

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:	29182-005

Folder Title:
Political Affairs (Kaufman) (1991) [2]

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

21
What is our economic and domestic strategy?

What are we trying to do?

90 days

this year

set up next year

get (crime) bill/signed

get bad crime bill/veto

not get a crime bill/attack

What issues do we want on the agenda

What issues will we have to deal with defensively

What issues do we want to stay away from completely

How (and when) do we identify the President with the economic recovery

Campaign promises

- Boston Harbor
- Points of Light
- furloughs

Are there minor issues we need to work for specific constituencies?

- Hispanics
- Veterans
- Rural/Ag

1992

1. How do we meet to plan the 1992 campaign as it relates to the House GOP?

- ✓ a. redistricting *Justice -*
- b. candidate recruitment *schedule "C" 15*
- c. activist and contributor motivation
- d. themes for candidates and voters

*Task force
Talk about*

2. How do we build specific issue momentum on capital gains, block grants, crime, etc.?

Scale of change

3. How do we develop the language and programs to replace the bureaucratic welfare state? Starting now on the 1992 State of the Union and 1993 budget allows far more dramatic change. Sending clear signals to our legislative allies, governors, local government officials, think tanks, activist allies and the news media allows us to build a consensus for change and to develop a momentum of new solutions and new approaches.

*aggressively
pushed
T de*

4. How do we develop as the national party a visible commitment to the entire nation including the poor and non-whites? An aggressively inclusive Republican Party visibly committed to an integrated prosperous America would eliminate the fairness issue and dominate elections for the foreseeable future.

5. How do we communicate and highlight President Bush's vision of a community of conscience that encourages active citizenship to create 1000 points of light so that most of the hard work of freedom is done outside bureaucracy?

*Anti quotas
Pro Integration*

(A) GENERAL RULE:

Raise the saliency of natural strengths, reduce the saliency of natural weaknesses.

(B) THREE COROLLARIES:

- (1) Identify/know which areas are natural strengths, and which are natural weaknesses.
- (2) Get/keep the substance right in natural strength areas.
- (3) "Inoculate" (take prudent defensive measures) in areas of natural weakness -- BUT NEVER ADVERTISE A NEGATIVE (i.e., never raise the saliency of an area of natural weakness).

(C) AREAS OF NATURAL STRENGTH/WEAKNESS:

Natural Strengths:

- o Foreign policy/defense/national security/peace
- o Economic growth (as the economy turns up)
- o "America"/American values
- o Crime fighting
- o ["Reform"] (of many kinds) (maybe, if done right)
- o [Education] (maybe, if done right)

Natural Weaknesses:

- Avoid/N* o Fairness
- Neutralize* o Environment
- Neutralize* o "Energy" (which becomes "conservation"/environment)
- Avoid* o Health access (fairness) and costs (although prevention/personal responsibility/malpractice reform/cost-control-for-docs are good inoculators)
- Neutralize* o [Education] (maybe, if framed to our natural disadvantage)
- o "Soft" domestic issues (housing, homeless, children, etc. -- although good inoculators have been advanced)

PUSH KIDS TO
NEUTRALIZE THE LOSS.

NOTE: Sustained focus on the first 3 strengths -- and avoiding attention to weak areas -- is enough to win big.

FURTHER NOTE: Above list excludes hundreds of low-saliency issues (which should be largely irrelevant), and miscellaneous tar babies (S&Ls, ethics, etc.), which should be avoided.

Poll: S.C. residents support Bush, war

FRIDAY FEB. 1

By ROBERT BEHRE
Of the Post-Courier staff

An overwhelming majority of South Carolinians believe the United States is justified in using force to drive Iraq out of Kuwait, and nine out of 10 residents support the removal of Saddam Hussein as a war goal, according to a poll commissioned by the Post-Courier and TV 2 — Action News.

Eighty-one percent of state residents said they approved of President Bush's decision to attack Iraq, while 15 percent disapproved and 4 percent were not sure, according to the poll of 831 registered voters in South Carolina.

The poll, conducted by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research Inc. in Columbia, Md., questioned a cross section of South Carolinians and found that most state residents do not believe that economic sanctions would have worked. Eighty-five percent said the United States has a vital interest in Kuwait.

The pollsters also found most residents feel Israel would be justified in retaliating against Iraq, while 64 percent would favor reinstituting a military draft if the war were to last longer than six months and more troops were needed.

Support for the war differs along racial lines, with more white voters tending to support the Bush's decision than blacks. Still, 61 percent of black respondents said they approved of the decision.

Few South Carolina voters expect the war will be easy. Almost half believe the war will last at least six months, and 82 percent feel a terrorist attack in the United States is at least somewhat likely.

Support for Bush

Most South Carolinians believe President Bush is doing the right thing.

Forty-five percent rated his performance as excellent, while 36 percent said he has done a good job. Only 10 percent felt his performance has been fair, while 6 percent rated it as poor and 3 percent were undecided.

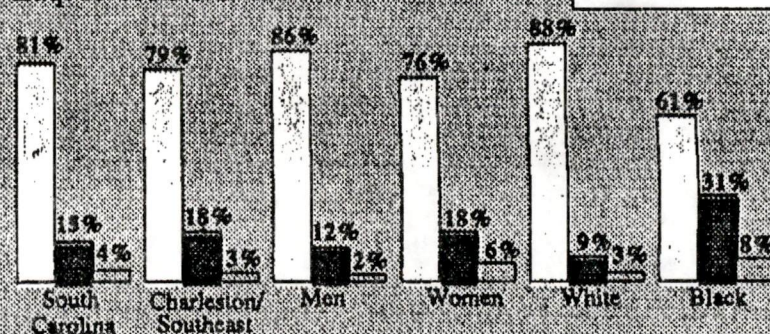
Asked which best describes their opinion, 77 percent picked the statement, "I support President Bush's decision to use military force

THE POST-COURIER TV 2 ACTION NEWS

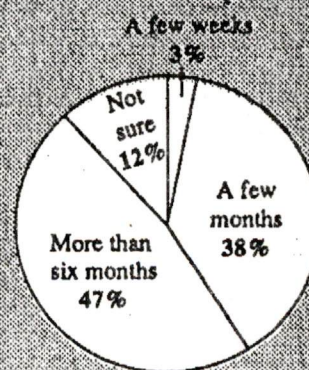
POLL

Q. Do you approve of President Bush's decision to use military force to expel Iraqi forces from Kuwait?

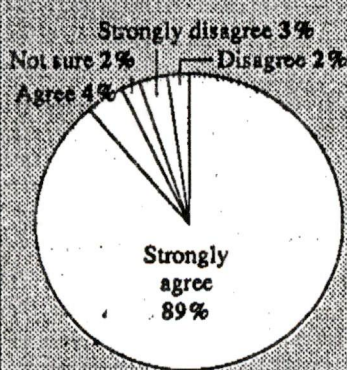
Approve
Disapprove
Not sure



How long do you believe the war with Iraq will last?



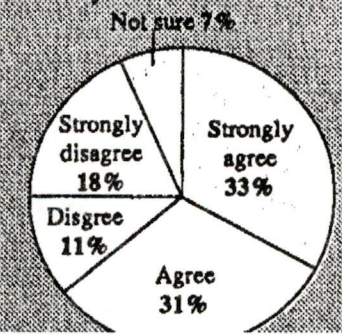
When the war with Iraq has ended, Saddam Hussein should stand trial as a war criminal.



Now that military action against Iraq has begun, the only objective of the international coalition against Iraq should be its forced withdrawal from Kuwait.



If the war against Iraq lasts longer than six months, and more troops are needed, I support reinstituting the military draft.



opped
aqis

reporter, who saw the spot-
ve at an artillery command
e miles from the besieged
own at midmorning Thurs-
s not allowed to interview
nder press restrictions in
the war zone. But a dispatch
d under the restrictions and
by military censors por-
danger, filled day and night

danger-filled day and night
g cat and mouse with Iraqi
who had surrounded them.
ding to the dispatch, two

Bush's decision to use military force
against Iraq."

About 13 percent chose, "While I
support our military troops and

see MARINES, Page 12-A

Please see POLL, Page 11-A

Note — Results were based on a survey of 831 registered voters in South Carolina, and
the margin of error is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

Source: Mason-Dixon Opinion Research

Post-Courier Graphic by Lisa Young

e bridge toll ay buy another

VE MULLINS
t-Courier staff

on the new Mark Clark ex-
y bridge over the Cooper
do rivers could help finance
eight-lane span to replace
John P. Grace and Silas N.
n bridges, state highway of-
ere told this week.

sioner Robert W.
Harrell said
Thursday he was
among several
state Depart-
ment of Highways and Public Trans-
portation Department officials who
were briefed this week by the firm
of Post, Buckley, Schuh and Jer-
nigan, which was hired to conduct a



Harrell

Ship repair agency may lose workers

By TERRY JOYCE
Of the Post-Courier staff

A new round of defense budget
cuts could mean a loss of jobs at a
Navy ship repair agency in Charles-
ton as well as inactivation of a lo-
cally based submarine tender.

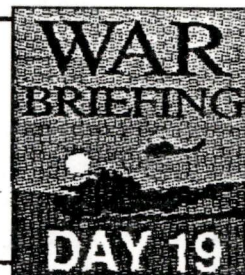
"We expect there'll be a decrease

shipyards and monitors their
In 1990, SUPSHIP had about
employees, an annual payroll
roughly \$10 million and made
about \$60 million in ship repair
tracts.

"The war effort might complicate
all this," Ms. Wilkes said Friday.
"We're hoping it won't hit too hard."

S.C. REPUBLICAN P. TEL No. 803-799-4053 Feb. 4, 91 14:38 No. 003 P. 03 S.C. KIRKLAND 21755 29221 P.O. BOX 21755 COLUMBIA SC

- Two missiles land in Israel
- Navy planes destroy 7 Iraqi vessels
- Bradley vehicle checked for defects



- Iran says planes stay
- Winds slow oil spill

Complete coverage, 7-A — 13-A

THUR: Mostly sunny. High near 70. Fair tonight. Low in mid-40s. Details, 2-A.

SUNDAY POST-COUR

iston, S.C. February 3, 1991

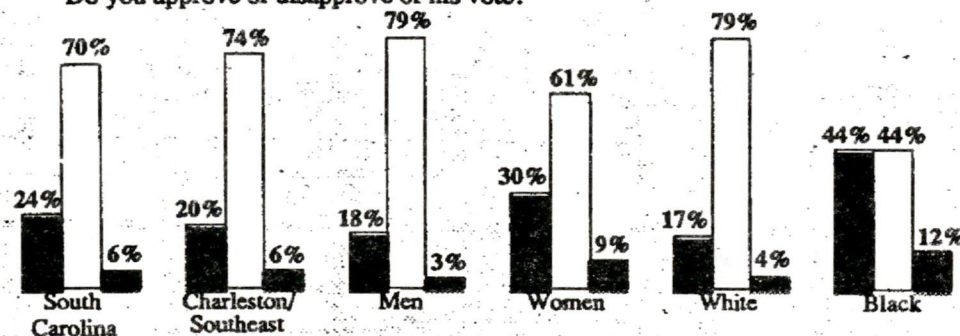
THE EVENING POST / The News and Courier



THE POST-COURIER TV 2 ACTION NEWS POLL

■ Approve
□ Disapprove
■ Not sure

Q. South Carolina Senator Ernest Hollings voted against giving President Bush the authority to use force against Iraq, and, instead, voted for continuing sanctions. Do you approve or disapprove of his vote?



Source: Mason-Dixon Opinion Research

Post-Courier Graphic by Lisa Young

Hollings' vote again plays poorly in S. C.

By TONY BARTELME
Of the Post-Courier staff

A majority of South Carolinians disapprove of U.S. Sen. Ernest Hollings' recent vote against giving President Bush authority to use force against Iraq, according to a Post-Courier-TV 2 Action News poll.

Also, if the 1992 Senate election were held today, Republican Thomas F. Hartnett would give Hollings a run for his money, the poll found.

The statewide poll of 831 registered voters found that 70 percent think Hollings voted the wrong way. Twenty-four percent agreed with his decision, and 6 percent weren't sure.

The poll by Mason-Dixon Opinion Research Inc., which had a 3.5 percent margin of error, also found:

- Only 28 percent said they would vote to re-elect Hollings, while 36 percent would consider another candidate, 23 percent would vote to replace him and 12 percent weren't sure how they would vote.

- Statewide, 78 percent approved of Republican U.S. Sen. Strom Thurmond's vote supporting the president.

- In a hypothetical matchup against Hartnett, Hollings holds a 39-30 percent advantage. Hartnett recently said he is considering a race against Hollings.

Hollings' vote against the resolution apparently has made him politically vulner-

3 more U.S. pilots shot

Pentagon. The Pentagon reported that Walters' plane had been shot down behind enemy lines, said Toler.

Walters is a native of Columbia. He graduated from the University of South Carolina, where he met his wife, Kim.

The couple had been living in Pensacola, Fla., where Walters was

the last five days, only one allied aircraft has been lost. Twelve of the 19 are U.S. planes.

At the Pentagon briefing, Army Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said he could not provide any information on the search in Saudi Arabia for two U.S. soldiers — one male and one female — that have

He said the two were not involved in the ground battle against Iraqi forces that broke out Tuesday in northern Saudi Arabia.

Earlier in the day, Army Brig. Gen. Pat Stevens IV said at a briefing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, that the missing soldiers were part of a transportation battalion located near Tapline Road, which runs

equipped with night equipment.

Early intelligence assessments were that allied forces would totally own the nighttime war because of their superiority to see targets and move to armor.

But it now is evident Iraqis have some of their o

Supporting the troops

1,200 attend rally 2-1-91 on Statehouse steps

By ANDY BRACK
Of the Post-Courier staff

COLUMBIA — Forty-year-old Joe Meetze waved an American flag Thursday in a sea of about 1,200 Persian War supporters as top state officials spoke at a rally on the Statehouse steps.

"If I wasn't as old as I was, I'd be over there," said Meetze of Blythewood near Columbia. "I guarantee it."

