

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
1998-0004-F[2]; 2013-0857-F

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

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

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

OA/ID Number: 29182
Folder ID Number: 29182-004

Folder Title:
Political Affairs (Kaufman) (1991) [1]

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 Ronald Kaufman to John Sununu Re: Recommended California Political Contacts [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (2 pp.)	11/14/91	PRM	
02. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman to POTUS Re: Nebraska Politics [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	11/7/91	PRM	
03. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman to John Sununu Re: Governor Hugh Gregg [2 copies] [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (2 pp.)	8/2/91	PRM	
04. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman to John Sununu Re: Ed Slevin, Executive Director, House Republican Conference (1 pp.)	8/7/91	P 5	
05. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman to POTUS Re: Lloyd Davis, Tony Brown, [FOIA RESTRICTIONS REDACTED] (1 pp.)	8/5/91	P 5, (b)(6)	
06. Memo	From: David Carney to John Sununu Re: Florida Reapportionment Decision Memo [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (2 pp.)	8/2/91	PRM	

Page 1 of 3

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
(Kaufman) (1991) [1]

Pinksheet Number: KO0813
OA/ID Number: 29182-004
Date Closed: 12/28/2004
FOIA/Sys Case #: 1998-0004-F[2]
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
07. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman to John Sununu Re: Senator Seymour Fundraiser [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	5/3/91	PRM	
08a. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman to POTUS Re: Your 5/14 Memo (Attached) [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	5/14/91	PRM	
08b. Memo	From POTUS to Ronald Kaufman Re: Newspaper clipping on NY Fundraising [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	5/14/91	PRM	
09. Memo	From David Demarest to POTUS Re: Western Issues Briefing (4 pp.)	4/11/91	P-5	
10. Memo	From Cathy Hutchinson to John Sununu Re: Information on Congressman Dannemeyer [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	4/30/91	PRM	
11. Memo	From Lynn Lawson to Ronald Kaufman Re: Pennsylvania Caucus Process [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	4/29/91	PRM	
12. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman to POTUS Re: Pennsylvania [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	5/2/91	PRM	

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(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
13a. Memo	From David Carney to POTUS Re: Direct Mail for State Legislative Races [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	4/22/91	PRM	
13b. Note	From POTUS to David Demarest/Ronald Kaufman Re: State Legislative Races [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	4/19/91	PRM	
13c. Memo	From David Carney to POTUS Re: Presidential Letter for Dean Andal [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	4/10/91	PRM	
14. Memo	From David Carney to Andy Card, et al Re: Pennsylvania Special Election Process/Update [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	4/8/91	PRM	
15. Memo	Minutes of meeting on 1992 campaign cycle [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (4 pp.)	3/26/91	PRM	
16a. Memo	From Ronald Kaufman & David Carney to John Sununu Re: Democratic National Committee Spring Meeting [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (3 pp.)	3/26/91	PRM	
16b. Report	Irresolute Resolutions: An Analysis of Resolutions Passed by the Democratic National Committee, March 22-23 [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (6 pp.)	n.d.	PRM	

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: RONALD C. KAUFMAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: RECOMMENDED CALIFORNIA POLITICAL CONTACTS

GOVERNOR WILSON'S ORGANIZATION:

Bob White 916-445-5106
Chief of Staff to Governor Wilson

Marty Wilson 916-447-8764
Political Consultant, Spencer-Roberts
Governor Wilson's political consultant

Jack Flanigan 714-720-2229
Vice President, Government Relations
The Irvine Company

Larry Thomas 714-720-2229
Vice President Corporate Communications
The Irvine Company
Bush Quayle Steering Committee 1988

Stu Spencer 714-660-0220

Ron Cedillos 213-633-1600
President, Cedillos Testing
very well respected in conservative circles

CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL PLAYERS:

Ken Khachigian 714-498-3879
Political Consultant, U.S. Senate Candidate
Bruce Herchensohn's chief strategist

Steve Merksamer 916-446-6752
former Chief of Staff to Governor Deukmejian
Chairman, Bush-Quayle California Steering Committee in 1988

Governor George Deukmejian 213-896-6000
Sidley and Austin

Mike Schroeder 714-432-8700
President, California Republican Assembly

Gus Owen 714-830-4322
Orange County Lincoln Club

Dave Titus 916-373-3541
Republican County Chairman's Association

CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATURE KEY LEADERS:

Senate Leader Ken Maddy	District #	805-772-1287
	Sacramento #	916-445-9600

Assembly Leader Bill Jones	209-224-7833
	916-445-2931

Assemblyman Paul Woodruff	714-798-0337
very helpful with the conservatives at the	916-445-7552
September California Republican Party Convention	

Assemblyman Bill Baker	415-932-2537
	916-445-8528

Assemblyman Pat Nolan	818-240-6330
	916-445-8364

Assemblyman Dick Mountjoy	818-446-3134
	916-445-7234

Assemblyman Ross Johnson	714-738-5853
	916-445-7448

Assemblyman Tom Mays	213-493-5514
	916-445-8492

Assemblywoman Carol Bentley	619-464-7204
	916-445-6161

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PARTY LEADERSHIP:

Jim Dignan	209-578-0686
Chairman, California Republican Party	

Tirso Del Junco	213-666-5757
Vice Chairman, California Republican Party	

Lorilei Kinder	818-841-5210
Executive Director, California Republican Party	

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Ronald C. Kaufman 
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Political Affairs

REGARDING: NEBRASKA POLITICS

Congressman Bereuter and I had a long talk as follow-up to your discussion with him concerning the campaign. The Congressman said he talked with former Governor Thone about "working together" to co-chair the campaign in Nebraska.

I explained to Congressman Bereuter that the timing was a bit premature, and that until there is a campaign I did not have the authority to make commitments.

The Congressman and I are scheduled to meet next week to discuss further.

cc: John Sununu
Andy Card

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
10/1/91

TO: CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 SEP 30 P3:38

September 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

RONALD C. KAUFMAN
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM:

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

SUBJECT:

REACTIONS TO THE PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE ON
NUCLEAR ARMS

Sir, in the past I have provided you with immediate reactions on your speeches from GOP officials and national political community members from across the nation. However, for this address I chose to wait until the speech had filtered through the press and individuals had a chance to reflect on the implications of your announcement. I hope that this reflects a more considered assessment by the participants and provides you with more helpful feedback.

The statements are attached for your review.

Thank you.

NORTHEAST REGION

Dick Taylor
Maryland Republican National Committeeman
1330 Connecticut Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20036

"Dramatic effort from the President ... lots of cuts but on items that we do not need anymore ... dramatic, yet not risky plan ... has created a good atmosphere in the country showing that the President is on top of the world situation ... will have positive impact which will help the domestic situation ... everyone, from hard Right to ultra Liberal, has greeted the plan with support."

Bernard Shanley
New Jersey Republican National Committeeman
131 Madison Ave.
Morristown, NJ 07960

"Great speech ... the people realize that the President has taken us out of the jaws of destruction ... the depth of the positive feeling toward the President from the leadership he has provided has increased greatly from this performance."

Bill Powers
New York Republican State Party Chairman
315 State Street
Albany, NY 12210

"Nuclear arms is a topic that has worried people for 20 years. The President showed that he is not only a leader of this country, but a world leader. This is particularly devastating for the Democrats." Powers attended a county GOP event the evening following the speech at which he said he received a tremendous amount of positive comments from the attendees.

Guy Molinari
New York Bush/Quayle '88 State Chairman
Borough Hall
Staten Island, NY 10301

"One of the greatest moves that a Republican President has ever made - demonstrated that America is a peace-loving country yet has the resolve to stand up and fight when necessary. The fact that an American President took the initiative on this plan, not through negotiations but through a unilateral announcement, sends a wonderful message to the world. This is one of the most dramatic moments in history. I am terribly proud of the President but that is nothing new for me."

Rhona Charbonneau
New Hampshire Republican State Party Chairman
102 Old Derry Road
Hudson, NH 03051

"Very good speech but not what people are concerned with. There is a very deep concern about the President's attention to and action on domestic problems. New Hampshire is facing difficult economic times and the continual focus on foreign affairs is creating a break in support for the President among Republicans. Particular offense was taken at the President's refusal to sign legislation extending unemployment benefits. Many Republicans do not believe that the President is a shoe-in and many have said that they will not write him in. These concerns have been out there and the speech on Friday did not alter them."

SOUTHERN REGION

Haley Barbour
Mississippi National Committeeman
P.O. Box 960
Yazoo City, Ms. 39194

"The speech was great, and I am anxious to see where it leads-- how the Soviets will react. This is exactly the kind of thing the American people have come to expect from George Bush-- they are comfortable with his leadership in foreign affairs, as is the rest of the world. An outstanding initiative."

Van Poole
Florida Republican Party Chairman
P.O. Box 311
Tallahassee, Fl. 32302

"What can you say about a man who has completely redefined the dynamics of the world? The speech itself was excellent, but its ramifications even more so. George Bush is creating history, and he's showing the kind of leadership that the world needs."

Alec Poitevent
Georgia Republican Party Chairman
3091 Maple Dr., NE
Suite 315
Atlanta, Ga. 30305

"It seems like the world has turned upside down this past year, and the only person who has kept ahead is George Bush. This action demonstrates to the world that President Bush is truly committed to peace and stability. A triumph for Republican foreign policy leadership."

Bob Gable
Kentucky Republican Party Chairman
410 West Vine St.
Lexington, Ky. 40507

"This is proof positive that peace through strength worked. George Bush is truly creating a new world order, and the world is better off because of it. I am confident that the American people will not only support President Bush, but applaud his courage and leadership."

MIDWEST REGION

George Wittgraf
Iowa Bush Chairman
223 Pine St.
Cherokee, Ia. 51012

"The President has demonstrated the kind of bold and responsible leadership that people expect from the world's lone superpower. George Bush is leading the world into the next century, he is certainly in a class by himself. The reaction in Iowa has been very positive, this is a tangible accomplishment that will be part of the Bush legacy."

Fred Meyer
Texas Republican Party Chairman
2121 San Jacinto St.
Suite 895-LB-5
Dallas, Tx. 75201

"The Gulf War and the Soviet collapse created a real need for world leadership. The only person that can fill that role is George Bush. The President has demonstrated once again that he is in a class of his own. The Soviets have no choice but to respond positively, and the world will be a safer place because of George Bush's foresight and bold leadership."

Bob Bennett
Ohio Republican Party Chairman
172 East State St.
Fourth Floor
Columbus, Oh. 43215

"From a political perspective, this (arms reduction) is something that culminates a decade of Republican leadership -- President's Reagan and Bush were absolutely correct in their approach with the Soviets. This move puts the President on the side of peace, and the Democrats can do nothing but support the President. The American people can count on the President for this kind of leadership."

NORTHWEST REGION

R. James (Jim) Nicholson
Colorado Republican National Committeeman
19563 E. Main Street, Suite 201B
Parker, CO 80134

"I was thrilled with the President's comments ... I just came back from attending the Bar conference in Colorado Springs and I can tell you that the reaction to his speech is extremely positive. Everyone seems hopeful and excited ... I have yet to detect anything negative ... tremendous compliments have been paid to the President's vision and leadership."

Philip Batt
Idaho Republican State Party Chairman
Post Office Box 428
Wilder, ID 83676

"I haven't heard anything negative ... I feel most all comments regarding the President's speech will be positive. It seems that the main objective is to cut cost and I suppose this is one way of decreasing expenses. I personally hope that what is saved by doing this will not be put back into useless domestic programs."

Bob Weinholzer
Minnesota Independent-Republican State Party Chairman
2422 Schadt
Maplewood, MN 55119

"Most of the GOP missed his speech on Friday because they were attending a reception ... our convention was this past weekend. However, I and Senator Durenberger mentioned it in our speeches ... and what little reaction we received was positive. Most everyone favors the news and praised the President on his leadership. The news coverage was positive, especially on the television."

Marcella S. Smith
Washington Republican National Committeewoman
3121 West Hood Ave., A-5
Kennewick, WA 99336

"I thought it was wonderful ... I have only heard positive comments about the President's speech ... people seem to be in favor of his proposals. The President has strong support in Eastern Washington ... not only on Friday's speech but with the Clarence Thomas nomination."

Lorraine Quarberg
Wyoming State Party Chairman
Post Office Box 423
Thermopolis, WY 82443

"It was wonderful ... really great ... the President came across well, he looks rested ... the vacation did him good and I'm happy about that. It will be interesting to see how the Soviets commit themselves to the President's proposals ... it will probably be sometime before they are in a position to solidly respond to the President. I am very proud of the President."

SOUTHWESTERN REGION

Jim Dignan
California Republican Party State Chairman
1620 North Carpenter Road, Suite C-19
Modesto, CA 95351
209-578-0686

"I have heard mixed reactions to the President's speech. There seems to be some concern that the President is giving more power to the United Nations by this disarmament and that the UN is dictating the agenda. Although everyone trusts the President, people hope that he is not giving into the UN."

Ken Sawyer
Nevada Republican Party State Chairman
2105 Piccolo Way
Las Vegas, NV 89102
702-877-7031

"I've heard very positive comments overall on the speech. There seems to be some confusion regarding any actual savings of funds from the arms reduction. Some of the defense related community are concerned about losing jobs. Many workers at the test sites of the stealth bomber are very apprehensive about the reductions."

Phelps Anderson
New Mexico Republican National Committeeman
P.O. Box 1000
Roswell, MN 88201
505-625-8700

"I thought the speech was a very strong speech -- but a little surprised on the timing of the speech. I felt confident that the President had covered all his bases by talking to leaders of other countries. I thought that the President should have stressed that we still have enough arms to protect ourselves with this disarmament."

