
10/18/90

VIDEO:

(KY Post/USA Today
Newspaper Headlines)
"Taxes to Flatten Wallets"
"Bush: Yes then No
on Taxing Rich"

AUDIO:

When it comes to taxes, you
can always count on the
Republicans to protect the
rich and make the middle class
pay the bill.

CG (Words on Screen)

Democrats have always fought
to make sure the rich pay
their fair share of taxes.

KY Families Footage

That's the difference between
Wealthy Washington Republicans
and Kentucky's Democrats. Our
hard-working families know
that Democrats always fight
for good-paying jobs, Social
Security, health care, and
education.

Limos Footage

Republicans haven't
changed...they're still
protecting the rich and
ignoring the rest of us.

CG (Words on Screen)

That's why we need Kentucky's
Democrats fighting for us.

(disclaimer)



DON SUNDQUIST
7TH DISTRICT, TENNESSEE

COMMITTEE
WAYS AND MEANS

WASHINGTON OFFICE
230 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202-225-2811

1990

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

DISTRICT OFFICES
117 SOUTH 2D STREET
CLARKSVILLE, TN 37040
615-852-4408
5909 SHELBY OAKS DRIVE
SUITE 213
MEMPHIS, TN 38134
901-382-5811

FAX TRANSMISSION

CONGRESSMAN DON SUNDQUIST
WASHINGTON, D.C. OFFICE

TELEPHONE 202-225-2811

FAX 202-225-2814

TO: Gov. John Sununu
FROM: Rep. Don Sundquist
DATE: 10/18 TIME: 3p~

1 PAGES FOLLOW THIS COVER SHEET

COMMENTS:

FYI FROM DARY:MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL

XEROX TELECOPIER 295 ; 10-18-90; 9:10 AM;

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2252814 ; # 3

The Commercial Appeal

10/18/90

EDITORIALS**Sasser's snit/****Senior senator getting old-hat fast**

TENNESSEANS take note: Your senior senator, Sen. James Sasser, has seized the moment of the budget crisis to establish himself as a symbol of the Traditional Democratic Party.

Despicable, the senator said of administration attempts to forge a compromise. White House chief of staff John Sununu had tried to twist Republican arms in support of presidential concessions.

(President Bush never should have tried to be reasonable by bending on his "no new taxes" pledge. The Democrats, who had called him hard-headed and mean-minded, now gleefully castigate his "flip-flops." He should have nailed them with do-nothing obstructionism — borrowing a leaf from Harry Truman's book — and he should still do it.)

"I can't understand how any Democrat can vote against it," Sasser said of Rep. Dan Rostenkowski's plan to raise income and gas taxes and Medicare premiums.

All over the country Democrats are starting to move away from the old-time Democratic religion of higher taxes and higher spending. Gov. L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia has gone on a nationwide crusade for what he calls the "new mainstream" values of "fiscal responsibility" — cuts in spending and, like the Bush of just a few weeks ago, no new taxes. In some state races, Democrats are trying to steal this budget issue

up effective tax rates — in spite of the fact that one of their brightest prospects, Sen. Bill Bradley of New Jersey, has said that the Democratic criticisms of the "bubble" are off base. He was a principal author of the tax act, but his fellow Democrats can't pass up a chance to be wrong-headed.

And there's Sasser, again, slashing away: "What you're going to see emerge from the Congress is a tax package that is going ... to shift the tax burden more to upper-income taxpayers. ... This tax structure has become unfair (that is, the taxes on upper-income Americans aren't high enough) and ... the administration is seeking not only to perpetuate that unfairness, but to exacerbate it."

It's the standard, hoary Democratic argument of class warfare — taking particular pains to avoid the President's point that higher taxes will hurt the economy and deprive more Americans of the benefits of economic growth.

Sasser even drags in the Middle East, warning that the administration may divert attention from domestic problems by plunging the nation "into some kind of military adventure abroad."

Who's being mean-minded?

THE SENATOR clearly has indicated that, henceforth, he will represent all those Democrats in Washington who refuse to change

trying to steal this budget issue from Republicans.

Not, however, in Washington, the seat of the nation's government and the most heavily tunneled fortress of old-fashioned Democratic ideas on the planet. Some members of Congress haven't come out of those mole holes in decades.

The Washington troops have resumed attacks on the "bubble" — an adjustment in the Tax Reform Act of 1986 aimed at evening

their thinking just because Democrats elsewhere prattle on that a new world requires new ideas.

This decisive move, to uphold the rotting standard of old ideas, is only fitting in view of his position as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. His colleagues, no doubt, are grateful.

True leadership, it's sometimes said, is displayed by those who, regardless of their power and influence, are still willing to be drudges — and do the dirty work.

