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FOIA MARKER

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: White House Offices Files

OA/ID Number: 29182
Folder ID Number: 29182-001

Folder Title:
Political Affairs (Wray/Rogers) (1990) [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	25	5	6

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	From Ed Rogers to POTUS Re: Larry Hopkins (1 pp.)	7/23/90	(b)(6)	
02. Memo	From C. Boyden Gray to POTUS Re: Civil Rights Legislation (1 pp.)	9/5/90	P-5	
03. Memo	From David Hansen to Mary, Norm Re: Chicago Black Focus Group [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (6 pp.)	7/27/90	PRM	
04. Memo	From Ed Rogers to John Sununu Re: Political Outreach [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (2 pp.)	8/10/90	PRM	
05. Memo	From Lee Atwater to POTUS Re: Convention Site Selection [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (3 pp.)	7/26/90	PRM	
06. Memo	From Ed Rogers to POTUS Re: Recent Democrat Attacks on Budget and S & L (1 pp.)	7/25/90	P-5	
07. Memo	From Ed Rogers to Susan Porter Rose Re: First Lady Political Involvement [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	7/18/90	PRM	

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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Political Affairs
(Wray/Rogers) (1990) [3]

Pinksheet Number: KO0732
OA/ID Number: 29182-001
Date Closed: 12/16/2004
FOIA/Sys Case #: 1998-0004-F[1]
Re-review Case #: 2005-0426-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
08. Transcript	Of the President's Photo Opportunity w/Pierre Renfret [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	6/28/90	PRM	
09. Memo	From Margaret Alexander to Jim Wray Re: Recap of Requests for Remainder of 1990 [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (6 pp.)	5/8/90	PRM	
10. Report	RNC budget [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (2 pp.)	90	PRM	

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Date Closed:	12/16/2004	OA/ID Number:	29182-001
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Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

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Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By *[Signature]* (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed:	12/16/2004	OA/ID Number:	29182-001
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: C. BOYDEN GRAY *CHG*
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Civil Rights Legislation

Attached please find (1) clips from the Cincinnati Enquirer and Post regarding Ken Blackwell, the black Republican candidate for Congress (who stands a very good chance of winning) and his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1990 on the ground that it is a quota bill (TAB A); and (2) the results of an August 10 focus group of blacks in Chicago (TAB B).

The noteworthy points about each: despite the NAACP's attack on Blackwell, far from rushing to endorse the legislation, Blackwell's Democratic opponent Luken indicated that, although he would probably vote for the bill if it came to that, he "agrees with the [P]resident that there is a better bill out there." The Post further notes that "The attack also has many political observers wondering why the NAACP would attack one of the few black congressional candidates in the country who appears to have a chance of winning--and becoming the first black Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives in 30 years."

The report on the focus group concludes that "How the President chooses to handle the Civil Rights legislation is not likely to significantly [a]ffect group members' perceptions of him." It indicates general unawareness of and lack of interest in the status of the legislation. (Some apparently thought it had already been signed, confusing it with the ADA, but the report notes that you "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.") The problems that were of real concern to the group were apparently "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."

As the focus group report notes, it is a great leap to generalize from a single focus group to the whole country. Nevertheless, I pass it along for what it is worth. At least it and the Blackwell race are further evidence that the politics on this are far from overwhelmingly one-sided.

cc: John Sununu

A new civil-rights consensus

BY KEN BLACKWELL

Guest Columnist

America needs to find and build a new civil-rights consensus. If this is to be done, I believe it will happen through defining and promoting policies that empower individuals to achieve their own potential through their own efforts in a society which permits rewards for their work and their accomplishments.

The Civil Rights Act of 1990 is mislabeled. It is a flagrant violation of truth in packaging. The original idea of civil rights was to remove irrelevant racial, religious and sexist barriers to individual accomplishment and fulfillment. This bill, like an old general, is still fighting the last war, and it is doing it so ineptly that it threatens the gains of the past.

The moral agreement which has opened greater opportunity for so many over the past three decades was based on judging people on their individual character, not on some group identification. The 1990 act, far from being race- or sex-neutral, defines people by race and sex, and insists that this be the primary factor in hiring decisions. Individuals would not be judged as individuals, but rather as parts of distinct groups which must be employed at levels "equal" to their proportion in the population.

An old principle assaulted

The bill reverses an indispensable principle of American justice, innocent until proven guilty. Discrimination would no longer mean wrongful intent to treat people differently because of race or sex. Instead, statistical disparities between a group's representation in a given work force vs. the local population would by themselves establish a presumption of discriminatory guilt. The burden of proof would be on employers to prove their innocence.

This bill does not empower people. It empowers lawyers. It allows such unprecedented opportunity for large contingency fees that it might better be called Aid to Dependent Lawyers. The courts will be opened to countless suits based on statistics alone, with no need to show actual discrimination, a litigation bonanza. Lawyers will be given incentive to file as



Ken Blackwell

... opposing fraudulent legislation

many cases as possible in the hope that a few will pay off with substantial windfalls.

Facing the prospect of statistically based suits and punitive damages, employers will have little choice but to adopt race- and sex-conscious quotas, and the cost of legal fees will force employers to settle before trial whether or not a suit has merit.

Congress has recognized the absurdity of this proposition by exempting itself from its provisions. This arrogant and hypocritical practice must stop. If laws make so little sense that the Congress cannot comply, neither should anyone else be subjected to them.

The act's promotion of hiring quotas and free-wheeling litigation is a serious defect, but even worse is that it distracts attention from congressional inaction on ideas which promise an actual beneficial effect on people's lives, ideas which will, if they work, increase economic opportunity for individuals.

This view is not new with me. Five years ago in testimony before the Republican Study Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, I noted the need to address the intertwined problems of employment and education and housing: "You can't land a decent job because you

don't have an education, and you can't get a decent education because of where you live, and you can't move to a decent neighborhood because you don't have a job."

I noted then and I still believe that we cannot in our society compel employers to give jobs to people who do not qualify to hold them. We cannot instill training by legislative decree. And we cannot meet mortgage payments with good wishes. The employment/education/housing problems are economic in nature, and we need economic solutions to whip them.

We do not know for sure what will work, but we need to start trying some ideas which may. Enterprise zones may well generate jobs in areas with concentrations of underemployed and unemployed people. Educational vouchers may well contribute to better education for inner-city children. Permitting tenants to buy public housing may well provide better homes for low-income people.

What we can be sure will *not* work is the fraudulent Civil Rights Act of 1990. I have urged President Bush to veto this piece of legislative legerdemain, and to ask Congress to get moving on a Reward for Individual Achievement Act of 1991.

An equal chance for all

Americans believe in fairness. Americans believe in giving everyone an equal chance to succeed or fail on individual merit. And a majority of Americans will support initiatives which give their economically disadvantaged fellow citizens a chance to improve their lives through education and work.

This is the path that can build an American consensus begin economic civil rights in a society where the character and effort of individual citizens, not the legislated group they were born into, make the difference in the quality of their lives.

Ken Blackwell, a former mayor and city councilman, is the Republican nominee for Congress from the First District.

To: Andy
COSTER

Blackwell takes snub in stride

• NAACP attacks stand
on civil rights legislation

By Sharon Moloney
Post staff reporter

J. Kenneth Blackwell views Tuesday's denunciation by the Cincinnati NAACP as just another of the disagreements he has had with various groups of voters throughout his career.

"As I've said on any number of occasions, I have a 14-year record of public service and it has been controversial," Blackwell said. "I'm sure that at some point or another there isn't a voter in Cincinnati who hasn't disagreed with me."

But the NAACP's blistering attack aimed at Blackwell's opposition to the pending federal 1990 Civil Rights bill, has a new twist: In previous skirmishes on civil rights, Blackwell, a black Republican candidate for the 1st District U.S. House seat, has drawn heat from conservatives.

The attack also has many political observers wondering why the NAACP would attack one of the few black congressional candidates in the country who appears to have a chance of winning — and becoming the first black Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives in 30 years.

Blackwell's record has been one of support for civil rights issues, although he hasn't always taken the generally accepted viewpoint.

As a Cincinnati City Council member in 1988, Blackwell spearheaded the drive to pass the city's banking ordinance that opened local bank records on commercial loans to minorities and low-income neighborhoods.

Blackwell's opponent in the 1st District race, Cincinnati Mayor Charles Luken, also voted for the banking ordinance. But some Cincinnati bankers and business leaders were reportedly so incensed at Blackwell's leadership on it that their financial support for his congressional campaign was said to be suffering.

Please see BLACKWELL, 12A

Blackwell

From Page 1A

Blackwell disputed such reports by pointing to the solid participation of many business leaders in his campaign, led by Clement Buenger, chairman and CEO of Fifth Third Bank, a one-time bitter opponent of the banking bill.



J. Kenneth Blackwell

Also in 1988, Blackwell urged a return to proportional representation as a method for electing City Council members. He also pushed an ordinance opening the city's private clubs to minorities and women.

As deputy undersecretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Blackwell proposed a plan for the federal government to sell 50,000 single-family homes seized for mortgage default at low rates to low-income buyers.

None of this was mentioned by NAACP officials Tuesday when they denounced Blackwell for opposing the proposed federal Civil Rights Bill of 1990.

Frank Allison, Cincinnati chapter president, charged that Blackwell had "sold his soul for a mess of votes" in the 1st District. Allison said Blackwell had forgotten "from whence he came" and how civil rights laws of the past had helped him achieve his position as a prominent black politician. One of the NAACP's major concerns is the civil rights bill.

Blackwell countered that his opposition to the bill stems not from what civil rights legislation can achieve, but how the goal is achieved. He says the bill adopts a quota system and is intrinsically unfair.

About the bill

Republican J. Kenneth Blackwell contends that minority hiring provisions in the 1990 Civil Rights Act would unfairly lead to quotas. Blackwell's Democratic opponent, Charles Luken, largely shares Blackwell's view. The bill's provisions include:

- Bans on racial harassment in the work place.

- Barriers against reopening court-approved fair-hiring agreements.

- Changes making it easier to use statistics to win discrimination suits against employers and for punitive damages for women and other discrimination victims.

- A \$150,000 cap on the amount of punitive damages for intentional discrimination that courts could award to women, religious minorities and the disabled. The bill would allow the cap to be exceeded by the amount of compensatory damages, if higher.

"I have a legitimate disagreement with Frank Allison, a difference in principal which I have been delineating very thoughtfully," Blackwell says. "We share the same goals. But it is not always necessary to arrive at those goals in the same way or by marching to the same drummer."

Luken largely shares Blackwell's view of the proposed Civil Rights Bill of 1990. He says he "agrees with the president that

there is a better bill out there." He said he would probably vote for the bill if it comes to that, but he doubts it would ever come to a vote without significant amendments.

Much of the controversy over Blackwell in the minority community has its roots in his defection from the Charter Party in 1980 to join the GOP.

The Charter Party has a strong minority contingent, with strong ties to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Its members include such politically and otherwise influential blacks as former Mayor Theodore Berry and former Council Member and NAACP president Marian Spencer. Some Charterites considered Blackwell's defection a betrayal of the party that first offered blacks a serious chance at elected office. Indeed, Berry once described Blackwell's defection publicly as "base ingratitude."

Blackwell further incurred their ire when he led the opposition to Charter-supported income tax increases and a Metro bus tax increase in the early 1980s.

Another sore point is Blackwell's stand on apartheid in South Africa.

While he vehemently opposes apartheid and has spoken out against it at the United Nations, he has long been criticized for opposing sanctions against businesses in South Africa. Blackwell contends that sanctions hurt black workers more than anyone else.

Whether the NAACP's charges Tuesday will hurt Blackwell's congressional campaign remains to be seen. The NAACP stopped short of saying it will campaign against Blackwell.

In their last race for City Council, Blackwell and Luken split about evenly votes in the minority sections of the city.

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ate news/D-7 ■

METRO

■ Obituaries/D-10
■ Classified ads/D-11-16

NAACP leader blasts Blackwell civil rights view

BY KELLY LEWIS
The Cincinnati Enquirer

Angered by J. Kenneth Blackwell's opposition to a key piece of civil rights legislation, local NAACP President Frank Allison Tuesday said the First District congressional candidate had "stomped on the graves" of slain civil rights leaders.

At issue: the Civil Rights Act of 1990. Two versions of the bill have passed the House and Senate and are being reviewed

in a conference committee.

Proponents say the measure will reverse Supreme Court decisions that have made it difficult for women and minority job-seekers to win discrimination lawsuits. Opponents say it amounts to establishing hiring quotas. President Bush has vowed to veto it.

Allison leveled his criticism in response to Blackwell's guest column in *The Enquirer* on Aug. 24. Blackwell, a Republican,

called the legislation "fraudulent" and urged a veto.

Allison, who supports the bill, said he believed Blackwell's position is an attempt to attract voters from Cincinnati's western suburbs in the congressional race.

"Because he believes the only way to ensure his election is to appeal to the darkest side and deepest fears of voters, Mr. Blackwell has signed his name to an editorial which is devoid of both reason and

factual support," Allison said.

"The saddest observation of all is that Mr. Blackwell, by his attack, has stomped on the graves of Medgar Evers, Martin Luther King Jr., and the other martyrs who have paid the supreme sacrifice for the Blackwells of this world to reap the benefits of a free society. Shame on you, Mr. Blackwell, for selling your soul for a mess of votes."

(Please see BLACKWELL, Page D-2)

Civil rights bill remains bogged in debate

Congress to work with two versions

BY KEITH WHITE

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — To its supporters, the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1990 puts teeth — pulled by the Supreme Court in recent decisions — back in anti-discrimination laws covering employment.

To its opponents, the bill threatens businesses with such severe penalties they

will be forced to adopt quotas in hiring and promotion.

Similar versions of the bill have passed the House and Senate and now wait reconciliation when Congress returns next month.

President Bush opposed both bills and threatens to veto the final product, arguing it will result in the use of quotas — even though both versions specifically reject that.

"It will also foster divisiveness and litigation rather than conciliation and do more to promote legal fees than civil

rights," wrote Bush in a letter to House Minority leader Bob Michel, R-Ill., earlier this month.

Although House members amended their bill to restrict the punitive damages that could be awarded in employment discrimination cases and to reject quotas, Bush said those changes do not cure the bill's defects.

The goal of this bill is to overturn five recent Supreme Court decisions that "have hamstrung the vigorous enforcement of this nation's civil rights employment laws," said Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Tex-

as, during House debate.

Those decisions reversed previous law by putting the burden on employees to prove that suspicious hiring practices are due to discrimination rather than business necessities, limiting the opportunity for aggrieved persons to sue and permitting greater challenge of agreements to improve hiring and promotion of minorities.

Republicans say the bill would tilt things too far against the employer and make him or her vulnerable to lawsuits which would result in damages so great it could drive them out of business.

Blackwell

CONTINUED FROM PAGE D-1

The First District includes most of Cincinnati and suburban Hamilton County west of Mill Creek. Fourteen percent of the voting-age population is black, according to *The Almanac of American Politics 1990*.

Blackwell, responding to what he termed "very hard" allegations, said he has been a fighter for equal opportunity and equal access.

"I'm nobody's puppet. I'm man enough to take the heat for my opinions," he said.

Blackwell said that, in its present form, the civil rights bill is quota legislation.

"It stands to erode a basic element of the business process," Blackwell said. "Business owners must have the opportunity to choose the best person to get the job done without worrying about fitting a quota."

Blackwell pointed to his record against discrimination in home-mortgage lending by Cincinnati banks when he was a city council-



Blackwell



Allison

man. While on council he sponsored an ordinance to force local banks to reveal the numbers of mortgage loans they made in predominantly black neighborhoods if they wanted to do business with the city.

Cincinnati Mayor Charles Luken, who is running against Blackwell in the congressional race, said the bill is not perfect but he would support it.

In the recent House vote, U.S. Rep. Willis D. Gradison Jr. R-Cincinnati, voted against the legislation. Charles Luken's father, U.S. Rep. Thomas A. Luken, Democrat-Cincinnati, voted for it.

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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 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.

8
September 11, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

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

SUBJECT: POLITICAL ACTIVITY REPORT

PRIMARY RESULTS:

Oklahoma-Republicans Vince Orza and Bill Price will face a run-off on the 18th of this month while David Walters and Wes Watkins will face one another in the Democrat run-off. It appears as if the Republican nominee will have a good chance of winning in November because of the divisive Democrat race.

Alaska-Republican Arliss Strugulewski will face Tony Knowles in the race for Governor. Both Don Young and Ted Stevens are up for re-election with no major opposition.

Florida-Lawton Chiles won the Democrat primary with an overwhelming margin of 69% of the votes and will face Republican Governor Bob Martinez.

Connecticut-Democrat Congressman Bruce Morrison defeated State Representative William Cibes and will face Republican John Rowland and Independent Lowell Weicker in the general election. State Senator Tom Scott defeated Gerald Patton 65%-29% in the third congressional district race.

District of Columbia-Sharon Pratt Dixon won the Democrat mayoral primary to face Republican nominee Maurice Turner and statehood Party candidate Alvin Frost in the general election. Republican nominee Harry Singleton will face Democrat Eleanor Holmes Norton in the D.C. delegate race. Jesse Jackson was nominated overwhelmingly to be a candidate for "Shadow U.S. Senator" for the District of Columbia.

Maryland-Governor William Donald Schaefer defeated gun rights advocate Fred Griiser. Former diplomat Bill Shepard and his wife, Lois, won the nomination for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Shepard defeated perennial candidate Ross Pierpont. Republican Congressman Roy Dyson (DC-1) defeated State Delegate Barbara Kremer for the right to face Wayne Gilchrest, Dyson's 1988 opponent, in the general election.

New Hampshire-Governor Judd Gregg defeated Bob Bonser with 82% of the vote to win the Republican nomination. He will face either former Democrat State Party Chairman Joe Grandmaison or State Senator Bob Preston. Bob Smith defeated three other opponents by garnering 64% of the vote. Smith will face former U.S. Senator John Durkin in the race for Gordon Humphrey's open U.S. Senate seat. Gordon Humphrey won the Republican nomination for the State Senate race. Bill Zeliff, businessman and close Governor Sununu ally, defeated Larry Brady by 276 votes to win for Congressman Smith's open 1st congressional district seat.

Rhode Island-Republican Governor Ed DiPrete will face businessman Bruce Sundlun in the general election. DiPrete defeated radio personality Steve White and Sundlun defeated Warwick Mayor Frank Flaherty and Providence Mayor Joe Paolino. Environmentalist Trudy Coxe defeated Party activist David Ginerella in the race to succeed Claudine Schneider in Rhode Island's 2nd district.

Vermont-Republican incumbent Peter Smith defeated conservative activist Timothy Philbin in the Republican congressional primary. Smith will now face independent, Socialist Bernie Sanders and Democrat Dolores Sandoval in the general election. 1988 gubernatorial candidate Mike Bernhardt defeated Vermont Utilities Commissioner Luise McCarren in the Lieutenant Gubernatorial primary.

Arizona-Real estate developer J. Fife Symington, III defeated former Governor Evan Mecham, businessman Fred Koory, former Congressman Sam Steiger, and school teacher Bob Barnes to win the GOP nomination for Governor. Democrat Mayor Terry Goddard defeated perennial candidate Dave Moss in the Democrat gubernatorial primary. GOP Congressman Jay Rhodes defeated challenger State Senator John Wrzsinski in the first Congressional District.

Utah-Former state legislator and geologist Genevieve Atwood defeated former state legislator Dan Marriot in the Utah's second Congressional District. Former State Senator Karl Snow defeated businessman John Harmer in the third Congressional District. Snow will face Democrat nominee attorney Bill Orton.

Minnesota-Independent-Republican endorsed candidate John Grunseth has defeated State Auditor Arne Carlson for the GOP Gubernatorial nomination. He will defeat incumbent Governor Rudy Perpich who defeated Democrat Farmer Labor candidate Mike Hatch.

POLLING DATA:

Texas-A Dallas Morning News poll, released August 26th, expresses continued support for Clayton Williams with a 10% lead over Democrat Ann Richards, if elections were held that day. The poll also identified Williams having a 15% lead over Richards for projecting a better image of Texas to the rest of the country.

Illinois-Chicago Tribune poll, 1,000 likely voters, 9/9/90, +/-3

Governor:

Jim Edgar	(R)	38%
Neil Hartigan	(D)	35%
Undecided		27%

US Senate:

Lynn Martin	(R)	27%
Paul Simon	(D)	52%
Undecided		21%

Ohio- Columbus Dispatch poll, 9/9/90, 1,581 registered voters

Governor:

George Voinovich	(R)	53%
Tony Clelebrezze	(D)	40%
Undecided		7%

Secretary of State:

Bob Taft	(R)	44%
Sherrod Brown	(D)	45%
Undecided		7%

Michigan-Detroit News poll, 9/9/90, with 800 registered voters, +/-3.5%

US Senate:

Bill Schuette	(R)	26%
Carl Levin	(D)	63%
Undecided		11%

Governor:

John Engler	(R)	38%
Jim Blanchard	(D)	50%
Undecided		13%

FUNDRAISING:

During the month of August, the President continued to vigorously campaign for Republican candidates by participating in the following fundraisers:

Rhode Island Republican Party

180,000

Jim Snelling for Governor	65,000
Governor McKernan's re-election campaign	300,000
Emery for Congress	65,000
Gregg for Governor	110,000

Total dollars raised for the month of August for Republican candidates: \$720,000

September had an impressive start with approximately \$900,000 earned in one day in Kansas for Governor Hayden's re-election campaign and in Florida for the Republican Party and Bill Grant for Congress (FL-2).