Meetze said he attended the noon rally to support an S.C. Air National Guard friend who is in the Middle East.

"I support him and all the other guys over there and (am here) because it's America."

Nearby, Harold Kleckley of Columbia echoed those remarks.

"I just wanted to show my support of the troops instead of seeing a bunch of anti-war protesters," he said. "It makes me feel good."

State Sen. Marshall Williams, D-Orangeburg, told the crowd, "Support them now, support them next week, support them next month or however long it takes because it is a matter of our freedom."

House Speaker Bob Sheheen, D-Camden, told war supporters that it pained him to see conflict in the Middle East, an area from which his grandfather immigrated at the turn of the century.

But the price of freedom demanded war, he said.

"There's no sacrifice too great, no sacrifice too high to preserve the kind of opportunity available to my family when they migrated here," he said.

Then he referred to a statue of George Washington that stands in front of the Statehouse.

"If he could, he'd smile on us today," Sheheen told banner and flag wavers at the rally.

Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. told supporters that they outnumbered war protesters.

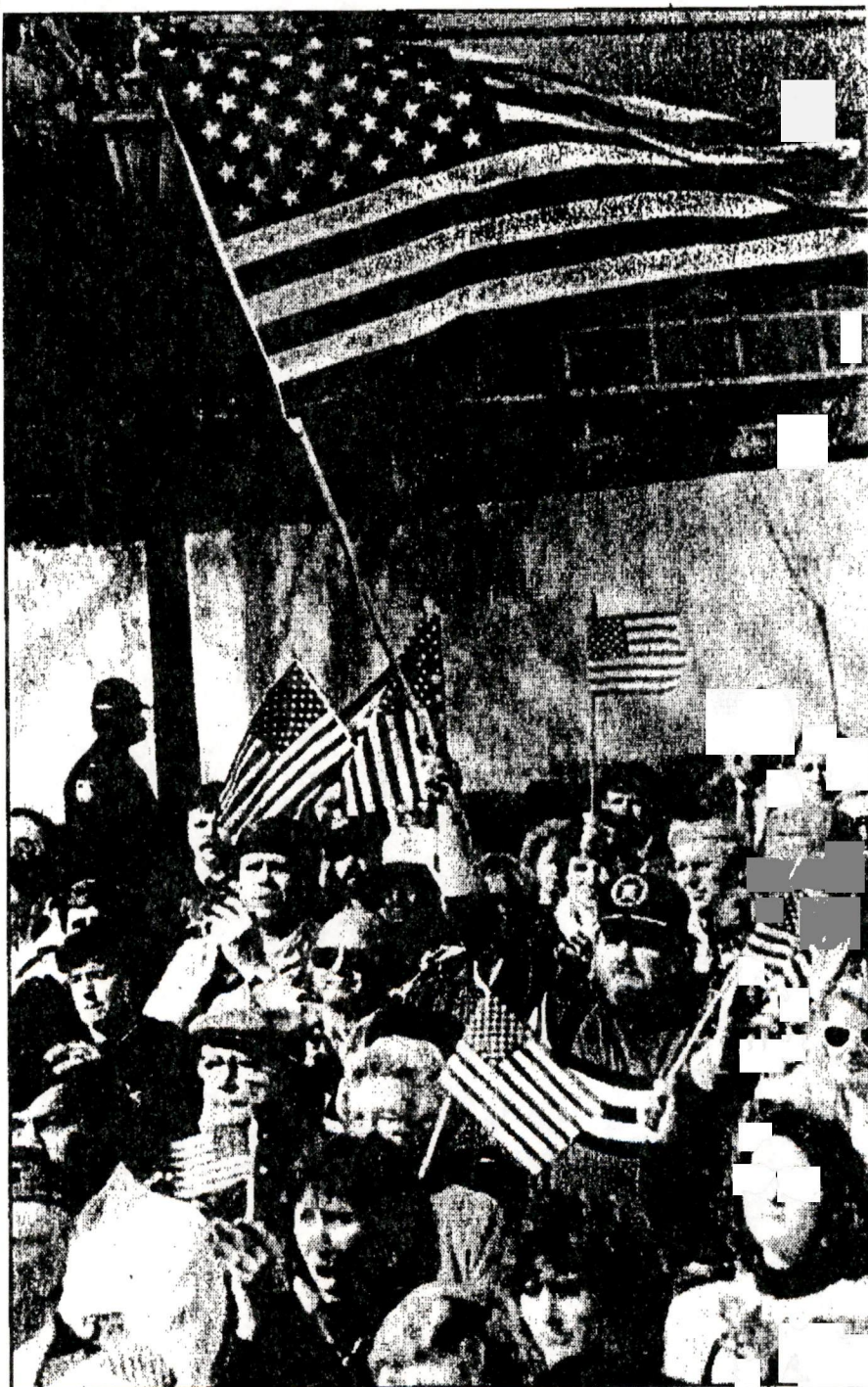
"You stand here for the concept that freedom is worth standing up for," the governor said.

He said the state's citizens should pray for the safe return of the nation's soldiers.

"When they come home, let us give them the hero's welcome they deserve for standing up for America," Campbell said.

**'Support them now,
support them next
week, support them
next month or however
long it takes because
it is a matter of our
freedom.'**

Sen. Marshall Williams



Flags wave at Statehouse rally supporting troops Thursday

AP La

Hollings blasts Bush's reaction

For

Hollings blasts Bush's reaction to special tax for war, deficit

By STEVE PIACENTE
Of the Post-Courier staff

WASHINGTON — U.S. Sen. Ernest Hollings, D-S.C., on Thursday accused President Bush of "defrauding the American people" by refusing to consider a special tax to pay for the Persian Gulf War and help reduce the federal budget deficit.

"He is living in a dream world," Hollings said at a Senate press conference he called to again promote the concept of a national value-added tax.

"We now know what President

absolutely nothing."

He was referring to interest costs on the debt, which will actually be \$290 billion in 1991, but which are escalating in increments of roughly \$30 billion per year.

Hollings said Bush is waging "war by credit card," and failing to capitalize on "patriotic fervor" that would make a special tax politically acceptable.

The administration has already ruled out such a tax, saying pledges of financial aid from foreign governments should keep the cost to U.S. taxpayers relatively low.

"The assumption is that the

A 5 percent VAT, which would take two years to implement, assuming support by Bush and Congress, would raise \$125 billion a year.

Hollings proposes that all revenue be used to pay war costs not picked up by U.S. allies, and, after that, to "liquidate" the deficit.

"Remember that a VAT is a tax on consumption," he said. "The more you consume, the more you pay. The more you save, the less VAT you pay."

Hollings conceded there is "very little" political support for the tax.

• "What you see on TV is not always an accurate picture of what's really going on. Pictures can lie."

— A CNN production Wednesday's briefings

• "It's almost like you're on the light in the kitchen at night and the cockroaches started scurrying, and you're killing them."

— Lt. Col. Dick Whitely, attacking Iraqi armaments

• "If I wasn't as old, I'd be over there looking at it."

STYLE

**War on the home
front — coping
with concerns**

1-F

IER

\$1.00

nst war Carolina

able, said Brad Coker, a pollster with
Mason-Dixon Opinion Research.

"For an incumbent U.S. Senator to hold
a base vote under 45 percent — not to men-
tion under 40 percent — is a clear sign of
weakness."

Coker noted that Hollings' job perform-
ance rating has dropped 12 percent since
last October.

Neither Hollings nor his local or Wash-
ington, D.C., press secretaries could be
reached for comment Saturday.

Last year, Hollings said the Iraqi inva-
sion was an Arab issue and he opposed
sending a massive ground force to

Please see HOLLINGS, Page 6-A

down

NEWS FROM THE HOUSE MAJORITY LEADER

For Immediate Release
February 5, 1991

Congressman Richard Gephardt
H-148, US Capitol

Remarks Prepared for Delivery
To the National Governors' Association

1992
INTRODUCTION

Governor Ashcroft, Governor Gardner, other governors and guests. I am honored to address this conference of the National Governors' Association.

Of course, our thoughts today and every day are with the young Americans whose lives are on the line in the sands of Saudi Arabia and the seas of the Persian Gulf. We entered the war united and strong -- with a plentiful supply of the finest equipment, the best weapons, and, most important of all, the most highly-trained and skilled men and women in the world to operate them. But as governors, you know we must be concerned not only with winning the war overseas, but with what kind of country our troops will come home to.

After this war concludes successfully, as we know it will, and as the wounds from this war begin to heal, as we know they must, America must fight other wars: the war to revitalize our economic strength; the war against drugs and crime; the war against illness and despair; and countless other battles on countless other fronts. But we enter these battles poorly-armed, poorly-financed and poorly-trained.

We all know why. For ten years our national government has pursued a policy of unilateral economic disarmament; our leaders have appeased enemies like ignorance, poverty, disease and despair. There is no reason we cannot apply the same know-how, the same skill and the same focus we now have on the Gulf to the clear and present dangers here at home; dangers that will be with us long after Saddam Hussein is reduced to his rightful place as a footnote to history.

This morning, I would like to do three things: talk about the state of our economy and our budget, suggest a new way of looking at our domestic needs, and propose a method of financing a new program to deal with those needs -- without adding a penny to the federal deficit. The program I will discuss is based on an idea I call "rewards for results."

THE ECONOMY AND THE BUDGET

The challenges we face here at home are great, and the stakes are enormous. With our living standards at risk, America faces a fundamental choice. We can either compete with dollar-an-hour, unskilled Third World labor -- and lower our families' earning capacity in the process. Or we can compete with the high-skill, well-trained work forces of the other Western democracies.

I believe in the American people. If we give them the tools and the training they need, they can out-compete any people anywhere in the world. But the current and former Administrations have cut investment in human capital -- education, job training and the like -- some thirty percent since 1980.

Sadly, the Administration's budget offers little hope for improvement. In my view, the President's budget lacks a vision for our economic security. It is inexplicable -- and inexcusable -- that an Administration that devotes so much energy and attention to foreign policy refuses to summon the will to confront the threats we face at home.

One initiative, however, has captured our attention. In his State of the Union Address last week the President discussed the transfer of \$15 billion in programs to the states. If by that the President means a more thoughtful sorting-out of state and federal responsibilities than the ill-fated New Federalism, then I welcome it. If he intends to increase the flexibility by which you as Governors can address the vexing problems we all face, then I embrace it. And if he desires to reduce bureaucracies and streamline services, then I applaud it.

But I don't yet know if that is what the President has in mind. But I do know the history of how modern state-federal relations got to this point: The micromanagement of the sixties, through categorical programs like Model Cities.

Then came the era of revenue sharing and block grants. An improvement, to be sure, but those huge grants -- often shielded from any meaningful oversight -- proved to be easy targets for crippling cuts. Then came the New Federalism, which promised money without strings, but delivered strings without money. And now we have this new promise to return more power to the states. As a former alderman I'm a firm believer in returning more power to the people -- and to the governments closest to them. But more than shifting deck chairs on a ship adrift, we need new direction.

I'm especially interested in the so-called "menu" of programs and services from which the President would have us choose. All have been the target of a decade-long attempt to abolish them. And so I look at this with healthy skepticism.

If this proposal is a shell game; if it is merely fiscal sleight-of-hand designed to hamstring states still further; if this is abdication masquerading as flexibility, then I will oppose this proposal.

Don't mistake these critical comments for a knee-jerk negative reaction. Last fall, I devoted six months -- which felt like six years -- to a budget summit that cut \$99 billion in entitlement spending alone. I do not believe government as it exists should be revered the way we look at the Mona Lisa as it was painted.

We must insist on results -- tangible, measurable results -
- in exchange for funding.

A NEW WAY OF LOOKING AT OUR DOMESTIC NEEDS

This morning I'd like to outline a proposal for getting the federal government -- and the states -- back on track in the critical area of early childhood through a strategy of rewards for results. A shift in focus away from funding programs as though the system was an end in itself -- and toward rewarding results -- is really just common sense.

As the commanding generals on the front lines of the fight for our children's future, you do not have to be told how critical the situation is.

You know, and the people we serve know, that today's at-risk child is tomorrow's gang member; today's abused child is tomorrow's violent criminal; today's drop-out is tomorrow's drug dealer. And the question that hovers uncomfortably in the public consciousness, even if it is not fully voiced, is: if we have too many damaged and lost children today, what will tomorrow bring? What will become of them, of us all?

The American people understand the importance of investing in our children. They understand that if we don't pay now, we will surely pay later. But when they pay, they want results, not just good intentions. And they are skeptical about the ability of "big government" and "federal spending programs" to achieve results. The truth is, their skepticism is justified.

It is time for the federal government to show the public that we are serious about achieving the goals of these programs. And there is a way to do that: a new kind of federal policy, a way to make real progress in investing in people and using federal tax dollars efficiently and effectively.

PAYING FOR PERFORMANCE; REWARDS FOR RESULTS

In my approach, the federal government would use federal money to create incentives to achieve certain national goals.

Rather than micromanage how you accomplish the public goals we set together, the federal role should be to provide rewards for results.

Here's how I'd use the rewards for results approach to finance achievement of National Education Goal Number One, set by this organization and the President in last year's Education Summit. After consulting with you and other leaders in the field, I will propose legislation to provide a bonus to the state for every child entering first grade who has had four things:

First, health care, including prenatal care for the mother, well baby care, and any additional care recommended by a pediatrician;

Two: all immunizations;

Three: periodic screening of nutritional status and, where appropriate, nutritional supplementation; and

Four: early childhood education, beginning no later than age four, in programs in small classes, taught by qualified professionals.

These bonuses will be paid for improvements over current state achievement. Further, each state will be paid as many bonuses as it earns; there will be no competition among states for a limited pool of money.

The bonuses will be paid on a per capita basis; that is, for every child who meets the criteria, the state will be paid the bonus. In recognition that lower income children are frequently more difficult to serve than higher income children, the size of the bonus will be inversely proportional to family income, with a specified minimum and maximum, which we can determine through a continuing state-federal dialogue.

It will be left to your discretion how to use the bonus money, with the expectation that some of it will be passed through to localities or provider groups.