NRSC SURVEY TRACKING RESULTS
ALL STATES
Update: 10 October 1990

	COLORADO		HAWAII		IDAHO		ILLINOIS		INDIANA		IOWA		KENTUCKY		MASSACHUSETTS	
Field Date(s)	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll
# Interviews	9	9	8	4-8	9	7,9	(14)	(14)	(-)	(10-14)	9	7-9	8	7-8	9	7-9
	300	300	150	450	150	300	(150)	(150)	(-)	(600)	150	450	150	300	150	450
			(10/9 data pending)										(10/9 Data delayed)			
BUSH JOB																
Approve	61	61	68	63	69	67					62	60	61	66	67	61
Disapprove	27	27	21	24	20	19					23	26	27	24	23	25
PARTY BALLOT																
Republican	na	na	na	na	51	47					na	na	45	44	29	36
Democrat	na	na	na	na	31	33					na	na	45	44	49	25
REP CAND ID																
Favorable	68	68	na	na	57	58					40	43	74	74	34	39
Unfavorable	15	15	na	na	25	25					36	33	11	11	29	27
DEM CAND ID																
Favorable	25	25	na	na	21	23					61	62	43	49	59	54
Unfavorable	44	44	na	na	34	32					22	20	27	23	26	30
CANDIDATE BALLOT																
Rep Candidate	65	65	44	45	63	62					32	32	59	58	33	36
Dem Candidate	25	25	37	39	27	28					52	55	29	33	54	52
INCUMB REELECT																
Reelect	na	na	na	na	na	na					na	na	49	50	43	41
New Person	na	na	na	na	na	na					na	na	32	31	40	41
REP INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	88	88	na	na	73	73					55	57	69	71	71	73
More Likely	42	42	na	na	34	33					15	15	na	na	22	24
Less Likely	17	17	na	na	21	21					22	23	na	na	33	30
DEM INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	78	78	na	na	68	69					48	53	48	53	73	73
More Likely	11	11	na	na	16	18					14	22	na	na	33	31
Less Likely	33	33	na	na	35	333					16	15	na	na	21	24

	MICHIGAN		MONTANA		NEBRASKA		NEW HAMPSHIRE		NORTH CAROLINA		OREGON		RHODE ISLAND		SOUTH DAKOTA	
Field Date(s)	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll	Daily	Daily	Daily	Roll	Daily	Roll
# Interviews	9	7-9	(20)	(20-21)	(14)	(14-18)	(14)	(14)	(11)	(11)	9	8-9	9	7-9	-	7-8
	150	450	(-)	(400)	(150)	(600)	(300)	(300)	(400)	(400)	150	450	150	450	-	500
BUSH JOB																
Approve	na	na									54	55	59	58	-	67
Disapprove	na	na									39	38	26	27	-	25
PARTY BALLOT																
Republican	35	34									36	32	30	29	-	42
Democrat	39	40									43	45	49	50	-	34
REP CAND ID																
Favorable	32	32									50	48	77	77	-	65
Unfavorable	28	30									36	38	20	18	-	24
DEM CAND ID																
Favorable	62	61									35	38	89	86	-	36
Unfavorable	24	25									15	12	7	9	-	35
CANDIDATE BALLOT																
Rep Candidate	25	28									50	44	33	33	-	59
Dem Candidate	60	58									40	44	56	55	-	33
INCUMB REELECT																
Reelect	na	na									na	na	58	56	-	53
New Person	na	na									na	na	35	37	-	36
REP INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	52	54									57	54	53	55	-	71
More Likely	10	9									11	14	17	20	-	28
Less Likely	25	24									32	29	13	13	-	20
DEM INFORMATION																
Seen/Read/Hd	62	66									37	34	49	46	-	48
More Likely	25	24									21	21	16	16	-	25
Less Likely	16	17									11	7	5	6	-	51



Republican
National
Committee

Lee Atwater
Chairman

October 18, 1990

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

Dear Mr. President:

I was watching the news last night, and saw that you may not sign the Civil Rights bill. I urge you to try to work something out. My gut tells me that this may be the straw that breaks the camel's back.

This one defies "Madison 10" from the Federalist papers. For every interest group, there is another interest group equally counterbalancing it. These people are very, very intense and I have yet to find an equally counterbalancing interest group.

Remember, not even George III could keep four countries at bay during the American Revolution. Remember, even you as President have some limit to your resources. You've got your dog in the budget fight (you have to). You've got your dog in the Kuwait fight (you have to). Please try to keep it out of this one if you can. It smells like bad medicine to me, with a long, bad aftertaste. You are doing exactly what your enemies want you to.

Mr. President, please try to roll as much as you
morally can on this one. That's all that I can ever ask.
It's an idea whose time has come, and it's going to pass
one way or another. Please try to support it as best as
you can. You know that I write this in the spirit of love,
not trying to criticize or second guess.

Your good friend

BILL ZELIFF
Republican for Congress

Friends of Bill Zeff Committee
813 Elm St., Manchester, N.H. 03101



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



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ANNUNZIO

**ON YOUR SIDE
AND FIGHTING HARD!**

"No one gets a free ride on the S&L scandal—no one. Not even the son of a President!"

"The American taxpayer is being asked to pay an incredible *one billion* dollars to bail out scandal-ridden Silverado Banking, an S&L in Denver. Now, I don't know if Neil Bush, the President's son and a director of the S&L, is guilty of using his position for personal gain—that's for a court of law to decide—but I do know, if the public has to pay for it, they have a right to know what happened."

"That's why my committee launched the first inquiry into Silverado and called Neil Bush to testify before our panel. We need answers. We want to know why it was closed *after* the presidential election when its own auditors said it was broke 12 months *earlier*. Why a Bush partner couldn't pay back a \$32 million loan to Silverado but could make a \$100,000 contribution to the Republican National Committee days before the presidential campaign."

"As a result of our inquiries, two of Bush's associates are forbidden from ever working in the S&L industry again, the regulatory agency has agreed to open its hearings to the public and the Justice Department is considering a criminal investigation."

continued on page 2



ANNUNZIO

ON YOUR SIDE AND FIGHTING HARD!

Annunzio for People Committee
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Here's what the experts are saying about Frank Annunzio:

"He has the record of an independent-minded detail man. He's been aggressive in regulating debt collection agencies, making a federal crime of serious credit card fraud and he pushed the bill to bar surcharges for credit card customers."