OPINION DIGEST:

Also enclosed is the latest opinion digest from the Republican National Committee. There is an overwhelming indication the President has regained his record high job approval rating as a result of the Iraqi crisis.

ARTICLE OF INTEREST:

"Quayle has earned a little respect" The News Courier, August 20, 1990

OPINION DIGEST

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

- o 76% of Americans approve of the way President Bush is handling his job as President and 15% disapprove. [CBS News/*New York Times*, 8/18-19]
- o His presidential approval rating is at its second highest point since he took office (the highest point was 80% reported by the Gallup Poll in January 1990 after the invasion of Panama.)
- o Bush's popularity is at the highest level ever recorded for a president at this point in his term.

VICE PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

- o According to a recent Gallup Poll (8/9-12), 47% of voters approve of Dan Quayle's job as Vice President and 23% disapprove. His approval rating increased three percentage points from a July Gallup Poll.

PUBLIC OPINION OF CONGRESS

Congress' Job Approval

- o Americans disapprove of the way the Democratic controlled Congress is handling its job than approve by 44% to 40%.
 - Voters are more content with their own representatives. 60% surveyed do approve of the job their individual congressman is doing, compared to 21% who do not approve.

[*New York Times*/CBS News, 8/16-19]

Re-election Prospects

- o Although more than half of Americans approve of the way their representatives are handling their jobs in Congress, according to the *New York Times*/CBS News poll (8/16-19), voters are split about their own representatives' prospects for re-election. 43% said their representative should be re-elected and 40% said he should not.

Blame for Budget Problems

- o When the public was asked in a recent *New York Times*/CBS News poll (8/16-19) who was to blame for the slow progress Congress has been making to find a solution to our federal budget problem, 35% said the Democratic controlled Congress is at fault (7% named President Bush and 14% named both).
- o 59% surveyed said members of Congress have **not** been making a serious effort to reduce the budget and 31% said they have been trying hard. [*New York Times*/CBS News, 8/16-19]

Financial Corruption

- o 46% said in the last ten years, the standards of ethics in government have gotten worse. This is an increase from the 33% who said this in January 1989. [*New York Times*/CBS News, 8/16-19]
- o 42% of Americans think about half or more members of Congress are financially corrupt and 51% believe Congress is more honest with "some or hardly any" members who are financially corrupt. [*New York Times*/CBS News, 8/16-19]
- Voters have more trust in their own congressman -- 62% believe their own representative is honest compared to 19% who think he is financially crooked.

[*New York Times*/CBS News, 8/16-19]

GENERIC HOUSE BALLOT

- o When voters were asked who they would vote for in their district, the Republican or Democrat candidate, if congressional elections were held tomorrow, 34% said the Republican candidate and 40% said the Democrat. [Market Opinion Research, 8/23-27]

ECONOMY

Bush Approval

- o Americans are evenly divided over Bush's handling of the economy -- 45% approve and 44% disapprove. [CBS News/*New York Times*, 8/16-19]

Does a Recession Loom?

- o Although a recession is generally defined as two consecutive quarters of declining national output and the U.S. has not even had one losing quarter, 60% of Americans say the nation is in a recession. [CBS News/*New York Times*, 8/16-19]
 - There has been an increase in pessimism about the economy since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2. In a CBS News poll six days after the invasion, only 49% said the country was in a recession.

Economic Outlook

- o According to the most recent CBS News/ *New York Times* poll (8/16-19), 55% of the public said the economy was growing worse, 40% said it was staying the same and only 4% said it was getting better.
 - The last time Americans were so pessimistic about the economy was in 1981 and 1982 when the country began its worst recession since World War II.
 - Blacks and women are more pessimistic about the economy. 25% of blacks said the economy was "very bad" compared to 14% of whites saying so. 60% of women said the economy was getting worse compared to 49% of men saying the economy was getting worse. [CBS News/ *New York Times*, 8/16-19]

4 in 10 are Feeling the "Squeeze"

- o 43% of the public say compared to a year ago, it is harder to make ends meet, 47% say it is about the same and 10% say it is easier. CBS News/ *New York Times* poll (8/16-19).

GOP Holds Margin on Taxes and Deficit

- o Despite the changes in attitude toward the economy, Republicans are perceived by the public as the best party to hold down taxes, 46% to 32%, and favored to reduce the federal deficit, 37% to 36%. [Market Opinion Research, 7/26-8/3]

SAVINGS AND LOAN

Bush Disapproval Up

- o A recent CBS News/ *New York Times* poll (8/16-19) shows 51% of Americans disapprove of the way President Bush is handling the savings and loan problem, an increase of 9 percentage points from May when 42% disapproved.

Responsibility: Blame the Industry First

- o When asked to name who was more responsible for the savings and loan problem, the owners and managers of the savings and loans were blamed by 55% of respondents, President Reagan by 18%, Congress by 10% and President Bush by 3%. [CBS News/ *New York Times*, 8/16-19]

2:1 Blame GOP

- o When a poll asked specifically which party had more responsibility for the S&L problem, **35% said the Republicans and 17% said the Democrats.** [CBS News/ *New York Times*, 8/16-19]

It's Not Over Yet

- o 59% think the worst of the S&L problem is yet to come. [CBS News/ *New York Times*, 8/16-19]

IRAQ

Americans Support Bush's Decisions

- o Americans continue to support President Bush's handling of the conflict in the Middle East by 82% to 13%. [Gordon S. Black Corp. for *USA Today*, 8/22]
- o According to the *Wall Street Journal* (8/21), Americans approve of the President's decision to send military forces to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf by 72% to 16%.
 - Women and blacks are more equivocal about their support of the President's handling of this crisis. 62% of women support sending troops to Saudi Arabia and 41% of blacks approve (49% of blacks **disapprove**.) [NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, 8/18-19]

Combat With Iraq?

- o Most Americans (76%) want the US to take all action necessary, including using U.S. troops, to get Iraqi troops out of Kuwait, but 78% do not believe we should attack Iraq first. [ABC poll, 8/17-20]
- o Americans are evenly split with 46% believing the conflict with Iraq will be resolved peacefully and 46% thinking we will become engaged in conflict. [KRC/Hotline, 8/26-28]

- o 95% of those surveyed support military retaliation if Iraqi troops strike against U.S. troops. [Gallup Poll for *Newsweek*, 8/23-24]
- o 70% approve of waging a war with Iraq if Iraqi troops invade Saudi Arabia and 84% support an attack if terrorists loyal to Iraq kill Americans in Kuwait and Iraq. [Gallup Poll for *Newsweek*, 8/23-24]
- o Voters are more discriminating about going to war with Iraq over economic issues. Only 39% believe we should take military action against Iraq if the U.S. develops a major oil shortage that threatens an economic recession; only 27% of those surveyed believe the U.S. should go to war with Iraq if the price of gasoline increases over \$2 per gallon. [NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, 8/18-19]

Hostages

- o Protecting and freeing U.S. hostages was named by 52% of Americans as the top U.S. goal in the Middle East (17% named getting Iraq out of Kuwait and 14% named ensuring a sufficient oil supply). [Gordon S. Black Corp. for *USA Today*, 8/22]
- o 77% said military action should be taken against Iraq if hostages are held (asked before the word hostage was used by either side). [ABC poll, 8/17-20]
- o This support for the safety of the hostages is conditional. When asked, "Saddam Hussien has reportedly placed some hostages at military institutions so we won't bomb inside Iraq. Should we bomb those targets now, before he has had a chance to move in more hostages, even though hostages will be killed?" 62% of respondents said we should go ahead and bomb those targets. [Gordon S. Black Corp. for *USA Today*, 8/20-21]

In The Long Run

- o 57% of Americans believe the U.S. will be successful in getting the Iraqis out of Kuwait and 23% think we will not. [Hotline/KRC poll, 8/12-14]
- o 69% believe the worst is ahead for the United States in the Middle East crisis. [Gordon S. Black for *USA Today*, 8/20-21]
- o Over three-quarters of those surveyed predict the American troops will remain in Saudi Arabia for an extended period of time. 57% of those surveyed think the U.S. troops will be in Saudi Arabia for up to one year and 19% believe they will remain there even longer than one year. [Gordon S. Black for *USA Today*, 8/20-21]

- o According to John Mueller in the *New York Times* (8/27), if war breaks out in the Middle East, "the experience from the Korean and Vietnam wars suggests there will be substantial popular support first ... but this will be followed by declining support as American casualties mount. In both Korea and Vietnam, support dropped fast at first, slower later: a decline of some 15 percentage points in the polls when casualties rose from 1,000 to 10,000 and another 15 points when they soared from 10,000 to 100,000."

Gas and Oil Price Increases

- o 70% of those surveyed in a Penn & Schoen poll for Texaco (8/18-19) think gas prices will be higher one month from now and 48% think the prices will remain higher six months from now.
- o Voters are determined to make the ban on Iraqi oil effective. 49% of Americans are willing to pay an additional 50 cents or more per gallon of gas to achieve this ban. [Gordon S. Black Corp., 8/8]
- o Greed has been motivating oil suppliers to raise prices according to 93% of Americans who are blaming the oil suppliers of using this situation with Iraq to make more money. [Gallup Poll for *Newsweek*, 8/9-10]

9/5/90

**1990 GOVERNORS RACES
TRIAL MATCH-UPS**

State	GOP Advan.	Republican	Democrat	Poll Sponsor/Dates
AL	2	Guy Hunt 48 %	Paul Hubbert 46 %	Southern Opinion Research 6/19-23
AK	No polls	Arliss Sturgulewski	Tony Knowles	
AR	-17	Sheffield Nelson 35 %	Bill Clinton 52 %	KTHV, 7/21-26
	-24	Sheffield Nelson 29 %	Bill Clinton 53 %	Mason-Dixon 5/21-23
CA *	3	Pete Wilson 45 %	Dianne Feinstein 42 %	California Poll, 8/17-27
	0	Pete Wilson 39 %	Dianne Feinstein 39 %	<u>LA Times</u> poll, 8/18-22
CO	-35	John Andrews 25 %	Roy Romer 60 %	KUS A/ <u>Rocky Mountain News</u> , 8/7-10
	-39	John Andrews 17 %	Roy Romer 56 %	Political/Media Research 8/4-8
CT	3	John Rowland 20 %	Bruce Morrison 17 %	Gallup Poll, 8/17
	-24		Lowell Weicker 44 %	
	7 -17	John Rowland 20 %	Bruce Morrison 13 % Lowell Weicker 37 %	"Connecticut Poll" 7/23-30
FL *	-4	Bob Martinez 41 %	Lawton Chiles 45 %	Florida Opinion poll, 8/25-29
	-7	Bob Martinez 42 %	Lawton Chiles 49 %	Mason-Dixon, 8/26-27
GA	-26	Johnny Isakson 28 %	Zell Miller 54 %	Mason-Dixon, 7/31-8/1
HI	-38	Fred Hemmings 25 %	John Waihee 63 %	Political/Media Research 7/25-29
ID	No polls	Roger Fairchild	Cecil Andrus	
IL *	2	Jim Edgar 42 %	Neil Hartigan 40 %	WCIA-TV, 8/22-27
	8	Jim Edgar 46 %	Neil Hartigan 38 %	Political/Media Research, 7/7-12
IA	11	Terry Branstad 48 %	Donald Avenson 37 %	<u>Des Moines Register</u> "Iowa Poll" 7/16-25
	3	Terry Branstad 44 %	Donald Avenson 41 %	Political/Media Research 7/9-13
KS	-2	Mike Hayden 40 %	Joan Finney 42 %	Market Shares Corp 7/12-15

ME	-8	John McKernan	37%	Joe Brennan	45%	Capitol News Service Poll 5/20-24
	-1	John McKernan	39%	Joe Brennan	40%	Capitol News Service 10/89
MI	-5	John Engler	39%	James Blanchard	44%	WJBK-TV 8/2
	-14	John Engler	34%	James Blanchard	48%	Market Opinion Research 7/27-8/1
NE *	-8	Kay Orr	36%	Ben Nelson	44%	Gallup Poll, 8/28-30
	-11	Kay Orr	36%	Ben Nelson	47%	World Herlad/SRI-Gallup 5/9-11
NV	-33	Jim Gallaway	27%	Bob Miller	60%	Tarrance & Assoc. 8/14-15
NM	No polls	Frank Bond		Bruce King		
NY	-32	Pierre Rinfret	21%	Mario Cuomo	53%	Wirthlin Group 7/8-9
OH *	11	George Voinovich	50%	Anthony Celebrezze	39%	Coldwater Corp., 8/8-12
	8	George Voinovich	46%	Anthony Celebrezze	38%	Beacon Journal 6/13-17
OR *	7	Dave Frohnmayr	45%	Barbara Roberts	38%	<u>The Oregonian</u> , 8/22-27
	12	Dave Frohnmayr	50%	Barbara Roberts	38%	<u>The Oregonian</u> , 4/23-5/1
	9	Dave Frohnmayr	43%	Barbara Roberts	34%	<u>Willamette Week</u> 3/23-4/3
PA	-40	Barbara Hafer	26%	Bob Casey	66%	Donilon & Petts Research 7/22-26
	-36	Barbara Hafer	25%	Bob Casey	61%	Bob Casey Campaign 1/9
SC	51	Carroll Campbell	65%	Theo Mitchell	14%	Metromark 12/4-10/89
SD	47	George Mickelson	63%	Bob Samuelson	16%	KELO-TV 5/28-30
TN	No polls	Dwight Henry		Ned McWherter		
TX *	10	Clayton Williams	47%	Ann Richards	37%	"Texas Poll" 8/4-19
	11	Clayton Williams	49%	Ann Richards	38%	Mason-Dixon 8/5-8
VT	29	Richard Snelling	48%	Peter Welch	19%	<u>Burlington Free Press</u> , 6/27-7/1
WI *	25	Tommy Thompson	55%	Tom Loftus	30%	Chamberlain Research Assoc. 7/17-29
WY	No polls	Mary Mead		Mike Sullivan		

Bold = Incumbent

* = New Information

The following are states with upcoming primaries:

<u>STATE</u>	<u>PRIMARY</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>PRIMARY</u>
AR	9/11	MN	9/11
MD	9/11	NH	9/11

**1990 SENATE RACES
TRIAL MATCH-UPS**

State	GOP Advan.	Republican	Democrat	Poll Sponsor/Dates
AL	-45 -48	Cabaniss 23 % Cabaniss 19 %	Heflin 68 % Heflin 67 %	Southern Opinion Research 6/19-23 Mason-Dixon 5/28-30
AK	No polling	Stevens	Beasley	
CO	28	Brown 54 % Brown 48 %	Heath 26 % Heath 28 %	Rocky Mountain News 8/7-10 Political/Media Research 8/4-8
DE	No polling	Brady	Biden	
HI	1 8	Saiki 44 % Saiki 43 %	Akaka 43 % Akaka 35 %	Political/Media Research 8/29-9/2 Honolulu Advertiser 7/26-8/1
ID	22	Craig 53 %	Twilegar 31 %	Greenberg-Lake, 7/26-29
IL *	-19 -12	Martin 33 % Martin 39 %	Simon 52 % Simon 51 %	WCIA-TV 8/22-27 Political/Media Research 7/7-12
IN	34 33	Coats 60 % Coats 59 %	Hill 26 % Hill 26 %	Market Strategies 8/17-18 Market Strategies 7/16
IA	-13 -9	Tauke 34 % Tauke 37 %	Harkin 47 % Harkin 46 %	"Iowa Poll". 7/16-25 Political/Media Research 5/25-28
KA		Kassebaum	State Party Filling Spot	
KY	9 5	McConnell 51 % McConnell 42 %	Sloane 42 % Sloane 37 %	Garin-Hart 6/10-14 Garin-Hart 5/31
LA	-45 -28	Bagert 7 % Duke 24 %	Johnston 52 %	WBRZ-TV 7/31-8/5
ME	60	Cohen 70 %	Rolde 10 %	Capitol News Service 5/20-24
MI	-29 -37	Schuetz 29 % Schuetz 24 %	Levin 58 % Levin 61 %	WJBK-TV, 8/1-3 Market Opinion Research 7/27-8/1
MT	-14 -32	Kolstad 38 % Kolstad 29 %	Baucus 52 % Baucus 61 %	Political/Media Research 7/23-26 Garin-Hart 6/18-20
NE *	-16 -9	Daub 35 % Daub 41 %	Exon 51 % Exon 50 %	SRI/Gallup of Lincoln, 8/28-30 Wirthlin Group 6/11-12
NJ	-47	Whitman 17 %	Bradley 64 %	The Star-Ledger 7/2-10
NM	No polling	Domenici	Benevidez	
NC	-2 1	Helms 44 % Helms 46 %	Gantt 46 % Gantt 45 %	Mason-Dixon 8/7-8 Hickman-Maslin 7/18-19
OK *	65	Jones 11 %	Boren 76 %	Mason-Dixon, 8/21-23

OR *	36 27	Hatfield 63 % Hatfield 54 %	Lonsdale 27 % Lonsdale 27 %	The Oregonian 8/22-27 Morre Information 8/1-2
RI *	-6 -6	Schneider 42 % Schneider 39 %	Pell 48 % Pell 45 %	American Viewpoint 8/14-19 Alpha Research , 8/14-19
SD	41 17	Pressler 62 % Pressler 43 %	Muenster 21 % Muenster 26 %	Wirthlin Group 7/1-2 Mellman & Lazarus 7/17-24
TN	No polling	Hawkins	Gore	
TX	29	Gramm 58 %	Parmer 29 %	Mason-Dixon 8/5-8
VA	No polling	Warner	Spannus (I)	
WV	No polling	Yoder	Rockefeller	
WI	No polling	Simpson	Helling	

Bold = Incumbent

* = New Information

Four incumbents are unopposed:

David Pryor (D-AR)

Sam Nunn (D-GA)

Thad Cochran (R-MS)

Strom Thurmond (R-SC)

Four states have upcoming primaries:

STATE	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	PRIMARY DATE
LA	Ben Bagert, Jr. David Duke	Bennett Johnston	10/6
MA	Dan Daly James Rappaport	John Kerry	9/18
MN	Rudy Boschwitz	Paul Wellstone Jim Nichols	9/11
NH	Bob Smith Ted deWinter Thomas Christo	John Durkin Jim Donchess John Rauh	9/11

Bold = Incumbent

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CHARLESTON, S.C. MONDAY, AUGUST 20, 1990, PAGE 6-A

Quayle has earned a little respect

One of the barbed jokes that Vice President Dan Quayle has had to deal with, in his almost unceasing battle against ridicule, concerns his involvement with Latin America.

The joke that went the rounds claimed that Mr. Quayle, when told that his vice presidential duties would take him frequently to Latin America, said, "But I don't speak Latin."

The vice president has probably spent even more time in Latin America than either the president or he expected. Apart from trips that were planned, like scheduled presidential inaugurations (no funerals, so far), Mr. Quayle was given the job of mending fences after the invasion of Panama. In President Bush's words, the vice president's job — no less — was "to assure all the countries of Latin America that United States policy remains one of a friendly, supportive and respectful neighbor."

Mr. Quayle did well on that trip, as he had done on previous visits to Latin America. Of course, the vice president has something going for him that has nothing to do with U.S. policy toward the region. While he may look like Robert Redford, he doesn't look a bit like Richard Nixon, whose policies led to his being stoned by demonstrators.

But the vice president has not avoided controversy by being merely a talking figurehead. Mr. Quayle deserves credit for tackling prickly issues in Latin America. He has delivered some tough lectures to governments with poor records on human rights. The latest

was delivered last week in Port Au Prince, when the vice president told Haitian military leaders there must be "no coup, no murders, no threat" to hinder elections scheduled for Nov. 4.

He told some 20 military commanders assembled at the presidential palace that the United States expected the Haitian army to respect elections, and he warned them against staging a coup. Before leaving, he underlined his message. If the Haitian government and army are not democratic and are not respectful of human rights, "they are not going to be the recipients of American taxpayers' money," he said.

Mr. Quayle's Haitian stopover culminated a three-day journey that took in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, where he conferred on plans for hemispheric cooperation in the fight against drug trafficking. With the president increasingly occupied by the crisis in the Middle East, Mr. Quayle is going to find himself with even more responsibility for U.S. policy in Latin America. Mr. Bush has already said that he will have to call off a trip to Latin America planned for next month. It is, in part, thanks to Mr. Quayle that the president can postpone his long-promised visit without arousing ill feeling.