Such a system of bonuses can work -- because it plays to the strengths of all levels of government. The national government, is uniquely qualified to work with the states, localities, and professionals to set goals and standards -- and then to tie federal funding to achievement of those goals. State government -- and localities -- are better suited to implementation and management of such a system.

It will cost money -- in the short term. But children who are ready to learn when they start school will grow up to pay us back many times over. In fact, the businessmen and women of the Committee for Economic Development tell us that for each dollar we invest in our children when they're young, we receive \$4.50 in return. A four hundred and fifty percent rate of return would make a business jump for joy. Why then does government hesitate to make the investment? The answer, in part, is because the American people fear that government will be unable to deliver a dollar's worth of services for a dollar's worth of taxes. The beauty of the rewards for results system is that we don't spend any public money until the public's goal has been reached.

But simply saying that a program will pay for itself over time is not good enough. Not when the federal government is facing a deficit that makes our calculators blow a fuse -- and not when the deficit in the national budget has spawned deficits in your state budgets too. And so I would pay for these bonuses -- after they're earned -- by raising the corporate tax on taxable income over \$10 million a year by two percent.

Just a two percent increase in the top marginal rate paid by some of our wealthiest and most powerful corporations can pay for a system of bonuses that will, over time, provide them with a higher-skilled, better-trained, better-educated workforce. Corporations already spend a staggering \$210 billion a year on training their employees.

Early childhood attention is a smart investment. The Oster-Sunbeam Appliance Company knows that. Just one year after initiating a corporate-funded program of prenatal care, their average maternity costs dropped from \$16,000 to just \$3,500. I firmly believe that if the federal government puts up the incentive money -- and the state and local governments achieve the goals -- we will cut our Medicaid costs, lower our compensatory education costs, and save on disability programs -- not to mention the long-term savings in police, prisons and welfare.

If I sound evangelical about early childhood attention, it's because I am -- and I know you are too. But there are other steps we must take, other investments we must make. I plan to apply the rewards-for-results approach to other national education goals, including improving our high school students' math and science scores, and raising the level of post-high school education and training available to our children.

Financing these new incentives will not be easy. But as a leader of the Democratic Party I want to serve notice that our party is willing to cut existing programs. The \$99 billion in entitlement cuts we made last year is proof of that determination.

The President has produced a list of more than two hundred programs he'd like to eliminate. I think the President's suggested cuts are useful, and I do not reject all of them out-of-hand. There may be other programs, not targeted by the President, that could use a little trimming -- or a lot of cutting. The point is that just like you at the state level, we at the federal level are now on a pay-as-you-go basis. There are no more sacred cows. As you and I both know, there is no silver bullet -- no one-shot miracle cure for our decaying competitiveness, declining test scores, and our deteriorating schools.

But perhaps it is useful to apply one of the catch-phrases of education reform -- back to basics -- to government. If we return back to the basics -- to investing in our people -- if we teach them and train them; give them the schools and the tools they need, then they will lead us into the future.

CONCLUSION

Half a century ago, as America faced a barbarous dictator abroad and crushing depression here at home, Franklin Roosevelt laid out a back-to-basics prescription for recovery. "The only real capital of a nation," FDR said, "is its natural resources and its human beings. So long as we take care of and make the most of them, we will survive as a strong nation...If we skimp on that capital, if we exhaust our natural resources and weaken the capacity of our human beings, then we shall go the way of all weak nations."

Roosevelt faced the choice between investing in people and allowing decline -- and he faced it with courage and confidence. We who have been entrusted to carry on his work must do no less. We must resolve here and now that America will not go the way of the weak, that we will be strong. And that we will always remember that the greatest weapon in the arsenal of democracy is our people.

(30)

contacts: Deborah Johns/David Dreyer
 202-225-0100

Yeutter Says Democrats Are Politically Vulnerable On The Gulf War

1992
LINCOLN, Neb. (AP) Democrats who opposed giving President Bush authority to go to war against Iraq are politically vulnerable, Clayton Yeutter, incoming chairman of the Republican National Committee, said.

Democratic opposition to the president on the issue could be "a very significant factor" in next year's presidential and congressional elections, said Yeutter, who is finishing a stint as U.S. Secretary of Agriculture.

His appointment as Republican National Chairman is scheduled to be ratified on Friday.

"They're scrambling rapidly now to try to rationalize their votes," said Yeutter, who is finishing a stint as U.S. Secretary of Agriculture.

Successful execution of the war plan thus far "has given the country a huge lift," Yeutter said, in effect lifting "the whole burden of Vietnam" from the national psyche and instilling a sense of pride that Americans can "handle ourselves capably around the world."

Later, Yeutter told reporters that most Americans strongly support the president's decision to go to war and on the way the war is being conducted thus far.

Asked specifically about Sen. Bob Kerrey, one of the Democrats who opposed the congressional resolution giving the president authority to go to war after expiration of the Jan. 15 United Nations deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, Yeutter said "Kerrey and his colleagues are on the sidelines now."

Kerrey supported a Democratic resolution which would have delayed congressional authorization for war in order to give economic sanctions and diplomacy more time to seek a peaceful Iraqi withdrawal.

Kerrey later said Yeutter was trying to politicize the war.

Yeutter said one lesson of America's success thus far in conducting an air war with advanced military technology is "how perceptive Ronald Reagan was in insisting on the rebuilding of America's military capacity" while he was president.

The Republican national committee is scheduled to meet on Friday to ratify Bush's choice of Yeutter as GOP national chairman. Yeutter probably will leave the president's cabinet on March 1 to assume the party leadership post.

But, he said, he might delay his departure as secretary of agriculture beyond that time if he sees an opportunity to successfully gain agricultural trade concessions from the European Community in talks this weekend.

Yeutter will meet with European negotiators in the wake of the collapse of GATT trade negotiations in Brussels over EC unwillingness to agree to sharp reductions in barriers largely caused by agricultural subsidies.

There is some evidence that they are beginning to internally

``reassess their position," he said. There still is a chance, he said, for ``major agricultural trade reforms."

Yeutter acknowledged that the nation's economic recession is ``a negative" facing Republicans as they approach the 1992 presidential election year.

``It would be enormously beneficial for us to get a recession behind us at a relatively early date," he said.

Forecasters point toward ``a fairly short-lived recession," he said.

``And if the American public is now regaining confidence in its political leadership, particularly executive, there should be some side benefits on economic issues as well."

Yeutter said the 1990 farm bill is going to ``turn out to be a lot better than what most people anticipate."

Although there will be a substantial reduction in federal farm supports, and farm income is likely to be down from 1990, when it was at its highest level in history, projections indicate that 1991 farm income may be the fourth or fifth highest ever, he said.

Yeutter was in Lincoln Tuesday to receive the Downtown Rotary Club's ``Nebraskan of the Year" award.

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 4, 1991

92
Governor: .

I talked to Woody Jenkins this afternoon and he wanted me to pass on the following.

He heard that you've been talking to Governor Buddy Roemer about party switching, he's got an inside perspective on this:

Woody endorsed Buddy as governor, campaigned for him even ran his transition office - but as a governor Buddy is a total disaster - he will not support him whether he's a Republican or a Democratic. He has betrayed the state on taxes and abortion issue just to name two - he's not trustworthy, he'll betray you and lie to you. There are a few good candidates out there such as Clyde Holloway and Lt. Governor Paul Hearty.

Woody can be reached at 504-928-3149 or at his TV station 504-928-3146.

jak

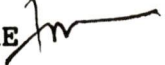
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 JAN 23 PM 2:22

January 23, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

1992
FROM: FRED McCLURE 
SUBJECT: Resolution of Impeachment by Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-TX)

Attached are highlighted copies of the Gonzalez resolution, his statement in the January 16, 1991 Congressional Record, a wire service story on the resolution, and excerpts from a press conference Congressman Gonzalez held with former Attorney General Ramsey Clark on January 15.

The introduction of this resolution is not a first for Chairman Gonzalez. He introduced a resolution to impeach President Reagan and supported another (following Grenada and regarding Nicaragua).

This latest effort has no apparent support in the House and is not taken seriously by his colleagues.

Attachments

102nd Congress
1st Session

H.Res.34

Impeaching George Herbert Walker Bush, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 16, 1991

Mr. GONZALEZ submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

A RESOLUTION

Impeaching George Herbert Walker Bush, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

1 Impeaching George Herbert Walker Bush, President of the United States, of
2 high crimes and misdemeanors.

3 Resolved, That George Herbert Walker Bush, President of the United
4 States is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and that the
5 following articles of impeachment be exhibited to the Senate:

1 Articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives
2 of the United States of America in the name of itself and of all of
3 the people of the United States of America, against George Herbert Walker
4 Bush, President of the United States of America, in maintenance and
5 support of its impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

6 ARTICLE I

7 In the conduct of the office of President of the United States,
8 George herbert Walker Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath
9 faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and,
10 to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitu-
11 tion of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to
12 take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has violated the equal
13 protection clause of the Constitution. U.S. soldiers in the Middle East
14 are overwhelmingly poor white, black, and Mexican-American, and their
15 military service is based on the coercion of an system that has denied
16 viable economic opportunities to these classes of citizens. Under the
17 Constitution, all classes of citizens are guaranteed equal protection,
18 and calling on the poor and minorities to fight a war for oil to preserve
19 the lifestyles of the wealthy is a denial of the rights of these
20 soldiers. In all of this George Herbert Walker Bush has acted in a
21 manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of
22 constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and
23 justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

24 Wherefore George Herbert Walker Bush, by such conduct, warrants
25 impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

[illegible]

Wherefore George Herbert Walker Bush, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

In the conduct of the office of President of the United States, George Herbert Walker Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has prepared, planned, and conspired to engage in a massive war against Iraq employing methods

1 of mass destruction that will result in the killing of tens of thousands
2 of civilians, many of whom will be children. This planning includes the
3 placement and potential use of nuclear weapons, and the use of such
4 indiscriminate weapons and massive killings by serial bombardment, or
5 otherwise, of civilians violates the Hague Conventions of 1907 and 1923,
6 the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I thereto, the Nuremberg
7 Charter, the Genocide Convention and the United Nations Declaration of
8 Human Rights. In all of this George Herbert Walker Bush has acted in a
9 manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of
10 constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and
11 justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

12 Wherefore George Herbert Walker Bush, by such conduct, warrants
13 impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

14 ARTICLE IV

15 In the conduct of the office of President of the United States,
16 George Herbert Walker Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath
17 faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States
18 and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the
19 Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his
20 constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully
21 executed, has committed the United States to acts of war without
22 congressional consent and contrary to the United Nations Charter and
23 international law. From August, 1990, through January, 1991, the
24 President embarked on a course of action that systematically eliminated
25 every option for peaceful resolution of the Persian Gulf crisis. Once

1 the President approached Congress for a declaration of war, 500,000
2 American soldiers' lives were in jeopardy - rendering any substantive
3 debate by Congress meaningless. The President has not received a
4 declaration of war by Congress, and in contravention of the written word,
5 the spirit, and the intent of the U.S. Constitution has declared that he
6 will go to war regardless of the views of Congress and the American
7 people. In failing to seek a declaration of war, and in declaring his
8 intent to violate the Constitution in disregarding the acts of Congress -
9 including the War Powers Resolution - George Herbert Walker Bush has
10 acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of
11 constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and
12 justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

13 Wherefore George Herbert Walker Bush, by such conduct, warrants
14 impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

15 ARTICLE V

16 In the conduct of the office of President of the United States,
17 George Herbert Walker Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath
18 faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States
19 and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the
20 Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his
21 constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully
22 executed, has planned, prepared, and conspired to commit crimes against
23 the peace by leading the United States into aggressive war against Iraq
24 in violation of Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter, the Nuremberg
25 Charter, other international instruments and treaties, and the Constitu-
26 tion of the United States. In all of this George Herbert Walker Bush has

1 acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of
2 constitutional government, to the great prejudice of the cause of law and
3 justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

4 Wherefore George Herbert Walker Bush, by such conduct, warrants
5 impeachment and trial, and removal from office.

Press Transcripts to Find 1...

Limited to transcript 671131

Copyright (C) 1991 by Federal Information Systems Corporation

- Tuesday, January 15, 1991

Press Conference: Ramsey Clark, Fmr US Attorney and Rep. Henry
Gonzalez - Impeachment of President Bush
Transcript ID: 671131 (862 lines)

**PRESS CONFERENCE
WITH FORMER US ATTORNEY RAMSEY CLARK
AND REP. HENRY GONZALEZ (D-TX)**

**MODERATOR: MS. SAHU BARRON,
ORGANIZER FOR NATIONAL COALITION TO STOP
US INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

**SUBJECT: CALL FOR IMPEACHMENT OF
PRESIDENT BUSH AND VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE**

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1991

MS. BARRON: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Every day this week, scores of protesters will be gathering at the White House to protest the impending war by the United States against the Arab people. Today, the Howard students, as well as students from the University of the District of Columbia, will be assembling at Metropolitan AME Church for a rally, and will then proceed to the White House for a press conference and a late afternoon vigil. Tomorrow through Friday there will be similar activities at the White House. All these actions will culminate in the first national march to stop the US war in the Persian Gulf, Saturday January 19th, beginning at 11:00 a.m. at Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House.

These actions will be a response, especially to the fact that today the people of this country, the people of the world stand on the very precipice of a US war in the Persian Gulf, which will inevitably lead to the deaths of tens of thousands of Arab peoples, and Americans -- lives we are convinced will be sacrificed only for the greater profit of the big oil companies.

We stand firm in our conviction that the full responsibility for this war rests on the shoulders of President George Bush, and unfortunately

on a Congress which has endorsed blatant, naked US aggression against the Arab people. In Newsweek of January 14th, it was reported that at least a hundred more nuclear armed Pershing missiles have been shipped to the Persian Gulf and that General Schwarzkopf has asked permission to explode one of these bombs over Iraq. Clearly, this administration deserves to be indicted and George Bush deserves to be impeached for the blatant illegalities and abridgement of domestic as well as international law for these unprecedented actions.