Jack London
Arizona Republican National Committeeman
4808 North 22nd Street
Phoenix, AZ 85016
602-957-1650

"I think the President is on the right track and I'm happy with the way he presented the arms reductions. The speech just reaffirmed how strong the President is on foreign affairs. I wish he would transfer some of this leadership into domestic issues. By keeping the military budget down, it will help us on the domestic front in the long run."

Marty Wilson
Governor Wilson's Political Advisor
1121 L Street, Suite 803
Sacramento, CA 95814
916-447-8764

"I am little concerned about giving up our arms too quickly. Also, I think the President may receive some attack from the right of the Republican Party. Overall, I thought the speech was very positive, but thought it may be a little premature with the Middle East war and the situation in the Soviet Union. Also thought that the major donors from the aerospace community are uncertain about what this will do to them economically."

NATIONAL POLITICAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Charlie Black
Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly
211 North Union Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

"It was a grand slam...Home run!! It dominated the news all weekend and continues to do so. The only question was the timing of the speech, but that worked out well. Mitchell's response was pathetic. He should have said "no comment."

Jim Lake
1667 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20006

"This is the kind of speech that at the time, and is now, something generations of Americans for the last 40 odd years or so, were hoping for. It was really visionary and hopefilled."

Eddie Mahe
Eddie Mahe and Associates
900 Second Street, NE
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20002

"The President's speech pre-empted the narrow focus of the Democrats. Their reaction displayed their failure to understand foreign affairs and world peace. The President's speech demonstrated a leadership that is consistent with his record the last three years and shows that he goes right to the heart of a problem."

Bill McInturff
715 West View Terrace
Alexandria, Virginia 22301

"Thought the President was compelling. His use of destiny in his wrap-up was powerful. As a good Republican, concerned with how far the proposal takes the United States. God bless the Democrats - we go so far but we get hit for the B2 & SDI. It played the Presidents strengths. Showed his competence in handling these worldwide issues."

August 2, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR JOHN SUNUNU
CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: RONALD C. KAUFMAN 
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: GOVERNOR HUGH GREGG

Last week Governor Hugh Gregg called a number of individuals in Louisiana in an attempt to locate a phone number for David Duke. Hugh thinks, and is telling folks that it would be a great idea to get Duke on the ballot in New Hampshire for Vice President.

Hugh has said that it is a good thing for the party to have a "little excitement" in 1992. He has been told that Duke is nothing but bad for the party and for the President. He has also been told that his promotion of Duke will hurt him and his family. Most importantly, he has been told that his backing of a neo-nazi fascist will lead to a ton of bad press.

Another wrinkle, I got a call from a Mike Little who is the past President of the Viet Nam Veterans of New Hampshire who called at the suggestion of our favorite former Governor. It seems Mike wants to have someone file to run for V.P. with the sole purpose of saying "a vote for me is really a referendum on the P.O.W./M.I.A. question." The referendum being that we must send a message to Congress and to the nation that it is time to get moving. Mike told me that he is going to talk with Senator Bob Smith this week on the idea and then get back to us.

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By JP (NLGB) on 10/28/05

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an
agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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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

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

August 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR: GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: RONALD C. KAUFMAN, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO
THE PRESIDENT FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS

RE: ED SLEVIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Per your suggestion, I had lunch with Ed Slevin today. It was a good, healthy schmooze. Their main agenda is to find different ways to increase conversation between the White House and the Conference membership. I believe they want to be helpful and with minimal work we can have a good working relationship.

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AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 5, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON KAUFMAN *ROK*
SUBJECT: Lloyd Davis
Tony Brown

In regard to your note of July 22, the inference was that Lloyd Davis is no longer serving as the Executive Director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday Commission. In fact, Lloyd was and still is the ED.

You should also know that Lloyd has been very helpful to us with the Clarence Thomas nomination and is arranging an event in Georgia to include a press conference of bipartisan officials and ministers to support Judge Thomas.

(b)(6)

In regard to Tony Brown (I believe you met with him on August 2), he has been a great help to us on the Thomas nomination. As you can see from the attached he is a vociferous supporter of Judge Thomas.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 2, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

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

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

SUBJECT: FLORIDA REAPPORTIONMENT DECISION MEMO

I. ACTION-FORCING EVENT:

Congressmen **Andy Ireland** and **Tom Lewis**, Republicans of Florida, have requested a letter from and personal visit with the President and twenty prominent Floridians who are responsible for raising funds for the Republican Party of Florida's reapportionment efforts. Ireland has repeatedly called requesting a decision regarding the President's participation in the Florida reapportionment process.

II. BACKGROUND:

Chairman Poole has asked Congressmen Lewis and Ireland to raise \$500,000 to support the Republican Party of Florida's Congressional and legislative reapportionment efforts. The Party has established an organization, Floridians for Fair Representation (FFR), that is able to solicit corporate contributions. Ireland and Lewis have recruited approximately twenty individuals that will be responsible for a portion of the final monetary goal. Because FFR can accept corporate donations, the effort will not interfere with Congressional fundraising. Florida is slated to gain four additional Congressional seats in 1992, but with Democrat control of both legislative chambers (the Governor has no veto power in reapportionment), the Party will be forced to litigate its way through the process.

The requested letter would promise each of the twenty fundraisers a visit with the President when he visits Florida. Obviously, the personal meeting would take place during the President's next visit to the state.

Both Lewis and Ireland indicated that they have had conversations with you regarding this matter, and claim that you have responded positively to their proposal.

FLORIDA DECISION MEMO
PAGE TWO

*make the topic of
the briefing more political
if possible*

III. RECOMMENDATION:

I recommend the Office of Political Affairs host a private briefing in the Roosevelt Room with Congressmen Ireland and Lewis, Chairman Poole, and the twenty donors. We could request a Presidential drop-by and brief remarks by you and other White House officials. This would minimize costs to the FFR and negate press coverage. The President is scheduled to visit Florida on September 30, 1991, but a political meeting would both detract from the official events and risk cost allocation to the Party.

I recommend the President not sign a letter regarding the meeting, it would be perceived as a quid pro quo.

IV. DECISION:

**THE CHIEF OF STAFF
has seen**

☒ Approve ☐ Approve as amended ☐ Reject ☐ Other

for July 4th

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

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

SUBJECT: MARSHFIELD / MISSOURI 7TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
POLITICAL BRIEFING

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Marshfield, located 22 miles northeast of Springfield in southwestern Missouri, is a city of 3,871 people. This rural agriculturally based city is on the fringe of the Ozark Mountain Range. This is a largely Protestant Fundamentalist and Southern Baptist area. Springfield is the home to the Assemblies of God, one of the fastest growing American churches. This is also America's most generous (per capita) Catholic diocese.

This "Welcome Home for Desert Storm Troops" parade on July 4 will be held at 10:00 a.m. in downtown Marshfield. It is said to be the longest running "Fourth of July" parade in Missouri. Expect between 3500 and 5000 people to attend this one-hour parade featuring several high school bands. The parade will be followed by speeches, awards and afternoon entertainment.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMBER

Mel Hancock (R) of Springfield is currently serving his second term. Hancock won election in 1988 with 53% and re-election in 1990 with 52%. He sits on the Public Works and Transportation Committee and the Small Business Committee. Representative Hancock voted in favor of the use of force in the Persian Gulf.

PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION

	Support	Opposition	
1989	78	22	(% of 86 votes)
1990	80	20	(% of 108 votes)

MARSHFIELD / MISSOURI 7TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE 2

GENERAL POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

GOVERNOR: John Ashcroft (R)
Elected 1984
Re-Elected 1988 (64%)
Term Expires 1993

U.S. Senator: John Danforth (R)
Elected 1976
Re-Elected 1988 (68%)
Seat up 1994
1990 Presidential Support/Opposition: 86%/12%

Christopher (Kit) Bond (R)
Elected 1986 (53%)
Seat up 1992
1990 Presidential Support/Opposition: 86%/12%

In Marshfield and the 7th District political attitudes have changed little in the past century. Voting trends have remained Republican since the Civil War. Republican candidates regularly take more than 60 percent of the vote in southwest Missouri. President Bush received 61% of the vote in 1988. The Farm Belt discontent has moved some of the traditional conservatives to become Democrats. Governor Ashcroft is a native of Springfield.

ELECTION RESULTS (7th District)

	Republican	Democrat
1976		
President	52.5%	46.9%
Governor	59.9%	39.9%
Senate	65.5%	33.9%
House	62.0%	38.0%
1978		
House	61.1%	38.9%
1980		
President	60.2%	36.4%
Governor	57.9%	41.9%
Senate	58.8%	40.9%
House	68.0%	32.0%

MARSHFIELD / MISSOURI 7TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE 3

1982

Senate	53.6%	46.4%
House	50.5%	49.5%

1984

President	69.0%	31.0%
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1986

House	67.0%	33.0%
-------	-------	-------

1988

President	61.0%	38.0%
House	53.0%	46.0%

1990

House	52.0%	48.0%
-------	-------	-------

for July 4th

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

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

SUBJECT: GRAND RAPIDS / MICHIGAN 5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
POLITICAL BRIEFING

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Grand Rapids, located on the Grand River in southwestern Michigan, is 25 miles east of Lake Michigan. It is Michigan's second largest city. Grand Rapids and its suburbs represent 60% of the 5th District's total population, estimated in 1986 to be 552,000.

The city is home to an extremely diverse group of industries. Its high-tech and service industries include aircraft instrumentation firms, a Keebler cookie distribution center and the national headquarters of the Amway corporation. Grand Rapids' heavy industry includes several auto parts factories, General Motors plants and commercial furniture production.

The "Fourth of July Freedom Parade" will be held at 3:00 pm in downtown Grand Rapids. Expect at least 200,000 people to watch the parade. The parade co-chairmen are Daniel R. De Hoek (616/774-8221) and David W. Morgenstern (616/454-5965). Governor John Engler and Mayor Gerald Helmholtz are expected to attend.

CONGRESSIONAL MEMBER

Paul Henry (R) of Grand Rapids is currently serving his fourth term. He easily won election in 1984 and was then re-elected with very impressive percentages of 71%, 73% and 74%, respectively.

PRESIDENTIAL SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION

	Support	Opposition	
1989	66%	33%	(86 votes)
1990	58%	40%	(108 votes)

GRAND RAPIDS / MICHIGAN 5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE 2

GENERAL POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

Governor: John Engler (R)
Elected 1990 - defeated incumbent James J. Blanchard: 50% (1,279,744) to 50% (1,260,611)
(1988: Chairman Michigan George Bush for President & Bush-Quayle)

U.S. Senators: Carl Levin (D)
Elected 1978
Re-elected 1990 - defeated Bill Scheutte: 58% to 42%
1990 Presidential Support and Opposition: 33% to 66% (93 votes)

Don Riegle (D)
Elected 1982
Re-elected 1988 - defeated Jim Dunn: 60% to 39%
1990 Presidential Support and Opposition: 30% to 63% (93 votes)

Grand Rapids and the 5th District is the home of former President Gerald Ford. During the Ford presidency the city became known as a "clean-cut, all-American middle-class Republican community." Also home of former Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Grand Rapids has a long Republican tradition. During the '70s the Democrats gained some strength causing hotly contested races. However, Paul Henry's string of overwhelming victories since 1984 seem to indicate that the Republicans are once again firmly in control. Henry voted for the use of force resolution on January 12. Grand Rapids is also the home of Republican National Committeeman Chuck Yob.

ELECTION RESULTS (5th District)

	Republican	Democrat
1976		
President	66.8%	31.7%
Senate	60.6%	38.9%
House	54.2%	45.4%
1978		
Governor	57.2%	42.7%
Senate	55.2%	44.8%
House	49.9%	48.3%

GRAND RAPIDS / MICHIGAN 5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE 3

1980

President	55.4%	34.7%
House	54.2%	44.7%

1982

Governor	55.3%	41.9%
Senate	50.0%	48.8%
House	53.1%	46.9%

1984

President	68%	31%
House	62%	38%

1986

House	71%	29%
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1988

President	64%	35%
House	73%	27%

1990

House	74%	26%
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

AC/ER

May 3, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: RON KAUFMAN (RCK)
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: SENATOR SEYMOUR FUNDRAISER

In the last four days, I have spoken with Ken Khachigan, Bob White, Jack Flanigan, Charlie Black, Stu Spencer, and Craig Fuller regarding the President's participation in a pre-primary fundraiser for Senator Seymour. All unanimously agree that we should definitely participate in a fundraiser pre-primary. Charlie suggests that we should adhere to the same strategy of endorsing all incumbent Republican Senators in 1992 as we did in 1990. Senator Gramm strongly agrees with this strategy. This strategy would legitimize the President participating in a pre-primary fundraiser for Seymour.

All of the previously mentioned individuals also unanimously agreed that it is in our best interest to do a fundraiser earlier than later. It is the consensus that the right will be more organized by September and by doing a fundraiser now would only minimize the impact of doing a fundraiser later. Ken Khachigan said he will help keep the conservatives in line. Also, I have spoken with Dornan strategists who understand the importance of having a balance between the two Senate seats and realizing the importance of their own interests concur that it would be better to do a fundraiser earlier than later for Seymour.

In addition, the President is addressing Cal Tech University in Pasadena on June 14, 1991 and speaking at the Simon Weisenthal Dinner in Los Angeles on June 17, 1991. The Wilson, Seymour, and Bush-Quayle loyalists strongly believe it would not look good for the President to spend three days in California and not do a Seymour fundraiser.