Politicians often benefit from jokes at their expense. It's a way of helping to keep their feet on the ground. But Dan Quayle deserves a little more respect — and a lot less malice — than he has been getting for his efforts to improve relations with Latin America.

Gorby: You can go home again

The Bolsheviks threw me out of my native country, cut me off from family graves, but souls still fly about without their permission and appear to exiles in the vapors above the American soil.

— Vassily Aksyonov, "In Search of Melancholy Baby: A Russian in America" (1985)

Mikhail S. Gorbachev's declaration last week that could result in the restoration of Soviet citizenship to thousands of people who had been driven into

the Soviet Union's most popular poets, received the Nobel Prize in 1987, 15 years after he was expelled from his homeland. He is poet-in-residence at the University of Michigan and resides in New York City.

Also included in the Gorbachev decree, according to the Associated Press, were Russian writers whose works are familiar to many Americans, including the brilliant satirists Vassily Aksyonov, whose 1984 satirical masterpiece "The Burn" won worldwide acclaim; Vladimir Voinovich; and Georgi

CLIMAN THE OREGONIAN



Reaction Bush's r

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — For eight years of the 1980s, Ronald Reagan, an actor-What we now have, in George H. W. Bush, is a reactor-president: That proves himself highly credible with the comeback, the mending is his reluctance first.

A returning reporter of capital awash in admiration for energy, acumen and skill displayed in marshaling a formidable international military response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. His reaction, one repeatedly, has been near perfect.

That's how it looked in the Midwest states — Michigan, and Indiana — through which he has been traveling since this Gulf down began. Yet, the political states, of both parties, are exceptionally shaky about how will play out.

"My concern," said one former can candidate, speaking in a grant of confidentiality, "is before Election Day, the question be not how well Bush reacts whether we did all that we have done to prevent the crisis arising."

A Democratic campaign

THE CHIEF of STAFF
seen

Dave Obey 's a Fighter!

For Middle-Class Working Families

Dave Obey believes the way to make

America stronger is to make America's families stronger. That's why Dave is one of the national leaders in the fight to make sure the new taxes endorsed by President Bush are focused on people who make \$100,000 a year or more, and **not** on middle-class working families.

Against Government Waste

Obey has taken dozens of actions to

eliminate government waste. He's a strong opponent of waste and mismanagement in the space program, of the \$8 Billion Texas super-collider boondoggle, and of sneaky government bookkeeping which tries to hide the mounting costs borne by taxpayers for the savings and loan debacle.

Obey used his Chairmanship to cut Billions of dollars from the Administration's spending plans for foreign military aid and has fought unnecessary spending on the B-2 Bomber, Star Wars and run-away U.S. military spending in Europe.

For Better Health Care

Dave is the leading sponsor of the plan

to break the logjam and finally make **universal health care coverage** available for every American. He also won support for rural hospitals and programs to bring doctors and nurses to rural Wisconsin.

For the Family Farm

Dave Obey is a leader in the fight for a

decent income for Wisconsin family farmers in the new Farm Bill and for reforms in the discriminatory milk marketing system.

For the Environment

Obey fought for a strong Clean Air Act

and helped organize the coalition that stopped the national tax which would've forced Wisconsin taxpayers to pay again for air clean up - which our state has already done. That's smart for Wisconsin job creation and economic competitiveness, and it's good for the environment and our health.



Dave Obey is working to build a better business climate, more jobs and improve the quality of life in Wisconsin's 7th District.

In the last two years, Dave Obey has won crucial support for:

- A New Veterans' Clinic in Superior
- A New Visitors' Center in Ashland
- A New Control Tower and Radar System for Central Wisconsin Airport
- \$154 Million in Federal Purchases of Cray Computers in Chippewa Falls
- Funding for the Great Lakes Clean Up, The Rural Education Initiative and Rural Hospitals

"Dave Obey has plain guts. That's where he operates from. If he takes a position and thinks it's right, he'll take that stand come hell or high water. He has more courage than any politician I ever met."

Gaylord Iverson
Former Wisconsin Governor
now U.S. Senator

Paid For By Citizens for Dave Obey.
P.O. Box 1322, Wausau, Wisconsin 54402-1322



"After all America has done for the world, I think it's time that middle-class folks who work hard for a living had quality health care, a clean environment and affordable college educations for their children."

Dave Obey

Fighting for Wisconsin's Hard-Working Families

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 10, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ED ROGERS *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: POLITICAL OUTREACH

1. Just to bring you up-to-date, our political outreach efforts are underway. We've targetted five groups along with priority states where we plan to intensify our activities. (See attached list.) For instance, throughout the campaign cycle, whenever the President or Vice President is in California, there will always be a Hispanic and Asianic component to the trip. It might be a separate event, or in some cases, simply greeters. In any case, we will always do something when traveling in priority states.
2. From our perspective, the most important group is the East European ethnics. David Carney and I met with Secretary Derwinski, and he has agreed to head a project to jump start our operation. This "Derwinski Project" includes the President and Vice President having "community leader" meetings with East European ethnics in priority states. These will be issue briefings during which the President or Vice President will drop-by. Their purpose will be for us to build relationships and a leadership core within the community. Ed will host the meetings, determine lists of attendees, and commit the time and effort to be sure these events are effective and well managed. Also, we will be working with Hagin and Demarest to set up an ethnic press briefing to take place the third week in September. This will most likely occur in the State Dining Room with ethnic media only. This group will have a heavy emphasis on East Europeans from our priority states.

cc: David Carney
Andy Card

1990

Hispanic

1. CA - Wilson
2. TX - Williams
3. FL - Martinez
4. IL - Edgar/Martin
5. AZ - Gov's race
6. NM - Gov's race

Asian

1. CA - Wilson
2. IL - Edgar/Martin
3. HI - Saiki
4. WA - Williams (CD)
5. TX - Williams
6. MN - Gov's race

East European

1. MI - Engler/Schuette
2. IL - Edgar/Martin
3. OH - Voinovich
4. PA -
5. WI - Thompson

Black

1. AL - Hunt/Cabaniss
2. SC - Campbell
3. IL - Edgar/Martin
4. OH - Voinovich
5. MI - Engler/Schuette
6. GA - Isakson
7. KY - McConnell
8. CA - Wilson
9. CT - Rowland

Jewish

1. FL - Martinez
2. IL - Edgar/Martin
3. CA - Wilson
4. RI - Schneider
5. MI - Engler/Schuette
6. OH - Voinovich



Republican National Committee

Lee Atwater
Chairman

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

Date: July 25, 1990

FROM: **FOR:** GOVERNOR SUNUNU

SUBJECT: **FROM:** **ED ROGERS**

First of all,
convention
conclusion
convention
our number
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- ☐ Action
- ☐ Your Comment
- ☐ Let's Talk
- ☒ FYI

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elp carry it,

I think one of our best advantages is the fact that the Democrats have already wasted their selection, which makes it even more important for us to choose smartly. I can't believe they chose New York. If we get to the point where we are carrying New York, we are winning in an electoral landslide. Not only did the Dems waste their choice, they emphasized what I think is their weakest point, and that is that their party is frost belt and elite, and what is more symbolic of frost belt and elite than New York?

To further the point, I'm also convinced that in every poll, until the last two weeks before election, Dukakis' numbers were consistently holding up better in Georgia than

The President
Governor John Sununu
July 26, 1990
Page 2

they were in any other deep-south state. I can't think of any other reason for that but the hullabaloo surrounding the convention in Atlanta.

Thirdly, we jacked up the numbers so much in Texas in 1984 (not that we needed to), there was no way we could have lost that state. (These things count -- and we're talking about real electoral votes here, as far as I'm concerned).

I would have to say that the smartest choice we could make from a purely political standpoint would be California--preferably Southern California. I understand there are logistical problems, but as far as I'm concerned, Southern California (San Diego--maybe even L.A.) would be smart politically, particularly because of the media situation in California. We would get more hype and more media coverage out there than anyone could imagine.

There will be those who worry about gay rights demonstrations and so on, and so forth. Frankly, events like those will be a plus because they'll reinforce our base, versus the Democrats' base. Those protesting will not be on our side, and will make it obvious to the American public which party stands for what.

I have figured out a few things about conventions, and one extremely important thing to remember is this: the folks who coordinate these things say it can't be done, it's usually unwise to try to cram a convention down someone's throat. If they are absolutely certain a convention can't be conducted in San Diego or somewhere in Southern California, we must reluctantly work elsewhere. I would fully exhaust the possibility of a California convention.

Someone mentioned Texas. I just can't imagine any circumstances in which George Bush is going to have electoral problems in Texas. In a close election, I feel very strongly that electoral votes may be in the balance in choosing a convention site. I would just hate to see us waste the political capital involved in a convention in Texas, particularly since the economic summit was just held in Houston.

With all this in mind, I want you to know clearly I have no personal bias whatsoever. I'm interested solely and singularly in electoral votes for President Bush. With that in mind, I would have to say my single favorite city in the United States is New Orleans. It was a great convention site in '88. (John, you did great work on the Platform Committee, as you and countless others know). It was more than adequate. I love the food, I love the music, but it has minimal political value.

The President
Governor John Sununu
July 26, 1990
Page 3

On the other hand, with our world being an electronic world today, New Orleans guarantees a logistically perfect convention -- a solid signal of cohesion and competence to the viewing public. We should not underestimate the value of a clean image.

I can sit here today, and tell you there are at least four states that, in addition to California, in any contested election, are going to be up for grabs the last three weeks: Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvania. I am convinced that these states are just the right size for a convention site to affect electoral votes. Witness Michigan in 1980. I'm also convinced that we could totally tip the scales in a state like Ohio, and perhaps even tip the scales in Illinois. I just think it would be tragic for us to lose one of those states by one or two points when my experience tells me a good convention is worth two or three points. I also think it will be equally as tragic if we don't plan for a very close 1992 election, which means we need to get out every electoral vote we can.

Remember, the Democrats have totally wasted their convention site selection -- not unlike their unwise choice of Lloyd Bentsen. There was no way in the world they were going to win Texas under any circumstances by putting Bentsen on the ticket. Now they're doing the same thing with their convention site, and I think we'd be imprudent not to take every advantage we can from an opponent's mistake -- they made a whopper of one this time. Watch and see how it plays out.

Although I'm not following this on a day to day detailed basis, I'd be looking at cities like Cleveland, Chicago, any decent site you could find in California, Philadelphia, and yes, even Detroit again.

John, as you know, I usually don't wade into matters like this too heavily, but I feel very, very strongly about this one. I've just had too much firsthand experience, and have watched this phenomenon for four or five presidential elections. I promise you, this one is worth a big state if we play it right.

One last important point -- this is not one to play cute on. There will be those who come up with all kinds of ideas like having a regional convention, and using Atlanta or maybe some midwestern city or state as a base. That never works. I think it's got to be one state, and I think it's got to be the most vote-rich area in that state. Playing it cute in the end will not cut it in this situation.

cc: Charlie Black
Mary Matalin
Ed Rogers

Excerpt from interview with DNC Chairman Ron Brown
on NBC's Meet the Press, Sunday, July 15

BROWN: The Democratic Party is where George Mitchell says we are. And that is that we are not going to allow the tax burden on middle-income Americans to be increased. Read my lips, Mr. President and Republican administrations: We're going to protect the interests of working people, working families, working men and women in this country.

Senator Bentsen: Bentsen accused the Bush and Reagan Administrations of "eight years of \$200 billion hot checks".

(Alan Fram, AP, 7/20)

"It [the President's Montana speech] is tantamount to the captain of the Titanic saying, 'Don't blame me, blame the crew, I just happen to be here.'" (Alan Fram, AP, 7/20)

Rep. Foley:

Foley called Bush's remarks [in Montana] "a partisan speech for a partisan audience for a partisan purpose." (Oswald Johnston, LA times, 7/21)

Josie Heath, Democratic primary candidate for Senate in Colorado:

"I'm here to say to President Bush and the others who want to stick it to the taxpayers that it is time for them to read my lips, no new taxes on average working Americans for the S&L bailout -- or for anything else." Heath vowed never to vote for a tax increase for "average working Americans" unless the government confiscates the assets of those responsible for the S&L mess. Congress must also cut the defense budget 50% over 10 years, raise the marginal tax rate for the wealthiest Americans and "squeeze inefficiencies from the budget." (Hotline, Heath release, 7/19)

David Worley, candidate for Gingrich congressional seat:

"Washington has forgotten that many Americans can't afford a tax increase. I don't think that the people in our district should be asked to pay for higher taxes so Mr. Gingrich can play statesman in Washington." (Hotline, Atlanta Constitution, 7/22)

C. Proposal to end deductions for state and local income taxes

SEN. MOYNIHAN

New York Democrats yesterday rang the alarm, warning that the federal budget crunch could zap New Yorkers by sparking a new push to end deductions for state and local income taxes. Moynihan said the threat could be especially great because ending deductions would raise more revenue -- and allow President Bush to say he kept his no new taxes pledge. "Any time anybody asks the Treasury Department 'Where can we get some revenue?', this will come up -- so we have to be preemptive and make lots of stormy noises," Moynihan said. "It's particularly attractive right now because it fits so perfectly into the description of 'increased tax revenues.'"

(Deborah Orin & Chris McKenna, New York Post, 7/19)

GOV. CUOMO

Cuomo Wednesday contended that the issue of tax deductibility is being revived because Republicans don't want to tax the rich. "It's back," he said. "Why? Because they don't want to go anywhere near the top income-tax rate. God forbid we should raise the rate about 28% for people who are making \$200,000."

(Deborah Orin & Chris McKenna, New York Post, 7/19)

REP. SCHUMER

Schumer said if push comes to shove, New York might have more allies now than in 1986, because other states have found it necessary to raise income taxes.

(Deborah Orin & Chris McKenna, New York Post, 7/19)

GEPHARDT continued

Noting Monday's 56-point plunge in the Dow, Gephardt said, "All through this I think people have been worried that the market is very touchy and the whole economy is very shaky. I don't know that causes the market to do anything. I don't pretend to know. But it's obvious that if we can get this down, it would give everybody a boost of confidence.

(Tom Raum, AP, 7/24)

"What we're likely to find this week is that we've got some tough disagreements. This is going to be hard to pull together." (Ann Devroy & John Yang, Washington Post, 7/24)

REP. FOLEY

[After Tuesday's session] Foley said decisions remain to be made on the precise amount of deficit reduction that would be sought, and how much of the savings would come from new taxes and spending cuts.... "I don't think there is at this point a clear definition of what each side wants."

(Alan Fram, AP, 7/24)

"We are going to...exchange ideas and approaches," Foley said [Monday]. "We do not intend to make agreements outside the summit group." (Tom Redburn, Los Angeles Times, 7/24)

REP. PANETTA

"It's still at the miracle stage. But with some pushing by the president, miracles can happen." If an agreement cannot be enacted before the recess, lawmakers would rather not reach a broad outline of an accord for fear that this would invite attacks over the congressional break by affected interests. "A month of heavy lobbying would make it hard."

(Ann Devroy & John Yang, Washington Post, 7/24)

RON BROWN

"Republicans don't want to talk about...George Bush breaking his 'read my lips' pledge and what kind of an S&L bailout tax he is planning." (Donald Lambro, Washington Times, 7/24)

"You're either going to get rid of that bubble and maybe add a percentage and in a progressive mode, or our tax structure is going to be even more regressive, more weighted on the working people, and we don't want that," said Sen. Moynihan, interviewed on This Week with David Brinkley. (Stella Dawson, Reuter, 7/1)

Economic growth has slipped dramatically since Mr. Bush made his campaign pledge, but the deficit is not that much larger: \$155 billion in 1988, the projected '91 figure: \$160 billion. Democrats accuse him of cynicism.

(Moynihan: "He was 18 points behind in the polls. And in that situation people have been known to say things they've later regretted.") (Lesley Stahl, CBS, 6/29)

Gov. Cuomo said [on Meet the Press] that he believes the top tax rate should be raised from its present level of 28% to reduce the budget deficit. While the Democratic governor was not specific, he cited 33% and 35% as targets for a new top tax rate.

(Lawrence Knutson, AP, 7/1)

Democrats had said they wouldn't gloat, but you couldn't tell that from watching Mario Cuomo.

(Cuomo, on Meet the Press: "Hey, look Mr. President, we're glad you changed your mind, but if you had changed it a year and a half earlier it would have been an easier problem.")

(Cuomo: "I say raise the top rate. How much? As much as you can to even it out.") (Andrea Mitchell, NBC, 7/1)

"Republicans are going to have to stand up and confess that they not only have and will vote for taxes but that they haven't been telling the truth to the American people," Walter Mondale said in an interview last week. "For that they should and will pay a price." Mondale...said GOP credibility will suffer now that Bush has abandoned his "read my lips: no new taxes" campaign pledge. "Public trust is a cherished commodity and they're going to find that harder to come by," said Mondale. (John King, AP, 6/30)

"All of a sudden the Republicans don't have a gyroscope," said Michael McCurry, the DNC spokesman. "Ronald Reagan and his 'we're the party of lower taxes' rhetoric was for a decade the gyroscope by which everyone else in the Republican Party got direction. George Bush shifts too much for him to be the guiding star of the party." (John King, AP, 6/30)

Democratic congressional leaders have said they will not gloat over the president's decision to embrace a tax increase, but the state party chairmen found it hard to follow that lead. "It's one of the most cynical moves in recent American political history," said Jerry Brown, former California governor. "It totally undermines the credibility of the president." (Ethan Rarick, UPI, 6/30)

Robert Slagle, Democratic chief in Texas, said of the president's switch, "I welcome him to the world of reality." "It's a little hard not to take some satisfaction in seeing the chickens come home to roost when someone has engaged in such reckless demagoguery," Slagle said. (Ethan Rarick, UPI, 6/30)

Monday, July 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED ROGERS

FROM: BRUCE WILMOT/NEWS SUMMARY

RE: POLITICAL REACTION/BUDGET & TAXES, S&L's

Attached are Democrat and Republican comments, both budget/tax and S&Ls, that we have received from Friday afternoon until early this afternoon.

I. BUDGET & TAXES

Democrats

"We have got a Republican Party that is unraveling, being torn asunder," Democratic Chairman Ronald Brown said in an interview before leaving Portland. "They no longer have the Cold War and taxes to run on and we as Democrats are beginning to speak with one voice."
(John King, AP, 7/2)

Ron Brown: "Now that George Bush has said we need new taxes, we need to ask the second question. What taxes, Mr. President? On whom? Who is going to bear the burden of these new taxes?"
(NBC, 7/1)

Ron Brown also said Bush should now propose specific tax increases but refused to say which taxes he thinks should be raised. "It is up to the president to come forward with his economic plan," Brown said.
(Ethan Rarick, UPI, 6/30)

"We're watching a drama of failed leadership in the White House," said Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste, who pumped up the state leaders [meeting in Portland] with a populist rallying cry. "It is our job as Democrats to stand up and point out the differences between us and them."
(John King, AP, 7/2)

"Bush's vulnerabilities are coming to the forefront," said James Ruvolo, the Ohio Democratic chairman who is president of the Association of Democratic State Chairmen.
(Michael Oreskes, New York Times, 7/2)

"We have to be very careful here, in this time of opportunity," said Ohio Democratic Chairman James Ruvolo. "If the public perceives the rich get a better deal out of these talks than the middle class, then we as a party will have a major problem. But right now things are looking up for us."
(John King, AP, 7/2)

-more-

Tuesday, July 3, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED ROGERS

FROM: BRUCE WILMOT/NEWS SUMMARY

RE: BUDGET/TAXES, S&Ls

The number of stories coming in on both issues dropped considerably from yesterday afternoon into today. There was nothing on the network news and nothing on the wires.

I. BUDGET/TAXES

Democrats

Shifting the budget debate from whether to raise taxes to whose taxes to raise puts the Democrats on equal political footing with Republicans in deficit-reduction talks between the White House and Congress, political analysts said yesterday.

"We're on stronger ground arguing 'which' rather than 'whether,' said Democratic pollster Harrison Hickman.

(Yang & Mufson, Washington Post, 7/3)

Democrats such as Sen. Levin...are eager to exploit the GOP divisions. "I may suggest that he (Representative and Candidate for Senate Bill Schuette) debate the issue with Bush," Levin says while downing two hot dogs at Angelo's Coney Island in Flint. "What Bush has done is made the currency of that pledge a lot less valuable."

(Richard Wolf, USA Today, 7/3)

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July 9, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED ROGERS

FROM: BRUCE WILMOT/NEWS SUMMARY

RE: BUDGET, TAXES/S&Ls

I. BUDGET AND TAXES

Democrats

"In one week, he's gone from Chauncey Gardner (a fictional couch potato) to Lincoln," scoffed GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS, an aide to Rep. Gephardt.
(Tom Diemer, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 7/1)

"The most valuable commodity any of us has in public life is credibility and George Bush's credibility is taking a hit on taxes, on family leave, on offshore oil drilling," said REP. DENNIS ECKART, a regional co-chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. "The next thing we are going to discover is that he really does like broccoli."