The congressional vote this week has made it absolutely clear that only the people organized and active and vigilant can and will stop this war. Already we have seen that across this country and around the world, hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets to demand, Stop the US war in the Middle East, because clearly so many people understand that it is the United States that is the chief perpetrator and would be the chief benefactor in such a war.

On Saturday, we expect a massive turnout of protestors from over 90 cities and 25 states to converge here in Washington on the White House and to come together in San Francisco, in Houston, in Honolulu, in Sydney, Australia, and elsewhere. Unanimously the world over the demand will be on January 19th, bring all the troops home now unconditionally.

This is the only solution to the crisis. This is the only way to end the war. Working people, youth and students, the poor, peoples of color, women, they all know that the real fight must be against poverty, joblessness, hunger, racism, sexism, anti-gay and lesbian bigotry here at home; that they will benefit if that \$100 million a day that is being spent in this military war buildup is brought back and placed at the disposal of the communities. They know that they will not benefit, not in terms of the quality of their lives or in their living, for those who are there in Saudi Arabia, in a war for the big oil companies in the Persian Gulf.

We will now hear from Ramsey Clark, former US Attorney General.

(Applause.)

MR. CLARK: Good morning. We meet in Washington, D.C., on the morning of January the 15th, 1991, in what may seem to be a quiet moment, but it's the quiet that is the eye of the storm. The wild turbulence surrounding this place, this whole nation and nations across the world, ought to be pretty evident to everyone by now. The candlelight ceremonies of hundreds of thousands of religious across this country and across the planet, the constant demonstrations at the UN and the White House, staggering crowds in West Europe, where we're told our allies support us, 100,000 people in Rome protesting the peril of war, over 200,000 in the cities of Germany, 40,000 in London at Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park, 40,000 in Paris, 40,000 in Ankara. The people of the planet do not want this war, and the people of the United States overwhelmingly do not want this war, and they have been given no reason for it.

But we're not here to discuss all of that; we're here for a more somber purpose. Those who believe in Constitutional government have to address the question of whether President Bush and Vice President Quayle and Secretary Baker and others have committed and are threatening to commit additional high crimes and misdemeanors that call for their impeachment.

This is not a subject you take too lightly. Over the years, even my many years, I've been called on only a few times to be involved in it. I was a lead counsel for Justice William O. Douglas in what was an assault on the independence of our judiciary in the early '70s. I was involved in perhaps maybe one of the

powerfully prevail. But here, we've been able to bottle up opinion so that only one view dominates.

And we've seen now, finally, among the many lessons from Vietnam, that there will be so severe a censorship that Ernie Pyle and heroes from other times must be turning over in their graves as we go toward war, if we do, in the Persian Gulf.

We see the use of experimental medical injection without the informed consent, without the knowledge at all of military personnel -- a violation of not just human rights, but of the Nuremberg Charter itself or the Nuremberg code anyway. We see that as history has told us, war will justify any crime, but we believe we have a Constitution, and we believe that the Constitution makes it a high crime for any of our officials to engage in such conduct, to authorize, permit or condone it. And they must be impeached if they plan, prepare and act to do it.

It's not as if this hadn't happened before during the Bush administration. The invasion of Panama was absolutely as lawless as the invasion of Kuwait. The president had no authority.

We've never been told what it was all about. Sometimes it's a drug bust. A drug bust with stealth bombers? Is it really conceivable that you could have spared the civilian population? Have we seen El Chorrillo, where 30,000 people were left homeless from artillery and helicopter gunfire? And hundreds killed? Even by the Pentagon's statistics -- which are false -- there were three Panamanian civilians killed for every Panamanian military person killed, and that is a crime.

It wasn't necessary. We were bombing and strafing from Colon to Panama City, San Miguelito, every military and police installation -- why? By what right? And without the authority of the Congress? And we killed hundreds and hundreds of Panamanians. And the President of the United States ordered it, and that too is a high crime and misdemeanor.

I'm a private citizen, and like nearly everyone in this country have the power of my voice, the power of my persuasion. I can propose. I've spoken before of a friend of many years, an American of enormous courage because as a long-time member of the United States House of Representatives, as a chairman, as a person who has always put constitutional principle and human rights first, he has the power to dispose.

We'll now hear from Congressman Henry Gonzalez of Texas.

(Weak applause.)

REP. GONZALEZ: Thank you very much, Mr. General. It's a privilege to share this table with you. Ramsey Clark is a name that I have long admired and cherished. His father, Justice Clark, was a great friend and also a great justice, a great Texan. And so it's an honor to be here.

I said on December the 31st in my hometown of San Antonio, where I had a local press conference, that in answer to a question: "Would I introduce a resolution of impeachment?" -- my answer was that it would depend on some study, as I always have, when I've

entered into that kind of activity, and also the future actions of the President.

I have introduced a total of three impeachment resolutions during my service in the House of Representatives. Each one of them was after months of preparation. It wasn't something just concocted and put together, willy-nilly.

In the case of President Reagan, the first resolution I joined my colleague, Ted Wise, and ultimately, five others who first signed and then one withdrew after the pressure hit. In the case of Reagan's invasion of Grenada, Mr. Wise did an excellent job of preparing the specificities of that resolution. And I joined him.

I then -- on March the 5th, 1987, introduced an impeachment resolution, again directed to President Reagan, because of the preparations then being made for a planned invasion of Nicaragua, and I felt that his actions up to then were in systematic defiance of the Constitution.

The only thing now is just a question of evaluating. I think our own Ramsey Clark in his expertise has prepared a very good outline. I intend to take it, evaluate it, and based on some preparation already underway by a member of my staff, it will be my intention to introduce a resolution of impeachment.

The only thing is that I'm very much tempted to extend it to include some of the congressional leaders, because frankly, they have been in rather craven abdication of the solemn and the all-inclusive constitutional responsibility to stand up for the independence, co-equality and separation of this most important branch of our government.

Dem.
Leadership

Yes, it is true, we have a Constitution, but not in force. It is being honored more in the breach than in its terms. Do we have a president? No. Not as intended in Article 2 by the men who wrote the Constitution and debated that very much and this specific issue at great length.

What do we have? I sincerely believe we have modern day Caesars, not presidents, or maybe monarchs, except monarch implies something else. But Caesars would be the best comparison, modern day 20th century Caesars.

We don't read history much in our country but Caesars aren't -- in history and in reading the details of the evolution of the Roman Republic and the development of Caesarism, the Caesars were not dictators a la Hitler. They were men that wanted to be loved by the people, like our presidents. They had the equivalent of what we call polls today. And -- but they exercised and they argued for and justified the amassing of tremendous power by necessity.

I don't know who it was, I think it was Pitt in England who said that necessity was the argument of tyrants and the creed of slaves. Corrupted free men and women are the worst of slaves. We have departed from the Constitution. We do not have a president as viewed and called for in the Constitution. We have now two administrations, the Reagan-Bush and now the Bush administration that have warred against the poor. And now, to add insult to

injury, it's the poor who will be fighting this war in the sands of Arabia.

[An] Overwhelming proportion of our armed services personnel come from the poor sections of our society. So it's ironic that they'll have to fight it, and at the same time even diminish the meagerly few programs that still exist, housing, education and the like, that some of our congresses had intended in order to redress the economic imbalance and injustice in our society. It's ironic that with very little discussion -- what passed or was called debate last week would hardly fit that description -- the issue was never addressed. The issue boiled down as once before in 1982 when we had the Bolden amendment and subsequent to that. The issue was are you loyal to the President or are you going to be disloyal to the President, not is the Congress going to exercise and honor its own laws, like the War Powers Limitation Act?

This situation is worse because we have allowed the imbalance to set in in what from time immemorial in the beginning of our nation we desperately were seeking to have, a countervailing of powers, where you would have the co-equality, the independence and the separation of the three basic organs of government. We don't have, and we haven't had for some time.

When the President gets up and tells the American people that he's the commander-in-chief of the people, then we know we're in trouble. He's the commander-in-chief of the armed forces but not of the United States. And beginning with that, the fact remains that even though there are those that, as in the previous cases, would say, well, these are acts of futility, if anything, don't you think that it would be receiving ridicule, well, the truth stands the test of time.

And regardless of the mood and the controlling factors at this moment and so-called public opinion that the President bases his assumption of these powers -- illegally, unconstitutionally -- notwithstanding that, time will tell whether, in effect, this is to be ridiculed and was a futile effort or not.

It certainly in 1957 in the State Senate of Texas was considered futile, ridiculous to stand up and argue against a (massive hit ?) of resistance that had passed every one of the ten other Confederate states, in some cases in 15 minutes, and yet by taking hold and making use of the available traditions of the Texas Senate of unlimited debate, it was only in the Texas Senate that there was resistance, and of the 14 total bills, only 12 -- only two were enacted, and subsequent to that, those two were declared unconstitutional, even by Texas tribunals, not even US tribunals.

So I can tell you from experience that the people -- and it was considered suicidal politically -- the people are there. Our leaders aren't, and haven't been. The people don't want war. Mr. Clark is absolutely correct. I can assure you of that. Since August, I have been imploring the congressional leadership, "Call back the Congress in August, not in November, not in December; in August." When we came back after the Labor Day, I introduced a resolution, and the resolution invoked the war powers resolution. I would have been satisfied with a hearing. Now, the fact that the Congress does not respect its own laws

is a reason why the courts are not going to go against their own precedents. And this is a reason I did not join Mr. Dellums in his lawsuit. And I told Mr. Dellums why I wasn't.

I said, this is going to be considered a political difference between the two organs of government, the executive and the legislative. The court will not immerse itself in that kind of a political difference. The court will point out that the non-delegable power to declare war resides inherently in the Congress.

But, the court will also tell you that rather than going to it, to let the court do what the Congress ought to be doing, the Congress has not exhausted its resources, to wit, its own laws, and in turn, by definition, the 1973-74 War Powers Limitation Act.

So, I introduced that resolution. That resolution would have mandated the President to get all those men out by October the 15th. And that's the only thing that should be done. That was the only thing that should have been debated in the Congress -- not the folderol of saying, "Well, are you going to be supporting the President against this nasty villain? Why, certainly you're not going to abandon our President." That's not at all the issue.

The issue is, and I think Mr. Clark has very well outlined it -- no use my repeating it -- whether or not we in our day and time, and ironically, right about the turn of the 200th anniversary of this form of government, this Constitution -- whether we in our day will uphold and reaffirm that basic -- that basic, fundamental law of the land. That has been the issue for some time here.

During the Vietnam era, we all agonized -- I think I particularly because the President was a friend, a neighbor, 50 miles away from my birthplace -- magnificent man, when it came to the domestic needs that some of us had long hungered and fought for. But when it came to the war in Southeast Asia, the impressing and conscripting of unwilling Americans, I knew that was a violation of the terms of the very first draft act, and I spoke out on the House floor. Sure that was futile. And sure, now and then the President would send one of his aids to tell me that his feelings were hurt. What did I mean, was I going to then join the demonstrators and double my fists, and I said no, I don't believe in that. But I do know and I said this long before I thought I'd be in the Congress, and beginning with the Korean conflict, that a president -- if a president has a right to conscript an American and send him outside of continental United States in an undeclared war, we did not have a Constitution, we did not have a president, we had gone back to that which the founding fathers who wrote the Constitution feared the most, and that was king made wars. And that's where we are now.

And we even have the despicable scene of a president of the United States lowering himself in a personal, personal, name calling with the very man that he considers inferior in every respect -- put himself on the same level, shamed, I think, the office of the presidency. And I certainly do intend to prepare a resolution of impeachment. And with the help here of this big man and great man and counsel, and the staff, we should be able to come up with something pretty soon. Thank you very much

obviously we think we can do, then what kind of a balance remains in the Middle East? Are we going to occupy, reinstall the emirates in Kuwait?

Hey, you know, look at Panama. We're still occupying Panama. Our military are governing Panama. We dare not move those better than 10,000 troops, because there won't be one American life safe in Panama. Even in the smallest country, El Salvador, after \$6 billion and 10 years, we're no closer to anything called -- any satisfactory solution than we were in 1980, 1981, when Haig drew the line, so-called. So I think the General here is absolutely correct. There has been no thought given as to what will Bush call victory? What will be victory?

Q So what you're saying, you and Mr. Clark are saying that the President wants this war. He must want something other than dead Americans. What is it that you believe he wants?

REP. GONZALEZ: Well, I can't answer that. The President should and he hasn't. What I'm saying is he hasn't answered that very, very pertinent question. Is it -- is it what he said at first, to protect the oil lines and supplies to the United States that are vital? If that's the case, let me tell you what the Saudi kings have done already. They have mined every inch of that pipeline, because they have said, if they go under and they're not too sure they wouldn't, they're taking the pipeline with them. So where is victory there? Is it to protect Saudi Arabia. Is it to roll back -- that's what I'm asking you. We can't answer that question. All we can say is, obviously the President has gone lusting after that false god of war.

Q (Name inaudible.) In this memorandum that we've got, isn't it a fact that -- it suggests an impeachment resolution against President Bush, the Vice President and Secretary of State Baker and other -- (inaudible.) Would your own resolution include all those people?

REP. GONZALEZ: I would think so.

Q All right.

REP. GONZALES: And there is not, as I sense, a sense of I think the congressional leaders have been derelict in upholding the prerogatives and immunities and the powers of the Congress under the Constitution.

Q Who are the other officials, Mr. Clark?

MS. BARRON: Excuse me, excuse me.

Q Mr. Clark, who are the other officials?

MS. BARRON: This is the way we'll proceed. One question at a time, and please let us recognize and ask permission to a follow-up question please. All right? All right.

Q And who are the other officials, Mr. Clark.

MR. CLARK: Well, unlike Gerald Ford when he introduced his

Remarks by GONZALEZ (D-TX) on H.Res. 34
RESOLUTION OF IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
[CR page H-520, 132 lines]

Attributed to GONZALEZ (D-TX)

RESOLUTION OF IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

[...Intervening text...]