Almanac of American Politics

Endorsed by the Following:

Chicago Federation of Labor
Credit Union National Association
Illinois AFL-CIO
Illinois Committee for Honest Government
Illinois Public Action Council
Illinois State Council of Senior Citizens
Just Life
Lithuanian American Council, Inc.
National Education Association
Police, Fraternal Order of Labor Committee; United States Capitol Police
Polonia Today
United Federation of Police
United Transportation Union
United Hellenic Voters of America

A Few of the Awards Presented to Congressman Frank Annunzio:

Philip A. Hart Public Service Award—Consumer Federation of America.

Man of the Year Award—Combined Veterans Association of Illinois

Man of the Century Award—Magen David Adom

Gold Cross of the Legion of Honor—Polish National Alliance

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If you would like to volunteer, or display an Annunzio for People sign, call the Annunzio for People Headquarters at (312) 777-1991.

October 11, 1990

FORM CHART -- 1990 HOUSE ELECTIONS -- Version IIR +Win 2 Dem seats

MD-1 Gilchrest
NC-11 C. Taylor

Win 1 of these Dem seats

GA-4 Linder
NE-2 Milder
IN-4 Hawks
UT-2 Atwood
CA-36 G. Brown
TX-14 Dial
WA-3 B. Williams
MA-5 MacGovern

and 1 "surprise" districtR -Lose 3 Rep seats

VT-AL P. Smith
MN-7 Stangeland
OR-5 D. Smith

Lose 2 of these Rep seats

CA-17 Pashayan
FL-4 James
VA-8 Parris
FL-2 Grant
CA-37 McCandless
RI-1 Machtley

and 1 "surprise" district

-----OPEN SEATS-----

Win 2 of these Dem seats

FL-11 Tolley
OH-1 Blackwell
TX-11 Shine
ME-1 Emery
CT-3 Scott
NJ-1 Mangini

Lose 3 Rep seats

HI-1 Liu
AR-2 Keet
RI-2 Cox

Lose 3 of these Rep seats

ID-1 Smyser
IA-2 Nussle
CT-5 Franks
IL-16 Hallock
NH-1 Zeliff
NE-3 Barrett

RESULTS

Reps gain 6 Dem seats (4 incumbents, 2 opens)
Dems gain 12 Rep seats (6 incumbents, 6 opens)

NET: -6 for GOP

1WASH.C.D.3 TRACKING 10/910/90

BALLOT TENSITY	WAVE
certain/vote	1 78%
prob/vote	15%
50/50 chance	6%

2. MOOD

right dir.	26%
wrong track	64%
DK/refused	10%

3. GEORGE BUSH
JOB PERFORMANCE

st. app.	23%
s.w. app.	38%
s.w. disapp.	16%
st. disapp.	16%
unsure	8%

4. GENERIC
ELECTION
BALLOT

rep.	31%
Dem.	39%
und.	28%
ref.	2%

5. AWARENESS AND
PERCEPTIONS OF
BOB WILLIAMS

favorable	34%
unfavorable	29%
no opinion	24%
never heard	13%

1WASH.C.D.3 TRACKING 10/910/90

6. AWARENESS AND PERCEPTIONS OF JOLENE UNSOELD	WAVE
favorable	1 46%
unfavorable	38%
no opinion	13%
never heard	3%

7. ELECTION BALLOT
REFERENCE
R CONGRESS

def.Williams	26%
probWilliams	9%
leanWilliams	4%

undecided	14%
lean Unsoeld	3%
prob Unsoeld	12%
def. Unsoeld	33%
Wt. Williams	38%
t. Unsoeld	48%
net Diff.	-9%