"The economic advice he is getting is not good, and facing a weakened economy in 1992, his choice is between his own re-election or throwing over a handful of Republican challengers in the 1990 elections," said Eckart.

(Tom Diemer, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 7/1)

B. Taxes/Illinois Senate race

SEN. PAUL SIMON (D-IL)

Sen. Simon drew strong applause last weekend when he told a group of Rockford, Ill., senior citizens: "Be careful of politicians that promise you one thing before an election and do something else after." ...

Simon is not sure that he will be helped all that much by the tax issue, but he won't be hurt by it either. "It is certainly not a minus in terms of my own candidacy. But I think it's a minus for the process. It makes people more and more cynical of everybody in politics and that hurts me. It hurts everybody."

(Laurent Belsie, Christian Science Monitor, 7/11)

HARVEY SLOANE, candidate for Senate from Kentucky: "George Bush, Mitch McConnell and the Republicans promised no new taxes in 1988. Today, we've read their lips, and they want to make the hard-working families of Kentucky pay new taxes to pay for their past trillion-dollar savings-and-loan fiasco. I oppose any new taxes on the hard-working families of Kentucky."

(Lexington Herald Leader, 6/28)

HARVEY GANTT, mayor of Charlotte and Democratic candidate for Senate from North Carolina, called Bush's retreat from his no-tax pledge "inevitable," adding, "It does some damage to those of us who wish to serve in public, to get up and make statements we can't keep. Our credibility is threatened." However, Gantt praised Bush's "courage" in recognizing that the budget and S&L crises "are so pressing that he needs to deal with them."

(Greensboro News & Record, 6/29)

DAVID WORLEY, Democratic candidate for Rep. Gingrich's seat, says his campaign is printing new literature in order to raise the tax increase issue: "...I may be going against both the Democratic and Republican leadership, but Washington has forgotten that the majority of Americans work for a living and can't afford a tax increase."

(Worley release, 6/28)

MICHAEL MCCURRY, DNC communications director

*** "It's pathetic that movement conservatives would fall for that spin from the White House [that "tax revenue increases" would come from an agreement the president expects to get from Democrats to reduce capital gains]," said McCurry, who added that there was no doubt Bush means to go along with a tax increase. "George Bush is just a good old-fashioned, deficit-busting, blue-blooded Republican, and conservatives in this administration and Congress are trying to give each other cover, but they can only do that for so long."
(Washington Times, 6/28)

McCurry...said: "There are a bunch of places in this country where Republican candidates have built their entire campaign on supporting the president's no-tax pledge, and those candidates are going to have to find something else to run on."
(Newsday, 6/27)

REP. ANTHONY, DCCC chairman

Anthony...made clear that Bush's broken vow would be a campaign issue this fall. "President Bush tried to fool the voters in 1988 about taxes, but he and GOP congressional candidates can no longer demagogue on this issue and try to deceive the American people," Anthony said. "The voters are in no mood to hear false promises."
(Boston Globe, 6/27)

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II. SAVINGS AND LOANS

DEMOCRATS

REP. KENNEDY

Kennedy called for a new tax on the wealthy and on corporations to finance the bailout.... "The working people of America should not be made to pay for a party that they were never invited to."

(David Sands, Washington Times, 7/19)

"Today, the burden for the bailout falls too hard on the shoulders of working people. We know that 29% of the insured deposits were for amounts of over \$100,000. Less than 1% of the population made 29% of the profits. The Bush bailout represents the largest single transfer of wealth in our history from working people to the wealthiest Americans."

(Lars-Erik Nelson column, New York Daily News, 7/20)

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REP. PETER VISCLOSKY (D-IN)

"The Bush administration's handling of the S&L bailout is indicative of the president's failure to lead."

(Jim Wooten, ABC, 7/10)

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II. SAVINGS AND LOANS

DEMOCRATS

RON BROWN

"This administration has done nothing on prosecution or on getting this money back, getting it returned to the American people.

I just think it's [Schroeder's call for a special investigator for Neil Bush] a sign of frustration with the administration's evident inability to deal with this problem, to find some solutions. If the Justice Department had been prosecuting the criminals and putting them away where they should be and recovering money, I don't think anybody'd be talking about a special prosecutor. Frankly, I think the problem goes way beyond Neil Bush, though. It really goes to management, to fiscal management. How are we going to get this under control? ...The administration has 93 U.S. attorneys. They have the Justice Department. They're responsible for law enforcement in this country. Let's get to work, President Bush, let's get to work, administration. Let's get some leadership."

(Nightline, 7/17)

REP. ANNUNZIO

"The government should immediately take action to file claims against all of Mr. Walters' property so the taxpayers can get their money back," said Annunzio [referring to developer Bill Walters, who defaulted on nearly \$100 million loans from Silverado and is currently living very comfortably].... Annunzio said that the government ought to immediately file liens against [Walters'] property, in an effort to recover some of the losses from the bad loans. "Here is clearly a man who has the assets," he said. "Just when are the Justice Department and RTC going to bring suit against these people to recover this stuff?"

(Los Angeles Times, 7/18)

REP. VENTO

"This [the Walters' situation; see Annunzio] is what happens when the Bush Administration doesn't aggressively go after those who cause the savings and loan fraud. Bigwig developers and savings and loan executive think they can get away with anything," said Vento, chairman of the RTC Oversight Task Force.... "It's high time the Administration started taking tough action against those who are walking away from bad business deals and sticking the American taxpayers with the tab."

(Los Angeles Times, 7/18)

CARLOS LUCERO, running for Colorado Senate seat

Lucero has used [an investigating team's findings about Neil Bush/Silverado] to keep the Bush story in the headlines and lift his candidacy out of the long-shot category. "For us, Silverado isn't an issue -- it's the only issue," said Dan Calisher, Lucero's campaign manager. "We can't fund the Democratic agenda because of these guys. There's no money for health care, education or the elderly."

(New York Times, 7/18)

REP. SCHROEDER

Schroeder urged fellow Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee to continue to press for the appointment of a special counsel to investigate Neil Bush.... Meanwhile, she accused Republican leaders Tuesday of "political obstruction of justice" for threatening to seek a special prosecutor for Democrats involved in the scandal.... "The promises made by certain Republican leaders...to bring charges against certain Democrats unless we withdrew our letter is nothing short of political obstruction of justice," Schroeder said in a letter to fellow Judiciary Committee members who sided her original message. Schroeder said that Republicans are suggesting: "'If you don't go after our guys, we won't go after your guys.' Shame." (Los Angeles Times, 7/18)

REP. SCHUMER

Schumer...said Tuesday that most lawmakers had not yet begun to focus on the specifics of new financing methods. But he said there was interest in the concept of requiring the wealthy to pay for a bigger share of the cleanup. "It's something a lot of Democrats want to look at," he said. (Knight-Ridder, 7/17)

REP. WOLPE

A bill is expected to be introduced Thursday by Rep. Wolpe (MI) and other legislators from the Northeast and Midwest to shift more of the burden for paying for the cleanup to Texas and other Sunbelt states where savings and loan failures have been concentrated. "There's a growing sense that at some point, at the end of this year or early next year, Congress will have to revisit the question of financing the bailout," Wolpe said. He said he had been surprised by the heightened interest in Congress in his legislation to shift more of the cost of the bailout to taxpayers in the Sunbelt. "Whereas the issue was very abstract before, it is very real now." (Knight-Ridder, 7/17)

SEN. CRANSTON

Keating Five Sen. Cranston has raised \$186,000 in the first six months of 1990 for a special fund to defray legal expenses related to the Lincoln S&L matter and the Senate probe of it. He has spend \$162,000 of that total. Reports filed with the Secretary of the Senate show that the contributors include major contributors from past Cranston campaigns, \$5,000 from himself and "\$5,000 from three labor-related" PACs. (Hotline, 7/18)

SCHROEDER continued

"We're doing everything we can to take the politics out of the issue," said Schroeder.
(Reuter, 7/13)

Schroeder, at a news conference, said she thought that both Neil Bush and his father would want the investigation conducted free of any charge of favoritism. "Let's investigate and find out who is to blame," she said.
(Reuter, 7/12)

REP. JOHN BRYANT (D-TX)

"It's a clear-cut case for a special prosecutor," said Bryant, a Judiciary member who signed the letter.
(Evan Ramstad, AP, 7/13)

REP. FRANK ANNUNZIO (D-IL)

Annunzio suggested delays in the inquiry [into Silverado's financial health in 1988 by the Justice Department] could be linked to a contribution of up to \$100,000 to the RNC by Kenneth Good, a business partner of Neil Bush who Annunzio said had defaulted on \$32 million worth of loans from Silverado. "What was the purpose of Mr. Good's contribution, particularly when it came only days before the election?" asked Annunzio at a Capitol Hill news conference. "Could it possibly be that it was a donation of hush money?"
(Gwen Ifill & Tom Kenworthy, Washington Post, 7/13)

...In trying to embarrass the GOP with the disclosure, Annunzio also learned that the bipartisan S&L scandal can pack a ferocious backlash. After first asking leading questions about the purpose of Good's political contributions, Annunzio soon found himself facing reporters asking waves of tough questions about the \$51,000 in campaign contributions he had received from the S&L industry.... Annunzio maintained that "no contribution that I've ever received has ever had any influence about how I vote." Asked by a reporter, "Then why do you think you got the contributions?" "Because I was a good congressman," Annunzio said.

(Tom Webb, Knight-Ridder, 7/13)

REP. ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-NJ)

"Neil Bush is the Billy Carter of 1990," referring to when Billy Carter ignited a furor when he accepted loans from Muammar Qaddafi. "I think the desperation with which Republicans are trying to change the focus of the debate is ready confirmation of panic at the White House."

(Peter Osterlund, Baltimore Sun, 7/13)

B. General comments/Rollins speech at RNC meeting

DEMOCRATS

REP. TOM FOLEY (D-WA)

Foley accused a Republican Party leader [Ed Rollins] of trying to politicize the growing S&L scandal with "unrestrained and totally raw partisanship." Foley said Rollins "sounded like he was in a panic" and has demonstrated he is an "out of control person." "The fact is, he's a political operative, a hired gun," Foley said. "He's there to spread whatever mischief he can.... Certainly he's not the most composed, rational and fair-minded man in town in either party." He called Rollins' remarks "a wild statement" and "unrestrained and totally raw partisanship." (Evan Ramstad, AP, 7/13)

RON BROWN

[Responding to Rollins' speech] Brown replied that, "We are determined to stop the S&L budget hemorrhage, to recover the stolen billions and to get this toothless Republican Justice Department to put the rich crooks in jail. We're not surprised that 'casino economy' Republicans who gambled us into this whole mess are whining and scapegoating every step of the way." (Joan Lowry, Scripps Howard, 7/12)

Brown said the GOP "can't escape...the fact that George Bush, Ronald Reagan and their high-roller friends ran the government, designed the S&L policy and hand-picked the people that gutted the oversight agencies. They are now being forced to take responsibility for the greatest rip-off in American history."

(Gwen Ifill & Tom Kenworthy, Washington Post, 7/13)

"The American people know who's been in charge for the last decade. It's been Ronald Reagan and George Bush, and they've made a mess of it."

(Bob Schieffer, CBS, 7/12)

-more-

HOWARD SCHLOSS, DCCC communications director

"I'm not going to sit here and say our hands are 100% clean," said Schloss. "But the Republican administration was in charge of regulator (banking) oversight. If they had done their job, this scandal would not have happened. And because of what happened taxpayers are being charged \$2,000 a piece to pay for it and the president has had to go back on his no new taxes pledge." ... "Yes, we can win," Schloss said when asked if Democrats could defeat GOP congressional candidates on this issue. "There's a political price to be paid for (the administration's) negligence."

(Donald Lambro, Washington Times, 7/13)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 12, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ED ROGERS

FROM: JOHN UNDELAND/NEWS SUMMARY

RE: POLITICAL COMMENT ON BUDGET/TAXES & S&Ls

I. SAVINGS AND LOANS

A. Neil Bush

DEMOCRATS

REP. DENNIS ECKART (D-OH)

Eckart said after Wednesday's hearing of the House subcommittee on financial crime that "it is clear that there were political considerations in keeping that bank [Silverado] open. It was done to protect George Bush from having to deal with the issue." (Stephen Kurkjian, Boston Globe, 7/12)

REP. ROBERT TORRICELLI (D-NJ)

"Neil Bush is on the verge of becoming the metaphor for an entire decade of greed, mismanagement and excess," said Torricelli. "The central problem of the Democratic Party has been its inability to simply define and explain those years of excess and greed. Now, that may become known by the name Neil Bush." (Thomas Edsall & Dan Balz, Washington Post, 7/12)

REP. PETER DeFAZIO (D-OR)

Neil Bush is "involved up to his keister" in the S&L debacle, DeFazio said on the House floor Wednesday.
(Bob Minzesheimer & Richard Wolf, USA Today, 7/12)

REP. BERYL ANTHONY (D-AK)

That he's "the president's son obviously gives it that extra bit of glamour," and underscores the GOP's problems, said Anthony, head of the House Democratic campaign committee.
(Bob Minzesheimer & Richard Wolf, USA Today, 7/12)

JOSIE HEATH, running for Colorado Senate seat

"The people are hopping mad about it [Neil Bush/Silverado], really mad. They feel angry and they feel victimized. And I think for those of us who have not been part of Congress it's very favorable."
(Terence Smith, CBS, 7/11)

-more-

NRSC RESEARCH

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION REPORTS
U.S. SENATE CANDIDATES
SUMMARY FOR THE PERIOD ENDING JUNE 30, 1990

(As of 7/23/90)

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

State & Candidate	Receipts Total Cycle	Individual Contributions (line 11a) 4-6/90 (%)	Individual Contrib. TOTAL CYCLE	PAC(11c) Contrib. 4-6/90 (%)	PACs TOTAL CYCLE	TOTAL(11e) Contrib. 4-6/90	TOTAL(22) Disburs. 4-6/90	COH (8) as of 6/30/90	DEBT(10) as of 6/30/90	NET FINANCIAL POSITION as of 6/90
ALABAMA										
Heflin	3,084,395	193,862 53%	1,652,371	173,300 47%	1,000,949	367,162	237,329	2,717,901	0	2,717,901
Cabaniss	1,337,460	431,002 94%	1,190,193	21,400 5%	56,406	458,402	469,026	444,161	0	444,161
ALASKA										
Stevens	1,378,680	59,352 30%	442,267	122,775 62%	726,648	197,127	124,323	836,303	0	836,303
Bird	21,089	11,089 100%	11,089	0 0%	0	11,089	21,533	0	10,443	-10,443
ARKANSAS										
Pryor	1,454,351	4,355 29%	706,152	10,600 71%	592,337	14,955	36,557	1,023,731	0	1,023,731
COLORADO										
Brown	2,984,904	418,395 64%	1,643,251	238,981 36%	868,352	658,242	431,758	1,393,461	0	1,393,461
Lucero	182,512	24,333 95%	120,425	105 0%	175	25,550	56,551	10,414	62,054	-51,640
Heath	411,465	133,579 77%	354,871	34,100 20%	44,893	174,341	163,323	84,590	8,300	76,290
DELAWARE										
Biden	2,376,401	86,792 50%	1,587,607	85,425 50%	596,578	172,249	115,569	1,088,691	0	1,088,691
Brady	48,725	33,725 69%	33,725	0 0%	0	48,725	28,526	20,199	0	20,199
GEORGIA										
Nunn										
HAWAII										
Saiki	567,080	235,156 63%	376,014	119,401 32%	155,901	374,287	126,253	422,553	0	422,553
Akaka	271,317	52,623 20%	52,623	216,950 80%	216,950	269,573	88,696	296,533	0	296,533

NOTE: The Saiki in '90 and Friends of Akaka campaigns transferred their entire House accounts into their Senate campaign.

State & Candidate	Receipts Total Cycle	Individual Contributions (line 11a) 4-6/90 (%)		Individual Contrib. TOTAL CYCLE		PAC(11c) Contrib. 4-6/90 (%)		PACs TOTAL CYCLE	TOTAL(11e) Contrib. 4-6/90	TOTAL(22) Disburs. 4-6/90	COH (8) as of 6/30/90	DEBT(10) as of 6/30/90	NET FINANCIAL POSITION as of 6/90
IDAHO													
Craig	658,793	117,402	39%	296,635	169,980	56%	298,006	302,584	364,947	108,150	0	108,150	
Twilegar	199,369	30,180	25%	46,646	60,250	51%	60,250	118,822	127,078	7,241	163,989	-156,748	
ILLINOIS													
Simon	6,914,753	995,306	87%	5,382,242	146,062	13%	1,302,795	1,143,332	830,320	1,887,946	0	1,887,946	
Martin	3,374,327	719,857	73%	2,031,798	264,751	27%	805,087	992,265	657,107	832,262	49,982	782,280	
INDIANA													
Coats	3,370,453	525,670	74%	2,067,509	187,768	26%	875,525	713,437	767,211	890,883	0	890,883	
Hill	711,973	122,647	44%	301,894	151,027	54%	369,158	277,949	226,501	322,922	11,700	311,222	
IOWA													
Harkin	4,170,930	596,952	73%	2,783,173	218,758	27%	1,280,861	815,845	654,809	1,289,215	0	1,289,215	
Tauke	3,104,498	564,740	71%	2,211,444	225,409	28%	771,653	798,780	622,575	525,877	2,494	523,383	
KANSAS													
Kassebaum	371,089	89,703	53%	198,404	64,850	38%	96,009	169,803	68,157	291,227	0	291,227	
Williams	6,385	3,181	69%	3,181	0	0%	0	4,614	5,987	398	1,771	-1,373	
KENTUCKY													
McConnell	4,691,065	295,212	63%	3,120,318	171,067	37%	936,779	466,279	937,619	2,645,898	99,950	2,545,948	
Sloane	1,981,448	176,191	54%	1,117,844	133,403	41%	387,308	327,744	589,368	823,245	400,000	423,245	
LOUISIANA													
Johnston	3,271,361	677,585	76%	1,352,703	207,014	23%	955,097	887,599	940,514	2,520,815	0	2,520,815	
Bagert													
Duke	1,239,192	640,087	100%	1,227,235	0	0%	0	640,087	678,644	30,852	0	30,852	
MAINE													
Cohen	1,128,284	162,016	56%	597,927	127,988	44%	378,590	291,004	211,012	828,265	0	828,265	
Rolde	456,629	14,179	4%	34,012	3,472	1%	19,122	367,651	359,111	9,127	73,733	-64,606	
MASSACHUSETTS													
Kerry	5,963,669	711,959	100%	5,438,942	940	0%	7,742	712,899	615,899	1,129,381	53,171	1,076,210	
Rappaport	1,637,198	67,839	99%	354,071	0	0%	1,020	68,229	779,447	119,370	1,286,737	-1,167,367	
Daly	523,373	65,177	100%	162,089	0	0%	1,000	65,177	120,806	19,540	392,971	-373,431	

NOTE: The Kerry for Senate in '90 Committee does not accept PAC contributions. The amount includes only political candidate and party committees.