Mr. GONZALEZ. Madam Speaker, it is with great sadness, and yet with equally great, if not greater, conviction, that I introduce today a resolution of impeachment of President Bush. It is known as House Resolution 34, and I will provide this resolution as introduced to be appended at the end of my remarks today.

At a time when our Nation is deeply divided over the question of war, we find ourselves on the brink of a world war of such magnitude that our minds cannot fully comprehend the destruction that is about to be leveled. The position we are in is a direct result of the actions of one man and the reactions of another. The Iraqi people are as opposed to war as are the American people. The difference is that the Iraqi people have no choice but to support their country's leader, but the American people not only have the right to oppose and speak out in disagreement with the President, but they have the responsibility to do so if our democracy is to be preserved. Today I exercise this constitutional right and responsibility to speak out in opposition to war in the Middle East and in support of removal of our Nation's Chief Executive.

When I took the oath of office earlier this month, as I had numerous times before, I swore to uphold the Constitution. The President's oath was the same, to uphold the Constitution of the United States. We did not pledge an oath of allegiance to the President but to the Constitution, which is the highest law of the land. The Constitution provides for removal of the President when he has committed high crimes and misdemeanors, including violations of the principles of the Constitution. President Bush has violated these principles.

My resolution has five articles of impeachment. First, the President has violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution. Our soldiers in the Middle East are overwhelmingly poor white, black, and Mexican-American or Hispanic-American. They may be volunteers technically, but their voluntarism is based on the coercion of a system that has denied viable opportunities to these classes of our citizens. Under the Constitution, all classes of citizens are guaranteed equal

protection, and calling on the poor and the minorities to fight a war for oil to preserve the lifestyles of the wealthy is a denial of the rights of these soldiers.

Let me add that since 1981 we have suffered the Reagan-Bush and now the Bush war against the poor, and to add insult to injury, we now are asking the poor to fight while here, as a result of this fight, even the meager programs that the Congress had seen fit to preserve as a national policy will suffer because the money for those programs will be diverted to the cause of this unnecessary war.

Article II of this resolution states that the President has violated the Constitution, Federal law, and the U.N. Charter by bribing, intimidating, and threatening others, including the members of the U.N. Security Council, to support belligerent acts against Iraq. It is clear that the President paid off members of the U.N. Security Council in return for their votes in support of war against Iraq or to abstain from voting contrariwise. The debt of Egypt was, for example, forgiven--\$7 billion, without congressional approval. That, I think, casts doubtful validity on that Presidential action. The reason for the cancellation of that debt is so that we can then provide an equally enormous amount of armament for Egypt which it cannot obtain because of the debt outstanding. A \$140 million loan to China was agreed to. The Soviet Union was promised over \$7 billion in aid. This is a sum totally unreported in our country but very well discussed in foreign country presses such as Germany and others. Colombia was promised assistance to its armed forces. Zaire was promised military assistance and partial forgiveness of its debt. Saudi Arabia was promised \$12 billion in arms, and more than that. Actually in October, the President let them have \$2.2 billion, and there was a commitment for \$21 billion more, but because of the outcry in Congress and the Israeli opposition, that is being postponed. But there is still a commitment for \$22 billion. I am sure this month will see the initial efforts to bring about compliance with that commitment.

Yemen was threatened with the termination of support, and the United States finally paid off \$187 million of its debt to the United Nations after the vote President Bush sought was made.

This is all so ironic. When our President ran for the U.S. Senate in the 1960's, he told the people of Texas that if he would be elected to the Senate, he would lead the fight to remove the United States from the United Nations if what he called Red China at that time was admitted. Fate and power almighty have a very, very mysterious way of working together. Who was to believe

during that year in that race in Texas that years later this same man, now the President, would be the man the President would appoint to represent us in the United Nations and welcome Red China as a member of the United Nations.

The vote was bought, and it will be paid for with the lives of our poor elements who are going to shoulder the fight.

Article III states that the President has conspired to engage in a massive war against Iraq, employing methods of mass destruction that will result in the killing of tens of thousands of civilians, many of whom will be children. No civilian lives have yet been lost that we know of, but when we start using the weapons of massive destruction that are in place for this war, there is no doubt that thousands of innocent civilians will lose their lives. As killings occur, the principles laid down in the Nuremberg trials will be applicable. Their deaths will not only be a moral outrage, they will constitute violations of international law.

Article IV states that the President has committed the United States to acts of war without congressional consent and contrary to the U.N. Charter and international law. From August 1990 through January 1991 the President embarked on a course of action that systematically eliminated every option for peaceful resolution of the Persian Gulf crisis. Once the President approached Congress for a declaration of war, 500,000 American soldiers lives were in jeopardy, rendering any substantive debate by Congress meaningless.

It is also ironic that what we have ended up with now is that the President has exchanged about 200 to 250 so-called hostages, Americans, all of them employees of oil companies in Kuwait or Iraq, and in exchange we now have close to 500,000 American soldiers as hostages. Hostages to the whims, the caprices, and the decisions and judgments made by other leaders, over which this President and our country has no control, all the way from Shamir of Israel to the immigrants in the Saudi sands.

Article 5 states that the President has conspired to commit crimes against the peace by leading the United States into aggressive war against Iraq, in violation of article 24 of the U.N. Charter, the Nuremberg Charter, other international instruments and treaties, and the Constitution of the United States.

Again, there is a violation of law by a President, who, believing and acting as if he is king, decides for the country, unilaterally, that war is the answer.

Madam Speaker, it is a sad day for our country, and it will be an even sadder day once the fighting starts. President Bush must be stopped. A divided Congress reflecting the divided country is no way to conduct a war.

The preservation of lives is at stake, and the preservation of our country, indeed, our democracy, is at stake as well.

I urge my colleagues to support this resolution. All I ask is a hearing, as I have before, before the proper committee of proper jurisdiction, and that is it. I will argue the case there. The rest is up to the Members' judgment.

Madam Speaker, I urge interest and support of this resolution, and to stand up to the President on behalf of the soldiers who will die, the civilians who will be massacred, and the Constitution that will be destroyed if this country goes to war in the Middle East.

- Wednesday, January 16, 1991, filed at 4:10pm
Copyright (c) 1990 LEGI-SLATE, Inc.
Article ID: 1608 (35 lines)

Rep. Gonzalez Calls for Bush Impeachment

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16 -- Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez, D-Texas, Wednesday introduced an impeachment measure against President Bush in a desperate attempt to stop a U.S. war with Iraq.

"It is a sad day for the country," Gonzalez said. "President Bush has to be stopped."

Gonzalez accused Bush of "high crimes and misdemeanors" relating to his conduct during Operation Desert Shield. Bush, he charged, was guilty of violating the equal protection clause of the U.S. Constitution by using armed forces which were predominately poor and minorities to defend the wealth of the moneyed class.

In addition, Gonzalez said Bush had violated the Constitution and federal law by bribing, threatening and intimidating United Nations members to win approval of the resolution authorizing force to evict Iraq from Kuwait. The U.S. government has forgiven loans to Egypt and China, the Soviet Union and Zaire, he charged. Saudi Arabia has been given \$12 billion in arms, Gonzalez said.

A war against Iraq, the Texan said, would result in tens of thousands of civilians being killed, which would be a "moral outrage" in violation of international law.

Gonzalez argued that the congressional authorization to use force approved on Saturday did not constitute congressional consent because Bush engaged in "a course of action which systematically eliminated every option" for peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Previously Gonzalez introduced an impeachment measure against President Reagan and supported another.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 22, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU
CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

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

SUBJECT: Fife Symington Gubernatorial race

Thought you might like to see these newspaper clips on Fife
Symington's run-off race. This is for your information.

Gulf war could affect gubernatorial election

Associated Press

A war in the Persian Gulf could affect the scheduled Feb. 26 runoff election for governor between Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington, officials say.

With war imminent after a deadline for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait passed early today, campaign aides and other politicians are trying to predict its effect on Arizona.

"I think we're fishing in uncharted waters here on this question," said Rob Melnick, director of Arizona State University's Morrison Institute for Public Policy, a non-partisan center on public affairs.

Among the most pressing issue would be that Goddard, a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve, acknowledges that he might be called up for active duty at any time.

He has used up his "excused absence" status in the reserve, which relieved him of monthly drills before the Nov. 6 election. He began drills Sunday.

Goddard said he would serve if called. He is a gunnery and communications officer assigned to the USS Tarawa, based in Long Beach, Calif.

Goddard said that although he expects war to be "short lived," it still would affect the race simply from a coverage standpoint.

"Obviously, it would be a transcendent event, and no local news is going to be much of a factor if we've got a war-and-peace situation raging," he said.

If Goddard were called to active duty and then elected governor, Secretary of State Richard Mahoney would serve as acting governor in his absence, state officials say.

There are other possible effects. A political consultant to Symington says a war could benefit the Republican.

Traditionally, Americans have supported presidents during international crises and that could carry over, said Jay Smith, an Alexandria, Va., consultant.

"If we do go to war, there would be a surge of patriotism," Smith said. "I think you will see President Bush's support increase. That might not be all bad for Fife Symington, and might heighten interest in a presidential visit, so that the presidential endorsement might be enhanced."

William Schneider of the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank, agreed.

"If President Bush comes out of this looking powerful, strong George of Arabia, you know, a great military victory that's likely to have some partisan impact."

Schneider acknowledged that Republican support could wither if a war was drawn out or had heavy U.S. casualties, however, he added it would take long after the election date for voter unhappiness to galvanize.

A war also would have an economic effect.

"If we go to war, the likely fallout is going to be economic, and it will be very immediate," Melnick said.

"Arizona's tough times could get immeasurably tougher and could make everything that's come to this point a damn tea party," he said, referring to the recent economic fallout resulting from the state's refusal to enact a paid holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.

Melnick speculated that voters may favor the candidate who appears more fiscally conservative, possibly Symington, a developer.

Also with a war, voter turnout could be low, which likely would help Symington since Republicans vote in higher percentages and already outnumber Democrats in Arizona.

A war's effect on runoff is unknown

Goddard call-up among X factors

By William H. Carrillo

The Arizona Republic

Would war between Iraq and the United States affect Arizona's runoff election for governor between Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington?

That question, the candidates campaign aides and political analysts say, is as tough to predict as Iraq President Saddam Hussein's next move in the tense Middle East showdown.

"I think we're fishing in uncharted waters here on this question," said Rob Melnick, director of Arizona State University's Morrison Institute for Public Policy, a non-partisan center on public affairs.

Several scenarios seem possible.

The most obvious would be removal from the race of one of the candidates — at least physically.

Goddard, a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve, acknowledged that he might be called up for active duty at any time.

He has used up his "excused absence" status in the reserve, which relieved him of monthly drills before the Nov. 6 election. He began drilling Sunday.

"Anything could happen in a war situation," he said.

Goddard said he would serve if called. But, he said, such a call-up would not be automatic with an outbreak of hostilities. Goddard, a gunnery and communications officer, is assigned to the USS Tarawa, based in Long Beach, Calif.

Goddard said that although he expects war to be "short-lived," it nevertheless would affect the race.

"Obviously, it would be a transcendent event and no local event is going to be much of a factor if we've got a war-and-peace situation raging," he said.

If Goddard were called to active duty during the runoff campaign and then elected governor, Secretary of State Richard Mahoney would serve as acting governor in his absence.

Symington said he is not sure what impact hostilities might have.

Goddard trailed Symington in the Nov. 6 general election by more than

— See WAFB, page B5

WAR'S effect on runoff is unknown

WAFB, from page B1

4,000 votes out of 1 million cast, but neither man won a majority as required by the Arizona Constitution, thus forcing the runoff scheduled for Feb. 26.

Another scenario is the "rally 'round the flag" phenomenon.

Traditionally, Americans have supported presidents during international crises. Jay Smith, an Alexandria, Va., political consultant working for Symington, said that may translate into support for his candidate.

"If we do go to war, there would be a surge of patriotism," Smith said. "I think you will see President Bush's support increase. That might not be all bad for Fife Symington, and might heighten interest in a presidential race, so that the presidential endorsement might be enhanced."

Smith's counterpart in the Goddard camp, Frank Greer, could not be reached for comment despite numerous telephone calls to his Washington, D.C., office during the past week.

William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank based in Washington, agreed.

"If President Bush comes out of this looking powerful, strong — George of Arabia, you know, a great military victory — that's likely to have some partisan impact."

Conversely, Schneider acknowledged, Republican support could wither if a war became bogged down or inflicted heavy U.S. casualties. However, he said, it would take long after the Feb. 26 election date for voter unhappiness to galvanize.

A third scenario centers on economics and a possible cutoff of oil.

"If we go to war, the likely fallout is going to be economic, and it will be very immediate," ASU's Melnick said.

Arizona's tough times could get immeasurably tougher and could make everything that's come to this point a damn tea party," he said, referring to the recent economic fallout resulting from the state's refusal to enact a paid holiday honoring the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

Melnick speculated that voters may favor the candidate who appears more fiscally conservative, believing that he can steer the state through prolonged economic hard times.

"It may play out in Symington's favor," Melnick said, "but I say that with a great caveat."

Melnick believes that a host of pressing state issues would prevent war from overshadowing the governor's race.

The fourth scenario: with a war on, voter turnout could be low.

"If nobody votes, to whose advantage is that?" Schneider said.

"It's usually to the Republicans' advantage, because in a place like Arizona, the Republicans are likely to be more highly motivated, especially if they figure he won the first time."

Registered Republicans outnumber registered Democrats in Arizona by more than 90,000 out of nearly 1.9 million eligible voters.

Then, there's the final scenario: War would have no impact.

Stephen Hess, a senior fellow in governmental studies at the liberal Brookings Institution in Washington, said that "it's a stretch" of the imagination to put the governor's race and the Persian Gulf crisis on the

THE
PHOENIX
GAZETTE

METRO

Poll shows war option support

U.S.-style King Day gets strong backing

By Pat Flannery

THE PHOENIX GAZETTE 1/15/91

Arizonans overwhelmingly favor going to war with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein if today's U.N. deadline for withdrawal from Kuwait is not honored, a new poll suggests.