8. REELECT
JOLENE UNSOELD?

reelect	46%
new person	40%
DK/depends	14%

9. HAVE YOU SEEN,
READ OR HEARD ANY-
THING ABOUT BOB
WILLIAMS?

yes	40%
no	58%
DK/refused	2%

11. POSITIVE OR
NEGATIVE IMPRESSION

positive	39%
negative	40%
DK/refused	22%

1. WASH.C.D.3 TRACKING 10/910/90

12. SEEN, READ OR
HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT WAVE
JOLENE UNSOELD IN 1
PAST SEVERAL DAYS?

yes	55%
no	43%
DK/refused	2%

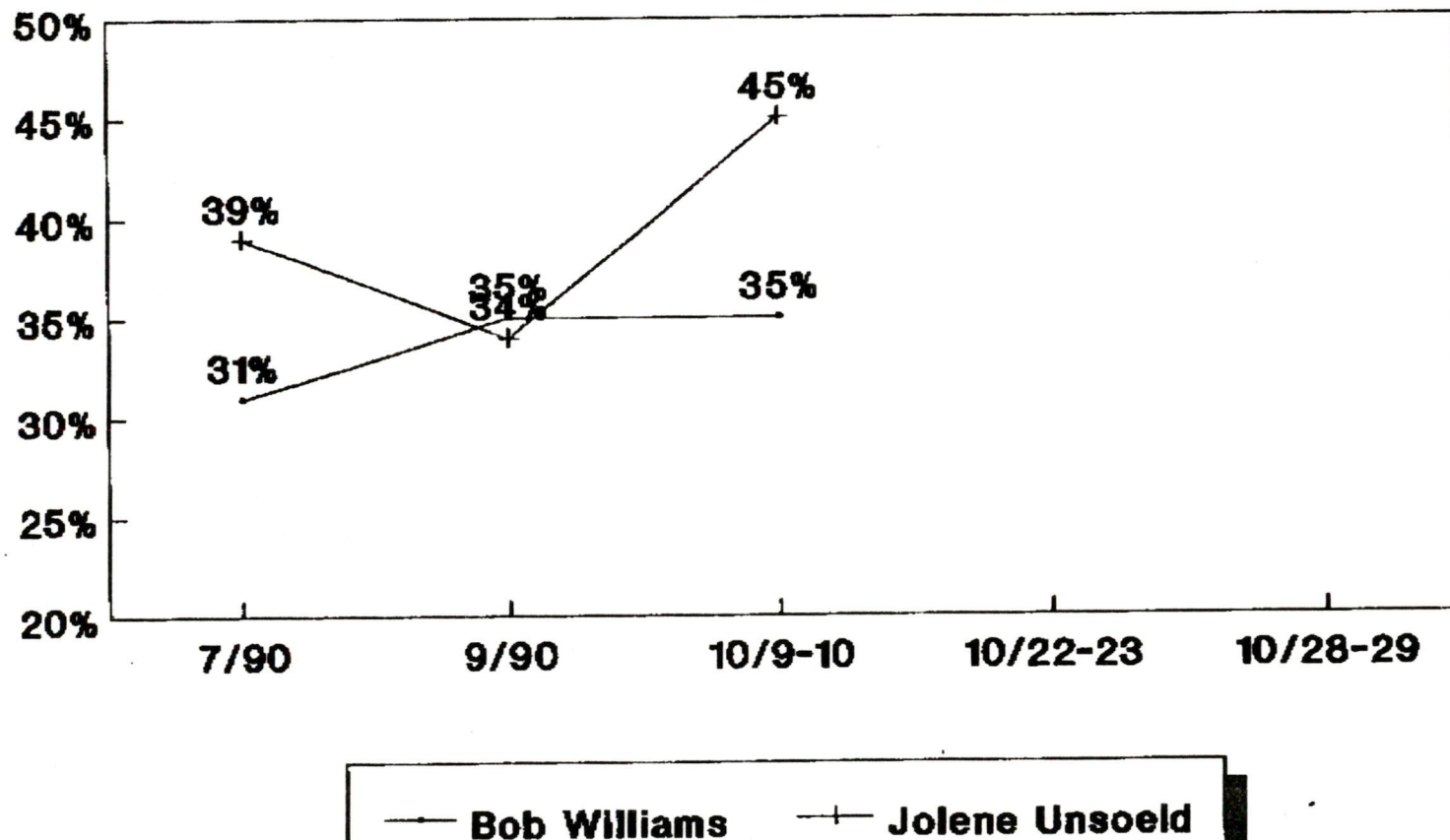
14. POSITIVE OR
NEGATIVE IMPRESSION?

positive	34%
negative	43%
neutral	23%

15. AGE

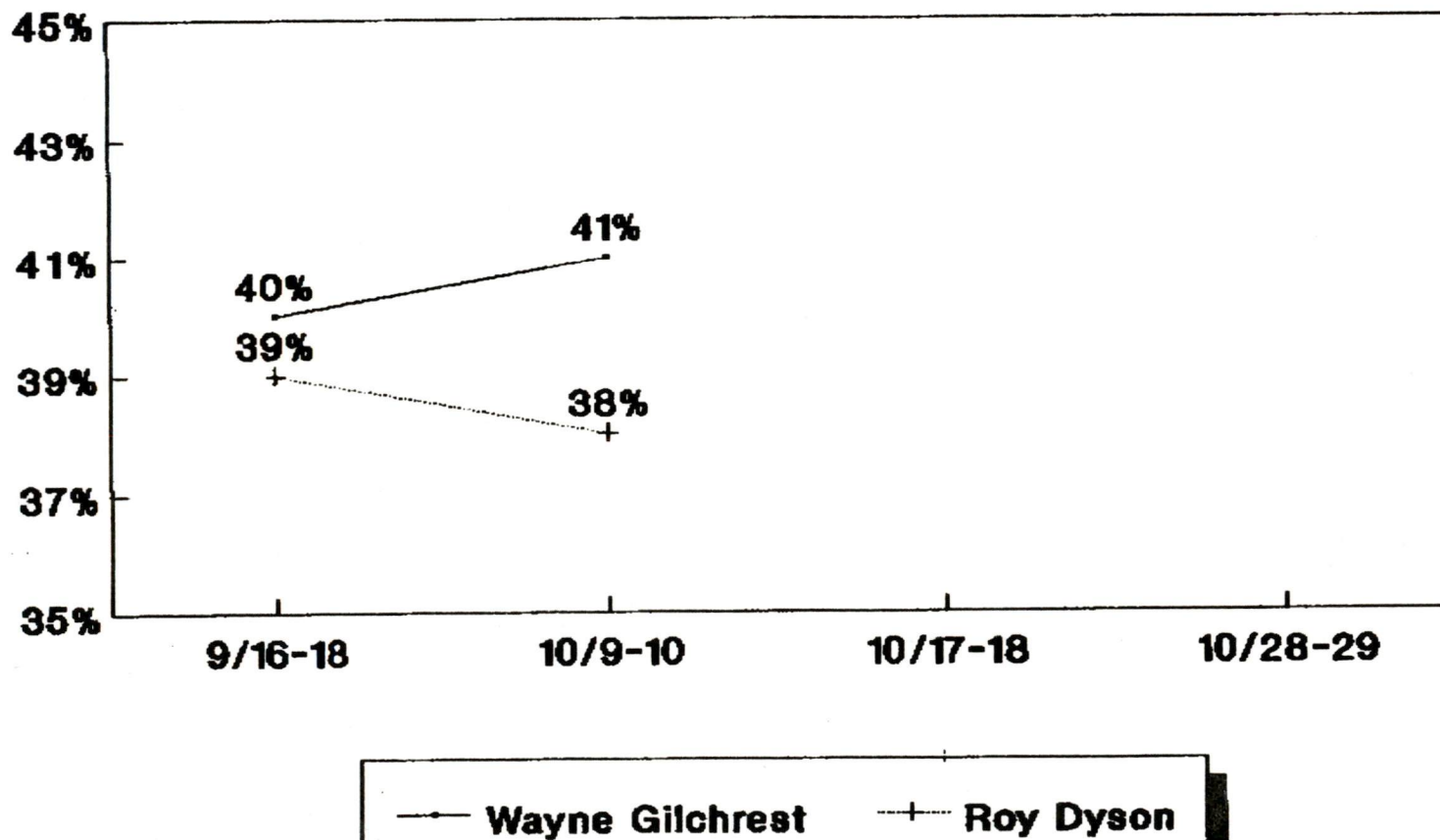
18- 24	5%
25- 29	7%
30- 34	13%
35- 44	22%
- 54	20%
- 64	13%
65+	20%
refused	1%