State & Candidate	Receipts Total Cycle	Individual Contributions		Individual Contrib.		PAC(11c) Contrib.		PACs TOTAL CYCLE	TOTAL(11e) Contrib. 4-6/90	TOTAL(22) Disburs. 4-6/90	COH (8) as of 6/30/90	DEBT(10) as of 6/30/90	NET
		(line 11a) 4-6/90	(%)	TOTAL CYCLE	4-6/90	(%)	FINANCIAL POSITION as of 6/90						
MICHIGAN													
Levin	5,136,395	905,089	82%	3,819,325	201,830	18%	1,037,352	1,108,235	691,011	3,237,473		0	3,237,473
Durant	842,006	203,518	98%	815,253	4,650	2%	11,255	208,258	253,901	201,154		18,087	183,067
Schuetz	1,286,182	242,402	60%	856,487	156,931	39%	412,027	402,264	468,655	411,998		26,431	385,567
MINNESOTA													
Boschwitz	6,454,879	489,871	88%	5,240,764	66,339	12%	816,828	556,210	1,180,461	1,155,009		62,920	1,092,089
Wellstone	188,671	78,433	85%	168,906	13,128	14%	13,338	91,811	65,958	38,118		700	37,418
Berg	151,560	19,907	93%	118,719	1,425	7%	8,475	21,332	41,241	1,589		32,000	-30,411
Otis	47,878	5,293	86%	40,657	650	11%	2,625	6,145	9,715	325		2,775	-2,450
Nichols													
MISSISSIPPI													
Cochran	1,302,290	14,079	23%	533,489	46,000	77%	484,663	60,079	56,906	1,045,365		0	1,045,365
MONTANA													
Baucus	2,412,925	243,051	47%	950,418	273,942	53%	1,337,775	517,143	489,462	1,172,128		0	1,172,128
Kolstad	284,240	86,156	68%	121,686	18,000	14%	18,000	127,018	213,701	43,339		31,311	12,028
NEBRASKA													
Exon	1,771,339	165,847	38%	627,459	269,175	62%	1,058,849	435,250	229,504	761,687		17,137	744,550
Daub	773,845	416,885	99%	697,233	0	0%	0	421,885	488,254	95,214		97,700	-2,486
NEW HAMPSHIRE													
Smith	772,282	186,925	62%	441,362	111,319	37%	298,019	300,446	183,001	335,000		0	335,000
Christo													
Donchess	202,285	39,101	61%	126,445	24,750	39%	56,850	63,851	54,895	110,075		0	110,075
Durkin	124,894	17,385	100%	70,010	0	0%	0	17,385	58,968	11,541		0	11,541
Rauh	343,781	65,545	97%	119,520	0	0%	0	67,690	140,475	10,255		66,000	-55,745
NEW JERSEY													
Bradley	11,679,571	1,173,239	89%	9,748,027	143,650	11%	1,106,462	1,316,889	937,348	4,366,956		0	4,366,956
Whitman	194,765	171,765	91%	176,765	3,000	2%	3,000	189,765	132,192	74,323		14,447	59,876
NEW MEXICO													
Domenici	1,668,133	74,950	152%	918,925	42,000	85%	555,800	117,950	209,272	807,218		0	807,218
Benavides	17,835	4,268	46%	4,268	5,000	54%	5,000	9,268	17,700	135		7,835	-7,700
NORTH CAROLINA													
Helms	11,078,280	2,238,704	93%	7,952,593	160,001	7%	580,939	2,398,705	2,264,982	555,977		145,948	410,029
Gantt	852,819	513,153	78%	651,769	123,300	19%	138,550	653,953	555,968	155,290		75,439	79,851

State & . Candidate	Receipts Total Cycle	Individual Contributions (line 11a) 4-6/90 (%)		Individual Contrib. TOTAL CYCLE		PAC(11c) Contrib. 4-6/90 (%)		PACs TOTAL CYCLE	TOTAL(11e) Contrib. 4-6/90	TOTAL(22) Disburs. 4-6/90	COH (8) as of 6/30/90	DEBT(10) as of 6/30/90	NET FINANCIAL POSITION as of 6/9
OKLAHOMA Boren	1,504,472	20,240	100%	1,414,158		0	0%	0	20,240	162,640	952,389	0	952,38
OREGON Hatfield	1,010,371	89,248	41%	446,802	107,092	50%	401,357	215,965	209,654	314,514		0	314,51
Lonsdale	574,038	71,089	100%	103,524	0	0%	0	71,251	443,956	22,326	359,504		-337,17
RHODE ISLAND Pell	1,435,697	466,762	69%	655,397	205,215	31%	574,390	671,978	256,863	1,323,113		0	1,323,11
Schneider	1,075,055	207,616	65%	295,095	106,840	33%	163,490	319,456	288,121	626,515	19,385		607,13
SOUTH CAROLINA Thurmond	1,681,771	293,741	65%	1,018,110	157,950	35%	545,706	451,691	247,325	658,851		0	658,85
SOUTH DAKOTA Pressler	1,872,264	163,911	45%	875,620	191,427	53%	737,271	360,339	345,991	830,777		0	830,77
Muenster	770,491	190,638	55%	432,367	153,075	45%	315,530	343,738	319,605	191,382	13,733		177,64
TENNESSEE Gore	1,970,897	290,980	68%	929,264	136,999	32%	903,601	427,979	172,655	977,732		0	977,73
TEXAS Gramm	13,600,043	1,081,647	86%	11,021,949	164,763	13%	1,429,310	1,261,509	1,729,448	6,257,371		0	6,257,37
Parmer	1,419,516	140,282	70%	695,066	60,650	30%	187,712	200,932	206,206	20,512		0	20,51
VIRGINIA Warner	1,642,844	68,724	48%	767,634	73,080	51%	572,695	142,304	124,315	1,097,231		0	1,097,23
Spannaus	62,839	32,880	100%	62,104	40	0%	570	32,920	33,027	788	8,433		-7,64
WEST VIRGINIA Rockefeller	2,955,993	557,679	70%	1,716,984	242,536	30%	1,197,112	800,215	315,960	1,649,942		0	1,649,94
WYOMING Simpson	1,256,298	58,633	62%	433,811	35,750	38%	518,159	94,383	114,995	628,129		0	628,12

190 file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen
JUL 30 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ED ROGERS

DAVE CARNEY

FROM:

SALLY SALMON

SUBJECT:

Mason-Dixon Poll - Florida Governor's Race

Attached are results of a Mason-Dixon poll released today on the Florida Governor's race.

The poll, taken July 20-23, indicates a small gain for Democrat Bill Nelson against Lawton Chiles. Since a mid-June survey, Chiles has lost three percentage points while Nelson has picked up 2 points.

Republican Governor Bob Martinez continues to lag behind both Democrats. He trails Chiles by 14 percentage points and Nelson by 9 points.

Let me know if you have questions or need further information.

MASON-DIXON SURVEY

n=836 registered voters

Margin of error = $\pm 4\%$

July 20-23, 1990

Chiles	52%
Nelson	40%
Undecided	8%

Mid-June

55%
38%
7%

Mid-April

58%
24%
18%

Chiles	53%
Martinez	39%
Undecided	8%

53%
38%
9%

48%
42%
10%

Nelson	49%
Martinez	40%
Undecided	11%

45%
41%
14%

40%
42%
18%

Tampa Bay Metro

Nelson closing gap with Chiles, new poll shows

By BRUCE DUDLEY
Tribune Staff Writer

TAMPA — Florida political icon Lawton Chiles no longer has a lock on the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, based on a poll released Wednesday showing that U.S. Rep. Bill Nelson continues to gain ground on the former U.S. senator.

Chiles still has the support of a majority of Democrats eligible to vote in the Sept. 4 primary, but since mid-April Chiles' lead over the Melbourne congressman has dropped from 34 points to a 12-point advantage.



CAMPAIGN

'90

FINANCES

Nelson blasts
Chiles/4B

Republican Gov. Bob Martinez has been lagging behind the two Democrats since mid-June, and he continues to be in possible trouble in his own party, according to The Tampa Tribune/WTSP Channel 10 poll conducted by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research Inc.

Nearly 50 percent of the Republican voters are looking for another candidate to back or are undecided about supporting Martinez, according to the poll.

With little money or statewide name recognition, state Sen. Marlene Woodson Howard of Bradenton received 22 percent of the Republican vote when matched against Martinez and three other candidates seeking the GOP gubernatorial nomination.

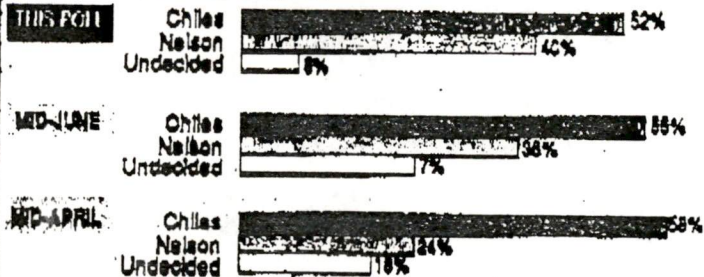
And 25 percent of the state's Republican voters say they still are undecided about who to support even though the party has an incumbent governor seeking re-election.

Howard's campaign manager, Fay Williams, said the poll results confirm the work that the Bradenton senator has been doing to build support statewide for her candidacy.

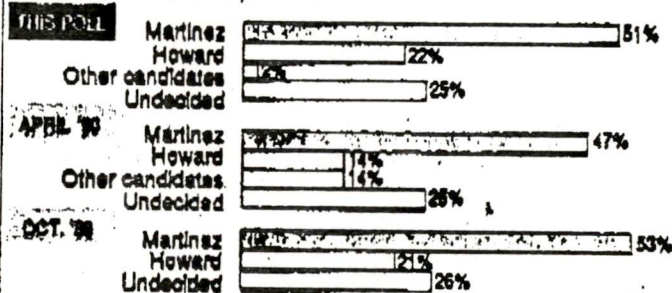
Mason-Dixon Florida poll

Results based on telephone interviews conducted July 20 - 23, 1990, with 836 Florida voters chosen at random throughout the state. Margin for error is no more than plus or minus 4 percentage points. The primary election will be held on Sept. 4 with the general election on Nov. 6.

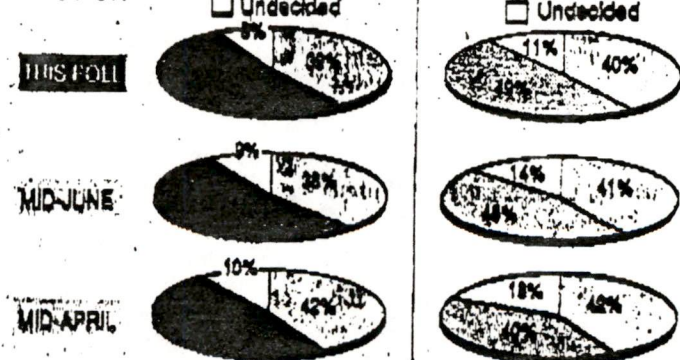
THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY



THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY



THE GENERAL ELECTION



See NELSON'S, Page 10B

Tribune graphic by JIM BRADDECK

Tampa

Nelson's stock rises with voters, newly released poll indicates

■ From Page 1B

When Martinez was matched against the two Democrats, Chiles received 52 percent of the vote compared to 39 percent for the governor, and Nelson received 49 percent in contrast to 40 percent for the GOP incumbent.

About three months ago, Nelson even trailed Martinez by two points.

Nelson said in Tallahassee Wednesday that he feels "very good" about the results, while aides for Chiles and Martinez downplayed the poll findings.

J.M. "Mac" Stipanovich, the governor's campaign manager, said he was pleased with the results because Martinez still is within striking distance of Nelson or Chiles "even though he has been sitting on the sidelines" and watching the two Democrats fight.

Stipanovich said Howard's support in the Republican primary represents a negative vote that shows up in any poll. "You could have a referendum on apple pie, and 20 percent of the people would vote no," he said.

Chiles' press secretary, Julie Fletcher, said she feels the poll showed little movement by any candidates. She said pollsters indicated there was a 5 percent margin of error in the polling of 450 Democratic voters, so Nelson might not have moved a single point in his race against Chiles. The margin of error on the overall poll was 4 percent.

Robert Joffe, Mason-Dixon vice president for Florida, said the apparent five-point gain by Nelson is within the poll's margin of error. But Joffe said three Mason-Dixon

polls now have showed a continual decline in Chiles' support.

When the Democratic primary sample in the latest poll was whittled down to 289 voters who said they "always or almost always vote," Joffe said Chiles lead over Nelson was chopped to 11 points.

Other poll results show:

■ Former Republican Gov. Claude Kirk is making a strong showing against Education Commissioner Betty Castor less than a week after deciding to challenge the Democratic incumbent. In the poll, Kirk received 24 percent of the vote compared to 38 percent for Castor, while there is a whopping 37 percent of the voters undecided about who to back in the race.

■ Insurance Commissioner Tom Gallagher is maintaining a steady 12 percentage point advantage over Democratic challenger George Stuart Jr., an Orlando state senator who dropped out of the governor's race. The latest poll shows Gallagher getting 43 percent of the vote compared to 31 percent for Stuart and 26 percent undecided. Polls in mid-April and mid-June showed similar results.



Castor



Kirk

■ Secretary of State Jim Smith appears in no danger of being unseated. The Republican incumbent's strongest Democratic opponent is former newspaperman Jim Minter, but even Minter only gets 23 percent of the vote compared to 48 percent for Smith.

When matched against ousted federal judge Alcee Hastings, Smith gets 56 percent of the vote compared to Hastings' 18 percent.

■ Fifty-three percent of Florida's voters are undecided about who to back for agriculture commissioner with Democrat Doyle Conner retiring from the post. State Senate President Bob Crawford, a Winter Haven Democrat, has a slight edge over his chief Republican opponent, Charles Bronson, who was the Republicans' unsuccessful nominee for agriculture commissioner in 1986.

The race for education commissioner is likely to supply the most political fireworks of the state Cabinet contests since it features yet another political comeback attempt by Kirk, who has run for a number of offices since losing the governorship in 1970.

Kirk said the Mason-Dixon poll shows he is off "to a good beginning." Kirk faces Republican primary opposition from Inverness lawyer Ken Sharpe and former state employee Amefike Geuka of Tallahassee. But Kirk said he is concentrating on defeating Castor.

Castor's campaign manager, Sheri Bryan, said she knows the incumbent commissioner is going to be in a campaign with Kirk running. But Bryan pointed out that the Mason-Dixon poll showed Kirk has a 20 percent unfavorable rating compared to 7 percent for Castor.

Tampa
7/26
20-2

SMITH &
HARROFF, INC

July 12, 1990

Reading
(Ed has a copy)

✓
Jee

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen JUL 31 1990

Memorandum To: Hon. John Sununu
From: Jay Smith
Subject: 1990 Arizona Governor's Race

This memorandum is to brief you on the 1990 Arizona Governor's race, which is an open seat.

As you know, Arizona will gain congressional representation in 1992. The Legislature is currently controlled, narrowly, by the Republicans. The Governorship should be of interest to both national parties.

Moreover, Arizona is a good opportunity for the Republican Party to pick up a Governor. The incumbent, who is not running, is a Democrat. The state is Republican by registration.

As in New Hampshire, the primary is late (September 11th). This means that whoever wins the Republican nomination will have only eight weeks to mount a successful campaign against the Democratic nominee, who will be Phoenix Mayor Terry Goddard.

Goddard is seen as popular, but he is a liberal in a basically conservative state, has never run statewide before, and has a lackluster record as Mayor. Nevertheless, I expect that he will start the general election campaign with a lead over the Republican candidate.

The Republican primary consists of five candidates, of which three are considered viable. They are: ex-Governor Evan Mecham, former U.S. Congressman Sam Steiger, and Phoenix businessman Fife Symington (whose campaign I am working on).

Symington is the current frontrunner and I expect him to win. His campaign chairman is Barry Goldwater, and a number of other "mainstream conservative" Republicans in the state are supporting him.

The reason I am bringing this to your attention at this time has to do with the lateness of the primary. Given the opportunity for the party in Arizona, we should be thinking ahead about how we can produce a GOP victory in November.

Assuming that Symington wins, his major problem post-primary will be money. Arizona has a very restrictive campaign financing law that makes it difficult to raise adequate dollars in-state. In the primary, that has not been a major problem, since all candidates are faced with the same dilemma. However, because he is virtually unopposed in the Democratic primary, Terry Goddard will have the luxury of building a sizable war chest for the general election. Whoever wins the GOP nomination will be broke the day after the September 11th primary. Therein lies the problem.

The following forms of support would be helpful:

1. **A Presidential campaign visit to Arizona.** I understand that the RGA has recommended that Arizona be among the places that President Bush visits in the fall. An early to mid-October date would be ideal. It could be a noon event in Phoenix (a rally), as well as a private reception for high donors.
2. **Cabinet and COS participation in a NYC fundraiser.** The financial community has an interest in Arizona and I feel that a New York City fundraiser could be very helpful. Specifically, I would love to see a fundraiser hosted by yourself, and Secretaries Brady, Kemp and Mosbacher. This should be scheduled for as early after the September 11th primary as possible.

In addition, would you agree to co-host a Washington, D.C. reception along with Members of the Arizona congressional delegation the week after the September 11th primary? I understand that a second presidential photo opportunity for candidates will be arranged for that week and it would be helpful to plan a D.C. fundraiser to coincide with that visit.

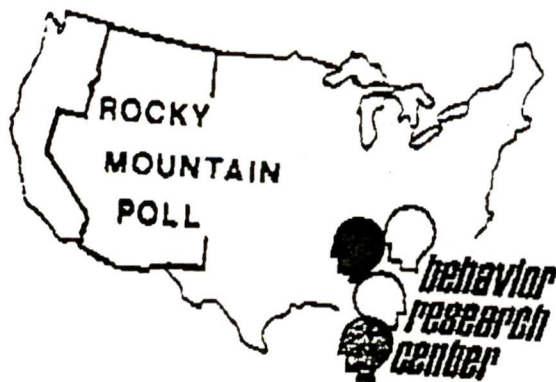
Attached is a recent newspaper analysis of the Symington campaign. As it indicates, we are starting to shift our focus to Democrat Terry Goddard. **Our objective must be to begin work now on the things that will enable us to compete effectively against Goddard in the fall.** Your assistance and cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

cc: Michele Davis, RGA

MAY 23 '90 11:45 BEHAVIOR RESEARCH CENTER PHX AZ

Independent, Non-Partisan Surveys of Public Opinion: Established in 1985

P.2

NEWS RELEASE

[90-II-7]

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Earl de Berge
Research Director
(602) 258-4554

SYMINGTON REGAINS LEAD IN MARICOPA COUNTY --
INITIAL STEIGER VOTE DROPS OFF

PHOENIX, Ariz. (May 24, 1990) -- The GOP primary for Governor of Arizona has chugged along for more than six months now without a clear front runner emerging. In Maricopa County, however, Republican reaction to the field of gubernatorial hopefuls has begun to shift and show new dynamics. Further, it appears that developer Fife Symington may be regaining the lead that seemed to be slipping away from him when ex-congressman Sam Steiger entered the primary.

Last month, shortly after Steiger announced his intention to seek the GOP gubernatorial nomination, rank and file Republican voter interest perked up. So much so, in fact, that Symington's two-to-one lead in February over Evan Mecham appeared to melt and Steiger's entry resulted in a tight two-way race between Steiger and Symington -- each with about a fifth of the vote in Maricopa County.

A month later, however, following a major media effort by Symington and the announcement of his much-touted scheme to refinance state-owned real estate, Symington has regained the lead in Maricopa County while Steiger has fallen back to a second place battle with the ever-present Evan Mecham.

The findings outlined in this report are based on a survey of 601 heads of household of Maricopa County by the Behavior Research Center of Arizona. This study was conducted in May and is part of the Center's independent and non-partisan Rocky Mountain Poll series.

-2-

SYMINGTON REGAINS LEAD IN MARICOPA COUNTY

-2-

The initial poll figures for Steiger in April probably reflected both real support and the transitory voter interest that often flows to new candidates as a result of their announcements and the attendant media coverage. Readings taken at this time frequently exaggerate the new entrant's base of support, and the case of Sam Steiger appears to be no different. His support in Maricopa County registered at 22 percent in April but has now subsided to 17 percent.

Fife Symington, on the other hand, finally appears to be benefiting from his early campaign start, his recent television and billboard activities and the favorable media response to his plan to refinance state-owned buildings throughout Arizona. Symington currently has a 29 percent share of the vote in Maricopa County compared to 23 percent in April. Sam Steiger and Evan Mecham each have roughly a sixth of the vote while Fred Koory and Bob Barnes remain noticeably behind with five percent or less of the vote. In addition, Fred Koory's share of the Maricopa vote appears to be shrinking.

Although the proportion of GOP voters who now have a favorite in the gubernatorial contest is growing, no candidate except Evan Mecham can claim that a majority of his followers are fairly strongly committed to voting for him in November. What is more, the current leader, Fife Symington, seems to have the greatest difficulty in solidifying voter's loyalty toward his candidacy.

- 30 -

EDITOR'S NOTE: This Rocky Mountain Poll - Arizona (90-II-7), is based on 601 interviews with adult heads of household throughout Maricopa County during May of 1990. Where necessary, figures for age, sex, race and political party were weighted to bring them into line with their actual proportion in the population. In a sample of this size, one can say with a 95 percent certainty that the results have a statistical precision of plus or minus 4.07 percent of what they would have been had the entire adult population been surveyed. The GOP subsample in this study has a margin of error of plus or minus 6.5 percent. The Rocky Mountain Poll is conducted by the Behavior Research Center of Arizona and is an independent and non-partisan research program sponsored by the Center.

This statement conforms to the principles of disclosure of the National Council on Public Polls.

ENCLOSED: Statistical tables for file retention.

-3-

-3-

Behavior Research Center, Inc.
Rocky Mountain Poll - Arizona
90-11-7

Maricopa County Only

May Test Vote -- Maricopa

Most Likely Voters	Vote Among Decided Voters Only
31%	42%
17	25
19	23
7	7
1	3
25	NA

Maricopa

May	April
19%	8%
50	49
31	43

"Is
Firm"

"Might
Change"

54%	46%
27	73
24	76
17	83
0	100

IN 10000

Symington aims at new target

Goddard now key opponent, not Mecham

By Mary Jo Pitzl
The Arizona Republic

When Fife Symington burst into the governor's race 15 months ago, there was no question whom he saw as the man to beat.

"Evan Mecham must be stopped," the multimillionaire developer proclaimed in April 1989.

Symington, who had never sought elected office, said his decision to run for the GOP nomination for governor had been sealed a week earlier, when Mecham announced his candidacy.

The broadside against the impeached governor continued when Symington said he wouldn't support Mecham if he won the GOP nomination, a stance that has rankled the party faithful.

Today, Symington has sheathed his anti-Mecham saber and set his sights on another target.

"I hear a lot of talk about 'Goddard this' and 'Goddard that,'" Symington told a gathering of his supporters and staffers last week. "I'm getting sick of it."