The statewide KAET-TV poll released today found that 63 percent of those surveyed think the United States should "go to war" or "use whatever force is necessary" if today's U.N. deadline is not met.

The KAET poll also found Republican Fife Symington holding a 9-point lead over Democrat Terry Goddard among likely voters in the Feb. 26 gubernatorial runoff election.

And the poll indicates that by a 2-to-1

margin, Arizonans want a statewide vote soon to decide whether a paid Martin Luther King Jr. holiday patterned after the federal model should be enacted in the state.

A majority of 62 percent said they would vote for such a holiday — combining Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays into a single holiday to make room for King Day — if it were on the ballot.

The King holiday results resemble those of a Rocky Mountain Poll released
See ■ POLLS, Page B2

■ POLLS

From B1

Monday that showed 60 percent of Arizonans favor a King holiday patterned after the federal model.

The KAET poll, conducted by Bruce Merrill, an Arizona State University media researcher and pollster, surveyed 489 people and has a 4.4 percent margin of error. The Rocky Mountain Poll, conducted by Phoenix pollster Earl de Berge, is based on 548 interviews statewide and has a 4.2 percent margin of error.

"President Bush has the strong support of Arizona as he prepares to go to war, if necessary, to push Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait," Merrill said in a statement accompanying the poll. "There is little support for waiting further to see if economic sanctions will work."

Only 17 percent thought the U.S. should "wait for sanctions to work" while 7 percent endorsed a troop withdrawal and 1 percent said America should "pray." Twelve percent did not know what the U.S. response should be.

Symington holds lead

In the gubernatorial race, Merrill's results suggest that Symington has held his supporters more successfully than Goddard since the November general election in

which neither got enough votes to be declared a winner.

Nine percent of those who voted for Symington in November said they are undecided, while 16 percent of those who voted for Goddard said they are undecided.

And 1 percent of those who voted for Symington in November said they would switch to Goddard, while 4 percent of Goddard supporters said they would switch to Symington.

Symington held an 8 percent edge over Goddard in Maricopa County, while Goddard leads by the same margin in Pima County. They are relatively even in the state's rural areas.

Merrill, like most analysts, predicts turnout in next month's election will be a key factor in deciding the winner.

"A lower turnout in the runoff election will definitely benefit Symington," Merrill said. "Symington is leading Goddard by more than a 2-1 margin (54 percent-22 percent) among people over 65 years of age, and people in that age group vote in very high proportions. Their impact will be even larger if turnout is low."

Meanwhile, the King holiday seems destined to go before Ari-

zona voters again, with Gov. Rose Mofford, lawmakers and the public favoring another statewide vote.

King numbers

Merrill's poll found 61 percent of registered voters favor an election on the federal King Day model "sometime in the next few months," while 32 percent oppose that and 7 percent are undecided.

The margin of support held up roughly the same in Maricopa and Pima counties, but eroded significantly in Arizona's rural counties, where support for another vote dwindled to 52 percent, with 39 percent opposed.

Asked how they would vote in such an election, 73 percent of Pima County respondents and 62 percent of Maricopa County respondents said they would favor the federal-type holiday for Arizona. That margin fell to 55 percent in other counties.

De Berge's poll found that among most likely voters, 52 percent supported the national model and 41 percent opposed it.

"Opposition to the (holiday) proposal tends to be most visible in rural Arizona, and among retirees and voters with less than a college education," de Berge said.

Merrill's poll clearly showed how age was a factor. It found that 79 percent of respondents younger than 30 favor the holiday. As age increased, that support decreased, to a low of 42 percent among those age 65 or older.

But de Berge's poll found support for the holiday strengthened among a number of constituencies, including white-collar voters (70 percent), urban voters (64 percent), Republicans (61 percent), conservatives (54 percent) and longer-term residents (59 percent).

In an unscientific poll taken at Ironwood High School in Glendale, seniors were asked whether the U.S. should go to war.

Survey results released today showed that 109 seniors favored a war, 91 were unopposed and three were unsure. The poll was conducted Friday by the Student Council at Ironwood, 6051 W. Sweetwater Ave., where there are about 350 seniors.

"Some people thought we shouldn't go to war because of oil and that's not a reason for blood to be shed," said Stasi Schumacher, student body secretary. "Some thought we should go to war because no single man should have the power to take over a country."

Symington lead 5 points over Goddard, poll says

By William H. Carille

The Arizona Republic 1/17/91

If February's gubernatorial runoff election were held today, Republican Fife Symington would have a lead of 5 percentage points over his Democratic challenger, Terry Goddard, according to The Arizona Republic Poll.

The survey of 642 registered voters, which was released Wednesday, indicated that 46 percent of registered voters surveyed statewide supported Symington and 41 percent backed Goddard.

The telephone poll, conducted from last Thursday through Sunday, also found that a plurality of Symington supporters believed their candidate would not raise taxes this year if elected, while a plurality of Goddard backers felt their candidate would.

The survey, conducted by Winona Market Research Bureau Inc., is the latest of three polls in two days indicating that Symington leads Goddard as the countdown to the Feb. 26 runoff continues.

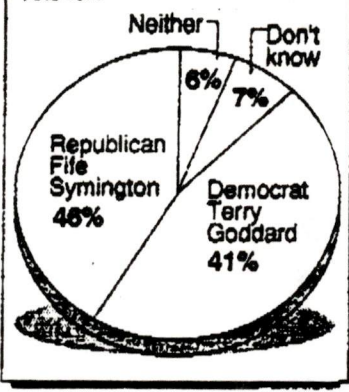
Six percent of those surveyed in The Arizona Republic Poll said they would vote for neither candidate, while 7 percent were undecided.

The survey also asked respondents whether they thought their candidate, if elected, would raise taxes this year.

THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC POLL RUNOFF ELECTION FOR GOVERNOR

Asked of registered voters

If a runoff election for governor were held today, who would you vote for?



The Arizona Republic

Among Symington supporters, 41 percent answered yes and 45 percent said no. Fourteen percent said they didn't know.

Among Goddard backers, 46 percent said their candidate would raise taxes, 32 percent said no, and 22 percent said they didn't know.

Barbara Nelson of Scottsdale, one of Symington's supporters, told the

poll that the GOP candidate would raise taxes, but not in the first year.

"We're in a recession; people are unemployed," she said, adding that the increased demand for social services resulting from the recession would make a tax increase under a Symington administration likely.

Peggy Kater of Why was one Goddard backer surveyed who said the Democratic contender would not raise taxes.

"I think he's a good man for the job," Kater said, adding that the state suffered "no tax troubles" during the tenure of Goddard's father, former Gov. Samuel Goddard.

The survey, done by random-digit dialing, has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

On Tuesday, the Behavior Research Center's Rocky Mountain Poll listed Symington's lead over Goddard at 45 percent to 42 percent among all registered voters.

A survey conducted for KAET-TV (Channel 8), also released Tuesday, showed Symington leading Goddard 49 percent to 40 percent among people most likely to vote, with 11 percent undecided.

Among all registered voters, Symington leads Goddard 42 percent to 36 percent, with 22 percent undecided, the KAET-TV poll said.

Goddard's support is slipping, polls say

By William H. Carlile
The Arizona Republic 1/16/91

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Terry Goddard's support among Arizonans who voted for him in November appears to be softening, according to a statewide poll released Tuesday.

The survey, conducted Sunday for KAET-TV (Channel 8) by Arizona State University professor Bruce Merrill, said Republican Pete Symington leads Goddard 49 percent to 40 percent among voters most likely to vote, with 11 percent undecided.

Merrill attributed Symington's lead to his ability to hold onto voters who went to the polls for him in the Nov. 6 general election.

Among all registered voters, Symington leads Goddard 42 percent to 36 percent, with 22 percent undecided, the poll said.

Another poll out Tuesday, the Behavior Research Center's Rocky Mountain Poll, listed Symington's lead over Goddard at 45 percent to 42 percent among all voters.

Merrill's survey indicated that eight out of 10 Goddard supporters said they will vote for him again in the Feb. 26 runoff election. Nine of 10

Symington supporters said they will vote for their candidate again.

"The results of the two polls released today are why few people take them seriously this far before an election," said a statement issued by Goddard's campaign headquarters.

Symington also disputed the poll's findings, saying, "We're equal dogs. I think it's a dead heat. The key will be in getting out the vote."

Merrill agreed that voter turnout will be key to the outcome of the runoff election, adding that turnout may be lower than November's because of the absence from the ballot of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. holiday issue. Low voter turnout generally is thought to benefit Republicans, because they outnumber Democrats in Arizona.

Merrill's survey of 489 registered

Arizona voters on Jan. 13 has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.4 percentage points. The margin of error for the subgroup of those most likely to vote was not available.

The Rocky Mountain Poll was based on telephone interviews conducted Jan. 2-7 with 436 registered voters statewide. It has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.27 percentage points.

Phoenix Gazette
1/16/91

Campaign

Is Terry Goddard desperate?

Terry Goddard's shrill, personal attacks on Republican Fife Symington keep a promise he shouldn't have made.

True to his pledge, former Phoenix mayor Terry Goddard has changed the tenor of his gubernatorial campaign to one of aggressiveness; seeking out opportunities for publicity, and pushing for public encounters with his opponent, Republican Fife Symington.

But this is one pledge Goddard ought not to have kept.

His new-found "aggressiveness," has turned into desperation, his seeking publicity has provided shrill political theatrics and his push for public encounters has allowed Symington to set the campaign agenda.

Most troubling of all is Goddard's recent lurch toward wild, personal attacks on Symington, including charges that the Republican represents the "politics of high risk and failure."

Goddard notes that attached to Symington's Esplanade development are "huge debts to banks and insurance companies (that) are going to hang over the ninth floor like a shadow. His creditors are going to call the tune."

Adds Goddard, "When J. Fife borrows money and it doesn't work out, he just walks away."

This is the sort of tripe one would expect of a candidate whose campaign is sagging. Bingo.

Goddard, already a 4,000-vote loser to Symington in the November election, is embarked on a

reckless assault that ill serves his candidacy and fails to illuminate the very real talents and accomplishments about which Goddard can legitimately boast.

But the tactic does something else. It sucks Goddard into the public scrubbers as well, where media bristles recently uncovered a deposition from Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., provided to the Senate Ethics Committee.

In that deposition, DeConcini reportedly reveals that he solicited contributions from Charles H. Keating Jr. for Goddard's 1983 mayoral race. Goddard, said DeConcini, "specifically asked me if I could raise some money from Mr. Keating and his associates."

What makes these facts particularly odious is, as *The Gazette's* John Kolbe has pointed out, that Goddard attacked his 1983 mayoral opponent Pete Dunn for taking \$21,000 from Keating and, suggesting Dunn had sold out to the "powerful few who are controlling our city."

Goddard not only sought Keating money in 1983, but in fact received additional campaign contributions from him in 1985, — later dismissing the acceptance as "a mistake ... a momentary lapse."

Symington was our choice for governor for the November election, and is our choice for governor in the February run-off. He is not the desperate candidate.

Goddard, Symington prepare for second heat

They're back.

After nearly two months retooling their campaigns and replenishing their coffers for the Feb. 26 runoff election, Democrat Terry Goddard and Republican Fife Symington Tuesday held back-to-back kickoffs for Phase Two of the Governor's Race That Wouldn't Die.

Crowded into the quaint Spanish-style building that houses Goddard's campaign headquarters, Democrat loyalists perched along the second-floor balcony as television crews positioned their equipment for the event.

In an old-time campaign speech punctuated by orchestrated cheers and boos from the crowd, Goddard unveiled his new underdog campaign persona — loud, angry and, above all, anti-tax.

Gone was the calm, self-assured former Phoenix mayor who had proudly championed progressive, sweeping and expensive programs to expand the Valley's transportation system, develop the Salt River flood plain and build a downtown stadium. During the general election campaign, Goddard had championed the ACE education initiative, a \$5.8 billion plan voters rejected two to one.

Instead, Goddard cited his role in 1982 in successfully pushing for a gas tax rollback by the Legislature. His record, he said, is one of "fighting for the taxpayers and against business as usual." In all, the 20-minute speech carried no fewer than 11 references to taxes and taxpayers, including a promise to veto any state budget that carries "new revenue."

Goddard's newfound fiscal conservatism and folksy rhetorical style was similar to Gov. Rose Mofford's 1990 State of the State address, which seemed to be tailor-made to woo voters before Mofford decided not to run for re-election. Mofford went so far as to abandon a pet project, the Fiscal 2000 revenue reform plan, in much the same way Goddard now is distancing himself from his former support for programs such as ACE.

Beyond the tax issue, Goddard portrayed himself as an anti-establishment maverick, citing his successful push in 1983 to bring the district system of representation — and shortly thereafter, himself — to the city of Phoenix.

"We ended over 40 years of domination of Phoenix City Hall by a few power brokers," Goddard boasted in anti-elitist language reminiscent of another governor, Evan Mecham.

During the general election, Goddard seemed to be trying to move away from his early rabble-rousing days



Rosemary Schabert Case

The Capitol Scene

and reassure the political and business establishment that he had settled in comfortably as part of the power structure. Now he apparently feels he has succeeded too well in identifying himself with the status quo and has to turn around the anti-incumbent backlash that surely played a role in his failure to win.

Still, Goddard is unlikely really to take to heart Tuesday's flaming rhetoric. By Wednesday, questioned by reporters about his stated anti-tax stance, Goddard backed off from ruling out any tax increase under any circumstances.

"To sit here and say, 'Read my lips,' I think, should be regarded as just pandering to voters, and I won't do that," Goddard said, sounding more like his old Harvard-educated self.

As Goddard wrapped up his stunning, folksy performance, Symington was arriving at a luncheon of the Impeccably coifed and manicured Camelback Young Republicans at the downtown Arizona Club. Against the backdrop of a panoramic view of the city, the Phoenix developer proffered his own pledge of fiscal conservatism — in his case, with no dramatic change in either substance or style.

Symington, who garnered a 4,300-vote edge in the Nov. 6 general election, appeared to have shed all vestiges of his former underdog status. In a studiously calm and measured voice, he called for a high-road campaign.