Also, keep in mind that the President will want to do other political events in California in the next 12 months to assist the State Party for Congressional races, the RNC, the other Senate race, and Bush-Quayle in order to build the federal account and meet the \$10 million monthly estimate in California for a successful 1992 election cycle.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON KAUFMAN 

SUBJECT: Your 5/14 Memo (Attached)

- - - - -

Spoke with Bill Powers and confirmed dinner for four in the residence with date to be determined by the winner -- **JUST KIDDING!!**

Seriously, what they've said is that they have extended an invitation to you to be their headline speaker at their annual \$1,000-a-plate dinner in New York City in October, and if the invitation is accepted, then second prize is free tickets to attend their dinner.

Apparently, Bill's statement was taken completely out of context.

cc: Governor Sununu



To: Ron Kaufman

May 14, 1991

Please advise me on the attached play by the G.O.P. Chairman in N.Y. saying that second prize will be a dinner with me. I've got to be careful with permitting these party folks to promise such a thing.

Maybe he just got enthusiastic.

GB

Chief of G.O.P. Sees Big Gains

What can you say about a major political party whose candidate for Governor of New York nearly ran third last year and whose headquarters' telephones were nearly disconnected four months ago for nonpayment?

"A situation that clearly needs some work," Clayton K. Yeutter, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said yesterday at a fund-raising luncheon in Manhattan held by the State Republican Committee's Empire Club.

In his first foray into New York, Mr. Yeutter forecast Republican gains from redistricting in the House of Representatives next year and assailed Democrats who dissented from the Bush Administration's policy in the Persian Gulf war.

"All they can do now is try to change the subject," he said. He also suggested that Republican policies offer more hope of jobs for blacks and other minorities, whom, he said, the party should aggressively recruit.

"I measure Jack Kemp pointed that

out in spades when he was here," Mr. Yeutter said, referring to an appearance by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development before the Empire Club earlier this spring.

William D. Powers, chairman of the New York State Republican Party, reported that he had already whittled away \$300,000 from the \$1.4 million deficit he inherited in January. He said he had lowered dues for the Empire Club to include \$500 and \$1,000 donors as well as \$2,000 contributors, and had started a contest to encourage party committee members to enroll Republican voters; first prize is a week in the Caribbean and second prize is an invitation to dinner with President Bush.

George Nemeth, the party's finance chairman, echoed assessments of the potential to win converts in part, he said, because New Yorkers are frustrated with "stepping over homeless people" and with "people who demand more than they're prepared to give."

cc: JOHN SUNUNU

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 5/14/91

NOTE FOR: RON KAUFMAN

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is
forwarded to you for your:

Information ☐

Action ☒

Thank you.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
(x2702)

cc: Chief of Staff

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. Memo	From David Demarest to POTUS Re: Western Issues Briefing (4 pp.)	4/11/91	P5	

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
 (Kaufman) (1991) [1]

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

Date Closed:	12/28/2004	OA/ID Number:	29182-004
FOIA/SYS Case #:	1998-0004-F[2]	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:	2005-0426-S	Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 APR 11 PM 6:39

April 11, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM DAVID F. DEMAREST, JR. 
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR COMMUNICATIONS

DEBRA RAE ANDERSON 
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF
THE OFFICE OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

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

SUBJECT WESTERN ISSUES BRIEFING

THE DROUGHT
(California, Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico)

The western region has been experiencing drought conditions for the last five years, and California has suffered the most. Although California has had significant amounts of rain and snow recently, this doesn't mean the drought has disappeared. Instead of cutbacks in water of between 50-60%, this may mean cutbacks of only 30-40%.

The Colorado River has been the focus of historic fights between the Western states over water. The Western Governors have said they will help California, that they want to help California, but that California needs to at least be grateful. Their main message is that the Federal government should stay out of it and let the states settle this. Governors Miller and Romer have been the most vocal--they are not in compliance with the order to provide California with an extra 400,000 acre feet of water from the Colorado River.

The Department of the Interior has an interagency drought relief task force meeting regularly. DOI is also helping the California delegation with a reclamation relief bill to expand DOI's response capabilities in drought situations. Governor Wilson introduced a package in the California legislature emphasizing conservation. The U.S. House of Representatives passed emergency legislation authorizing expenditures of \$30 million in drought-relief assistance.

This drought also has the potential of developing into a very real urban/rural split crossing over party lines. California citizens are beginning to ask themselves: "Why is agriculture being allowed to use 75-80% of the water when they make up 11-12% of the economic output and only 2-3% of the population?" The other affected states, however, still have a very strong tilt toward the rural interests--a dilemma for national consensus.

ENDANGERED SPECIES

(Oregon, Washington, California, Idaho, Colorado)

You are familiar with the controversy over the northern spotted owl. As ugly and contentious as this issue became, and continues to be, there is a potentially bigger one just over the horizon.

Five petitions have been submitted to NOAA to list certain stocks of salmon in the Columbia River Basin under the endangered species act. The winter run salmon which spawn in California's Shasta Dam are already listed as threatened. The drought has had some impact on this situation because of low water levels. But the controversy in Idaho, Washington, and Oregon is not due to the drought. Gov. Gardner has stated privately that the clear intent of the petitioners is to shut down the dams in the Northwestern United States.

The results of listing the salmon, besides the obvious--hydropower--would include severe restrictions on fishing, irrigation, and agricultural/industrial runoff with potentially devastating economic consequences for that part of the country.

NOAA has established a working group to assess the status of the salmon.

This issue, coming on top of the spotted owl, has the potential to be VERY divisive.

TWO FORKS DAM

(Colorado, Nebraska)

Although EPA has vetoed this water project, the issue will not go away. This is because vetoing the project didn't solve the problem, i.e. Denver's lack of water. We predict a lawsuit.

ANWR

(Alaska)

The Administration has an environmentally responsible proposal to open various areas of ANWR for oil development. Only Congress can open or close ANWR. Expect great controversy with environmentalists, although Alaskan citizens are in favor of drilling.

ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS

(Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri)

The upstream states (MT, WY, ND, SD) fight with the downstream states (IA, NE, KS, MO) over Missouri River water. The Corps is widely viewed as favoring the downstream states. The controversy is fishing and tourism in the upstream states vs. barge traffic in the downstream states. Much litigation has occurred.

The Corps is working on a new manual of operations which will hopefully resolve this, but progress has been slow.

WETLANDS

(All States)

Although wetlands is a national issue, it has different ramifications in different parts of the country. Wetlands mitigation in the agricultural states of the West engenders the fierce dislike of any government bureaucrat trying to tell these independent-minded people what to do with their own land. Many farmers feel they are giving up productive lands without restitution. Many farmers argue that a prairie pothole is not a wetland, whereas they will agree that a slough is important habitat for waterfowl.

Alaskans have a very different problem in that the entire state is either mountains or wetlands. They face severe development problems if wetland mitigation tradeoffs are not allowed, under the no-net loss program.

Although the wetlands task force has not reported yet, this issue continues to generate much correspondence for the Administration from all over the country. Many of the questions directed to our offices have to do with a lack of coordinated responses from EPA, Fish and Wildlife, the Army Corps and the Ag Dept. The task force report will hopefully put some of the confusion to rest, but it has the potential to remain a controversial program.

WASTE MANAGEMENT

(All States)

In the West, waste management issues are: federal clean-up at Rocky Flats in Colorado and Hanford in Washington; importation of Eastern garbage; siting of waste disposal facilities on Indian Reservations; the WIPP project in New Mexico; and difficulty in siting landfills and incinerators under EPA regulations.

The Western Governors Association has selected waste management as its prime topic of discussion this year.

INDIAN GAMING
(All States)

As more states add lotteries and legalized gambling, Indian Gaming will become more controversial. Tribes must negotiate gaming compacts with the states; if they fail to agree, the National Indian Gaming Commission must arbitrate. Congress has given the tribes the legal ability to conduct any games that the states conduct; this has caused the states loss of control at casinos on reservations. Some tribes are petitioning to add trust lands in order to expand their gambling facilities.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 30, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

THROUGH:

RON KAUFMAN *RK*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

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

FROM:

CATHY HUTCHINSON *CH*
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT:

INFORMATION ON CONGRESSMAN DANNEMEYER

Congressman Bill Dannemeyer of Fullerton will face Senator Seymour in a primary election to be held in June of 1992. Most political operatives believe Dannemeyer is in the race for the duration and is very serious about this race because he feels it is his "moral obligation" to represent the pro-life faction of the party. Dannemeyer has very low name ID statewide and is not well liked among the gay community in California.

At this time Dannemeyer has begun to set up a grassroots organization and he is also putting together a fundraising apparatus. Congressmen Bob Dornan, Duncan Hunter, and John Doolittle, as well as the NRA and National Right to Life organizations have endorsed Dannemeyer.

Also, Dannemeyer has the support of H.L "Bill" Richardson, a former State Senator and founder of Gun Owners of America. Richardson has the ability to raise a fair amount of money for Dannemeyer.

Recently, Dannemeyer was fined \$10,000 for violating state campaign finance reporting laws. Dannemeyer headed a group called California Physicians for a Logistical AIDS Response which promoted a Dannemeyer-written 1988 ballot measure, Proposition 102. The committee was located in Dannemeyer's Orange County district office and committed seven separate instances of "gross negligence" by filing reports as long as 21 months after required deadlines. Dannemeyer will probably not appeal this fine.

Polling data shows Dannemeyer trailing Seymour by approximately 30%. Seymour is predicted to win the primary, and has the backing of Governor Wilson, the NRSC, and a number of the President and Governor Wilson's financial supporters.

91

The Feminization of the Democratic Party
Alex Castellanos

March 22, 1991

There is little to brighten Democrat hopes of regaining the White House these days. One point of light is the gender gap, the built-in edge with female voters Democrats seem to enjoy at the polling place. Another gender gap, however, is not measured at the ballot box. And far from a plus, it is keeping Democrats out of the White House. It is the difference in roles the two parties are playing in our political process. The Democratic Party has become feminized. Democrats are wearing skirts.

Tune your television to 30 years ago and you can see American politics today. There, reflecting the ideal American household, is "Father Knows Best". Mom cooked the bacon that Robert Young, the father, brought home. She got the kids ready for school. He put a roof over their heads. Neither role was less important than the other, but the roles were distinct. Mom was the caregiver and nourisher. Father, the protector and provider. Today, the actors are political parties but the roles are the same.

Republicans have assumed the 1960's male role in the political household. They provide and protect. They talk to voters about bringing in money, creating jobs, and holding down taxes. It is necessary to bring in money

before you can feed, clothe, shelter, and educate the children. Earn money before you share it. Providing is job one and Father Knows Best about these matters.

The Democrats have chosen another role. They have become the caregivers, nourishers, and interior-decorators of American politics. Check any political poll and you will see where Mother Knows Best -- America gives Democrats the edge on education issues, Social Security, and caring for the disadvantaged and dispossessed. They get better marks for taking direct care of the poor, infirm, elderly, and the homeless members of our political household. But we all know how they pay for it: With Republican money.

Say "profit" at the Democratic convention and the word "obscene" is automatically associated. Cut taxes on business? You get laughed out of the room. Bringing in money? That's someone else's job. In this household, Democrats spend, not earn. They share money before they get it. The mythical housewife of the old joke, "I can't be overdrawn, I still have plenty of checks" is real. She is today's Democratic officeholder. But the danger of assuming such a simple role is not the Democrats' alone. Today father doesn't automatically know best.

The duties of modern parenthood are increasingly shared responsibilities. Today's parent, like Bo Jackson, has to be

a multi-sport athlete -- Bo has to know caregiving, providing, nourishing, and protecting. Leadership offering less than that is incomplete. But in our political household, it is still 1960. Republicans produce but don't care and Democrats care but don't produce. Each side suffers a void. Only together, voters ~~must~~ see, can they govern.

Recently, a few Democrats have stared coldly in the mirror and not liked what they have seen: A party that enjoys the comforts of the hearth without putting food on the table. Former Senator Paul Tsongas, in announcing his candidacy for President, laid his party's weakness bare. "On the domestic side," he said, "most people would not trust the Democrats in the White House because they don't think we care about economics, we don't care about business, we don't care about creating national wealth... This country will not turn to the Democrats unless we prove to them we care about business, we care about economic development." But Tsongas sees only half the problem.

Republicans have also become, by default, the only party that understands some things worth having must, on occasion, be fought for. They are the protectors of America's national interests and its values. Democrats, with lemming-like consistency, have rejected that role. You could see the distinction again in the recent party-line

vote authorizing the President to use force in the Persian Gulf. When George Bush went to war, the Democrats said, "Dress warmly." It is not that they love their country less. Their patriotism should remain unchallenged, but not their choice of political roles.

If the Iraq war had been a western movie, Republicans cast themselves as Randolph Scott, the Sheriff who steps out into the street to stop the bank robbers and protect the townspeople. The Democrats chose to play the Sheriff's girlfriend. Remember her? She's the one who always pleads, "Don't go out there! You might get hurt." Democrats rejected the role of hero. Now, there is the hilarious sight of the Democratic leadership in petticoats, reluctantly rallying around the triumphant Sheriff.

The feminization of their party is not all bad news for the Democrats. They may continue to dominate the House of Representatives. Individual Congressmen are not held responsible for the entire nation's economic failure or success. Congressmen are judged closer to home, on how well they take care of their districts. In that sense, Congress is what used to be known as woman's work, before we became too enlightened to say such a thing. That explains why Republicans are outnumbered in the House, though not outmanned.