Terry Goddard looms as the likely Democratic opponent in the Nov. 6 general election. And although a five-way Republican primary stands between then and now, Symington said it's time to look ahead.

"He's going to be my opponent," Symington said of the former Phoenix mayor. "I'm thinking optimistically."

He bases his optimism on a poll that shows him as the front-runner in the GOP race and as the candidate whose backers are most likely to go to the polls in the Sept. 11 primary.

But the 12-percentage-point lead, drawn from a poll in May, is less bankable when stacked against the 31 percent of voters who said they were undecided. Also, the GOP race has yet to deliver its promised punch.

Primary watched nationally

Symington hopes to provide some of that punch. At a brown-bag lunch Wednesday, Symington said national political figures will visit Arizona this fall, depending on the primary's outcome.

Vera "Bunny" Badertscher, his campaign manager, said the Republican Governors Association has targeted Arizona as one of the crucial states in this fall's elections. A Symington victory could ensure a visit from some GOP bigwigs, Badertscher said.

"We have a lot of surprises between now and Sept. 11," said Jay Smith, Symington's ad strategist, who promises an "aggressive campaign" in August and September.

"People will be seeing and hearing a lot about the Symington campaign," Smith said without offering specifics. "We don't have to make up ground; we have to solidify our support and hold our momentum."

Although the Symington camp understandably is talking positively, others' views are not as rosy.

Depth of support not known

Because the five-candidate primary



Fife Symington is accompanied by his wife, Ann, and his daughter, Whitney, at a press conference after Symington entered the governor's race. Symington has shifted his focus of attack from Evan Mecham to Terry Goddard.

ELECTION '90 Governor's Race

has yet to catch the public's fancy, questions remain about how broad Symington's support is.

His blue-blood background and his multimillionaire-developer track record are parts of the Symington resume that many observers believe will hurt him.

GOP opponent Fred Koory frequently tells gatherings that he is not trying to buy the office, a reference to Symington's big-bucks image.

Indeed, by the end of 1989, the Symington campaign had raised \$273,342 in contributions, many of them at the \$550 maximum allowed by Arizona's campaign-finance laws, and many of them from Maryland contributors. Symington's family roots are in Maryland, and although he has lived in Arizona for 22 years, he still is listed in the Blue Book of Maryland's 1990 Society Visiting List, commonly known as the social register.

In contrast, Mecham, who announced for governor just one week ahead of Symington, reported \$58,268 in contributions for 1989.

Symington's well-heeled background "appears to be his curse," said state Sen. John Hays, R-Yarnell.

William Senne, Republican chairman in rural Greenlee County, said, "Generally, it hurts to be seen as a country-club type. It's not the kind of thing you brag about."

Stiff image ruffled a bit

Not that Symington is bragging. In fact, his 15-month campaign trail is dotted with indicators that Symington may be shedding parts of his high-brow image.

The "J." and the "III" dropped from his name when his political aspirations emerged. Before then, the

name J. Fife Symington III was synonymous with the controversial Esplanade project at the southeastern corner of 24th Street and Camelback Road in Phoenix.

One political observer, speaking anonymously, said Symington mistakenly reinforced his blue-blood image when the press packet accompanying his gubernatorial announcement included a *Phoenix Magazine* article describing him as one of Arizona's wealthiest developers.

Symington has worked at projecting a less-formal style. He showed up for the brown-bag lunch tieless, the sleeves of his crisply pressed buttoned-down shirt neatly folded up.

Tempe Councilman Frank Plencner recalls accompanying Symington on a door-to-door campaign swing through neighborhoods near Arizona State University.

Plencner had to nudge Symington to take off his tie, saying it would seem stuffy in a university neighborhood. Symington hesitated, but the tie came off.

"He's a formal kind of guy," Plencner said.

But he said he's noticed that Symington has made a concerted effort to loosen up, and it's paying off. He said Symington is speaking with greater ease as the campaign has progressed.

Doesn't mind pressing flesh

Symington also has demonstrated a politician's glee at working a crowd, not hesitating to press the flesh. He's the only gubernatorial candidate to use door-to-door campaigning, and he's quick to pick up the phone to give a persuasive pitch to skeptical voters.

At a recent meeting, a campaign worker told him of her difficulty in "converting" some Democratic teachers to Symington's cause. They were leery of his stand on open enrollment in school districts, fearing their schools may lose money.

"You should give me some names,"

Symington said. "I'll make some calls."

Others are not sold on the concept of Symington as a man of the people.

"He's not a very charismatic campaigner, in my opinion," said Lou Weschler, a professor of public affairs at ASU. "I don't think he's stiff. He's well informed. I think he's speaking from conviction. (But) there's not a lot of fire there. Sam Steiger is fire."

Steiger, a former congressman and Mecham aide, is considered one of the top three GOP contenders, along with Mecham and Symington.

Symington's investment in an 8½-minute campaign videotape also may be a hallmark of his well-financed campaign, and such an image may work against him, Weschler said.

Video called innovative

But ad-strategist Smith discounted speculation that investment in a campaign video reinforces Symington's "rich man" image. Rather, Smith sees it as an indication of the innovative ideas the 45-year-old developer is bringing to the GOP race.

Only insiders care about how much a candidate is spending and where the bucks go, Smith said. He would not say how much the video effort is costing, other than to say that the per-tape cost is \$2.20.

The 8½-minute video is being mailed to undecided Republican voters. Videotape mailings have been used in only three other races nationwide, Smith said. The hope is that it will be more effective than television commercials in bringing Symington's message to the voters he most needs to reach.

Symington, talking like a front-runner, echoes his ad strategist when he promises a well-fought campaign in the next two months.

"Planet at Sky Harbor can't take off (because of the heat)," he said, one day after Phoenix boiled in 122-degree heat. "But this campaign will. This campaign will go on, no matter how hot the politics or the weather."

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Memo	From Ed Rogers to POTUS Re: Recent Democrat Attacks on Budget and S & L (1 pp.)	7/25/90	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff to the President, Office of the
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: White House Offices File
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Political Affairs
(Wray/Rogers) (1990) [3]

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By *JP* (NLGB) on 10/28/05

Date Closed:	12/16/2004	OA/ID Number:	29182-001
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[1]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'90
politics

July 25, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ED ROGERS *ER*

SUBJECT: RECENT DEMOCRAT ATTACKS ON BUDGET AND S&Ls

This morning I did a quick review of what the Democrats have been saying about you and the GOP on just two issues: budget/taxes and S&Ls. They have not been too kind.

Attached please find highlights from the last 3-4 weeks. This compilation includes only what appears in the News Summary here at the White House. It would not be difficult to obtain the highlights of Democrat comments on these and other issues out in the states.

Please review and let me know how you want me to proceed.

Thanks.

1990

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: July 16, 1990

FOR: GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: **ED ROGERS**

- ☐ Action
- ☐ Your Comment
- ☐ Let's Talk

☒ FYI

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ED ROGERS *ER*
SUBJECT: PIERRE RINFRET VISIT

FYI, attached please find the complete transcript from the Pierre Rinfret photo-op. Although we're not supplying them with a copy, I'll call both Eddie Mahe and Rinfret to discuss it today.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR SUSAN PORTER ROSE

FROM: ED ROGERS *ER*
SUBJECT: FIRST LADY POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Four quick but important things:

1. Once again, thanks for the milk bottle "toys" for my cats. They provide many hours of happiness and peace around our house. (One of them ended up in the food bowl this morning!)
2. I'd like to discuss Mrs. Bush's potential political travel as soon as possible. Several weeks ago, I sent you a listing of suggested political trips. Assuming you've had a chance to look at it, I need to get a feel for what you think the First Lady can and cannot do.
3. I've talked with Lee, and we agree, that the single most important contribution to the single most important race in the country would be for the First Lady to appear in a television ad for Pete Wilson. His race is extremely tight and he'll have to work diligently to keep Republican women from defecting in serious numbers. With that in mind, no one is more reassuring than Mrs. Bush. Of course, any commercial would be "soft": it would not be an issue-based ad. We can be totally flexible.

Don Sipple is Wilson's campaign consultant. I know him well, so you would exercise complete and close control over the script, edits, and final product. I feel extraordinarily comfortable with Don and his ability.

4. As an addendum to point #3, perhaps the First Lady would consider signing a piece of direct mail for the RNC. Direct mail is off for everyone - Republicans and Democrats alike - but Mrs. Bush's appeal is so unique that I believe she could inspire many contributors who've become immune to the more traditional pleas from the President, Vice President and other party leaders. This is important.

Please let me know your thoughts.

cc: Governor Sununu
David Carney

NEWS
From

Citizens
For
Pierre
Rinfret

575 Lexington Avenue, 24th Floor
New York, NY 10022 (at 51st Street)
Phone: (212) 486-4222 Fax: (212) 486-0036

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Bryan Flood, (212)-486-4222

July 12, 1990

RINFRET: GOP POLL SHOWS CUOMO IS BEATABLE

A new poll commissioned by Republican gubernatorial candidate Pierre Rinfret shows that Governor Mario Cuomo is beatable in the fall elections, on the basis of Cuomo's tax increases and his record on the death penalty.

In addition, the survey, based upon 600 interviews with New York voters conducted July 8th and 9th, indicates that the residents of the Empire State are overwhelmingly distressed with the direction New York is taking under the leadership of Mr. Cuomo.

"I am very pleased and encouraged by the results of this new survey, Rinfret said. "These results show that the people of this state are clearly upset with Mr. Cuomo. They are angry with his tax and spend policies, and they are angry with his continued refusal to sign the death penalty bill into law."

"The people are also very pessimistic with the direction of the state under Governor Cuomo's leadership," Rinfret added.

The new poll, conducted by the nationally-known firm "The Wirthlin Group," indicates that 56% of New Yorkers believe that New York State is headed on the wrong track under Cuomo. Just 31% think New York State is headed in the right direction.

"This poll shows that New Yorkers are clearly ready for a

change of leadership," explained Neil Newhouse, Senior Vice President of the Wirthlin Group. "After eight years of Governor Cuomo's administration, a majority of New York voters believe the state is seriously off on the wrong track."

"Further, the issue questions readily demonstrate the willingness of voters to shed any allegiance they may have to the Governor and support his Republican opponent, Pierre Rinfret," continued Newhouse.

The survey also indicated that, when told that Cuomo raised taxes and fees this year by \$1.8 billion, and that Rinfret favors a state spending freeze and a restoration of the tax cut, voters gave Rinfret a victory over Cuomo in a head-to-head matchup by a 47%-39% margin.

When told that Rinfret will sign the death penalty bill into law, the voters favored the GOP challenger by 50%-41%.

What is even more revealing is that Rinfret's name is only recognized by 31% of New York voters, while Cuomo is recognized by 99% of the people. The lack of Rinfret recognition is the basic reason why an initial head-to-head ballot test showed that Cuomo would beat Rinfret by a 53%-21% margin.

"It has to be of serious concern to the Cuomo campaign that the Governor can garner only 53% of the vote against a relatively unknown GOP challenger -- and these poll results show clearly what the ballot could look like once Rinfret's issue positions are better known," said Newhouse.

"I feel confident that when people get to know me and the fact that I want to reverse Governor Cuomo's disastrous economic policies, we can beat him in November," Rinfret said.

More than one in three New Yorkers have an unfavorable opinion of Governor Cuomo, with 35% expressing a negative opinion. Prior public polls had placed his favorable rating in the 70% range.

"After more than seven years of Mario Cuomo, I think the people are ready for a change," concluded Rinfret.

**TRANSCRIPT OF THE PRESIDENT'S
PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH PIERRE RINFRET**

JUNE 28, 1990

TRANSCRIPT

President: Welcome back, by golly, its nice to see you again.

Rinfret: Hi, Mr. President, It's nice to see you again.

President: I couldn't be better and thanks for coming down. I have watched the kickoff of your effort with keen interest. I like the way you come out taking the offense. So how is it going?

Rinfret: I couldn't be better. Except for one knock from one of your cabinet people, I'm doing fine.

President: Which one was that?

Rinfret: Mr. Kemp came...(inaudible)

President: Well that's all under control I think.

Rinfret: It is? I hope.

President: I hope so.

Rinfret: I'm still getting questions on it...

President: I hope so because we're for you. We want the record to show that.

Rinfret: OK. Enthusiastically?

President: Yeah. Enthusiastically. They say you've got what they say is a tough uphill battle, but...

Rinfret: No, we're doing fabulously.

President: Are you?

Rinfret: Reports we're getting is we're doing fantastically. We are far beyond what one could hope. (inaudible) I think Cuomo is totally vulnerable. He's doing a rotten job.

President: You talked to Sununu here? John. 'Cause he could (inaudible). He is very pleased about it too.

End on transcript.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE
310 FIRST STREET, SOUTHEAST WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 202-863-8720

Margaret C. Alexander
Executive Director

May 8, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM WRAY
FROM: MARGARET ALEXANDER *MA*
SUBJECT: RECAP OF REQUESTS FOR REMAINDER OF 1990

Jim, in the interest of clarification, I have summarized all requests for Presidential appearances submitted by the Finance Committee for the remainder of 1990. As you well know, these requests are critical to the success of our fundraising efforts this year.

JUNE: SPECIAL EVENT

Attendance at an event in, West Chester County New York for approximately forty couples at \$25,000 per. The format will be dinner with remarks. A formal request will be sent from Larry Bathgate to Gov. Sununu regarding this event, however Gov. Sununu has already had a discussion with Wally Ganzi about the need for this event. It has been added to shore up the lagging performance of the mail program thus far this year. A formal request will be forthcoming.

SEPTEMBER: SPECIAL EVENT

Attendance at an event in Washington for approximately 1000 persons at \$1000 per. Format will be dinner and remarks. This event has been added to bring in needed revenue for the fall campaigns. A formal request will forthcoming.

OCTOBER: EAGLES MEETING

Attendance by the President and Mrs. Bush at a dinner in Washington celebrating the FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EAGLES. FYI both President Reagan and then Vice President Bush attended the Eagles' tenth anniversary celebration. Attendance will be 800 - 1000 people. Dates already submitted for consideration are Sep. 13-15, Oct. 15-17 or Oct. 18-20.

PAGE TWO

OCTOBER: PRESIDENT'S CLUB RECEPTION

Attendance at a major donor reception in Washington for approximately 800-1000 people. Remarks only. This event has already been formally requested.

NOVEMBER: TEAM 100 DINNER

Dinner at the White House similar to last years event for approximately 400 people. We have previously requested that the date be in the first two weeks of November.

JANUARY 1991: INAUGURAL ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

FYI, we have a firm date with the National Theater for the Gala next year and we want you to have it on your radar screen. The date will be Monday, January 28, 1991.

Jim, any help you can be in getting us commitments on dates for these events would be most helpful. As you can see we have a very hectic schedule and a lot of money to raise for the midterm elections. Thanks for your help as always.

**CC: LEE ATWATER
LAWRENCE E. BATHGATE, II
MARY MATALIN**



Republican
National
Committee

Mary Matallin
Chief of Staff

May 16, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ED ROGERS

FROM: MARY MATALIN

SUBJECT: WHITE HOUSE REQUESTS UPDATE

Following is a recap of RNC requests for White House support for the remainder of 1990. All requests have been formally submitted including the recent special election year events discussed with Governor Sununu.

The requests are listed in two formats, first by type of request and secondly, a more detailed accounting by month.

1990 RNC REQUESTS

EVENTS

- June -- Special Election Year Fundraiser
West Chester, NY
- Sept.-- Special Election Year Fundraiser
Washington, D.C.
- Oct. -- Eagles 15th Anniversary
Washington, D.C.
- President's Club
Washington, D.C.
- Nov. -- Team 100
The White House
- Dec. -- Phone Day Reception
The White House
- Jan. -- Phone Day Reception II
The White House
- Inaugural Anniversary Celebration
Washington, D.C.

DIRECT MAIL

- June -- Housefile package
- Sept.-- Eagles package
Major donor package
Housefile/prospect package
- Nov. -- Thanksgiving Thank You
- Dec. -- Housefile package (Sustaining Membership First
Renewal)

1990 RNC FUNDRAISING REQUESTS

JUNE

EVENT: Special Election Year Fundraiser
LOCATION: West Chester County, New York
DONOR LEVEL: \$25,000/couple
PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION: Dinner with remarks
ATTENDANCE: 40 couples

DIRECT MAIL: Housefile package
UNIVERSE: RNC donors \$1-\$500, approximately 650,000

JULY

AUGUST

SEPTEMBER

DIRECT MAIL: Eagles package, two versions (renewal/prospect)
UNIVERSE: Approximately 2,500 pieces
(ties in with the 15th Anniversary event)

EVENT: Special Election Year Fundraiser
LOCATION: Washington, D.C.
DONOR LEVEL: \$1000/person
PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION: Reception and remarks
ATTENDANCE: 1,000

DIRECT MAIL: Major Donor package, two versions (renewal/
prospect)
UNIVERSE: RNC Donors \$500+ (approximately 15,000)
Plus an additional 15,000 prospects

DIRECT MAIL: Housefile package, two versions
(renewal/prospect)
Universe: RNC donors \$1-\$500, approximately 650,000
PROSPECTS: Test quantity approximately 200,000;
additional continuations one million plus

***TIMING IS CRITICAL ON THIS PACKAGE DUE TO DIRECT MAIL
SCHEDULE OF NRSC AND NRCC

OCTOBER

EVENT: Eagles 15th Anniversary

LOCATION: Washington, D.C.

DONOR LEVEL: \$15,000/person; \$20,000/couple

PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION: Dinner and remarks

ATTENDANCE: 800-1,000

***Proposed dates: Sept. 13-15, Oct. 15-17, Oct. 18-20

EVENT: PRESIDENT'S CLUB

LOCATION: Washington, D.C.

DONOR LEVEL: \$1,000/person

PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION: Reception and remarks

ATTENDANCE: 800-1,000

NOVEMBER

EVENT: Team 100

LOCATION: THE WHITE HOUSE

DONOR LEVEL: \$100,000

PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION: Dinner and remarks\

ATTENDANCE: 400

DIRECT MAIL: Thanksgiving Thank You Letter from Mrs. Bush

UNIVERSE: RNC donors \$1-\$1000, approximately 600,000

***This is a non-solicitation letter, traditionally mailed each year. Mrs. Reagan signed this package in 1981, 1986 and 1987; Mrs. Bush signed in 1988; Mrs. Quayle signed in 1989.

DECEMBER

DIRECT MAIL: Housefile package, 1991 First Renewal

Universe: RNC donors \$1-\$1000, approximately one million

EVENT: Reception for Phone Day Participants for Jan. Gala

LOCATION: THE WHITE HOUSE

ATTENDANCE: 30

JANUARY 1991

EVENT: Reception for Phone Day Participants for Gala

LOCATION: THE WHITE HOUSE

ATTENDANCE: 30

EVENT: Inaugural Anniversary Celebration

LOCATION: The National Theatre, Washington, D.C.

DONOR LEVEL: Eagle Members (\$15,000-\$20,000)

1990

NO: 406030
DATE: 6/13/88

SOCIAL ISSUES/ WOMEN'S ISSUES/ PARENTAL LEAVE

STATEMENT OF VICE PRESIDENT
GEORGE BUSH

The federal government should not mandate parental leave. However, due to enormous changes in the workplace over the past decade and because of the need to re-establish our nation's competitive edge economically, we should encourage private efforts to establish flexible standards allowing workers with newborn children, seriously ill family members, and those in similar circumstances to follow through on important family-related work.

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1988

October 8, 1988, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: General News

LENGTH: 477 words

HEADLINE: Campaign '88 -- The Issues Bush vs. Dukakis on family and social issues

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
Family-Issues

BODY:

Here is a comparison between Democrat Michael Dukakis and Republican George Bush on a series of family and social issues:

The Pledge of Allegiance:

Dukakis: Vetoed a 1977 Massachusetts law requiring teachers to lead pupils in reciting the pledge after advisory opinions said the law was unconstitutional and violated a 1943 Supreme Court ruling. The state legislature overrode Dukakis's veto and the bill remains law, although not enforced.

Bush: Has said he would have signed the law.

Abortion:

Dukakis: Supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision making abortion legal and opposes current restrictions that deny Medicaid coverage to poor women for abortions.

Bush: Opposes the 1973 decision and favors a constitutional amendment that would again make abortion illegal except in cases of rape and incest. Supports current restrictions on Medicaid coverage of the poor and would impose criminal penalties on doctors -- but not the women - who perform abortions.

Day Care:

Dukakis: Supports a \$2.5 billion proposal to help fund state programs subsidize child care for low and middle income families. The program would require centers to meet federal health and safety standards, staff qualifications and child-teacher ratios.

Bush: Has proposed a \$1,000 "toddler tax credit" to assist families with \$10,000 or less income to pay for child care.

Family Leave:

Dukakis: Supports legislation that would require employers to allow workers to take unpaid leave without the threat of losing their job at the time of the birth or adoption of a child or in the event of long-term serious illness of a

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family member.