WASHINGTON 03 TRACKING



Moore Information

MARYLAND 01 TRACKING



NRCC Survey Research

BILL ZELIFF

Republican for Congress

813 Elm Street, Manchester, NH 03101 ■ (603) 641-1990

October 4, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I appreciate very much all the things you and your staff are doing to assist my campaign. We are working very hard and things are going well in the issues area.

There is one problem, however. I committed about \$250,000 of my personal income to win the tightly contested primary race and I am completely tapped out personally as a result. New Hampshire's economy is extremely soft at the present time and a number of heavy hitters who we can normally count on cannot be of assistance because of their own business problems at the present time.

My finance committee tells me that we need a super event with a big draw in order to afford the last-minute advertising blitz that we clearly need to do. My opponent, Joe Keefe, has been put on the marginal list and will receive heavy funding from the union PAC's.

My finance committee suggests that the best possible solution would be an appearance by you personally and/or Barbara. We are confident that if this can be arranged, it would put our campaign over the hump and we could be successful and able to work with you in Washington.

Anything you can do to bring this about would be deeply appreciated.

Warm personal regards,

BZ

William H. Zelif, Jr.
Republican Nominee for the
First Congressional District

bc: John H. Sununu

MARYLAND 01 TRACKING - FIRST WAVE

Table T1A

Page 1

PREWAVE WAVE 1 WAVE 2 WAVE 3

TOTAL

	TOTAL	WAVE 1	WAVE 2	WAVE 3
TOTAL	600 100%	300 100%	300 100%	

QC: VOTE LIKELIHOOD

CERTAIN TO VOTE	37%	-	75%
PROBABLY VOTE	3%	-	18%
FIFTY-FIFTY CHANCE	3%	-	7%

Q1: MOOD OF COUNTRY

RIGHT DIRECTION	3%	41%	20%
WRONG TRACK	5%	47%	64%
DON'T KNOW	1%	12%	16%

Q2: BUSH JOB APPRVL

STRONGLY APPROVE	3%	-	26%
SOMWHT APPROVE	20%	-	39%
SOMWHT DISAPPROVE	7%	-	14%
STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	3%	-	12%
DON'T KNOW/REFUSED	3%	-	9%

NET APPROVE

3% - 65%

NET DISAPPROVE

1% - 26%

Q3: GENERIC BALLOT

REPUBLICAN	3%	38%	35%
DEMOCRAT	3%	36%	35%
DON'T KNOW/ UNDECIDED	26%	23%	27%

MARYLAND 01 TRACKING - FIRST WAVE

Table T1A

* -continued

Page 2

PREWAVE WAVE 1 WAVE 2 WAVE 3

TOTAL

REFUSED

2%

2%

3%

Q4. GILCHREST AWARE

HEARD FAVORABLE

43%

45%

42%

HEARD UNFAVORABLE

12%

11%

12%

HEARD NO OPINION

18%

27%

28%

NEVER HEARD

7%

16%

18%

Q5. DYSON AWARE

HEARD FAVORABLE

41%

48%

47%

HEARD UNFAVORABLE

41%

40%

41%

HEARD NO OPINION

11%

11%

11%

NEVER HEARD

1%

1%

1%

Q6. CONGRESSIONAL

DEFINITELY GILCREST

20%

25%

26%

PROBABLY GILCHREST

11%

15%

15%

LEAN GILCHREST

7%

6%

4%

UNDECIDED

11%

9%

14%

LEAN DYSON

7%

5%

2%

PROBABLY DYSON

11%

15%

11%

DEFINITELY DYSON

20%

24%

27%

Q7. REELECT DYSON

REELECT

31%

34%

34%

NEW PERSON

51%

51%

50%

DON'T KNOW/DEPENDS

11%

14%

15%

Q8. HEARD GILCHREST

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ed Rollins
Marc Nuttle
Charlie Leonard
Survey Distribution List
Field Staff

FROM: Glen Bolger

RE: Bush Approval/Seniors

DATE: October 9, 1990

By now, you are all aware that President Bush's approval rating fell about ten points or so from last week to this week.

In two tracking districts, we've found a fairly disturbing trend:

	<u>Total Sample</u>	<u>Seniors Only</u>	<u>Diff</u>
District A			
Approve	64%	46%	-18
Disapprove	20%	35%	+15
District B			
Approve	62%	47%	-15
Disapprove	23%	31%	+9

If your candidate resists a seniors inoculation mailing, share this data with them.

July 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mary, Norm

FROM: David Hansen,
R.N.C. Political Division Survey Research

RE: Chicago Black Focus Group

The Committee sponsored a focus group session of 20 blacks in downtown Chicago on July 26. Participants were all Chicago residents recruited by criteria of age and education to broadly represent the city's black population. Both Southside and Westside neighborhoods were represented. Reported participation in the last mayoral election was also a recruitment requirement.

While I would not normally recommend that the findings from a single focus group of twenty participants be generalized to the whole country, black opinion relevant to us and the President seems so widely and strongly held that the results from this one group should be seriously considered.