The bad news for Democrats? As long as Republicans contest elections as protectors and providers, they will be elected head of the political household: They will inhabit the White House. However, if Republicans contest those elections on care-giving issues, e.g., "Who will take better direct care of the poor?", they can lose. Voters will pick the Democrat for the feminine role. They are the caregivers.

Perhaps the Democrat's failure as protectors and providers is an unintended abdication of leadership, forced upon them by the disparate interests that pick the winners of their primaries. Whatever the reason, it has feminized the Democrats -- and a produced a gender gap between the two parties. That should concern Democrats. It may even make them mad.

But, aren't they beautiful when they are angry?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 29, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR RON KAUFMAN
DAVE CARNEY

FROM: LYNN LAWSON 
SUBJECT: PENNSYLVANIA CAUCUS PROCESS

Six regional caucuses will convene prior to the May 11th meeting of the Pennsylvania Republican State Committee. The call for the caucuses to meet was made by GOP State Chair, Ann Anstine. The purpose of the meetings will be to review and endorse candidates seeking consideration for nomination for the U.S. Senate special election. The schedule of caucuses is as follows:

- Southwest - May 3
- Central - May 4
- Northwest - May 4
- Northeast - May 5
- Northeast - Was scheduled for April 30, has been cancelled with a re-scheduled date uncertain.

The Democrats have scheduled their state committee meeting for May 11.

While most caucuses are expected to endorse a candidate, they are not bound by any official or formal structure to do such. There is no official or formal agenda dictated by the state committee for the meetings other than the business of endorsing a candidate for the special election. The Republican caucus chairmen notify Republican county chairs who then notify the town chairs, yielding an attendance of state committee membership.

Word is out that PA Attorney General Preate is currently working the attendees for support at the caucuses.

Interested candidates are expected to attend the caucuses to garner support.

This caucus meeting process grew out of displeasure raised at the county and town level that those Republican chairs were not included in any of the decision-making that was going on at the state committee. They grew to believe that they merely "rubber-stamped" the wishes of the state committee, without an opportunity for input.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

May 2, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: RON KAUFMAN 

SUBJECT: Pennsylvania

- - - - -
Here's the latest developments in the never-ending saga of the Pennsylvania race.

Elsie Hillman, as I'm sure you know, pushed the President to push the Attorney General to make up his mind. After talking with her late yesterday, I spoke to Murray Dickman who told me that the AG had no intention of making up his mind publicly before Memorial Day. It came out in the conversation that the reasons for this is one, that the AG didn't want to be out of a job any longer than he had to and two, he honestly doesn't know if he wants to end his career in the Senate and wanted to talk to folks on the Hill re Committee assignments, etc.

Murray then promised that he would talk to Elsie Hillman and Anne Anstine which, in fact, he did, and also promised that Dick will call Anne, which should happen this morning.

The bottomline: the AG is not planning to make a decision until after the local primaries which occur on May 24; Elsie currently is agreeing with Murray that they should move the May 11 caucus; and both the AG and Murray are going to talk to Anne about moving the caucus.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

04/22/91

Date: _____

Governor Sununu

TO:

FROM: DAVID M. CARNEY
Special Assistant to the President and
Director, Office of Political Affairs

This is for your information.

Thanks!

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

ROBERT A. JORDAN

Why Bush is gaining favor with blacks

Despite President Bush's economic problems at home, Democrats apparently are going to find it increasingly difficult to dampen the euphoria the American voter is still feeling over the victory by the US-led coalition in the Persian Gulf.

Even the recession and other domestic issues have given way to the rekindling of patriotism and the regained image of being the world's top "superpower" - one no longer threatened by the Soviet Union or any other nation. More Americans are now feeling "safe" at home, without the fear of nuclear war that hung over the nation during the Reagan era.

This warm feeling voters have toward Bush is having a chilling effect on potential Democratic presidential hopefuls, which helps explain why former US senators Paul Tsongas and George McGovern are thus far the only Democrats to announce publicly that they are considering a run for the White House.

More prominent Democrats such as US Sen. Sam Nunn and Rep. Richard Gephardt probably realize they may have a political obstacle to overcome - their vote against Bush going to war with Saddam Hussein. That vote is likely to be an albatross around the necks of Democratic hopefuls as the 1992 primaries get closer.

Whether they can remove that

albatross in 1992 may depend on how the Bush administration is handling the nation's economic problems, including the recession, the S & L scandal and the still-huge deficit. However, Bush may be making gains on the domestic front by delving into a noneconomic area - police brutality, which has become a national issue with the highly-publicized video tape of the brutal beating of a man by Los Angeles policemen.

Bush's public condemnation of the action and his decision to launch a federal investigation into the beating sends a strong message across the nation that such action will not be tolerated during his tenure in office. It also sends another message to African-Americans, Hispanics and other minorities. Bush is attacking a problem that has long been a sore spot among the nation's minorities, who believe they have been the most prevalent target of these police assaults.

By speaking out against this action and calling for a federal investigation, Bush is continuing to mute strong criticism of his administration by black political and civic leaders, as well as slowly gain the respect of the black electorate. Such presidential action did not occur, nor was it expected, under the Reagan administration. As a result, the complete turnoff that blacks had toward Reagan has been converted to an open-mindedness among blacks toward Bush.

Bush's choice of Colin Powell as head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff - a choice that looks even better after the Gulf War - and Dr. Louis Sullivan as a top Cabinet member, has definitely helped his effort to reduce the 92 percent black support that Democrats got in the last presidential election.

Such moves on the domestic front are helping Bush despite his veto of the civil rights bill. Many critics thought the veto move would be a major setback in his quest for more black support. But apparently, that has not happened. In hindsight, some political analysts suggest that what blacks remember about this issue was the president's honesty. He gave advance notice of the veto, saying the bill contained "quotas." Even though Democrats deny that, Bush's honesty helped him when he finally vetoed the bill.

Bush also helped to neutralize the veto issue when he publicly expressed outrage over a decision by one of his administration officials to stop giving out minority scholarships because they were "discriminatory." Bush moved quickly to reverse the new policy and resumed the granting of such scholarships.

These domestic moves, particularly as they relate to minority issues, appear to be accomplishing for Bush among the black electorate what the Gulf War has accomplished for him among others in his upcoming

election battle.

Not only is Bush making it exceedingly difficult for Democrats to successfully challenge him in 1992, he is also making it exceedingly difficult for a viable black candidate to run for the Democratic nomination.

As primary season gets closer, a third presidential bid by Rev. Jesse L. Jackson apparently is becoming less attractive to a black electorate that doesn't want to see its political champion go down for a third time. Blacks may send signals to Jackson that the torch must be passed to another black candidate. Right now, the most viable black Democratic hopeful appears to be Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, who was returned to the city's mayoralty by virtual acclamation in the last election.

Mayor Jackson did not muster much political strength in his bid for a US Senate seat in Georgia a decade ago, but times have changed. He now may be able to expand to the national level his ability to attract both white and black votes. All he may have to do now is to consider what a few other potential Democratic hopefuls are considering - whether his candidacy would truly be an effective challenge to a Republican president who currently reigns as an unconquerable hero.

Robert A. Jordan is a Globe columnist.

The Boston Globe
03/24/91

The Boston Globe 3-24-91

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
4/23/91

TO: CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

The attached has been forwarded
to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1991

91 APR 23 AM 9:46

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

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

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

SUBJECT: DIRECT MAIL FOR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES

Sir, we share your concern about the insatiable appetite for your involvement with State Legislative races. To date, the following letters have gone through the White House staffing process for State Legislative special elections.

February 15 - Endorsement letter for Buddy Johnson, candidate for the 61st District of the Florida State Legislature. We won this previously held Democrat seat with 58% of the votes in a 58% Democratic district. (GOP pick-up)

February 15 - Get-Out-the-Vote letter for David Sibley, candidate for the 9th District of the Texas State Senate. We picked up this traditional Democrat seat by winning by a margin of 53.2% to Betty Denton's 46.8%. (GOP pick-up)

April 19 - Endorsement letter for Tim Leslie, candidate for the 1st District of the California State Senate. This race is crucial to Governor Wilson as it allows him to maintain his guaranteed veto status. If the GOP loses this seat the Governor will not have the necessary one-third votes to guarantee that his vetoes will not be over-ridden. The election will be held May 14.

April 19 - Endorsement letter for Dean Andal, candidate for the 26th District of the Californian State Legislature. Winning this seat is significant to the GOP as it affects the reapportionment process. The election will be held May 14.

We will continue to limit the number of letters for State Legislative candidates to those which have significant impact on the politics of the entire state (i.e. control of a Legislative Chamber or veto strength in the Chamber).

Thank you.

GEORGE BUSH

4-19

Dave / Ron

Careful about
how many
state Leg. rules
I endorse it.

Insatiable
appetite out there

eg

Summer
Schedule

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4/19/91

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 APR 10 PM 1:26

April 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND STAFF SECRETARY

THROUGH:

RON KAUFMAN *RCK*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM:

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

SUBJECT:

Presidential letter for Dean Andal

Dean Andal has submitted for White House approval, an endorsement letter for his special election on May 14 for the California State Assembly.

Dean Andal is a local businessman and former Chief of Staff to California Congressman Norm Shumway. He is running in the 26th Assembly district against Democrat Patty Garamendi, wife of John Garamendi. A special election is needed to fill the seat vacated when Assemblyman Pat Johnston was elected to John Garamendi's State Senate seat, who was elected State Insurance Commissioner.

This is a difficult seat for Republicans to win due to the demographics of the Stockton area and because the majority of registered voters are Democrats (56%). Therefore, an endorsement letter from the President could really make a difference to voters.

The letter will be sent to 25,000 Republican households at the end of the month.

Attached for staffing, and hopefully, prompt approval, is the proposed text. Please let us know if we can supply further information.

Thank you for your assistance with this matter.

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

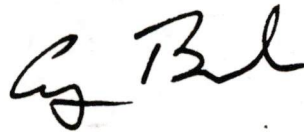
Dear :

Soon you will have the opportunity to choose a new representative to the 26th District of the California State Assembly. You are fortunate to have a Republican candidate as qualified as Dean Andal.

Our country's strong democracy begins at the grassroots level with people like Dean Andal. We need legislators like Dean to move California forward. Dean shares with me a deep compassion for others and faith and optimism in California's future. Dean Andal is the type of person you can count on to do what is right for your community and its people. He is independent and tough and will fight for your local interests. He represents the best of San Joaquin County.

Dean Andal will be an excellent addition to the California State Assembly. I hope you will join with me in supporting Dean by casting your vote for him on May 14.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/22/91

TO: **governor Sununu**

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

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

THE TSONGAS COMMITTEE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
APRIL 11, 1991

CONTACT: PEGGY CONNOLLY
617/482-1390

PAUL E. TSONGAS SPEAKS AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB LUNCHEON

WASHINGTON -- Former Senator Paul E. Tsongas (D-MA) today spoke at the National Press Club and discussed his intention to launch a 1992 presidential bid by stimulating a national debate on restoring economic vitality to the nation.

The formal announcement of candidacy will be made on April 30 in Tsongas' hometown of Lowell, MA followed later that day by rallies in Manchester, N.H. and Des Moines, IA.

In his Press Club speech Tsongas outlined the themes of the campaign that will emphasize the need to adopt new, more aggressive national economic policies designed to create new sources of national wealth by expanding our manufacturing base.

"I want America to regain its economic destiny," Tsongas said. Yet all I hear in Washington is avoidance as we slide blightly into a new status as an economic colony of foreign interests."

Tsongas criticized the economic policies of the Reagan and Bush Administrations and challenged the Democratic Party to redefine its agenda by forming partnerships with the business community.

"Unless Democrats convince the American people that we care about economics --indeed care passionately -- we will never be entrusted with the White House," said Tsongas. "Nor should we be."

The Reagan/Bush policies that added \$3 trillion to the national debt and \$1 trillion in trade deficits is "generationally immoral," said Tsongas.

"Read my lips, no new taxes," he said. "It was great theatre. "It was great politics. It was admired and cheered. But what he really meant was 'Read my lips, add more debt.' Again great politics. Very successful politics. But generationally immoral."

Tsongas, 50, served in the U.S. Senate from 1979-1985 and in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1975-1978. He is currently an attorney with the Boston firm of Foley, Hoag & Eliot and serves as the Chairman of the Massachusetts Board of Regents of Higher Education.

Tsongas also serves on eight corporate boards and several not-for-profit boards. He is married to Nicola Sauvage Tsongas and has three daughters, Ashley, Katina and Molly.

#

PAUL E. TSONGAS SPEECH EXCERPTS
National Press Club
April 11, 1991

"I am here because I fear for our country.
I am here because our country needs to
be rallied.... We are a great nation.
We are a great people. We were not
meant to be less than that."

ON HIS THREE-PART MISSION OF CANDIDACY:

I. "This country needs an economic Paul Revere. I intend to play that role. There is an economic peril and avoiding it will only prevent us from overcoming it."

II. "The Democratic Party needs to redefine its agenda... We must become the Party of economic rebirth, of economic nationalism, of economic patriotism, of economic preeminence... American business is not our enemy. The old Democratic mindset must give way to new realities."

III. "... to hold Reagan/Bush accountable for their avoidance politics. Not only relative to our economy but to the condition of our cities, our environment, our disadvantaged, our educational system. Devil take the hindmost is neither kinder nor gentler."

ON ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS:

"I want America to regain its economic pre-eminence. I want America to regain control of its economic destiny. Yet all I hear in Washington is avoidance as we slide blightly into a new status as an economic colony of foreign interests."