He then angrily accused Goddard of "sleazy" campaign tactics, pointing to "smear sheets" being circulated by Goddard supporters that attack his business practices and personal life.

In particular, Symington singled out a reference to his "current wife," Ann.

"The implications of this kind of wording, I think, are really sleazy," said Symington, who married Ann 15 years ago after an early divorce. "I think the people of this state deserve better."

While Symington's reaction was understandable — and strategically calculated to backfire on Goddard forces — his own record of campaign tactics is not unflawed.

During one early general election debate, Symington hammered repeatedly on his image as a family man, obviously exploiting Goddard's single status. Finally, he prompted a hearty round of boos on the issue of juvenile abortions by saying he "wouldn't expect him (Goddard) to necessarily understand my feelings as a father."

But Symington was attacking Goddard in his campaign literature as well.

One flyer contained this mysteriously negative quote from Democrat Sen. Jaime Gutierrez, a Goddard supporter: "I don't see how anything that (Goddard) can do or that he can say will ever persuade ... the folks that have concerns (in rural areas) that he's going to be for real and he's going to treat everybody fairly and equally." The comment, part of a *Tribune* story shortly after Goddard announced his candidacy, omitted the phrase "100 percent of," replacing it with the ellipsis.

On Wednesday, Symington began a series of "town halls" around the state. It's no accident he's capitalizing on what supporters and observers view as his greatest strength: one-on-one appearances before small groups of voters, particularly in rural areas. In this setting, he can listen to their concerns and offer answers tailored to their needs — usually with only the rural press in attendance.

He also can meet personally with and woo the conservative Republicans whose votes are crucial. It's worth noting that as tallies rolled in from rural areas on the ballot measure creating a Martin Luther King holiday, Symington's totals rose along with the number of "no" votes on the holiday. Now, Symington, though a King supporter, is calling for caution on the issue.

With the governor's race back in full swing, voters face yet another barrage of promises, charges and counter-charges. With support nearly evenly split between the two candidates and only weeks remaining, they will be working hard to yank support away from each other.

That surely will make for a tougher, more calculating race. Whether it will make for better turnout at the polls — or drive voters away in droves — remains to be seen.

Rosemary Schabert Case is a state Capitol reporter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/17/91

1992
TO: JOHN H. SUNUNU / BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: FRED McCLURE 
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs

☒ FYI

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

☐ Comment

☐ Action

Attached are two draft resolutions. The first (labeled Dole-Michel) is the one that Dole will push because it commends the troops AND the President. The second, drafted by Mitchell, et al. does not mention the President in the "resolved" clause. Dole intends to try and make the Senate vote on his version, or at least force the Senate into two votes. In other words, he wants to make some of the Democrats who did NOT support the President have to support him nonetheless.

The Senate vote is expected today. The House vote is expected tomorrow. Dole has coordinated this with Michel.

DOLE - MICHEL

S. CON. RESOLUTION _____
SUPPORTING THE U.S. TROOPS IN THE PERSIAN GULF

17 JANUARY 1991

Whereas the President of the United States, with the specific authorization of Congress, has ordered military action against Iraq in an effort to force Iraqi armed forces from occupied Kuwait;

Whereas 430,000 men and women of United States Armed Forces are now involved in armed conflict;

Whereas 152,000 members of the Reserves have been called to active duty since August 22 and may become involved in armed conflict;

Whereas Congress and the American people have the greatest pride in the men and women of the United States Armed Forces and support them in their efforts;

[REDACTED]

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),

That the Congress commends the President for his decisive leadership in the Persian Gulf crisis.

That the Congress will support the decision of the President to utilize military force to oust the armed forces of Saddam Hussein from Kuwait.

That the Congress unequivocally supports the men and women of our armed forces who are carrying out their missions with professional excellence, dedicated patriotism and exemplary bravery and joins with the President in pledging to provide any and all support that the United States Armed Forces need to prevail.

**S. CON. RESOLUTION
SUPPORTING THE U.S. TROOPS IN THE PERSIAN GULF**

17 JANUARY 1991

Whereas the President of the United States, with the specific authorization of Congress, has ordered military action against Iraq in an effort to force Iraqi armed forces from occupied Kuwait;

Whereas 430,000 men and women of United States Armed Forces are now involved in armed conflict;

Whereas 152,000 members of the Reserves have been called to active duty since August 22 and may become involved in armed conflict;

Whereas Congress and the American people have the greatest pride in the men and women of the United States Armed Forces;

Whereas the men and women of the United States Armed Forces demonstrate exemplary courage and commitment: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),
That while Members of Congress expressed honest differences of opinion during the recent debate on Persian Gulf policy, there are no differences on support for the men and women of our armed forces;

Now that hostilities have begun between the United States, along with its allies, and Iraq, Congress at this critical moment joins with the President in pledging to provide any and all support that the United States Armed Forces need to prevail.

01-16-91 00:10 AET

Cuomo Backs Bush On Gulf Crisis

92
By MARC HUMBERT=
Associated Press Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) Gov. Mario Cuomo says that if war breaks out in the Persian Gulf, he wants all New Yorkers to fly the American flag ``as a symbol of support for our military personnel."

At a state Capitol news conference Tuesday, Cuomo put himself squarely behind President Bush and said New Yorkers should be ``totally supportive" of the president through the Gulf crisis.

He also urged calm amid threats of terrorism and outlined a series of actions he's ordered to help New Yorkers called to military service in the Gulf and their families.

``I think George Bush has done very, very well as president," Cuomo, a potential 1992 Democratic presidential rival, said of the Republican leader's handling of the Gulf crisis. ``I can't find any fault to lay at his feet, no matter what happens."

While Cuomo said he stood behind the president, the governor noted that he had favored Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn's call for giving sanctions more time to work before force was used. That resolution was defeated Saturday as Congress authorized Bush to go to war as soon as the U.N. deadline passed for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

``It does confuse one a little bit that we're capable of this kind of absurdity over and over," Cuomo said of going to war.

The governor refused to say whether he would have voted for the congressional resolution authorizing the use force as soon as the U.N. deadline had passed.

Cuomo downplayed the possibility of terrorist attacks in New York, saying ``there is no threat that I'm aware of anywhere in the state."

Cuomo said his top law enforcement officials had been in constant contact with federal officials.

``Obviously, if you saw something suspicious, report it," Cuomo added.

Cuomo also unveiled a host of actions he's ordered to help New Yorkers sent to the Gulf region.

Among other things, Cuomo said the state would continue paying state workers called to Gulf military action their full salaries for 60 days instead of the 30 days previously granted for military leave. After 60 days, Cuomo said such employees would receive state checks that would make up the difference between their military pay and their state salaries.

Cuomo aides said about 400 state workers were serving in the Gulf region.

The governor called on local governments, school districts and businesses to voluntarily do the same thing.

Cuomo on the Gulf Crisis:

"In the world there are no cops. We have to create them. Hussein went next door to Kuwait because there were no cops ... Isolate Iraq. Do not do what you did with Adolph Hitler a century ago." (UPI, 8-7-90)

"Now we're on the brink of war because of oil. Be honest. Who cares about the Kuwaiti royalty? ... You're there for oil. " President Bush has "done superbly so far" in the crisis. (NY Post, 9-26-90).

"You could negotiate something that gets them out of Kuwait for the most part, leaves them maybe a little bit on the water, leaves them a little bit of the oil, and then puts in a United Nations task force to go over the whole question of chemical weapons ... and this movement toward nuclear capacity." In an interview, he said: "It's war or a settlement. If it were a settlement only, then you would want a perfect settlement. But when it's a settlement or war you take a less than perfect settlement" (LA Times, 11-21-90).

"So, the President has taken a very hard stance and that is appropriate. However, it is entirely possible that before this thing is over, you will choose, instead of war, a settlement and that settlement would have to give Iraq something, however indirectly you do it, so as not to be responsible for it -- you know, let the Kuwaits do it, don't you do it -- however you do it." (Q&A, National Press Club, 12-17-90)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Jan. 11, 1991

91 JAN 11 PM 3:30

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/11/91

TO:

1992

THE CHIEF STAFF

FROM: JAMES W. CICONI
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

t.

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

copy w/ clear
picture

Jolly
1-15

BILLBOARD READS: Senator Sam Nunn, You're Becoming SADDAM'S Best Friend! signed Your Former Supporter Buddy Crowder

P.S. Wait later to run for President, please.

Nunn walks tightwire as he opposes Bush on gulf

Conservative supporters are questioning his stand

By A.L. May
Staff writer

So far, it is just one angry billboard in Cobb County and some private grumbling by his most hawkish supporters.

But Sen. Sam Nunn, the state's most popular Democrat, is gambling some of his political stock as he stands against President Bush in the congressional debate over war in the Persian Gulf.

"I think he is clearly rolling the dice," said Joel Cowan of Peachtree City, a Democrat and adviser to Gov. Joe Frank Harris.

The first public warning could be the sign along U.S. 41 in Cobb County: "Senator Sam Nunn, You're Becoming SADDAM'S Best Friend!"

Interviews with state Democratic leaders Thursday found that the politicians are divided on the politics of a possible war and what they ultimately will mean for Mr. Nunn.

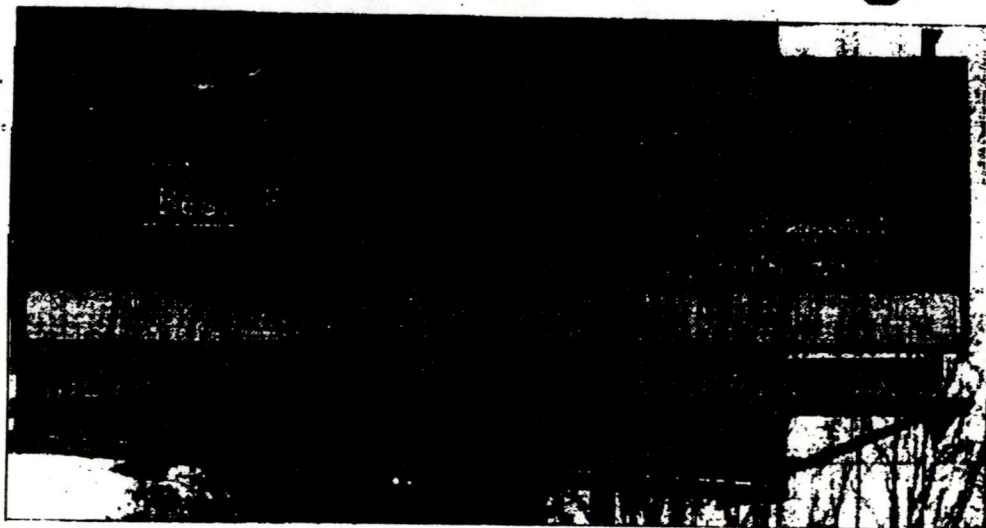
Yet most agree Mr. Nunn's prominent stand on the gulf crisis has made him the bellwether for the congressional debate on the war. As chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and a possible candidate for president in 1992, Mr. Nunn makes his every move in the spotlight.

Mr. Cowan sided with Mr. Nunn's initial opposition to the recent troop buildup in Saudi Arabia, but now he thinks it is time for Congress to back Mr. Bush in his request for authorization to use force.

At the same time, John Henry Anderson of Hawkinsville, former state Democratic chairman, said that in arguing delay, Mr. Nunn is close to the pulse — and fears — of Georgians.

"They are scared of war," said Mr. Anderson, who thinks it is Mr. Bush, not Mr. Nunn, who is daily losing support.

Rogers Waca, a former aide to Sen. Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) and a long-time Nunn



A sign on U.S. 41 in Cobb County shows one former supporter's discontent with Sen. Sam

Nunn's stand against President Bush in the congressional debate on war in the Persian Gulf.

friend, said there is nervousness among Mr. Nunn's conservative supporters.

"I've heard a lot of negative grumbling," Mr. Wade said. "You know, calling him Baghdad Sam, and all that."

State House Majority Leader Larry Walker (D-Perry) reported "some concern" but said that so far there has been no criticism of the senator in his Middle Georgia home.

"The people back home know that Senator Nunn is doing what he thinks is in the best interest of the country," Mr. Walker said.

The whole argument, said Attorney General Mike Bowers, "is a damn close question."

Mr. Nunn is co-sponsoring a resolution that seeks to delay an attack on the Iraqis until economic sanctions are fully tested in forcing the invader out of Kuwait. The president wants a green light for force.

Mr. Bush has put the debate in stark terms, saying in a letter to House leaders that a vote in support of force would "greatly enhance the chances for peace."

On Thursday in the Journal-Constitution, Mr. Nunn put the issue much differently, saying he wants Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to understand that "if war occurs, the constitutional and policy debates will be suspended, and Congress will provide American troops whatever they need to prevail."

Mr. Nunn's stand has prompted Buddy Crowder, a conservative and owner of Crowder Outdoor Advertising Inc., to attack Mr. Nunn in the billboard on U.S. 41. Mr. Crowder, who describes himself as a former Nunn supporter, said he is backing Mr. Bush on the crisis. He said Mr. Nunn adopted his stance to enhance his chances for a presidential nomination.

Mr. Nunn has disavowed any political motives in the gulf debate.

Gordon Giffin, a top political adviser to the senator, called the billboard an aberration and not a sign of growing unrest among Nunn supporters. "You don't have to be a liberal to be against people being killed unnecessarily," he said.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution
Friday, January 11, 1991

Nunn walks tightwire as he opposes Bush on gulf

Conservative supporters are questioning his stand

By A.L. May
Staff writer

So far, it is just one angry billboard in Cobb County and some private grumbling by his most hawkish supporters.

But Sen. Sam Nunn, the state's most popular Democrat, is gambling some of his political stock as he stands against President Bush in the congressional debate over war in the Persian Gulf.

"I think he is clearly rolling the dice," said Joel Cowan of Peachtree City, a Democrat and adviser to Gov. Joe Frank Harris.

The first public warning could be the sign along U.S. 41 in Cobb County: "Senator Sam Nunn — You're Becoming SADDAM'S Best Friend!"