The analogy would be for the results from a single focus group conducted on taxes and welfare in an all white, strongly Republican suburb to be generalized for Republicans everywhere. Of course you'd hear the same litany of complaints on these topics regardless of the number or location of your focus groups. As taxes and welfare are to us, so are we to blacks.

Perceptions of Bush

George Bush was viewed unfavorably by the participants of this single group: there was no perception that Bush has any more concern or compassion for blacks than Republicans in general. In March of 1989, focus group participants held more neutral, "give him a chance" attitudes towards Bush than what was heard in this group. Bush does not benefit from specific comparisons to Reagan (who was brought up often). With repeated references such as "Reagan and Bush and the conservative judges they have been appointing...", he is apparently seen as an accessory or heir to Reagan and his policies.

The response to Bush seems strongly conditioned by blacks' general attitudes towards Republicans/whites/the rich, but a few specific complaints were brought up.

Participants reacted very personally to an important policy difference they have with the Administration over fighting drugs. This group's consensus view was that tough enforcement meant only more jail space to incarcerate more blacks, and Bush was closely tied to the drive for more of this sort of enforcement. Bush was chastised for "thinking the only thing blacks need were jails" by one woman. Group members brought up repeatedly the need for increased treatment opportunities as the specific solution most likely to help the drug problem, and they saw little interest in this tactic on Bush's part.

Bush's role as the head of the CIA was cited as a sort of proof of his complicity in the complaint that Republicans, as being one and the same as the white power structure which holds blacks down, allow the flow of drugs into black communities. Both of these points were made in last year's focus groups. Connecting the CIA and permitting drugs to come into the country is the perception, widely held by the group, that the Agency (and Bush) was in league with the drug cartels since it was in league with Noriega.

Neil Bush was said to have "stolen money," and while not accusing the President of any sort of criminal complicity or cover-up, the group seemed to strongly hold his son's actions against him.

Civil Rights and Affirmative Action

How the President chooses to handle the Civil Rights legislation is not likely to significantly effect group members' perceptions of him. Neither the legislation nor affirmative action in general were volunteered as things Bush could do to help blacks when this question was asked of the group.

Many had heard radio or morning show announcements about the disabilities 'civil rights' bill scheduled to be signed that same day and confused this with the bill still awaiting the President's signature. When asked about "the civil rights bill passed by the Senate and waiting for the President to sign," the group concluded that the legislation had already been signed. Bush won no praise for signing what the group saw as a civil rights bill, perhaps an indication of the small amount of latent goodwill available to him if he were to sign the real legislation.

Blacks' sense of distrust and alienation from Republicans and the white power structure which Bush epitomized to these participants leads to an image which may not be hurt further by a veto of one piece of legislation. Even if black and Democratic elites were to work extensively at characterizing a veto as hurting blacks, groups members hold few positive evaluations of Bush which could be at stake.

'Affirmative Action,' 'Civil Rights,' and 'Economic Empowerment' were recognized by participants as being important for blacks generally, but none of the three concepts seemed to hold a very strong personal meaning to individuals in the group. This would also tend to limit the damage to Bush's image with blacks in the event of veto.

Affirmative action was viewed more favorably by Chicago participants than in last year's focus groups in Cleveland and Jackson, Mississippi. It was termed to be needed and helpful for "the quiet ones," which I think meant people unarticulate enough or forceful enough to fight against perceived wrongs. There were no negatives attached to affirmative action such as quotas working as a ceiling for black hiring, as were heard last year.

Most in the group seemed to think that civil rights is no longer as important an issue for blacks as it once was: drugs and basic economic survival have displaced it, but it was also said that "we **have** civil rights, its more human rights that's the issue, [including concerns about discrimination against older people, single mother with children, etc.]" and "we have civil rights, but we're not **using** them."

These attitudes were not unanimously held, as civil rights elicited stronger support from a couple of the younger, more politically aware participants, in the sense that they thought more needed to be done with about it.

The group refused to answer a question of which was more important, civil rights or economic empowerment. Participants instead started to cite drugs, poor education systems and lack of jobs and how blacks were so hurt or threatened by these problems as to make the rights and empowerment notions relatively unimportant.

Personal Progress Under Bush

Participants for the most part have noticed no difference in their own lives, either for the better or the worse, in the time Bush has been president. Many claimed that they knew of others who have had it worse. This could reflect how black American lives are more economically vulnerable than whites even in calm general economic conditions. It may also show blacks picking up on the line of increasing dissatisfaction or anxiety with direction of the country which increasingly seems to be the storyline of the day with the white national media, despite individuals' relatively high satisfaction with their own condition.

What Can Bush Do to Help Blacks?

In direct response to this question, participants named education and jobs: they wanted direct education aid and low interest loans from the federal government, and more spending on jobs and policies which keep jobs in their communities. These same two issues were identified as the prime concerns of blacks in March of 1989.

Reagan and Bush were criticized for cutting education spending, and as was found last year, jobs programs and centers were criticized for failing to provide training the jobs which command respect in today's economy and pay decent wages. Computer skills was given as an example of the centers could be teaching, but are not.

In addition, two other issues came up often enough in the discussion to consider adding to the list of at least the Chicago black voter agenda: health care and housing. Participants wanted health care costs contained and availability guaranteed. In this sense the concerns were quite similar to ones heard recently with white focus group participants. Black voters had no trouble calling for a national health system. One termed the country to be in the "dark ages" with its health delivery system when compared to national systems elsewhere.

Although federal money and policy is involved, the housing problems sounded to be unique to Chicago and its public and private housing stock.