Bush: Wants to encourage the private sector to be more flexible in meeting workers family requirements but opposes laws making family leave a requirement.

Health Care:

Dukakis: Has called for passage of a universal health care program under which most employers would be required to provide a certain minimum level of health insurance coverage to all their workers.

Bush: Bush says he would allow the 37 million Americans currently without health coverage to "buy into Medicaid," the federal health program for the poor.

Death Penalty:

Dukakis: Opposes the death penalty.

Bush: Supports the death penalty has argued that he would like to see it extended to what he calls "kingpin" drug dealers and drug-related murderers.

Housing and the Homeless:

Dukakis: Said he supports a federal commitment to new construction and rehabilitation of low and moderate income housing but has not spelled out the specific details or cost of a program.

Bush: Said he supports full funding of the McKinney Act, which provides federal money for shelters for the homeless and a voucher program for the poor to pay for housing in the private market.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

May 8, 1990
(House)

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

(THIS STATEMENT HAS BEEN COORDINATED BY OMB WITH THE CONCERNED AGENCIES.)

H.R. 770 - Family and Medical Leave Act of 1989
Clay (D) MO and 151 others

The Administration strongly opposes H.R. 770. This bill would require public and private employers with 50 or more employees, and the Federal Government, to provide their employees with mandatory leave. H.R. 770 would mandate up to 10 workweeks of family leave in any two calendar years, up to 15 workweeks of temporary medical leave in any one year (18 and 26 weeks, respectively, for Federal employees), and other employment protections. If this or any other mandated leave legislation, such as the Penny and Gordon substitute amendments, were presented to the President, his senior advisers would recommend that it be vetoed.

The Administration supports and encourages parental and medical leave policies designed to meet the specific needs of individual companies and their employees. This objective can be best achieved voluntarily through the normal collective bargaining process between management and labor, not by the Federal Government mandating employee benefits.

In addition, H.R. 770 (and the Penny and Gordon substitutes) would:

- Reduce the flexibility necessary to meet the needs of a changing workforce and undermine the current trend toward flexible benefit policies.
- Induce employers to reduce overall employee benefits by limiting voluntary benefits in order to afford new, mandatory parental and medical leave benefits.
- Impose the costs of leave on employers regardless of their ability to absorb such costs, thus reducing their productivity and U.S. competitiveness -- the impact on smaller businesses would be particularly substantial.

* * * * *

(Not to be Distributed Outside Executive Office of the President)

The above position was prepared by LRD (Fairhall) in consultation with LVE (Bernie Martin/Larry Matlack/Joe Wire), HRVL/SS (Mark Menchik) and GO (Frank Seidl/Liz LaPlante). The Departments of Labor (Mike Taylor, Office of the Solicitor), Justice (Mark Pestal, Office of Legislative Affairs), HHS (Susan Burnett,

Office of the General Counsel), Commerce (Pete Dalmut, Office of the General Counsel), and Treasury (Greg Sukys, Office of the General Counsel), OPM (Jim Woodruff, Office of the General Counsel), CEA (Becky Blank), and SBA (Rainnie Deane, Office of Congressional and Legislative Affairs) agree with this position. The White House Office of Policy Development (Larry Lindsey), and the Domestic Policy Council (Ken Yale) also agree with this position.

The above objections are consistent with letters sent by Secretary of Labor Dole to Congress, in which she stated she would recommend veto of any mandated leave legislation. The Attorney General also sent a letter to Congress stating that the Justice Department would recommend veto of the legislation if it were passed by Congress.

The SAP which was delivered to the House Rules Committee yesterday marked the first time in this Congress that a senior advisers veto threat was made on this legislation. Consistent with SAP delivered to the House Rules Committee, Secretary Dole sent a letter to the Hill which contained a senior advisers veto threat on a so-called "compromise" amendment.

Major provisions of H.R. 770 would:

- Require State and local government and private sector employers with 50 or more employees to provide their employees who have at least a thousand hours of service in the last year with:
 - o up to 10 workweeks of parental leave (in a two-year period) for the birth or adoption of a child, or caring for a child or dependent parent with a serious health condition; and
 - o up to 15 workweeks of leave (in a 12-month period) for a serious health condition preventing them from performing their jobs. Employees in the top 10 percent salary range of an employer's workforce could be excluded on the basis of business necessity.
- Leave could be unpaid, or taken from leave already accrued to the employee. Three years after the law takes effect, employers with more than 35 employees would be covered.
- Require the Federal Government to provide its non-temporary employees with up to 18 weeks of parental leave in a two year period, and up to 26 weeks of temporary medical leave in a one-year period.
 - Require the employers to restore any employee who has taken such leave to a position with equivalent status, benefits, pay, and employment condition, and to maintain the employee's health benefits.
 - Establish a Commission on Family and Medical Leave to study existing and proposed policies relating to parental and

costs, benefits, and effects on productivity of employees. The Commission would be required to submit a report to Congress within two years on its findings. Ten of the Commission's 12 members would be appointed by congressional leadership, and the Secretaries of Labor and HHS would sit as ex officio members.

The Senate companion bill, S. 345 (Dodd (D) CT and 20 others) was reported by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee in July 1989, but no floor action has been scheduled to date.

S. 345 is similar to H.R. 770, but would cover employers of 20 or more employees, and provides less generous leave (10 weeks of family leave and 13 weeks of medical leave). S. 345 treats public and private employers equally.

Position on Mandated Leave Legislation in the Reagan Administration

In a SAP sent to the Senate on S. 2488 in September 1988, the Reagan Administration stated that it would support a bill that promoted the adjustment of work/family conflicts by providing incentives to employers to provide leave to their employees during reasonable periods at the birth or adoption of a child.

The SAP on S. 2488 went on to state that President Reagan's senior advisers would, however, recommend that he veto S. 2488 because of its mandatory uniform leave policy. The SAP cited many of the same arguments identified in the draft position on H.R. 770.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 18, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR ROGER B. PORTER

FROM: EMILY MEAD

SUBJECT: Parental leave quotes from the Campaign 1988

Tab 1 Campaign Position paper 6/13/88

Tab 2 "Democrats Urge Bush to Support Family Leave Bill," Associated Press, 9/13/88

Tab 3 "Bush Hints at New Policies to Win Over Women," AP, 9/10/88

Tab 4 "Mr. Bush on Family Leave," The Washington Post, 9/21/88

Tab 5 "Taking Time for Children," TIME, 9/26/88

Tab 6 Campaign '88 issues, (Nexis Page 17), UPI, 10/8/88

Tab 7 Bush vs Dukakis on family and social issues, UPI, 10/8/88

Tab 8 Additional quotes

NO: 406030
DATE: 6/13/88

SOCIAL ISSUES/ WOMEN'S ISSUES/ PARENTAL LEAVE

STATEMENT OF VICE PRESIDENT
GEORGE BUSH

The federal government should not mandate parental leave. However, due to enormous changes in the workplace over the past decade and because of the need to re-establish our nation's competitive edge economically, we should encourage private efforts to establish flexible standards allowing workers with newborn children, seriously ill family members, and those in similar circumstances to follow through on important family-related work.

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

The materials in the AP file were compiled by The Associated Press. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Associated Press.

September 13, 1988, Tuesday, PM cycle

LENGTH: 558 words

HEADLINE: House Democrats Urge Bush to Support Family Leave Bill

BYLINE: By JILL LAWRENCE, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
Family Leave

BODY:

Political jockeying over family issues is taking a new turn in the wake of Republican presidential nominee George Bush's remark that women with newborns should not face loss of their jobs if they take a few weeks off.

House Democrats jumped on Bush's comment Monday and urged the vice president to support a family leave bill that both chambers are expected to vote on this month.

"We would welcome your support for and participation in the consideration of the bill so that it may be enacted into law this year," five legislators, backed by Democratic leaders, told Bush in a letter.

The Family and Medical Leave Act would require employers of more than 50 to grant unpaid, job-protected leaves to parents of newborn, newly adopted or seriously ill children; seriously ill employees; and workers who must care for sick parents.

Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis, a longtime supporter of the measure, reiterated his view in a letter Monday to Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., and Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., two of the bill's chief sponsors.

The Massachusetts governor said the bill would "bring us one step closer to a more humane workplace for all Americans."

In the letter to Bush, Schroeder and four other House members said the Reagan administration has opposed the family leave act since its introduction in 1985 by Schroeder and Rep. William Clay, D-Mo.

"However, the press has reported a willingness on your part to reverse this historically held position and endorse family and medical leave legislation," the lawmakers said.

Last Friday before a GOP women's group, Bush departed from his text and also from the administration's hard-line opposition to government-mandated family leaves.

The Associated Press, September 13, 1988

"Look, we also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness," he told the Illinois Federation of Republican Women in Rockford, Ill.

Bush did not elaborate on the remark at the time, but his campaign is developing a more detailed proposal.

The letter to Bush was signed by Clay, Schroeder and Reps. Pat Williams, D-Mont.; Norman Mineta, D-Calif.; and Augustus Hawkins, D-Calif. Mineta is chairman of a leadership task force on the bill and Hawkins is chairman of the Education and Labor Committee.

Dukakis, in his letter to Schroeder and Dodd, left no doubt he agrees that job-protected leave should be available to men as well as women and for personal illness as well as a child's medical crisis.

"A father who needs a few weeks to care for his sick son, a worker who has cancer, or a mother who brings home a new baby - they should not have to sacrifice their jobs," Dukakis wrote.

The House bill, which counts 16 Republicans among its 151 co-sponsors, would require employers to make 10-week leaves available to parents of newborn or newly adopted children. Medical leaves of up to 15 weeks would have to be available. Businesses employing fewer than 50 would be exempt for at least three years.

The small business community is fighting the family leave bill on the grounds that it would create hardships for their companies and that the government shouldn't dictate employee benefits.

The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, has estimated the bill would cost businesses less than \$200 million.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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September 10, 1988, Saturday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 794 words

HEADLINE: Bush Hints at New Policies to Win Over Women, Conservative Democrats

BYLINE: By TERENCE HUNT, AP White House Correspondent

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:

Bush's Week

BODY:

Following a political road map to battleground states, Republican George Bush is zigzagging across America on a made-for-television tour hinting at new policies to win support from women and conservative Democrats.

He concentrated last week on pivotal states - California, Texas, Illinois and Pennsylvania - in his quest for the 270 electoral votes needed to capture the White House, and made passes through Washington, Oregon and Kentucky.

After a weekend resting in Washington, Bush returns to the campaign trail Monday after announcing a national security advisory task force that will include former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and Brent Scowcroft, former White House national security adviser.

A surprise name on the list, according to campaign sources, will be Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was President Carter's national security adviser.

From Washington, Bush will head for some major industrial states on an itinerary that includes New Jersey, Illinois, Missouri, California and Ohio before he returns home by Friday.

"I mean to win this election," a newly energized Bush repeatedly declared against highly telegenic backgrounds. At each event, campaign aides carefully checked camera angles to give photographers and television cameramen the best shots.

With public opinion surveys showing him edging ahead of Democrat Michael Dukakis, Bush seemed more confident and at ease on the stump. He rejected charges that he was waging a negative campaign.

His campaign message was tailored to fit the place and the audience.

wooing conservative Democrats in East Texas, Bush was a hardliner on abortion, the death penalty, gun control and prison furloughs. He pounced on

The Associated Press, September 10, 1988

Dukakis again for vetoing a bill aimed at requiring public school teachers to lead students in reciting the Pledge of Allegiance.

Attacking Dukakis as "a card-carrying member of the ACLU" and "a progressive, liberal Democrat," Bush said, "It's time to have a Texan in the White House, one who shares your values."

It was a different message that Bush brought to Rockford, Ill., for an address Friday before 200 members of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women.

Observing that women earn an average 70 cents for every dollar earned by men, Bush said, "There's only one amount that a woman should earn for every dollar earned by a man _ and that is one dollar."

In an apparent departure from the Reagan administration's policy of opposing parental job leaves, Bush declared, "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness." He did not specify what he had in mind.

He reiterated in an interview that he opposes abortion except in cases of rape, incest or when the mother's life is threatened. Significantly, however, he said his opposition to abortion is "not a litmus test that everybody has to agree with." Most polls show a majority of Americans are pro-choice.

In another important election-year shift aimed at winning blue-collar votes, Bush also signaled he is ready to endorse an increase in the minimum wage, which has been frozen at \$3.35 an hour for seven years.

The Democrats already are moving an increase through Congress. A Senate bill proposes an increase to \$4.55 by 1991, while a House bill proposes \$5.05 by 1992.

"I'm talking to some of our experts and I'm going to do what's fair," Bush said. He said he would insist on some minimum-wage differential, perhaps a training wage or a sub-minimum wage for teen-agers.

Trying to duplicate President Reagan's success at gaining coverage on the TV evening news shows, Bush went to great lengths to appear in colorful settings for the cameras.

He stained his tie filleting a white sea bass at a wholesale fish company in San Diego, paraded with Mickey Mouse at Disneyland, Calif., confronted a jeering union crowd at a Portland, Ore., shipyard, watched the fiery destruction of nuclear-missile engines in Texas and appeared at the Marigold Festival at Pekin, Ill.

To keep the focus on themes of his choosing, Bush did not hold any news conferences with the campaign press corps last week. He ignored a reporter who used a traffic cone as a megaphone to shout questions.

Not everything went Bush's way, though.

In Louisville, Ky., Bush flubbed by telling an American Legion convention that Sept. 7 _ instead of Dec. 7 _ was the anniversary of the Japanese attack

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The Associated Press, September 10, 1988

on Pearl Harbor.

Another embarrassment was the disclosure that Jerome Brentar, co-chairman of the Bush '88 Coalition of American Nationalities, was a defender of former Ohio autoworker John Demjanjuk, who was convicted in Israel as a Nazi war criminal. Brentar resigned under fire.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 21, 1988, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: OPINION EDITORIAL; PAGE A18

LENGTH: 484 words

HEADLINE: Mr. Bush on Family Leave

BODY:

GEORGE BUSH has deftly revived the mainly Democratic legislation he opposes to require businesses above a certain size to provide unpaid parental leave. Both House and Senate committees had approved such legislation, which then stalled. In the House, even many Democrats -- reluctant to offend business by voting for a "labor" bill that wasn't going anywhere -- wanted the Senate to act first, which the Senate seemed unlikely to do.

But two weeks ago, Mr. Bush, as part of a shift in positions that also saw him endorse an increase in the minimum wage, said: "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness. . . . We've got to do something about that."

The purring Democrats propose to give him a chance. If not a bill, they'd be happy with a Republican vote against. Moderate Republicans in both houses, having successfully eased the terms of the bills, have joined in sponsoring them. With so many women in the work force, they no more than Mr. Bush's advisers want the party to be the naysayer on this issue.

The bills would require employers to allow parents (not just mothers, women's groups insisted) up to 10 weeks of leave every two years to care for children when born, adopted or seriously ill. The employer would be required to keep up any health insurance payments previously made and to guarantee the employee the same or a comparable job on her or his return. The House bill would also require leave to care for a sick parent, and both would require leave if the employee became ill.

The bills would cover only employees who had worked for a company for a year, and the Senate bill only companies with more than 20 employees, exempting nearly 90 percent of all businesses and more than half of all workers. The House would exempt even more. Many larger businesses already provide some family leave. Thus the cost of the legislation would be modest; not all women could even afford all the unpaid leave it would provide. The opponents mainly fear what might follow. They see it as part of a broader effort by Congress to require business to provide benefits the government cannot afford. A higher minimum wage would be one such; mandatory health insurance another; paid family leave someday a possible third.

The Republican platform thus called for steps to "encourage employers . . . to voluntarily address their employees' child care needs," and the Bush campaign is exploring tax incentives. But these would again cost money the government doesn't have. The problem of paid benefits can be left for later. Unpaid maternity leave is a modest requirement in a society as dependent as this on women's work. Small business is amply not to say excessively protected. The

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pending legislation may not be what Mr. Bush had in mind, but Congress should thank him and pass it anyway.

TYPE:
EDITORIAL

SUBJECT:
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES; BIRTH; FRINGE BENEFITS; MINIMUM WAGE; U.S. CONGRESS

NAMED-PERSONS:
GEORGE BUSH

Why Wait a Week to Kill?

The gun lobby overwhelms an attempt to restrict handguns

"Guns don't kill; people do." The simple logic of that refrain from the National Rifle Association would suggest that the nation's 2.8 million-member gun lobby would support any move to keep the wrong people from acquiring deadly weapons. Not so. The N.R.A. invariably goes to war against any attempt to limit the avalanche of handguns that are used to kill 21,000 Americans annually. Last week the gun lobby triumphed in its latest campaign, a \$4 million effort against a sensible congressional proposal to strengthen existing federal restrictions on the sale of handguns. The legislation would have required gun dealers to wait seven days before completing a sale, giving police time to determine whether a buyer is a convicted felon, an illegal alien, a drug abuser or a mental patient. Last week the House meekly bowed to N.R.A. pressure and killed the proposed waiting period by a vote of 228 to 182.

The legislation was inspired in part by Sarah Brady, wife of White House Press Secretary James Brady, who remains an invalid seven years after being hit by one of John Hinckley's bullets during the attempt to assassinate President Reagan. She has led a series of fights for tighter gun laws. The Brady amendment enjoyed broad support from gun-control opponents, including an unusual coalition of eleven national police organizations. Even the President praised the idea of a waiting period, citing how well it has worked in California. But with elections only six weeks away, many Congressmen who favored the proposal could not ignore the powerful N.R.A..

Florida Republican Congressman Bill McCollum Jr. offered a way out of the quandary. He proposed replacing the waiting-period requirement with a provision to give all 275,000 federally licensed gun dealers in the U.S. instant access to a nationwide list of convicted felons. Prospective gun buyers could be fingerprinted and the samples sent electronically to Washington for an instantaneous check against the FBI's millions of prints.

But there is no master list of convicted felons, no way to make such data quickly and widely available, and no speedy means of sending and matching fingerprints. A network to provide such information could take years to create and cost up to \$500 million; making it available to gun dealers could violate civil liberties. Beyond that, McCollum's system would not prevent gun sales to illegal aliens and the mentally ill.

Still, a majority of House members reached for this fig leaf. They voted to kill



Sarah Brady viewing confiscated weapons

The House eagerly grabbed a fig leaf.

the Brady amendment and replace it with McCollum's phantom plan. Even leading Democrats from states where the N.R.A. is strong, like House Majority Leader Tom Foley of Washington and House Whip Tony Coelho of California, supported the gun lobby. They contended, as has George Bush, who boasts that he is a life member of the N.R.A., that such restrictive legislation should be left to the states. But only 22 states require waiting periods. A gun buyer in a hurry need only cross a state line to speed his purchase.

That disparity caused Illinois Republican Henry Hyde, one of the House's most conservative legislators, to abandon his normal states' rights stance. "These guns are ambulatory," Hyde argued. "This is a national problem. If we made it a little more difficult for someone who is angry and wants to kill, maybe we would save some lives." Demonstrating how the issue cuts across both ideology and geography, Speaker Jim Wright of Texas joined Hyde in opposing the McCollum proposal, despite his home state's animus to gun control.

Their logic did not prevail against the N.R.A.'s cold cash. Collectively, the Congressmen who voted to doom the waiting period have received \$1,167,908 from the gun lobby in the past five years. The 70% of Americans who support tighter gun controls are rarely as passionate, vocal or generous.

—By Ed Magnuson.

Reported by Hays Gorey/Washington

Taking Time For Children

With Bush's blessing, workers may win parental leave

George Bush has discovered women that they work (hence his proposal in July for a \$2.2 billion child-care tax credit) and, now, that they have children. Attempting to close what remains of his once cavernous gender gap, Bush last week came out in favor of unpaid leave for parents on the job. Parting company with the Reagan Administration and his running mate, Dan Quayle, Bush surprised a gathering of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, saying, "We need to ensure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness."

Suddenly, parental-leave legislation that House Democrats were afraid to schedule because it was sure to fail was put on the calendar. The bill, first introduced by Democratic Congresswoman Pat Schroeder in 1986, would require employers of more than 50 people to allow men or women up to ten weeks of leave to care for a newborn, a seriously ill child or an ailing parent. When House Majority Whip Tony Coelho took a head count this week, he found so much new support among moderates that he has decided to schedule a vote as soon as possible.

Bush's endorsement came a week after a coalition of women's groups urged Michael Dukakis to put more effort into passing the bill. They also demanded that Bush drop his opposition to it. The Vice President is no doubt aware that 10 million more women than men will vote on Nov. 8. As National Women's Political Caucus Chair Irene Natividad warns, "No one can get elected without us, not to the Senate, not to the House and certainly not to the presidency."

Opponents of the bill, especially small-business owners, fear that temporary replacements would be costly and less productive. Says Texas Republican Congressman Dick Armey: "Parental leave is really nothing but a form of yuppie welfare financed by other American workers." In a letter to his colleagues, Armey describes the slippery benefits slope that might follow, warning that parents would soon be demanding paid parental leave, then health benefits, then mandated day-care services. "I shudder to think what would come beyond that," he writes. Sweden, perhaps.