"... Imagine if the Democrats had been in power since 1980. Imagine them running up \$1 trillion in trade deficit. Imagine them quadrupling the national debt. Imagine them sitting idly by while the country was sold off. "No one would be calling for a coronation. They would be shouting 'Throw the bums out!'"

ON GENERATIONAL MORALITY:

"We are a continuum. We are responsible to more than ourselves. We are responsible to the generations who gave us this America. And we are responsible to the generations who will inherit what we leave behind."

ON A RETURN TO PURPOSE:

"I believe deeply that we are a great people -- we are the world's best hope. We can be the world's pre-eminent economic nation once again. It only takes leadership."

CURRICULUM VITAE

PAUL E. TSONGAS

POSITIONS

Of Counsel; Foley, Hoag & Eliot
Chairman; Commonwealth of Massachusetts Board of Regents of Higher Education

ELECTIVE OFFICES

1979-1985	U.S. Senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts
1975-1978	U.S. Representative, Fifth District of Massachusetts
1973-1974	Middlesex County Commissioner
1969-1972	Lowell City Councillor

PRIOR PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1985-1989	Partner, Foley, Hoag & Eliot
1971-1974	Private law practice
1969-1971	Deputy Assistant Attorney General, Commonwealth of Massachusetts
1968-1969	Governor's Committee on Law Enforcement, Commonwealth of Massachusetts
1966-1967	Congressional intern with former Congressman F. Bradford Morse (summers)

VOLUNTEER SERVICE

1967-1968	Peace Corps Training Coordinator, West Indies
1962-1964	Peace Corps Volunteer, Ethiopia

EDUCATION

1973	John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (one semester)
1964-1967	Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, LL.B.
1958-1962	Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, B.A., Government
1954-1958	Lowell High School, Lowell, Massachusetts

SENATE COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIPS

Foreign Relations Committee
Energy and Natural Resources Committee
Small Business Committee

PUBLICATIONS

The Road from Here: Liberalism and Realities in the 1980s (1981)
Heading Home (1984)

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH

February 14, 1941 - Lowell, Massachusetts

FAMILY

Nicola Sauvage Tsongas, wife
Ashley, Katina, and Molly, daughters

CORPORATE BOARDS

Boston Edison Company
Flexible Environmental Systems, Inc.
Lowell Development Associates (Partner)
M/A-COM, Inc.
Shawmut Bank, N.A.
Tecogen, Inc.
Thermo Instrument Systems, Inc.
Wang Laboratories

NOT FOR PROFIT BOARDS

Yale University
Whitehead Institute (MIT)
Dana Farber Cancer Institute
Recycling Advisory Council
1,000 Friends of Massachusetts
International Institute for Energy Conservation
Others

Paul E. Tsongas
National Press Club
April 11, 1991

EMBARGOED UNTIL 1:00 P.M. - APRIL 11, 1991

Paul E. Tsongas
National Press Club

April 11, 1991

Seven years ago I turned my rented truck up Connecticut Avenue and headed towards home. Washington was no longer in my future. It grew smaller in my rear view mirror and soon it was simply not there.

I have in these years lived a different life. Less glamorous, more real. Less hectic, more rooted. Less noticed, more reflective. It has been a time of looking for the larger truths in a smaller world. It has been a time of simply being a citizen of my country.

To be here this afternoon as an about-to-be Presidential candidate is so improbable. If it seems so to you, you are not alone.

ALEX

So why am I here?

To Washington insiders, presidential races are about ambition and probabilities. Campaigns are decisions about "can I win" followed by endless discussions about what to say and what not to say. I don't mean this to sound unduly disparaging, because I am a political animal and I recognize the weapons and realities of my profession.

But that is not what brings me here today. I am here because I see our country on a path that need not be. I am here because I fear for our country. I am here because our country needs to be rallied. I am here because I believe I know what we must do.

We are a great nation.

We are a great people.

We were not meant to be less than that.

There is a lot of happy talk in Washington. There is even talk about why we need to have a national debate in 1992 anyway.

Well, we need a debate because we have problems that will not be cured with sound bites or snappy slogans.

These problems consist of several unattended matters - the environment, our social fabric, energy policy, urban violence, education, health care, on and on.

But those are matters whose resolution depends entirely upon a viable, functional, thriving economic engine. And it is concern about that engine which has brought me here.

Let me deal with cold hard realities.

First, our national debt. When Reagan/Bush came to power the national debt was less than one trillion dollars. At the end of the current presidential term, Reagan/Bush alone will have

added another three trillion dollars. Four trillion dollars in debt. A crushing, staggering burden for our children and our grandchildren.

"Read my lips, no new taxes." It was great theatre. It was great politics. It was admired and cheered. But what he really meant was "Read my lips, add more debt." Again great politics. Very successful politics. But generationally immoral.

We are the first generation of Americans to do this to our young. It should not rest easy on our hearts. It does not rest easy on mine. It makes me angry and the President's 91% favorability does not lessen that anger.

Cold hard reality #2. Japan and Germany have far surpassed us in world trade. Again, raw data. In 1980, we had a trade surplus. The record of the Reagan-Bush years will exceed one trillion dollars of trade deficit by next year. One trillion dollars of deficit while Japan and Germany are enjoying yearly surpluses of over \$50 billion.

What does this mean? What it means, my friends, is that America is up for sale. We are the world's greatest debtor nation importing far more than we export, and that fundamentally is sustainable only by selling off our country.

Again, generationally immoral. All the blood, sweat and tears of our forebearers on the auction block.

When Rockefeller Center was sold to foreign interests, did something inside of you quiver just a bit? Did you think of the mighty efforts of the Rockefellers and feel any remorse that this symbol of America's financial power had passed to others.

When you picked up Business Week here and read of the efforts of SONY to buy America's media, did you have no reaction? Did you not feel any sense of assault on your national pride?

These two are but a drop in the ocean of such activity. I could throw at you numbers on U.S. manufacturing versus Germany and Japan. I could go on at length about savings rates, and cost of capital, and reinvestment rates. There would be much to make you very uncomfortable. It doesn't make me uncomfortable. It makes me angry. I want to fight back. I want America to regain its economic pre-eminence. I want America to regain control of its economic destiny. Yet all I hear in Washington is avoidance as we slide blightly into a new status as an economic colony of foreign interests.

Let me add another piece of data for your contemplation. Institutional financial strength. Citicorp is our largest bank. When Reagan/Bush came to power it ranked fifth worldwide. Today it ranks 24th. Our next largest bank is 54th. Sixteen, count them, sixteen Japanese banks are larger than our largest. Do you know what that means? It means that our banks are fading from the international radar screen. If you want heavy financing, you

have to go hat in hand to foreign banks. Financial dependence is extreme national vulnerability. All the flag factories in America will not change that reality.

One final thought. Imagine if the Democrats had been in power since 1980. Imagine them running up \$1 trillion dollars in trade deficit. Imagine them quadrupling the national debt. Imagine them sitting idly by while the country was sold off.

No one would be calling for a coronation. They would be shouting "Throw the bums out!"

So over these past years I have watched these developments with growing horror. I feel as if I am reliving my childhood and adolescence.

Being on the downside of an economic curve is a special hell. You are not master of your own destiny. You are instead captive to forces much larger than yourself.

I am fundamentally still the boy who worked in his father's dry cleaning business. We all worked. And we worked long and hard. My father's adult work life was 12 hours a day, six days a week, 51 weeks a year. Yet we were caught in the relentless decline of my home city of Lowell. We never knew poverty, but we did know the sense of economic disempowerment.

Even after Lowell's renaissance in the 1970's and 80's, the memory is still sharp and it has armed me with a sense of foreboding. I look at the economic numbers. I listen at my board meetings. I talk endlessly to businessmen and I feel the economic peril. And I worry for my country.

Washington happy talk and 91% popularity do not lessen that feeling. Indeed, it adds to my frustration. Why doesn't Washington see what the rest of us see.

Here the discussion out of the Administration is quite clear. Everything is fine.

But, everything is not fine. Our country needs to be rallied. We need to face our peril, meet it and prevail over it.

On April 30th I will formally announce my candidacy for President. That will be the story. But it will be only one part of the story. I see my mission as consisting of three parts.

First, I need to sound the alarm. This country needs an economic Paul Revere. I intend to play that role. There is an economic peril and avoiding it will only prevent us from overcoming it.

But note here that I said Paul Revere. Paul Revere rode through the countryside not to spread despair but to mobilize a response in order to meet the threat. Paul Revere had a larger purpose -- political independence. Our larger purpose must be economic independence.

That leads me to mission number two. The Democratic Party needs to redefine its agenda. It has a rich, decent, compassionate, loving tradition of concern for human beings. We must reaffirm that tradition and safeguard it. But we must go beyond it. We must become the party of economic rebirth, of economic nationalism, of economic patriotism, of economic pre-eminence. This requires change. Real change. It means reaching out to the business community of America. It means partnership. It means seeing business as our ally against the foreign threat. American business is not our enemy. The old Democratic mindset must give way to new realities. I tried to say this in 1980. It is even more true today.

We must understand the fundamental reality that all the social programs we care about - all of them - can exist only from the tax revenues of a viable economy. No goose. No golden eggs. No wealth. No distribution of wealth. A shrinking economic pie will inevitably create an illiberal society.

This will not come easily but it must come. Unless we convince the American people that we care about economics - indeed care passionately - we will never be entrusted with the White House. Nor should we be.

The final mission is to hold Reagan/Bush accountable for their avoidance politics. Not only relative to our economy but to the condition of our cities, our environment, our disadvantaged, our educational system. Devil take the hindmost is neither kinder nor gentler.

George Bush is not vulnerable because he is a bad person. He is, in fact, a fundamentally decent man. His vulnerability lies in his refusal to reach beyond politics and to do what is right and appropriate for the people of this nation. He has surrounded himself with people who care about polling data not the judgment of history. They are people who define success by the approval of voters not the thankfulness of later generations.

Urban violence is decried. But the Brady Bill is resisted and AK-47's remain available.

He wants to be the environmental President. Runaway world population goes unchecked because the White House does not want to offend one of their interest groups. Here is the greatest environmental issue of all and America is part of the problem.

Energy policy. They promise a national energy policy and at the same time they kill off the conservation initiatives of their own Department of Energy.

Finally, there was the promise to be the education President. Ask the people in public education if they have noticed any improvement.

Racial harmony.

There is a great unfinished agenda in our country. It must be faced up to. That is what 1992 is all about. This is the responsibility that the Democratic party must meet. Why us?

GRAND CANYON

Two final thoughts.

I know full well how difficult my task is. I have always faced long odds and I've never lost. But this is the longest of them all. I would not give up the life I now have just to force the issues unless I believed to my core that America could turn things around.

I believe deeply that we are a great people - we are the world's best hope. We can be the world's pre-eminent economic nation once again. It only takes leadership. There is nothing wrong with the American people. Their skills and energy and willing to work hard all second to none. We have more natural resources than any nation on earth. We only need leadership.

When I talk to American businessmen about our economic peril, I always ask one question. If we get our act together, can we compete? Every one of them - everyone of them - has answered yes.

We are more than this. We just need to be called to purpose.

And to conclude. What follows will seem a bit obscure to people steeped in Washington politics. But let me try anyway.

I have lived two lives. The 42-1/2 years until September 29, 1983. And the 7-1/2 years since then. Life before cancer. And life after it.

The first Paul Tsongas that you all knew then would not be here today. I would have calculated the odds and decided to wait for the 1996 open seat. But I am here. And I am drawn here despite the odds for a reason. That reason is purpose. In these 7-1/2 years I have travelled to places in the mind that I never visited before. Things which used to bore me seem wondrous to me now. And things which used to seem wondrous are of no interest to me anymore.

I am here to pursue what I see as my responsibility. I know where the Democrats must go. I know where America must go. To remain silent is to deny the obligation of my survival.

I wish to be judged by you and by the electorate. But more than that, I wish to be judged by our forebearers and our descendents.

I often think of all the sacrifice that went into making America. And my heart weeps as it is systematically sold off.

I often think of our children who will condemn us for the massive debt we placed on them. And my conscience lies troubled.

We are of a continuum. We are responsible to more than

ourselves. We are responsible to the generations who gave us this America. And we are responsible to the generations who will inherit what we leave behind.

We will all be judged. We in politics. And you in the media, as well. We are the guardians of our country's trust. We must honor that keeping.

It is that keeping that guides me. It is love of country beyond personal ambition. It is taking the long hard road so that I can rest in the assurance that my survival freed me to be a true citizen of the greatest nation the world has ever known.

National Rainbow Coalition, Inc.

contact: Unnia Pettus
(202) 728-1180

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson
President and Founder

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson
National Press Club
Washington, D.C.
Tuesday April 9, 1991

THE POST-WAR CHALLENGE: A NATION IN NEED

As we enter into the post-war period, we face a great challenge: to define a direction and an agenda for America at home and abroad. We must look beyond the initial euphoria at the short and victorious engagement in the Gulf, and the relief at the return of our beloved troops. We must find the same unity in peace and renewal as we mustered in war. The United States has stepped forward with its might and wealth to impose a new world order on our allies and enemies alike. What is the principled basis for the new war order? How shall we define our greatness? At the same time that we celebrate military victory abroad, the President has turned his back on the needy and the disenfranchised at home. This is not right. We can neither sustain nor justify military might abroad, if we are withering away from economic and moral weakness at home.