The Parties

The Democratic party was criticized with complaints which seemed to be based in the cynicism blacks have for white society's institutions, and it would be wrong to say that the group was deeply dissatisfied with the party. It did receive special criticism for its disunity, and lack of follow through on behalf of, and loyalty to, its supporters. The Republican party was at an other point in the discussion credited with each of these qualities the Democrats were scored on.

While no personality-like comparisons were asked, another point of contrast was the perception of Democratic incompetence *versus* Republican competence. Republicans were not exactly praised for this trait as the benefactors of our competence were seen to be anyone but blacks: "The Republicans are all about the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer."

In three job handling comparisons, participants gave the most credit to best being able to handle them to the Democratic party. For the most part, it was not through positive perceptions of what the Democrats stood for or had proven they could accomplish which led the group to these conclusions as much as it was consistent rejection of Republican aims and motives. The sole opportunity for the Republican party may be in the area of education, as there was no awareness of what we stood for, and no suspicions or misconceptions to overcome.

Participants rejected the argument that the Republican party could do a better job with solving the threat of drugs, for the reasons mentioned above. In the area of jobs, participants either scored Republicans for allowing the loss of industrial employment to overseas competition, or else ruefully allowed that the Party could do a better job at creating jobs, but only for the benefit of ourselves.

For the Republican party to prove that it respects blacks and should deserve their vote, it was clear that this group was looking for an enduring day-in, day-out sort of commitment. Again, creating jobs and improving educational opportunity were mentioned as areas where the Party could prove itself. One member called for the Party to nominate a black as vice-president as a way to prove its commitment, an assertion which went unchallenged.

GOP Surrogates

Participants were surprisingly unaware of Jack Kemp. Even his football fame was recalled only after some delay. Eventually the group arrived at a negative impression of him.

Luis Sullivan was recognized as the Secretary of Health, even when his first name was mistakenly read as "Leon". Reactions were positive, though there was no specific mention to his attacks on tobacco marketing to blacks, for example. "He's a brother, he's doing alright" was one comment. Considering the contempt participants had for the Republican party, a reaction of "He's sold out" or more derogatory than that could have been expected.

William Bennett was easily recognized to be the "Drug Czar." Reactions were quite negative, based on, again, the suspicion participants had about Republican motives for the drug war.

Black Third Party

There was not much support initially for a third party in Chicago. The reasoning seemed to go that for it to exist, it would have to succeed, and for it to succeed it would need someone like Harold Washington to lead it, and participants saw no potential leaders with that sort of stature.

Eventually, a consensus was formed that each in the group could support a third party candidate, but this seemed to be a forced decision, and not strong enough to base a strategy of promoting a third party candidate.

Hartigan

The group was aware of Hartigan, but had no firm opinions about him. Their expectations were not particularly high for him and were formed on basis of his race and not his party.

Edgar

Participants were more aware of Edgar than Hartigan. There was no strong rejection out of hand of him, and some media based around an event in the black community, perhaps a uniform or team warm-ups donation to a youth organization, was recalled and positively evaluated by many in the group.

p0618-----

r p AM-Sununu's influence 09-19 0534

^AM-Sununu's Influence, 0600<

^Sununu Gone From New Hampshire, but Political Imprint Remains

^With AM-Mass Primary, Bjt<

^By ADOLPHE V. BERNOTAS=

^Associated Press Writer=

MANCHESTER, N.H. (AP) - From their earliest days together, John Sununu and Bill Zeliff were among the insiders offering advice to George Bush in his New Hampshire presidential primary campaigns.

From the White House, Sununu endorsed his old friend Zeliff for Congress, helping him win the GOP nomination in an eight-way primary last week and provoking the wrath of other Republicans along the way.

"Cronyism and politics ... at its worst," complained Dean Dexter, a businessman and former state representative.

"I cannot envision a circumstance where I think John Sununu's interference in a New Hampshire primary would be appropriate," said state Sen. William Johnson.

Both were among the losers in the GOP primary that Zeliff won by 314 votes. A recount is planned.

Zeliff sidesteps questions on whether his campaign used the voting lists, computerized data, volunteers and organizers that Sununu had begun assembling in his earliest tries for elective office in the late 1970s.

"I used everything at my disposal," said the 54-year-old innkeeper.

Zeliff made the comments at his campaign headquarters, where his chief operatives are former Sununu aides from the days when he was New Hampshire's governor. Sununu now serves as Bush's White House

chief of staff.

Zeliff served in Sununu's administration on committees to create jobs through private industry. He says Sununu "persuaded me to get involved."

Zeliff, who was a fund-raiser for Sununu, said his longtime friend suggested "a couple of years ago that I should consider running for Congress; he thought I would make a good congressman."

Zeliff's GOP opponents were angered when Sununu endorsed Zeliff in a radio commercial that aired in the closing days of the primary campaign.

Dexter criticized the endorsement as hypocritical, noting that Zeliff favors abortion rights while Sununu is opposed.

Zeliff "will be a rubber stamp for whatever Sununu and President Bush want, including higher taxes," predicted Larry Brady, a Washington lobbyist who also was among those defeated by Zeliff in the GOP primary.

Zeliff said that on the Friday before the primary, Sununu "called me and offered, unsolicited, a tape for the campaign because we're good friends."

"I've known Bill Zeliff for a long time," Sununu said in the ad. "Nobody will work harder to get the job done."

On primary election night, Sununu's attention was focused on the president's speech to Congress. Nonetheless, the former governor phoned Zeliff "to see how we were doing and to wish us luck," Zeliff said.

The White House has not been reluctant to endorse New Hampshire candidates, giving its blessing to U.S. Rep. Bob Smith's easily won race in the U.S. Senate primary. Zeliff is running for Smith's House seat.

When Smith's opponents and party officials complained that the White House should have been neutral in the primary, Sununu replied that he wasn't helping candidates so much as he was "helping the process."