If Congress gets to the measure this month, as planned, parental leave may become a reality. With the outlook for a Democratic \$2 billion-plus day-care plan increasingly bleak, the bill may be the only solid legislation women get this year for their 10 million-vote differential.

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1988

October 8, 1988, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: General News

LENGTH: 1475 words

HEADLINE: Campaign '88 -- The Issues Going for the critical middle -- values vs. 'squeeze'

BYLINE: By DAVID E. ANDERSON

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:

Family

BODY:

In the fight for the critical middle of the American electorate, Republican George Bush and Democrat Michael Dukakis have adopted differing strategies. Bush is appealing to voters' values and Dukakis their wallets.

For both candidates the strategies carry risk but also the potential for great electoral pickings as nearly half the voting population earns between \$20,000 and \$50,000 a year and Americans increasingly define themselves as middle class rather than working class or blue collar.

Bush, in a campaign that has stressed values -- especially his hammering on the 'pledge issue' -- hopes to appeal to the potent patriotism of the electorate, while Dukakis, stressing the economic anxieties of the same voters, has put forward a series of 'family issue' plans aimed at relieving what he has called the 'squeeze' on middle Americans.

In both campaigns, the family and social issues arena is a sharply different one from four years ago, when President Reagan, campaigning for re-election, hit hard on such issues as abortion, prayer in the schools, pornography and federal aid to religious and private schools.

This year, however, such issues -- even the emotional debate over abortion -- have moved more to the margins, replaced by questions of the federal role in day care, parental leave, college tuition, the cost of housing and health insurance.

And the Pledge.

From the beginning -- with his appearance before the GOP platform writing committee in New Orleans in early August -- Bush made clear that the election was 'about ideology,' and he swept out of New Orleans and into the fall campaign challenging Dukakis for vetoing legislation that would require public school teachers to lead their children in the Pledge of Allegiance each morning and for being 'a card-carrying member of the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union).'

For a month, Bush hammered at the theme, calling Dukakis's 'out of the mainstream' of America and associated with 'far left' organizations like

the ACLU, and criticizing the Massachusetts governor for his 1977 veto of the pledge bill.

"I believe that our schoolchildren should have the right to say the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States," Bush said in an August appearance in Houston. "I don't know what his (Dukakis's) problem is with the Pledge of Allegiance."

Dukakis's "problem," the Democratic nominee responded, was that -- according to an advisory opinion from the Supreme Judicial Court in Massachusetts and the state attorney general -- the law was unconstitutional. The Massachusetts legislature, however, overrode Dukakis's veto and the law remains, albeit unenforced, on the state's statute book.

"I encourage children to say the Pledge of Allegiance," he said. "I say the Pledge of Allegiance. That's not the issue and the Republicans know it."

Dukakis went on to suggest that Bush was not committed to the rule of law.

"If the vice president is saying that if he were president and the United States Supreme Court said a law was unconstitutional and the attorney general said the law was unconstitutional, and he'd sign it anyway, then that raises very serious questions about what it means to take the oath of office," he said.

"The highest form of patriotism is a dedication and a commitment to the Constitution of the United States and the rule of law," he said.

As the pledge issue grew thin, Bush began a variation on the theme, this time pointing to Dukakis's membership in the ACLU, the 68-year-old civil liberties group that has defended people and groups ranging from Col. Oliver North and American Nazis who wanted to march in largely Jewish Skokie, Ill., to draft resisters during Vietnam and parents and children who on religious or conscience grounds oppose being forced to recite prayers in the public schools.

Bush's attacks appear to be playing well with the partisan crowds who attend his rallies but also have drawn some criticism of the GOP nominee for impugning Dukakis's patriotism and calling forth images of the smear tactics used by the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis., during his anti-communist crusade in the 1950s.

The heated debate over patriotism has tended to obscure some very real differences between the candidates in the bread-and-butter family issues.

Fueled in part by demographics and in part by economics, a range of family issues such as day care, parental leave, the cost of education, housing and health care have moved to near the top of voters economic concerns.

With the large Baby Boom generation -- those born between 1946 and 1960 -- now raising families, and with women making up a larger part of the electorate, both Dukakis and Bush are offering proposals to meet the demands of these voters.

Proprietary to the United Press International, October 8, 1988

One analysis of past voter participation, for example, noted that in the 1986 election, there were 6 million more women voters than men. Estimates for the 1988 turnout have predicted that 10 million to 11 million more women than men are likely to vote.

"No one can get elected without us, not to the Senate, not to the House and certainly not to the presidency," said Irene Natividad, chairwoman of the National Women's Political Caucus.

And surveys show that the family issues underscore differences between men and women voters.

Ethel Klein, in a "gender gap" survey for Business and Professional Women, found that while both men and women support the proposed \$2.5 billion child care program recently before Congress, the bill drew the support of 68 percent of the women and only 60 percent of the men.

Similarly, 66 percent of women but only 58 percent of men favor federal legislation that would require businesses to provide "family leave" -- periods of time away from work after the birth or adoption of a child or in the case of extended illness without loss of job rights.

Dukakis has tried to make these issues a central part of his appeal to the voters, stressing, in the face the budget deficit, "partnerships" between government and the private sector aimed at keeping down the cost of such programs.

"We need a president who cares when youngsters who have the energy and ambition and the skills to go to college are denied that opportunity because their parents are being victimized by Republican economic policies that leave the rich getting richer, the poor getting poorer and those in the middle -- and that means most of us -- being squeezed," Dukakis said in announcing a detailed plan to help families meet rising tuition costs.

Bush, for his part, recognizing such issues could be political trouble, has developed the theme of "a kinder, gentler America" and outlined a series of proposals generally making use of the tax codes -- especially tax breaks -- as a means of paying for his versions of the same programs without huge additional outlays.

The difference between the two is exemplified in their approach to day care.

Dukakis has outlined a \$2.5 billion day care program, similar to the proposed Act for Better Child Care, in which federal funds would be used by the states to help parents pay for daycare outside the home, provide grants and loans to organizations to set up new centers and provide training funds for child-care providers.

Bush has proposed a \$2.2 billion a year "toddler tax credit" worth up to \$1,000 for each child under four in families with less than \$10,000 in income, with the income scale sliding upward to families with \$20,000 in income in the fourth year.

The proposal has been criticized by day care advocates such as the Children's Defense Fund as inadequate -- \$1,000 when childcare costs average about \$3,000

Proprietary to the United Press International, October 8, 1988

a year -- failing to address the issue of quality and standards and the need for new centers.

Dukakis supports legislation requiring employers to permit workers to take unpaid 'family leave' while Bush wants 'to encourage private efforts to establish flexible standards ... to follow through on important family-related work' but does not believe government should impose the requirement on employers.

Dukakis has also unveiled a program that would require most employers to provide a minimum level of health insurance to extend coverage to the 37 million Americans currently without protection.

Bush has not yet outlined a health plan but has said 'we will continue to increase government services as conditions permit' and in his first debate with Dukakis said he would allow people to 'buy into' Medicaid, the program that provides health services to the poor.

One of the sharpest differences between the two candidates is on the emotional social issue of abortion, although neither has made it central to their campaigns. Bush backs efforts to make abortion illegal again and Dukakis supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision that made most abortions legal.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1988

October 8, 1988, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: General News

LENGTH: 477 words

HEADLINE: Campaign '88 -- The Issues Bush vs. Dukakis on family and social issues

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD:
Family-Issues

BODY:

Here is a comparison between Democrat Michael Dukakis and Republican George Bush on a series of family and social issues:

The Pledge of Allegiance:

Dukakis: Vetoed a 1977 Massachusetts law requiring teachers to lead pupils in reciting the pledge after advisory opinions said the law was unconstitutional and violated a 1943 Supreme Court ruling. The state legislature overrode Dukakis's veto and the bill remains law, although not enforced.

Bush: Has said he would have signed the law.

Abortion:

Dukakis: Supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision making abortion legal and opposes current restrictions that deny Medicaid coverage to poor women for abortions.

Bush: Opposes the 1973 decision and favors a constitutional amendment that would again make abortion illegal except in cases of rape and incest. Supports current restrictions on Medicaid coverage of the poor and would impose criminal penalties on doctors -- but not the women -- who perform abortions.

Day Care:

Dukakis: Supports a \$2.5 billion proposal to help fund state programs subsidize child care for low and middle income families. The program would require centers to meet federal health and safety standards, staff qualifications and child-teacher ratios.

Bush: Has proposed a \$1,000 "toddler tax credit" to assist families with \$10,000 or less income to pay for child care.

Family Leave:

Dukakis: Supports legislation that would require employers to allow workers to take unpaid leave without the threat of losing their job at the time of the birth or adoption of a child or in the event of long-term serious illness of a

Proprietary to the United Press International, October 8, 1988

family member.

Bush: Wants to encourage the private sector to be more flexible in meeting workers family requirements but opposes laws making family leave a requirement.

Health Care:

Dukakis: Has called for passage of a universal health care program under which most employers would be required to provide a certain minimum level of health insurance coverage to all their workers.

Bush: Bush says he would allow the 37 million Americans currently without health coverage to "buy into Medicaid," the federal health program for the poor.

Death Penalty:

Dukakis: Opposes the death penalty.

Bush: Supports the death penalty has argued that he would like to see it extended to what he calls "kingpin" drug dealers and drug-related murderers.

Housing and the Homeless:

Dukakis: Said he supports a federal commitment to new construction and rehabilitation of low and moderate income housing but has not spelled out the specific details or cost of a program.

Bush: Said he supports full funding of the McKinney Act, which provides federal money for shelters for the homeless and a voucher program for the poor to pay for housing in the private market.

But two weeks ago, Mr. Bush, as part of a shift in positions that also saw him endorse an increase in the minimum wage, said: "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after a child or caring for a child during a serious illness. . . . We've got to do something about that."

09/21/88 WASHINGTON POST

Bush last week came out in favor of unpaid leave for parents on the job. Parting company with the Reagan Administration and his running mate, Dan Quayle, Bush surprised a gathering of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, saying, "We need to ensure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a seriousness illness."

09/26/88 TIME

It was a different message that Bush brought to Rockford, Ill., for an address Friday before 200 members of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women.

Observing that women earn an average 70 cents for every dollar earned by men, Bush said, "There's only one amount that a woman should earn for every dollar earned by a man — and that is one dollar."

In an apparent departure from the Reagan administration's policy of oppositional parental job leaves, Bush declared, "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness." He did not specify what he had in mind.

09/10/88 ASSOCIATED PRESS

"Look, we also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness," he told the Illinois Federation of Republican Women in Rockford, Ill.

09/13/88 ASSOCIATED PRESS

But two weeks ago, Mr. Bush, as part of a shift in positions that also saw him endorse an increase in the minimum wage, said: "We also need to assure that women don't have to worry about getting their jobs back after having a child or caring for a child during a serious illness. . . . We've got to do something about that."

09/21/88 WASHINGTON POST

Dukakis supports legislation requiring employers to permit workers to take unpaid "family leave" while Bush wants "to encourage private efforts to establish flexible standards . . . to follow through on important family-related work" but does not believe government should impose the requirement on employers.

10/08/88 UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL

Mr. Bush, Keep Your Promise to American Families

By Marge Roukema

WASHINGTON
Congress has passed the Family and Medical Leave Act, confronting President Bush with a decision that goes to the heart of the concerns facing hard working, tax-paying American families. That's why I am so perplexed that White House sources continue to predict that the President will veto this bill despite his frequently stated support for family values and job security.

In a day and age when the majority of families need two paychecks to get by, it is inconceivable that we do not have a minimum guarantee of job security when a medical emergency strikes. The debate over the Family and Medical Leave Act is not about

Marge Roukema, Republican of New Jersey, is a member of the House labor-management subcommittee.

Federal mandates or benefit packages. It is about values and a standard of decency, and protecting the jobs of workers who are trying to hold on to the American dream.

The act simply insures that working Americans who must take short, unpaid leaves — because of the birth of a child, the serious illness of an immediate family member or their own serious illness — will be able to return to their jobs. The act would require larger companies, with 50 employees or more, to allow their permanent workers 12 weeks of unpaid leave per year for a certified reason.

Opponents of the bill have told the President that the act would place untold burdens on American businesses. Not true. Not one state or business that has adopted similar or more far-reaching leave policies has told Congress of disruptions or declines in productivity.

The business community has legitimate concerns about what it perceives as a long list of proposed and

A Republican argues for family leave.

imposing Federal requirements that would interfere with collective bargaining and add strains to our global competitiveness. But the Family and Medical Leave Act is not one of them.

I speak as a Republican with a rock solid record of support for and from the business community. But I also speak as a woman who at one time chose to leave my profession as a teacher to raise my children full-time.

I was fortunate to have the choice. Unfortunately, most women today are not in a position to do the same. Two-thirds of women have jobs out-

side the home because of economic necessity. While job security for both wage earners in a "traditional" family is more crucial than ever, it is absolutely critical for the increasing number of single-parent households.

But this is only part of the new equation. People over the age of 75 are the fastest growing segment of society. Americans are healthier and living longer, but the overwhelming majority of these elderly will need the care of a family member when serious illness strikes. If they cannot be cared for at home, they will require expensive nursing home treatment, which relatively few can afford.

These are not abstract problems. I know. I've been there. When my son was stricken with leukemia and needed home care, I was able to be at home to give him the loving care he needed. But what of the millions of mothers who work for the thousands of companies that do not have family leave policies?

Are we in Washington going to tell a pregnant woman or the mother of a

child dying of cancer to go find another job? Why should we take a productive, tax-paying worker who happens to have a medical crisis and throw them off the payroll? Unfortunately, for many of them it may be just a short drop onto public assistance.

Is the Family and Medical Leave Act a radical departure from the traditions of American labor law? Not at all. It is completely consistent with established labor standards that gave us such protections as child labor laws, anti-sweatshop codes and the 40-hour work week. As society has changed, we have always adjusted our labor protection standards to meet the new circumstances.

Clearly my Republican Party does not want to be perceived as the driving force behind a reduction of the capital gains tax for the rich while it turns its back on America's working families. President Bush should sign the Family Medical Leave Act. It is good policy and good politics. □

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

DATE: June 20, 1990

TO: JOE HAGIN/DAVID CARNEY

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

This is not a bad way to do this.

The President wants to do it.

RE-ELECT Governor McKernan

TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: John Sununu

FROM: John R. McKernan Jr.

DATE: June 18, 1990

RE: Fundraiser/Golf event with the President in August

Re-Elect Governor McKernan
P.O. Box 7828 D.T.S.
Portland, ME 04112-7828
(207) 828-1990
FAX: (207) 772-4156

This is Page ____ of ____ Pages.

PLEASE CONTACT US IF THIS PAGE DOES NOT TRANSMIT CORRECTLY

RE-ELECT Governor McKernan

MEMORANDUM

TO: Joe Hagan, The White House
FROM: Governor John R. McKernan, Jr.
DATE: June 18, 1990
RE: McKernan Fundraiser/Golf Event with the President in August

I wanted to bring you up to date on the fundraising golf event with the President scheduled for August. I have spoken with Jim Vamvakias, owner of The Woodlands country club near Portland, who has told me he is more than willing to help out. He would prefer to hold the event on a Monday, but would be able to accommodate the event on a Tuesday if necessary.

I envision the format of the event basically as follows:

- Guests would make a \$5,000 contribution to play in a foursome. Play would be in a "scramble" format, with a shotgun start at 12:30 p.m.
- The President would play in only one foursome, but have his picture taken with each foursome before play begins.
- Immediately following play, the President would stop by a \$1,000 per person reception at the clubhouse before awards are handed out. He need not stay for presentation of the awards.

This is what we have in mind to start with. Thanks again for your help.

cc: John Sununu, White House Chief of Staff

Pierre
Rinfret
for Governor

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

June 11, 1990

Mr. Ed Rogers
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ed:

Thank you for your call and your most gracious remarks in support of my candidacy.

I wanted to update our conversation by reporting to you that Secretary Kemp's remarks about this race and the "complete disarray" of the Republican Party in New York continue to be a major distraction and thus very damaging to my campaign.

While campaigning in Syracuse on Friday, I did seven media interviews including an editorial board interview at the paper and in every instance the first or second question was "What is your response to Jack Kemp's attacks on you?"

My answer continues to be "no comment."

I continue to be concerned though that my non response will send out the wrong signals, i.e. weakness, to our real opponent and anyone else. I hope that everyone realizes that I will respond to any future attacks.

Beyond this immediate irritation I would like to report to you that I continue to receive strong support, including financial, for this race. With your help and that of Mary Matalin we can get all our troops supporting the Republican Party and not encouraging others whose publicly stated goal is the destruction of the New York Republican Party and Republican control of the Senate and with the support of our great President, I will defeat Mario Cuomo.

As you know there are many reasons for New Yorkers to be upset with him, but as Diane Feinstein demonstrated in California, the death penalty is a very powerful issue this year.

Pierre
Rinfret
for Governor

Page Two
June 11, 1990

Again, thank you for your call and, needless to say, whatever you can do to help get everyone supporting and focused on the task at hand, defeating Mario Cuomo, will be very much appreciated.

Best regards as always.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Pierre".

Pierre A. Rinfret

PAR/dw

cc: Secretary Jack Kemp
Mary Matalin

LEBT

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE-ORIGINAL
GROSS/NET INCOME PROJECTION/ACTUAL
1990

	BUDGET MAY	ACTUAL MAY	VARIANCE MAY	BUDGET Y-T-D	ACTUAL Y-T-D	VARIANCE Y-T-D
GROSS:						
DIRECT MAIL	\$908,500	\$1,051,700 A 0 B 3,800 C	\$147,000	\$10,947,100	\$9,491,800 A 0 B 53,600 C	(\$1,401,700)
PROMOTIONAL-NET	(222,700)	(170,200) A 0 B 8,300 C	60,800	(703,800)	(392,300) A 0 B 26,600 C	338,100
TELECOMMUNICATIONS	225,000	213,300 A 0 B 400 C	(11,300)	805,000	849,500 A 0 B 3,000 C	47,500
EAGLES	500,000	235,000 A 42,500 B 246,000 C	23,500	5,238,200	2,794,500 A 395,100 B 1,775,300 C	(273,300)
MAJOR DONOR CLUBS	157,000	187,200 A 200 B 11,500 C	41,900	1,539,100	1,222,500 A 200 B 45,800 C	(270,600)
TEAM 100	100,000	0 A 0 B 180,000 C	80,000	1,830,000	175,000 A 0 B 2,110,000 C	455,000
TOTALS	\$1,667,800	\$1,517,000 A 42,700 B 450,000 C	\$341,900	\$19,655,600	\$14,141,000 A 395,300 B 4,014,300 C	(\$1,105,000)
NET:	\$615,100	\$906,500	\$291,400	\$14,812,800	\$14,038,800	(\$774,000)

A - RNC
B - BUILDING FUND
C - RNSEC

GNIPA90

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
CASH FLOW-ORIGINAL
1990

	THRU MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	TOTAL
BEGINNING CASH BALANCE	\$1,202,300	\$4,676,700	\$2,184,100	(\$58,500)	(\$1,262,700)	(\$1,313,900)	(\$1,337,600)	(\$2,447,300)	\$1,202,300
CASH RECEIPTS:									
DIRECT MAIL	9,545,400	828,900	809,100	732,000	1,100,700	1,071,500	193,700	2,972,000	17,253,300
PROMOTIONALS	(365,700)	(201,300)	17,100	(78,100)	(189,200)	(132,500)	13,000	(5,100)	(941,800)
TELECOMMUNICATIONS	852,500	260,000	250,000	240,000	225,000	270,000	150,000	100,000	2,347,500
EAGLES	4,964,900	450,000	411,700	400,000	800,000	1,000,000	700,000	2,000,000	10,726,600
MAJOR DONOR CLUBS	1,260,500	225,000	256,800	232,500	650,800	482,500	290,500	350,000	3,756,600
TEAM 100	2,285,000	175,000	125,000	50,000	200,000	375,000	250,000	120,000	3,580,000
LESS: BUILD. FUND RECEIPTS	(395,300)	(20,000)	(20,000)	(20,000)	(20,000)	(20,000)	(20,000)	(112,500)	(627,000)
TOTAL RECEIPTS	18,155,300	1,717,600	1,849,700	1,556,400	2,767,300	3,046,500	1,577,200	5,424,400	36,094,400
TOTAL CASH AVAILABLE	19,357,600	6,394,300	4,033,800	1,497,900	1,504,600	1,732,600	239,600	2,977,100	37,296,700
CASH DISBURSEMENTS	14,680,900	4,210,200	4,092,300	2,760,600	2,818,500	3,070,200	2,686,900	2,721,400	37,041,000
ENDING CASH BALANCE	\$4,676,700	\$2,184,100	(\$58,500)	(\$1,262,700)	(\$1,313,900)	(\$1,337,600)	(\$2,447,300)	\$255,700	\$255,700

*REFLECTS RNC AND RMSEC ACTIVITY

CAPL.NK1