We must be consistent in our principles and in our priorities. The principle of self determination ranked so high on our international agenda that we committed 500,000 American troops, with 200,000 more allied forces, at a conservative cost of over \$55

billion. The President has expressed his respect for the principle of self-determination for the Soviet republics.

Yet we are not consistent in our support for self-determination around the world. It took us until 1986 to impose sanctions against apartheid in South Africa, and now the President is anxious to remove them. On the same day that President Bush declared a cease fire in the Persian Gulf, members of the U.S. Senate voted to deny Puerto Rico the right to hold a self-determination referendum.

D.C. STATEHOOD

Here at home we have been the most inconsistent of all. The District of Columbia, which has more people than there are Kuwaitis, more people than five states, has been denied the right to self-determination. DC has no voting representative in Congress. In the debate on war, DC had no voice and no vote. As 2600 FBI jobs and 700 Treasury Dept. jobs prepare to leave the District, DC has no power to vote against this economic assault.

DC sent more reservists per capita to the Persian Gulf than all but four states. DC pays more in federal taxes per capita than 49 states. Somewhere I read, taxation without representation is tyranny.

Last year there were 485 murders in the district, mostly with handguns. Yet when the District Council tried to pass strong gun

control legislation, Congress forced the Council to back down.

The Congress annually fails to pay DC \$1.8 billion because of an unfair federal payment and the lack of a fair funding formula. Then Congress holds our local government hostage with a \$100 million grant to help meet a \$300 million deficit. The fact is that DC subsidizes the federal government, Maryland and Virginia.

Statehood for the District of Columbia is morally right, rationally sound, economically feasible, legally possible and constitutionally permitted. President Bush, who rushed to the aid of a people that we do not know in a land we have never been, has declared that he will veto self-determination in his home, the District of Columbia. This inconsistency is a blight on our democracy.

THE WAR IS NOT OVER

We must not let military victory dull our consciousness to the destruction of war. War is weakness, and a failure of diplomacy. It is not a guarantor of peace. The war is not over. Over 100,000 have been killed. Two countries have been destroyed. There may be as many as 1 million refugees. Saddam Hussein remains in power with our forbearance, our de facto support. Peace and stability have eluded us. Fears about Iraq and Iran are compounded by the coalescence of Shiite forces in the two countries. Syria has been strengthened. The Israeli-Palestinian situation is in deadlock. This is the aftermath of the Gulf War.

We also cannot afford to lose our perspective and become totally absorbed with this piece of real estate. We must deal with the development of the European Economic Community, the unification of Germany, the turmoil in the Soviet Union, and protracted wars in South Africa and in our own hemisphere.

THE REAL DEAL: REINVEST IN AMERICA

Foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. The U.S. runs the danger of being the number one military power and the number four economic power behind Japan, Germany, and a unified European community. The 1980's saw the U.S. transformed from the world's leading creditor nation to its largest debtor.

We need to reinvest in America. When the President talks about a new world order, we must ask: who is included? Rural America, which has lost 800,000 family farms in the last decade, is not included. Urban America, which has been abandoned through 75% cut in federal aid over the decade, is not included. In this rich and powerful land, over 8 million are without jobs, nearly 40 million live in poverty.

After World War II, we gave Europe and Japan 50 year loans at 2% government secured. If we can rebuild Europe and Japan, and now the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Kuwait, surely we can rebuild and reinvest in America. Today, Kuwait is in worse shape than urban America. In two years, Kuwait will be rebuilt. But two years from now, if we continue without a plan of investment and

renewal, urban America will be worse off.

We cannot accept any more reasons why we must abandon rural America, and disinvest in our cities. Something is missing. The public debate is missing a plan to rebuild and reinvest in America. We must make America strong from the inside out. We have the resources. What we lack is the political will.

1. Tie a yellow ribbon around a comprehensive G.I. Bill. We cannot abandon our soldiers during times of peace. The troops and their families deserve a national health care plan, modeled after that of the Congress. Their homes must be protected, and mortgages must be available at low interest rates for those seeking to buy their first home.

2. We must expand democracy in America and pass the Civil Rights Bill of 1991, enact same day voter registration, ensure fair apportionment, and protect workers from being permanently replaced when they go out on strike. We must pass the Civil Rights Act of 1991. We can do no less for the disproportionate number of minorities who served in the Gulf, the women who played unprecedented roles, the veterans who return disabled, than to protect them from workplace discrimination.

3. Statehood for the District of Columbia is a key democratic and voting rights issue for the 1990's.

4. We must invest in education, and raise a generation of smart kids, not just an arsenal of smart bombs. Education is the patriot missile with which we can intercept the scuds of crime and jails. Our educational system has to serve the needs of an increasingly technological economy.

5. 37 million Americans are without health insurance. We must have a national health care plan.

6. 3 million Americans are homeless - about 1/4 of them are veterans. Over the past ten years, the federal housing budget was cut from \$30 billion to \$7 billion. The Department of Housing and Urban Development forecloses on more than 7000 homes every month, and then sells over 50% of them at market rates to real estate speculators.

7. Stop the flow of guns and drugs, both supply and demand. Easy access to drugs and guns, along with limited life options, has created an epidemic of murder and violence in our urban centers.

8. We must invest in our environment and provide working America with healthy workplaces and clean air.

9. We need solutions that fit the size of the problem. We need to finance an urban renewal and a rural renaissance through the development of an American investment bank, that will invest in America as we invested in Europe and Japan.

We must abandon a war economy for a peace economy. We can maintain the strongest army in the world, and still cut military spending by 50% as called for by the New York Times and former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. Corporations and those in the upper income brackets must pay their fair share of taxes.

10. Finally, we must set a higher moral tone for the nation. We must draw a line against the current rise of hate crimes, racism, anti-Semitism, crimes against women. As people feel the walls close in on them, they turn on each other. Our President has failed in his duty to the people, when he invokes Willie Horton to win an election, and praises Chief Daryl Gates as an all-American hero, at the White House, 3 days after the airing of the Rodney King beating tape. We must set a higher moral tone.

We stand today at a moment of historic opportunity, an opportunity to build a true world order, a just world order. We must turn from waging war to waging peace. A changing world requires that we invest in our communities, our environment, our morality, and our future. We must wage a war against poverty, illiteracy, drugs and violence, AIDS, homelessness, racial and gender discrimination. We must occupy our communities with a message of hope. With these priorities, we can build a true world order, and keep hope alive.

Arlen Specter

United States Senate

Washington, D C 20510

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Governor Sununu
FROM: Senator Specter
RE: Proposed Presidential Trip to Philadelphia
DATE: April 16, 1991

This memorandum summarizes and supplements our telephone conversation of this morning. As I had mentioned, when I requested a meeting with you several weeks ago, I had intended to discuss a visit by President Bush to Philadelphia for a cocktail-reception-dinner fundraising event for Citizens for Arlen Specter for early June 1991.

In light of Senator Heinz's tragic death and a November 1991 election for his replacement, a Presidential appearance and fundraising event for a 1991 Republican nominee should obviously come first. Assuming a Presidential visit to Pennsylvania for our 1991 Republican Senatorial nominee in spring or summer, I would very much appreciate it if we could lock in, as soon as possible, a visit by President Bush for Citizens for Arlen Specter for early December 1991.

In connection with a Presidential visit, either for the 1991 candidate or for me, I suggest there would be considerable national public interest in a crime/drug/housing event as follows:

Meet with model Philadelphia Drug Strike Force (U.S. Attorney, FBI, DEA, local District Attorney, Philadelphia Police Department). This Strike Force was featured recently at the Department of Justice summit for unique cooperation among Federal, state and local officials resulting in outstanding results against major drug dealers.

and/or

Visit a Federal housing project on a proposed program to "weed and seed" to oust drug dealers by the Drug Strike Force and then to rehabilitate substantial Philadelphia housing stock (some 20 projects with almost 200,000 housing units).

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW H. CARD
EDWARD M. ROGERS
FREDERICK D. McCLURE
RONALD C. KAUFMAN

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

SUBJECT: PENNSYLVANIA SPECIAL ELECTION PROCESS / UPDATE

The Pennsylvania Republican State Committee has scheduled a leadership meeting for April 17 to discuss the GOP strategy for the U.S. Senate vacancy resulting from the death of Senator Heinz.

A full committee meeting will be held on May 3 and 4 at which time the committee will endorse a candidate. The Democrat State Committee will meet to endorse their candidate on a date still to be determined. This process, rather than a primary election, will provide the general election challengers.

While no potential candidates have made public statements, names surfacing at the State Committee include U.S. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, Congressman Tom Ridge, Pennsylvania Attorney General Ernie Preate, State Senator Bob Jubelirer and Drew Lewis.

MEMORANDUM

March 26, 1991

Attendees at March 25th dinner:

Secretary Mosbacher;
Clayton Yeutter;
Fred Malek;
Bob Teeter;
Charlie Black;
Ron Kaufman;
Dick Darman;
Ed Rogers;
Andy Card; and
Governor Sununu.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

Meeting opened with general discussion of current issues and the latest polling information.

Conversation turned to ideas for the 1992 campaign cycle:

The RNC must handle the following items on behalf of any Presidential campaign effort - ASAP:

- o determine the filing requirements and deadlines for every state and territory Presidential primary, convention or caucus;
- o Yeutter must talk to Jan Baron to develop a legal calendar for the '92 qualifying process;
- o Yeutter will see to it that discussions take place between the FEC, Stan Huckaby and Ben Ginsburg to determine the FEC's specific filing requirements for a Presidential candidate, as well as which computer system is compatible for reporting campaign contributions and submitting them to the FEC; and
- o a determination of the ethics requirements and prohibitions for full-time and part-time campaign employees. The action is with Governor Sununu to talk to Fred Fielding and Jim Cicconi to determine ethical restraints on campaign employees and volunteers.

JC: Need legislation

Ed talked
w/ Cicconi

Minutes

JHS opens:

- emphasizes close-hold/confidential status of meeting
- Haley did rough draft of '92 calendar
- First priority is for RNC legal group to examine FEC and state/territory qualifying laws

RNC will determine filing requirements and handle computer needs

Black states that it is a good idea for a Presidential campaign to have all money for matching funds by January 1, 1992 - this would beat Reagan, as they were still raising in March

Black: fundraising and accounting organization must start in September

Malek counsels wait as long as possible to do anything - Bush as President is our greatest asset

Jan Baran will develop a legal calendar for RNC - Yeutter has the action

Yeutter suggests using RNC field staff, but this presents legal problems - by law, the RNC and campaign must be separate organizations

First priority: prepare for fundraising - develop computer system compatible with FEC - Yeutter to talk with Stan Huckaby and Ben Ginsburg **ASAP**

JHS inquires about "campaign structure" on 1972, 1976, and 1984: how did it work between the White House and the campaign?

Black responds: Chief of Staff and a couple of White House staff will coordinate with campaign day-to-day. There will probably be a meeting everyday in the Chief of Staff's office. While the campaign does advertising, political and advance, the White House will control body and message

Teeter discusses pre-convention spending - in 1984 we did voter registration, this time we should do TV

Teeter, Black and Malek agree - let's spend roughly \$20 million on pre-convention TV - also, per Teeter, we need Hispanic and Asian media and probably a registration campaign within these groups - plus East European ethnics

Darman claims titles in a campaign organization don't matter - in 1984, Laxalt had no authority, but he had the best title - '84 campaign run by a team and '92 should be the same - need to determine who will handle specific functions, such as:

1. Budget and Basic Plan: small core group
2. Identify Key States (& key leaders for the states)
3. Coalition Development
4. Convention Management: Fuller/Harris
5. Debates: Negotiation and Advance
6. Ethnic Groups: Eastern European, Hispanic, Asian
7. Field Organization: RNC and campaign must be separate
8. Fundraising
9. Issue Analysis: mostly done at White House, but campaign input at morning meeting
10. Opposition Research: RNC - keep this away from the White House and campaign as much as possible
11. Polling
12. Promotional Materials: RNC and State Parties do the bulk of this
13. Speechwriting
14. TV Advertising: how this is organized is critical - the creative input, production and budget should be handled by a team of people - no single person should have control
15. Satellite TV: Surrogate Media
16. Scheduling and Advance: we don't have enough advance people for a campaign

Black says 5 positions are key:

1. Chief of Staff
2. RNC Chairman
3. Campaign Chairman
4. Campaign Manager
5. Finance Chairman

This group needs to coordinate and meet everyday. We'll also need a second group of operatives to carry out the functions that Darman listed.

JHS asked who else should be involved in a senior post.
Suggested names:

POLS

Roger Ailes
Paul Manafort (Conv/Pol Dir)
Craig Fuller (Conv)
Rich Bond (Political Director?)
Jim Pinkerton
Mary Matalin
Haley Barbour
Jim Lake

WOMEN

Sherrie Rollins
Diane Terpeluk
Kay James
Cathy Bertini
Mary Matalin
Barbara Franklin
Judy Black

Rogers mentions campaign spokesman - Marlin's counterpart at campaign - must be a woman

Voter Groups/Ethnic Voters - this is a very important post needs to be heavy pol - such as:

Paul Manafort
Cathy Bertini (Yeutter feels strongly about her)

At 90 minutes, JHS concludes meeting

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ronald C. Kaufman
FROM: Newt Gingrich
DATE: April 9, 1991

THE CHIEF OF STAFF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
has seen

1. Good.

2. You need a daily and weekly Spanish language news interview and actuality schedule with one person at the RNC and one person at the White House responsible for political and executive branch interviews, respectively.

cc: Governor Sununu
Chairman Clayton Yeutter
Bob Teeter
Mary Matalin

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 5, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR John H. Sununu

FROM: David M. Carney

SUBJECT: New York Times article, Thursday, April 4, 1991

Thought you might be interested in the enclosed. FYI.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

For Voters in an Ohio Neighborhood, Pride Goes Hand in Hand With Bush

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, March 29 — Flags are still flying along the neat blocks of bungalows on the border of Cleveland and Euclid. Shops still carry signs urging all who pass to "support our troops."