Although Zeliff denied that his TV advertising program took lessons from Sununu's strategies in earlier campaigns, the Zeliff ads had a familiar tone.

In the 1988 presidential campaign, Bush attacked Kansas Sen. Bob Dole as a taxer. Zeliff's campaign sounded a similar theme.

Zeliff labeled House Speaker Doug Scamman a "broad-based taxer," the unkindest cut one Republican can make against another in New Hampshire, which has no general sales or personal income tax.

The general election campaign against Democrat Joe Keefe will be an aggressive one, Zeliff predicted.

"I'm a conservative Republican businessman, he's a trial lawyer, a liberal spending Democrat, that's the basic difference," said Zeliff.

AP-TV-09-19-90 1249EDT<-

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Photo Copy Preservation

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

September 12, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ED ROGERS *ER*
SUBJECT: POLITICAL ITEMS #3

Once again, I just wanted to bring you up-to-date on a few political developments.

1. **Campaign Update:** Attached please find 2 charts analyzing our Senate and Governors races. Overall, there have been relatively few dramatic developments in the campaigns over the summer; it was a season devoted instead, to campaigns consolidating their positions. Three items worth noting however, include:
 - 1) Pat Saiki pulling even or ahead of Akaka in Hawaii;
 - 2) Jim Edgar dropping substantially - to even or behind Hartigan in Illinois; and
 - 3) Jock McKernan slipping double-digits behind Brennan in Maine.

In addition to other meetings and contacts, once a week, Governor Sununu hosts a 6:45am meeting with Charlie Black, Mary Matalin, Bob Teeter, Ed Rollins, Rick Shelby, Andy Card, David Carney and me to evaluate the status of our candidates/races.

FYI: We'll update these charts every 10 days or so.

2. **1992 Convention:** Craig Fuller, Steve Merksamer and Jack Flanigan have been working to determine the level of support from San Diego as a '92 site. At this time, it does look like we'll have a San Diego bid, which will bring our final list to: 1) San Diego, 2) Houston, 3) New Orleans, 4) Tampa/St. Petersburg and 5) Cleveland. Fuller, Flanigan, Bill Harris and I will be meeting this Friday to discuss the details surrounding what kind of initial support is developing. Current plans call for a January 1991 announcement of our city, but an earlier decision would give our planners extra lead time.

3. **Cabinet Travel:** We're about to deliver the third phase of our requested political travel to the Cabinet. The following list **rank**s the **Secretaries and Agency Heads** in terms of the most aggressive and successful in completing the first two phases:

1. Cavazos;
2. Engeleiter;
3. Hills;
4. Sullivan;
5. Lujan;
6. Yeutter;
7. Bennett;
8. Watkins;
9. Skinner;
10. Mosbacher;
11. Brady;
12. Kemp;
13. Derwinski;
14. Dole; and
15. Reilly.

FYI: Governor Sununu and Mike Boskin have been very aggressive as well; each one will have completed over 25 events by election day.

4. **Voter Turnout:** As always, all GOP campaigns are concerned about money. Like 1986, however, our biggest problem could be voter turnout - specifically with the suburban voter, aged 18-42, who seldom turns out except for Presidential elections. Charlie Black, Bob Teeter and I have discussed ideas to focus on increasing voter participation. We will probably have several 2-3 point races this year and your popularity coupled with world events could provide a unique opportunity for a patriotic, non-partisan turnout campaign. I've discussed this concept with Governor Sununu and Sig Rogich and will submit any plan for your review just as soon as it develops.
5. **Rob Mosbacher:** We've offered Rob Mosbacher a major donor, closed press fundraiser in Dallas while you're there for Claytie Williams. Secretary Mosbacher is expected to make a direct appeal to you for an additional Presidential stop for Rob in Houston. Currently, we have no plans to return to Texas before election eve. Unless I hear otherwise, we'll proceed as planned.
6. **Miscellaneous:** Bob Teeter will be starting a big poll at the end of the week intended to serve as a benchmark for the 1990 cycle. From then on, he will produce smaller polls at the rate of 1 every 10 days.

cc: John H. Sununu

9/12/90

UNITED STATES SENATE 1990

CERTAIN DEMO	LEAN DEMO (in order of likely GOP victory)	TOSS UP (in order of likely GOP victory)	LEAN GOP (in order of likely GOP victory)	CERTAIN GOP
Alabama Arkansas Georgia Louisiana Massachusetts Michigan New Jersey Oklahoma Tennessee West Virginia	1. Iowa 2. Rhode Island 3. Nebraska 4. Montana 5. Illinois 6. Massachusetts	1. North Carolina 2. Hawaii	1. Oregon 2. Kentucky 3. Colorado 4. Indiana	Alaska Idaho Kansas Maine Minnesota Mississippi New Hampshire New Mexico South Carolina South Dakota Texas Virginia Wyoming

UNITED STATES GOVERNOR 1990

CERTAIN DEMO	LEAN DEMO (in order of likely GOP victory)	TOSS UP (in order of likely GOP victory)	LEAN GOP (in order of likely GOP victory)	CERTAIN GOP
Arkansas Colorado Georgia Hawaii Idaho Maryland Nevada New York Pennsylvania Tennessee Wyoming	1. Florida 2. Nebraska 3. Arizona 4. Michigan 5. Kansas 6. Maine 7. Oklahoma 8. Connecticut (Weicker) 9. Rhode Island	1. New Mexico 2. Illinois 3. California 4. Minnesota 5. Massachusetts	1. Texas 2. Ohio 3. Iowa 4. Oregon 5. Alabama 6. Alaska	New Hampshire South Carolina South Dakota Vermont Wisconsin