And for the moment, at least, George Bush seems to be a part of the patriotic tableau, an ominous sign for the Democrats. Even some who yearn for a stiff challenge to President Bush are hard put to name the Democrats who could provide it.

"He stood up for what I would have done," said Michael Brewer, a 48-year-old technician in Euclid who did not vote for Mr. Bush in the 1988 Presidential election. Cary Wayne, a 42-year-old executive recruiter, a Democrat who voted for both Ronald Reagan and Mr. Bush, said the President "made me very proud to be an American, not that I wasn't before."

Postwar Glow Lingers

Interviews with about 20 people in this working-class area found an edginess about the faltering economy, but also the expectation that Mr. Bush would now turn his attention to problems at home.

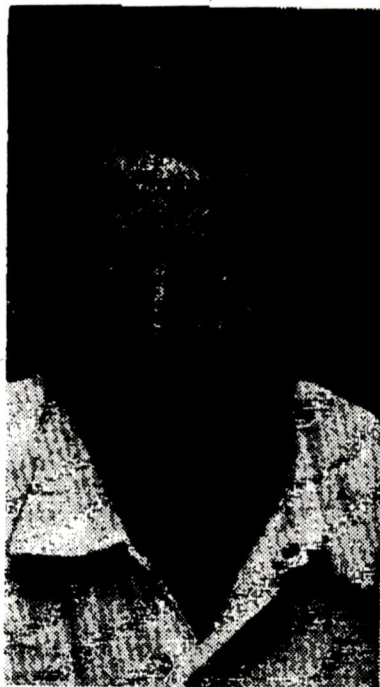
Richard Stegh, 33, who was laid off from his job at a fiberglass products factory, said he understood that the war in the Persian Gulf "had to take a front burner."

But Mr. Stegh, whose house was decorated with one of the larger flags in the neighborhood, said he hoped that now "things are stable enough in the Middle East that he can start in on unemployment and education." And the father of two children — "I'm playing Mr. Mom," he said, watching the children while his wife was at work — had nothing but praise for Mr. Bush.

Behind Bush '100 Percent'

A great unknown in politics these days is how long Mr. Bush's postwar glow will last, how long he is seen as part and parcel of yellow ribbons and national pride. Democrats note that Presidential approval ratings can be extraordinarily volatile, that the 20 months between now and the 1992 election is a lifetime in politics and that domestic worries will only grow. Republicans contend that the war has brought lasting benefits to Mr. Bush.

"The message that working-class people in Ohio had was, This is not going to be another Vietnam, that we're going to do it right this time," said Brian Berry, executive director of the Ohio Republican Party. "It was a very clear message."



"He stood up for what I would have done," said Michael Brewer.

A Democratic contender would be nice, Ohioans say, but who?

Indeed, in Muldoon's Saloon and Eatery and Buettner's Bakery, on street corners and stoops, people often responded with patriotic fervor when asked about the President. "I have two brothers in the service, and when he decided to do this I was behind him 100 percent," said Laura Barry, a 30-year-old homemaker with two children and a husband who is a fireman. "You can't let somebody like that take over a country," she said, referring to Iraq's President, Saddam Hussein.

The Democrats, Mrs. Barry said, seemed "passive."

Mike Lynch, a 22-year-old employee of an appliance service shop who voted for Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee in 1988, said of Mr. Bush: "I think he's shown his ability to lead in the gulf. Everything else, I really haven't thought that much about."

This is an area where many people

are accustomed to voting Democratic in state and local races and Republican for the President. Tim Hagan, a Democrat who is a Cuyahoga County Commissioner, said, "These people are very, very patriotic and would rally to the flag and to the President." The glow from the war, he said, "has not diminished dramatically."

Still, there is some concern here that the war may not be completely over, or that the allied forces may have stopped too soon. "They should be going after Saddam," said Mary Szasz, behind the counter of Northshore Video. "What I thought they should have done is gone all the way to Baghdad."

And many people here voiced the discontent with conditions on the home front.

Ed Savol, a 40-year-old manager of a Sunoco service station who voted for Mr. Bush, said the allied success left a lot of good feelings here. But he was quick to respond when asked what Mr. Bush should be doing now.

"Take care of his own," Mr. Savol said. "Take care of his own people. Come up with an educational program, a job program. Take care of the people here."

A 'Forgotten Party'

The Democrats hope to capitalize on Mr. Bush's domestic shortcomings. But their weakness was apparent here.

For instance, Glynn Douglas, the vice president of United Auto Workers Local 2282 and a fierce critic of Mr. Bush, nevertheless had some difficulty listing the Democrats who could beat him next year. "I hate to say this, but in all honesty, I don't see anybody on the horizon right now," he said, adding that he still had hopes.

Nelson Whales, a 51-year-old machinist, said: "It seems like the Democrats are turning into a forgotten party, almost a joke. Like, 'Who are they going to come up with this time?'"

Mr. Whales, who considers himself a Democrat, said with a trace of sadness: "Democrats have always been blue-collar worker, gung-ho. And it seems like nobody's there anymore."

And Ann Shaughnessy, a 39-year-old sewing machine operator, said she worried about jobs going to foreign workers; the trade issue was probably where Mr. Bush would lose her vote, she said.

But Mrs. Shaughnessy, an 18-year employee of the General Motors Corporation, added that the Democrats "haven't offered me anybody yet."

"Give me somebody who shows me they're going to help people who want to work," she said.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: WF

DATE: April 1, 1991

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

91
RE: Don't let Hill Democrats look like Humanitarian Hawks.

George Mitchell's suggestion Sunday that the U.S. should shoot down Iraqi helicopters makes smart political sense for war-beleaguered Democrats. It could:

Show that Democrats are willing to use force. With innocent civilians being killed, this particular use of force could also be cast as "humanitarian" -- you can almost hear Senator Kennedy calling for Saddam's helicopters to be shot out of the sky (with Raytheon missiles).

Show that the victory has not been won. The General was right -- we didn't really finish the job. Saddam is still in power with enough army left to kill unarmed and lightly armed civilians. A U.S. military re-engagement might drag on -- three months after calling for a limited use of force, the Democrats can turn around and again accuse the Administration of involving the country in another Vietnam.

"The decision taken by President Bush and the NSC to remain neutral in the Iraq civil war means that the Vietnam syndrome is not quite dead," says the Washington correspondent of the liberal London Guardian.

If the Administration doesn't use force, Democrats could conceivably attack Bush for the loss of "innocent" lives in Iraqi. They can question anew whether the gains of the Kuwaiti campaign was really worth the total cost in human lives. If the Iraqi civil conflict lasts long enough, the Democrats in 1992 will be asking: "Did we really win in the peace in the Mideast?"

ALTERNATIVES:

Call for UN resolutions to include Arab peace keeping force of occupation in Iraq.

Link need for peace keeping force to the Moslem holy period.

U.S. role limited to support.

copy to POTUS 3/28

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 26, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

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

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

SUBJECT: Democratic National Committee Spring Meeting

The Democratic National Committee met in Washington, DC on Friday and Saturday, March 22-23, 1991.

The press coverage of the meeting was light and not complimentary. A Washington Post article [03/24/91, pA12] noted that the loudest applause in two days of meetings was reserved for Tom Foley's denunciation of Democratic consultants who criticize the party: "Those who sup at our table and sleep in our home should be supporting our party." (He later singled out David Sawyer, who recently hired Ed Rollins into his firm, as one of the consultants.)

The party's difficulty fielding a presidential candidate was also noted. Cited was the fact that four potential candidates (Bentsen, Gore, Kerrey, and Mitchell) refused invitations to address the group, one of the largest single contingents of voting delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The desperate air was captured by William Blount, Alabama Democratic Chairman, who said, "All we're interested in is somebody who wouldn't hurt us."

Other coverage stressed that Democrats are hanging their only hope for 1992 on their claim that America will turn to the domestic agenda when the Gulf euphoria is over. It was pointed out, however, that there are serious internal disagreements over which domestic issues to focus on.

In all the speeches at the meeting, there was no reference to a new agenda of growth and opportunity. Everyone stuck to the old agenda; Gore talked about his trade ideas and Rockefeller talked about health care.

On Saturday, the Committee adopted twenty resolutions which covered subjects such as term limits, worker protection, the Hatch Reform Act, trade agreements, the Gulf War, health care, aid to Israel, and routine business.

Five resolutions staked out positions on various issues.

- ** Opposition to term limits; "limitation on the choice of representation of American voters."
- ** Support for HR 5 and S 55 regarding use of permanent replacement workers.
- ** Opposition to further increases in the regressive nature of the Federal tax structure.
- ** Voiced concern that US/Mexico trade agreement provide for worker & environmental protection on both sides of the border.
- ** Advocated national reform of the US health care delivery system.

Five resolutions called for the President and/or Congress to take action on various issues.

- ** Strong leadership from the President on an effective energy policy.
- ** Enactment of the Hatch Reform Act.
- ** Urging Congress to adopt the Family and Medical Leave Act.
- ** Congress & the Administration should enact measures to ease the recession.
- ** Authorization of the Defense Economic Adjustment program.

Three resolutions were related to the Gulf War.

- ** "the government...shall, to the greatest degree possible, provide for the special needs of all returning veterans and their families."
- ** Congratulated all America's servicemen and servicewomen.
- ** Honored fallen servicemen and servicewomen of the Gulf War.

One resolution was passed complimenting the President and Congress for allocating \$650 million in emergency aid to Israel.

Six other resolutions covered general business.

DNC Spring Meeting
March 26, 1991
Page 3

The Democrats left town wishing that this spring meeting had never happened. They did their best to put a positive spin on it, but this was a downbeat meeting.

John Silber's comments illustrate the real tone of this meeting. "The Democrats can't run unless the economy collapses....There is no appeal for a party that has to propose a recipe for disaster as a condition of winning an election.... We're a sorry lot if we wish the Republicans ill so that the country can fall apart in order to elect us."

**Irresolute Resolutions:
An Analysis of Resolutions Passed by the
Democratic National Committee, March 22-23**

Resolutions With New Text

Waters Resolution to Recognize Veterans

- o The Maxine Waters resolution, as proposed, singled out African Americans serving in the Gulf for "particular attention ... to African American veterans, for which there is no specific support system that exists within the Veterans Administration." The resolution also noted a "disproportionate nature of the commitment of African-Americans," called for a variety of federally funded "reintegration" services, and ended with a specific call for recognition of black soldiers and their families.
- o The revised resolution, absent the references to racial representation in the military, notes the "sons and daughters of working American families" serving in the Gulf. Significantly watered down, the passed resolution affirms a federal responsibility to "provide for the special needs of all returning veterans and their families," and "assure opportunity in both the public and private sector."
- o Perhaps most notable in the revision is the salute to the "enormous courage, service and sacrifice" of *all* Americans serving in the Gulf, rather than the Waters-proposed race-specific salute.
- o In sum, the passed resolution, absent the inaccurate percentages and race-specific references of the first, is the Democratic version of a salute to Mom and Apple Pie.

Additional Notes:

- o Blacks, who compose 12.1 percent of the nation's population, according to the latest census figures, and 20.8 percent of the military, accounted for 24.5 percent of the participants in Operation Desert Storm.
- o Blacks and Latinos had lower death rates during the war than did whites. At the cutoff date of March 8, 182 U.S. troops had been killed. But the 27 blacks who died from Jan. 17 through the cut-off date for the comparison accounted for only 15 percent of the total deaths.
- o Likewise, Latinos had a lower death rate than their representation among the forces. Latinos accounted for 5 percent of the forces in the region but their eight deaths were calculated at 4 percent of the total deaths from the

operation. They account for 4.7 percent of the armed forces. Nationwide, Latinos account for about 9 percent of the population, according to 1990 Census Bureau estimates. (UPI, 03/15)

Resolution on The North American Free Trade Agreement:

- o Ron Brown says "We don't trust this Administration to negotiate for us on trade matters." Instead the Democratic party wants to forgo the opportunity to create thousands of new jobs for American workers and export opportunities for American businesses.
- o The resolution says hundreds of thousands workers "would see their jobs exported to plants throughout Mexico with the advent of a free trade agreement." But since 1986, 320,00 new American jobs have been created because of increased exports to Mexico.
- o The resolution claims that a free trade agreement "wouldn't make a useful contribution to economic development in Mexico." The administration of Mexican President Carlos Salinas has asked for these negotiations and has made it the centerpiece of its economic modernization plans for Mexico.
- o The Democrats have decided the best way to block a North American Free Trade Agreement is to deny an extension of fast-track authority. Do they understand that doing so would also destroy the Uruguay Round negotiations, which have the potential to increase world output by \$5 trillion over the next decade and increase the income of every American family by \$16,000?
- o At the very least, the Democrats should at least know that the negotiations are for a North American Free Trade Agreement including the United States, Canada and Mexico. The Agreement can lay the foundation for an eventual hemispheric free trade area that can bring greater prosperity and competitiveness to the entire Western hemisphere.
- o Either the Democrats don't understand, or they don't care about creating new jobs. They just want to protect their own jobs by supporting the special interests who oppose expanded trade and economic opportunity.

Resolution to Recognize Service of US Troops

- o The resolution calls the Persian Gulf War "one of the greatest military victories of our time."

- o The 1988 Democratic Platform criticized the GOP White House for "wasting money on duplicative and dubious new weapons." It was these "dubious" weapons that helped make the victory possible.

The Fight for Progress

- o The resolution calls upon the President to work with Democrats in " ending the recession, expanding investment, high-value job growth, education, and homeownership, and savings opportunities for working Americans, and reducing the pain of unemployment and job flight."
- o The Democratic congressional leadership has fought President Bush's efforts to reduce the tax rate on capital gains, an effective tool in restoring economic growth, expanding investment and creating jobs.
- o The Democrat-controlled House Appropriations Committee has rejected President Bush's proposal to direct HUD resources toward HOPE, his low-income homeownership initiative.
- o The resolution urges "making the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes for the first time in a decade." But according to the Democratic-controlled House Ways and Means Committee: between 1985 and 1990, the total federal effective tax rate for the top 5 percent of American families increased by 9 percent. The total effective federal tax rate for the lowest 20 percent decreased by 8.1 percent (House Ways & Means, 1990 *Green Book*, p. 1173).

Police Brutality

The resolution rightly supports investigations into charges of police brutality. But:

- o The resolution does not call for any specific action by mayors or city councils -- even though Democrats hold most of these offices in big cities.

Undercount

The resolutions calls on the Census Bureau "to take all appropriate steps" to insure an accurate census count. But:

- o The resolution fails to address an equally important issue: the partisan gerrymandering that deprives Americans of an effective voice in legislation and dilutes the voting strength of minority groups.

- o Such adjustment reflect the market economy's response to real-world conditions, rather than grand schemes of Washington policymakers.

Term Limits

- o The resolution finds the idea of legislative term limits harmful to women and minorities.
- o According to the 1990 VRS exit poll (*American Enterprise*, January-February 1991, p. 87) , congressional term limits are supported by:

60 percent of blacks,
69 percent of Latinos, and
70 percent of women.
- o Of the 30 most senior members of the House, 26 are non-Latino whites and all are male.

Strikes

- o The combined resolution urges passage of legislation to forbid strike-bound employers to use permanent replacement workers.
- o The bill would take away the major impediment to threatening or using precipitous strikes and thereby upset the balance between labor and management. both sides in a labor dispute now have incentives to reconcile differences: management does not want to shut down or have to hire and train new workers while labor does not want to lose wages or jobs. By removing the post-strike threat to their jobs, the bill encourages workers to avoid reconciliation and go on strike.
- o Current labor law distinguishes *economic strikes* and *unfair labor practices strikes*. NLRA already forbids the hiring of permanent replacement workers during an unfair labor practices strike. In fact, mandated rehiring preferences are given to these strikers once a dispute is settled and back pay is often part of the settlement.
- o Some unions claim that more and more companies are hiring permanent replacement workers rather than settling the disputes that cause strikes. But a January, 1991 GAO study of strikes in 1985 and 1989 shows that only 50% of employers who threatened to hire permanent replacement workers actually did so and a total of only 17% of all strike-affected employers did so. Also, only 4% of striking workers were replaced by permanent replacements. And this figure is even lower once the number of rehired strikers is counted.

Previous or Combined Resolutions

Energy

The combined resolution condemns President Bush's energy policy. But:

- o The President has announced a comprehensive National Energy Strategy that calls for energy conservation and efficiency, increased domestic energy development, and greater use of alternative fuels. The strategy will:
 - * Foster economic growth through the availability of ample supplies of reasonably priced energy;
 - * Enhance energy security by reducing vulnerability to oil disruptions; and
 - * Increase research and development of a wide range of promising energy technologies.
- o The President's proposals to increase the use of clean coal technology, natural gas, nuclear energy and the development of new energy efficient technologies will:
 - * hold emissions of greenhouse gases by the year 2000 at or below 1990 levels.
 - * improve air quality by reducing emissions of pollutants that contribute to acid rain & smog.
 - * mitigate solid waste problems by reducing coal ash waste 25 million tons per year & lowering coal cleaning wastes by 50 million tons per year.
- o Adjusted for economic growth, energy usage has actually declined. Consumption per dollar of real GNP dropped has dropped more than 15 percent since 1980, and more than 28 percent since 1972.
- o Since 1972, the share of oil in total energy use fell from 46 percent to 42 percent, with an even larger decline, from 30 percent to 21 percent, in the transportation sector.
- o Between 1973 and 1987, the amount of energy used to heat one square foot of residential space declined by 30 percent.

Taxes and Economic Growth

- o The resolution claims that "real growth in the Gross National Product has slowed dramatically in the past decade." But real GNP increased 30.4 percent between 1980 and 1990.
- o The resolution claims that "gross median family income, when analyzed in constant dollars, has actually stagnated for almost a generation." But real median family income **plunged** under Carter policies and rose under Republican policies. The following figures are in 1989 constant dollars (US Census, *Money Income and Poverty Status in the United States 1989*, p. 14):

Carter Policy		GOP Policy	
1978	33,548	1982	30,111
1979	33,454	1983	30,719
1980	31,367	1984	31,547
1981	30,540	1985	31,962
		1986	33,328
		1987	33,805
		1988	33,742
		1989	34,213
A 9.0 % drop.		A 13.6% increase.	

Recession and the Persian Gulf Analogy

- o The resolution cites the Persian Gulf crisis to argue that the federal government "can quickly summon the resources to respond to the need." This is partially true: We can solve our social problems. But does the Persian Gulf War point to what the Democrats want: more centralized control from Washington? The Army's own Sea/Land field manual (FM 100-5, p. 15) argues otherwise: "It is essential to decentralize decision authority to the lowest practical level because overcentralization slows action and leads to inertia."

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526 MANAGEMENT

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Following is a text of the speech given by Governor Buddy Roemer regarding his political party affiliation on Monday, March 11, at 11:00 a.m. (Actual comments may vary from this prepared text.):

FOR SOME TIME NOW, THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF SPECULATION AND RUMOR ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT I MIGHT CHANGE POLITICAL PARTIES. AND WITH GOOD REASON.

THROUGHOUT MY LIFE AND POLITICAL CAREER, I HAVE TRIED TO REMAIN INDEPENDENT AND REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF MANY PEOPLE. I'VE NEVER FIT CONVENIENTLY INTO ANY POLITICAL BOX.

FOR REASONS OF PRACTICALITY, HOWEVER, I HAD TO SERVE IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND AS GOVERNOR WITH A PARTY LABEL NEXT TO MY NAME. AND THAT PARTY UNTIL TODAY HAS BEEN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

BUT THE TRUTH IS THAT AS I HAVE TRIED TO SERVE THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA, I HAVE TRIED TO MAKE DECISIONS AFFECTING OUR FUTURE WITHOUT REGARD TO SPECIAL INTERESTS OR PARTICULAR PARTIES. I'VE MADE DECISIONS BASED ON PEOPLE. AND BECAUSE I'VE MADE THOSE DECISIONS INDEPENDENTLY, I'VE NEVER BEEN REGARDED AS A PARTISAN POLITICIAN, AND CONSEQUENTLY NEVER BEEN PARTICULARLY EMBRACED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

THERE IS MUCH ABOUT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN WHICH I BELIEVE STRONGLY: EQUALITY, FAIRNESS, JUSTICE. THESE ARE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ABOUT WHICH I WILL ALWAYS CARE DEEPLY AND FOR WHICH I WILL ALWAYS WORK PASSIONATELY. BUT THE TRUTH IS THAT WHICHEVER PARTY HAS MY MEMBERSHIP WILL EMBRACE THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS. THESE PRINCIPLES TRAVEL WITH ME.

AS I'VE WATCHED THE WORLD CHANGE AROUND ME, I REALIZE WE, TOO, MUST CHANGE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF OUR WORLD AND OUR TIMES: ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS, EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE, NATIONAL SECURITY SUPREMACY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL INDIVIDUALS TO BE THEIR VERY BEST.

CAN THIS CHALLENGE BE BEST MET BY INDIVIDUALS ACTING IN SOLITUDE, OR IS THE ANSWER TEAMWORK, MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE, SHARING? THE ANSWER IS OBVIOUS TO ME.

(MORE)

PAGE TWO

MY VISION IS THAT AMERICA AND LOUISIANA WILL MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE NEXT CENTURY AND THAT THE KEY IS TEAMWORK. IN POLITICAL TERMS, A PARTY IS NECESSARY TO TAKE THE NEXT STEP ... TO MEET THE NEXT CHALLENGE.

ONE PERSON CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE, BUT A PARTY OF PERSONS UNITED IN PURPOSE AND VISION CAN MAKE A LASTING DIFFERENCE AND CAN BUILD A STATE, A NATION, A WORLD.

WE LIVE IN A TWO-PARTY NATION. SUCH A CONDITION MINIMIZES TRIVIALIZATION AROUND SINGLE ISSUES AND MAXIMIZES THE CHANCE OF HEALTHY DEBATE AND UNIFIED ACTION IN THE FACE OF CLEAR NEED.

FRANKLY, I'M NOT ENTIRELY SATISFIED WITH THE DETAILS OF EITHER PARTY, BUT FIND HISTORIC ATTEMPTS AT THIRD PARTY FORMATION TO BE FUTILE AND NON-PRODUCTIVE.

AT MY POSITION IN LIFE, AND WITH MY VISION FOR MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF A NEW WORLD, A CHOICE MUST BE MADE. INDEPENDENCE, THOUGH ADMIRABLE, IS NOT ENOUGH.

MY CHOICE IS REPUBLICAN. AND THE REASON IS SIMPLE. AFTER MORE THAN TEN YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE, IT HAS BEEN MY OBSERVATION AND INCREASING CONVICTION THAT IT IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT IS BECOMING MOST OPEN TO NEW IDEAS, NEW THINKING, NEW PEOPLE; MOST OPEN TO TEAM BUILDING, TO OPPORTUNITY BUILDING.

NOT PERFECT THIS PARTY. CHANGES MUST AND WILL OCCUR. MORE WOMEN, MORE MINORITIES. NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE WOMEN AND MINORITIES, BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE VALUABLE, PRECIOUS HUMAN BEINGS WITH MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE.

NOT PERFECT THIS PARTY, BUT IN PRIME POSITION TO OPEN UP FROM A STRONG BASE OF SHARED BELIEFS OF FAMILY VALUES, OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND OF UNSHAKEABLE NATIONAL SECURITY. IT IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT HAS CHARTED A STRONG ECONOMIC COURSE FOR THIS COUNTRY AND PROVIDED AN ECONOMIC MODEL FOR THE WORLD.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS A TEAM WITH STRONG, SOUND ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES EMPHASIZING INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE OPPORTUNITIES -- AND THAT'S A TEAM I WANT TO BE ON.

(MORE)

PAGE THREE

THE PARTY MUST EXPAND IF IT IS TO MEET AMERICA'S CHALLENGES. BUT ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS IS THE PLACE TO BEGIN, BECAUSE AS ECONOMIC BOUNDARIES EXPAND, SO DOES FREEDOM. AND AMERICA OUGHT TO BE ABOUT FREEDOM.

FINALLY, AS GOVERNOR, I WILL CONTINUE TO LEAD AND HELP OTHERS BUILD A NEW AND BETTER LOUISIANA FOR OUR CHILDREN: GOOD SCHOOLS, GOOD ROADS, GOOD MANAGEMENT, ENVIRONMENTAL BALANCE, AND ECONOMIC DIVERSITY AND OPPORTUNITY.

I HAVE NOT CHANGED IN MY FUNDAMENTALS. I'VE ALWAYS ATTRACTED SUPPORT FROM MEMBERS OF BOTH PARTIES AND FROM INDEPENDENTS. THIS WILL NOT CHANGE. AS A DEMOCRAT I APPOINTED REPUBLICANS TO POSITIONS OF TRUST AND RESPONSIBILITY. AS A REPUBLICAN, I WILL APPOINT DEMOCRATS TO POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY AND TRUST.

I'M STILL LOOKING FOR THE BEST PEOPLE: MEN, WOMEN, BLACK, WHITE, DEMOCRAT, REPUBLICAN. WE ASK THE WHOLE LOUISIANA FAMILY TO TRAVEL WITH US.

PARTY IS NOT THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN MY LIFE OR OUR STATE. IT IS DOWN MY LIST OF PRIORITIES, TRAILING CHARACTER, COMMITMENT, ABILITY, INTEGRITY. BUT WHERE IT IS A FACTOR -- IN TEAM BUILDING, IN NEW IDEAS, IN POLITICAL ACTION -- I WILL BE A REPUBLICAN -- THE PARTY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN ... THEODORE ROOSEVELT ... GEORGE BUSH ... THE PARTY OF OPPORTUNITY.

I WILL HELP OTHERS BUILD OUR PARTY AND WILL ENCOURAGE GROWTH IN TERMS OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS, BUT THE STATE AND ITS PEOPLE WILL COME FIRST ... ALWAYS.

IT'S TIME TO STOP THE DEBATE ABOUT BUDDY ROEMER AND THE PARTY TO WHICH I BELONG. I AM A REPUBLICAN. BUT MOST OF ALL, I AM A LOUISIANIAN AND AN AMERICAN.

IT'S TIME TO START THE DEBATE OVER THE FUTURE OF LOUISIANA, BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT REALLY MATTERS. AN ACTIVE, INCLUSIVE, CARING REPUBLICAN PARTY WILL PLAY A SIGNIFICANT, POSITIVE ROLE IN THAT DEBATE.