Interviews with state Democratic leaders Thursday found that the politicians are divided on the politics of a possible war and what they ultimately will mean for Mr. Nunn.

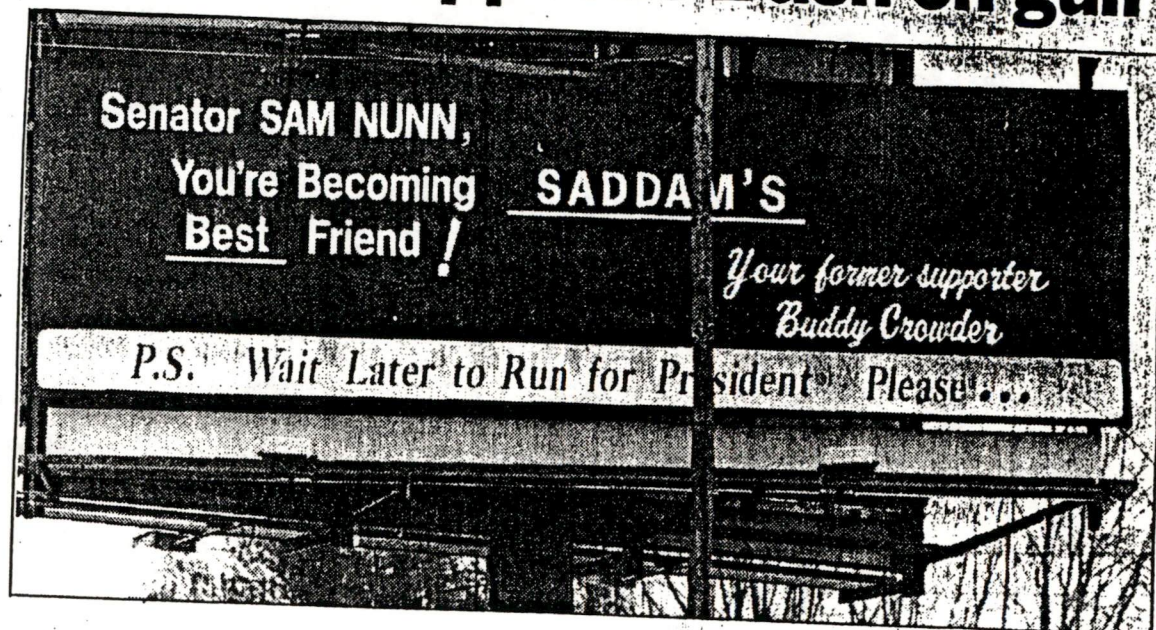
Yet most agree Mr. Nunn's prominent stand on the gulf crisis has made him the bellwether for the congressional debate on the war. As chairman of the Senate Armed Services and a possible candidate for president in 1992, Mr. Nunn makes his every move in the spotlight.

Mr. Cowan sided with Mr. Nunn's initial opposition to the recent troop buildup in Saudi Arabia, but now he thinks it is time for Congress to back Mr. Bush in his request for authorization to use force.

At the same time, John Henry Anderson of Hawkinsville, former state Democratic chairman, said that in arguing delay, Mr. Nunn is close to the pulse — and fears — of Georgians.

"They are scared of war," said Mr. Anderson, who thinks it is Mr. Bush, not Mr. Nunn, who is daily losing support.

Rogers Wade, a former aide to Sen. Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) and a long-time Nunn



A sign on U.S. 41 in Cobb County shows one former supporter's discontent with Sen. Sam

Jonathan Newton/Staff

Nunn's stand against President Bush in the congressional debate on war in the Persian Gulf.

friend, said there is nervousness among Mr. Nunn's conservative supporters.

"I've heard a lot of negative grumbling," Mr. Wade said. "You know, calling him Baghdad Sam, and all that."

State House Majority Leader Larry Walker (D-Perry) reported "some concern" but said that so far there has been no criticism of the senator in his Middle Georgia home.

"The people back home know that Senator Nunn is doing what he thinks is in the best interest of the country," Mr. Walker said.

The whole argument, said Attorney General Mike Bowers, "is a damn close question."

Mr. Nunn is co-sponsoring a resolution that seeks to delay an attack on the Iraqis until economic sanctions are fully tested in forcing the invader out of Kuwait. The president wants a green light for force.

Mr. Bush has put the debate in stark terms, saying in a letter to House leaders that a vote in support of force would "greatly enhance the chances for peace."

In an article published Wednesday in the Journal-Constitution, Mr. Nunn put the issue much differently, saying he wants Saddam Hussein to understand that "if war occurs, the constitutional and policy debates will be suspended, and Congress will provide American troops whatever they need to prevail."

Mr. Nunn's stand has prompted Bubby Crowder, a conservative and owner of Crowder Outdoor Advertising Inc., to attack Mr. Nunn in the billboard on U.S. 41. Mr. Crowder, who describes himself as a former Nunn supporter, said he is backing Mr. Bush on the crisis. He said Mr. Nunn adopted his stance to enhance his chances for a presidential nomination.

Mr. Nunn has disavowed any political motives in the gulf debate.

Gordon Giffin, a top political adviser to the senator, called the billboard an aberration and not a sign of growing unrest among Nunn supporters. "You don't have to be a liberal to be against people being killed unnecessarily," he said.

SENATE SEATS UP IN 1992 - 15 REPUBLICANS - 19 DEMOCRATS

<u>ALABAMA:</u>	SEN. RICHARD SHELBY (D) 1986 RESULTS: 50.1% - 49.9%
<u>ALASKA:</u>	SEN. FRANK MURKOWSKI (R) 1986 RESULTS: 54% - 44%
<u>ARIZONA:</u>	SEN. JOHN MCCAIN (R) 1986 RESULTS: 60% - 40%
<u>ARKANSAS:</u>	SEN. DALE BUMPERS (D) 1986 RESULTS: 62% - 38%
<u>CALIFORNIA:</u>	SEN. ALAN CRANSTON (D) 1986 RESULTS: 50% - 47%
	YET TO BE APPOINTED (R)
<u>COLORADO:</u>	SEN. TIMOTHY WIRTH (D) 1986 RESULTS: 50% - 48%
<u>CONNECTICUT:</u>	SEN. CHRISTOPHER DODD (D) 1986 RESULTS: 65% - 35%
<u>FLORIDA:</u>	SEN. BOB GRAHAM (D) 1986 RESULTS: 55% - 45%
<u>GEORGIA:</u>	SEN. WYCHE FOWLER (D) 1986 RESULTS: 51% - 49%
<u>HAWAII:</u>	SEN. DANIEL INOUE (D) 1986 RESULTS: 74% - 26%
<u>IDAHO:</u>	SEN. STEVEN SYMONS (R) 1986 RESULTS: 52% - 48%
<u>ILLINOIS:</u>	SEN. ALAN DIXON (D) 1986 RESULTS: 65% - 34%
<u>INDIANA:</u>	SEN. DANIEL COATS (R) 1990 RESULTS: 54% - 46%
<u>IOWA:</u>	SEN. CHARLES GRASSLEY (R) 1986 RESULTS: 66% - 34%
<u>KANSAS:</u>	SEN. BOB DOLE (R) 1986 RESULTS: 70% - 30%
<u>KENTUCKY:</u>	SEN. WENDELL FORD (D) 1986 RESULTS: 75% - 25%

SENATE SEATS CONTINUED...

<u>LOUISIANA:</u>	SEN. JOHN BREAUX (D) 1986 RESULTS: 53% - 47%
<u>MARYLAND:</u>	SEN. BARBARA MIKULSKI (D) 1986 RESULTS: 61% - 39%
<u>MISSOURI:</u>	SEN. KIT BOND (R) 1986 RESULTS: 53% - 47%
<u>NEVADA:</u>	SEN. HARRY REID (D) 1986 RESULTS: 50% - 45%
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE:</u>	SEN. WARREN RUDMAN (R) 1986 RESULTS: 63% - 32%
<u>NEW YORK:</u>	SEN. ALPHONSE D'AMATO (R) 1986 RESULTS: 57% - 41%
<u>NORTH CAROLINA:</u>	SEN. TERRY SANFORD (D) 1986 RESULTS: 52% - 48%
<u>NORTH DAKOTA:</u>	SEN. KENT CONRAD (D) 1986 RESULTS: 50% - 49%
<u>OHIO:</u>	SEN. JOHN GLENN (D) 1986 RESULTS: 62% - 38%
<u>OKLAHOMA:</u>	SEN. DON NICKLES (R) 1986 RESULTS: 55% - 45%
<u>OREGON:</u>	SEN. BOB PACKWOOD (R) 1986 RESULTS: 63% - 36%
<u>PENNSYLVANIA:</u>	SEN. ARLEN SPECTOR (R) 1986 RESULTS: 56% - 43%
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA:</u>	SEN. ERNEST HOLLINGS (D) 1986 RESULTS: 63% - 36%
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA:</u>	SEN. THOMAS DASCHLE (D) 1986 RESULTS: 52% - 48%
<u>UTAH:</u>	SEN. JAKE GARN (R) 1986 RESULTS: 72% - 27%

?

✓

Housing - ?

✓
Short

✓

✓

✓
Garnlow

SENATE SEATS CONTINUED...

VERMONT:

SEN. PATRICK LEAHY (D)
1986 RESULTS: 63% - 35%

WASHINGTON:

SEN. BROCK ADAMS (D)
1986 RESULTS: 51% - 49%

WISCONSIN:

SEN. ROBERT KASTEN (R)
1986 RESULTS: 51% - 47%

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1991

MEMORANDUM TO GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU
CHIEF OF STAFF

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

 SUBJECT: 1991 and 1992 elections

Even though 1991 is an "off-year" for elections and 1992 seems far off, many U.S. Senators, Governors and State Legislators will be involved in their own elections.

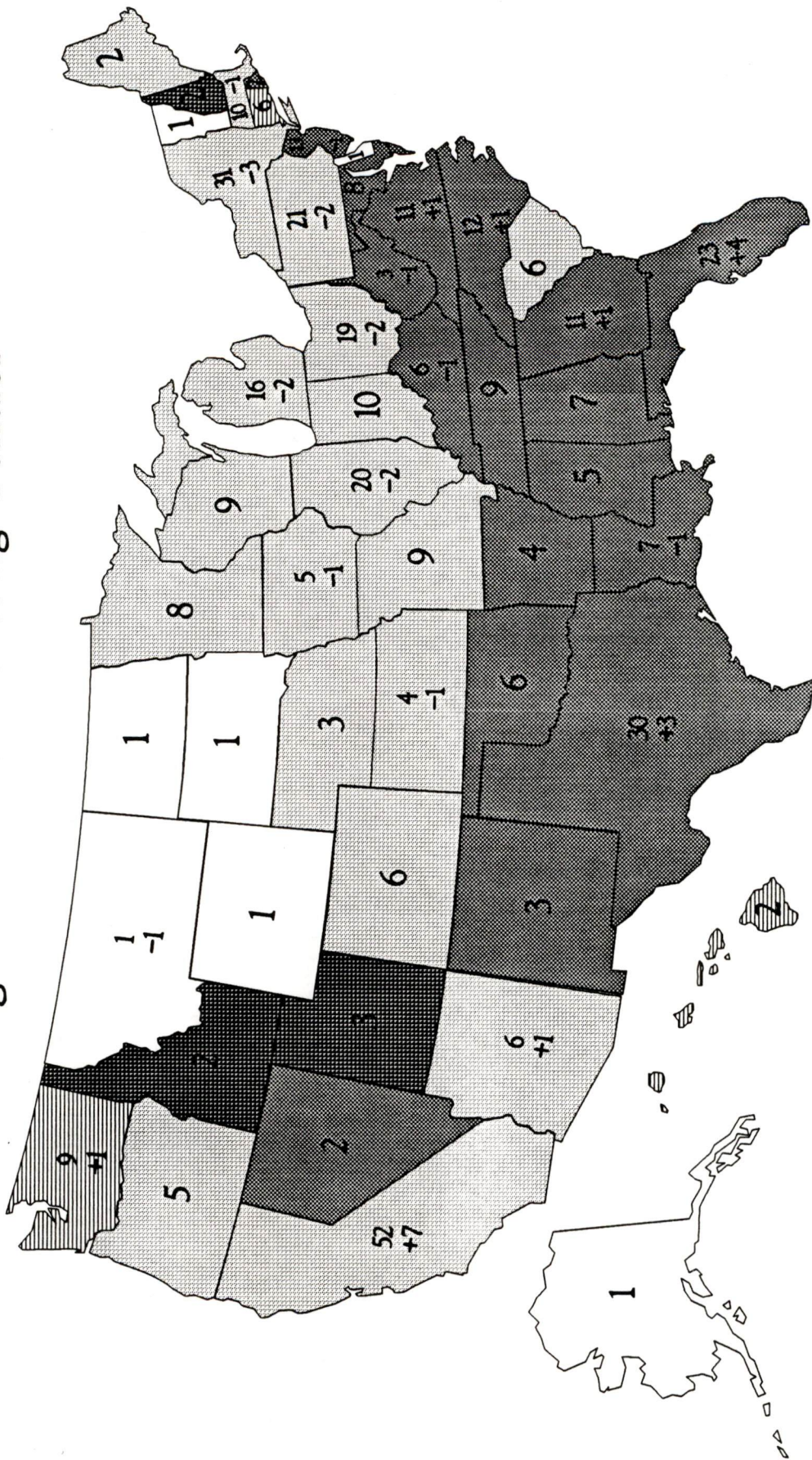
1991 will be highlighted by three Gubernatorial races in the South (Kentucky, Louisiana and Mississippi) and a run-off Gubernatorial race in Arizona between Republican Fife Symington and Democrat Terry Goddard. Additionally, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Virginia will hold State Senate and State House races.

In addition to the Presidential election in 1992, twelve Governorships, 34 U.S. Senate seats and all of the U.S. House seats will be contested.

The enclosed information will give more detail on these important races. It also outlines the net changes in Congressional seats determined by the 1990 census. Some of the big winners include California which will gain 7 seats and Florida which will gain 3 seats. The biggest seat loser was New York with a loss of 3 seats.

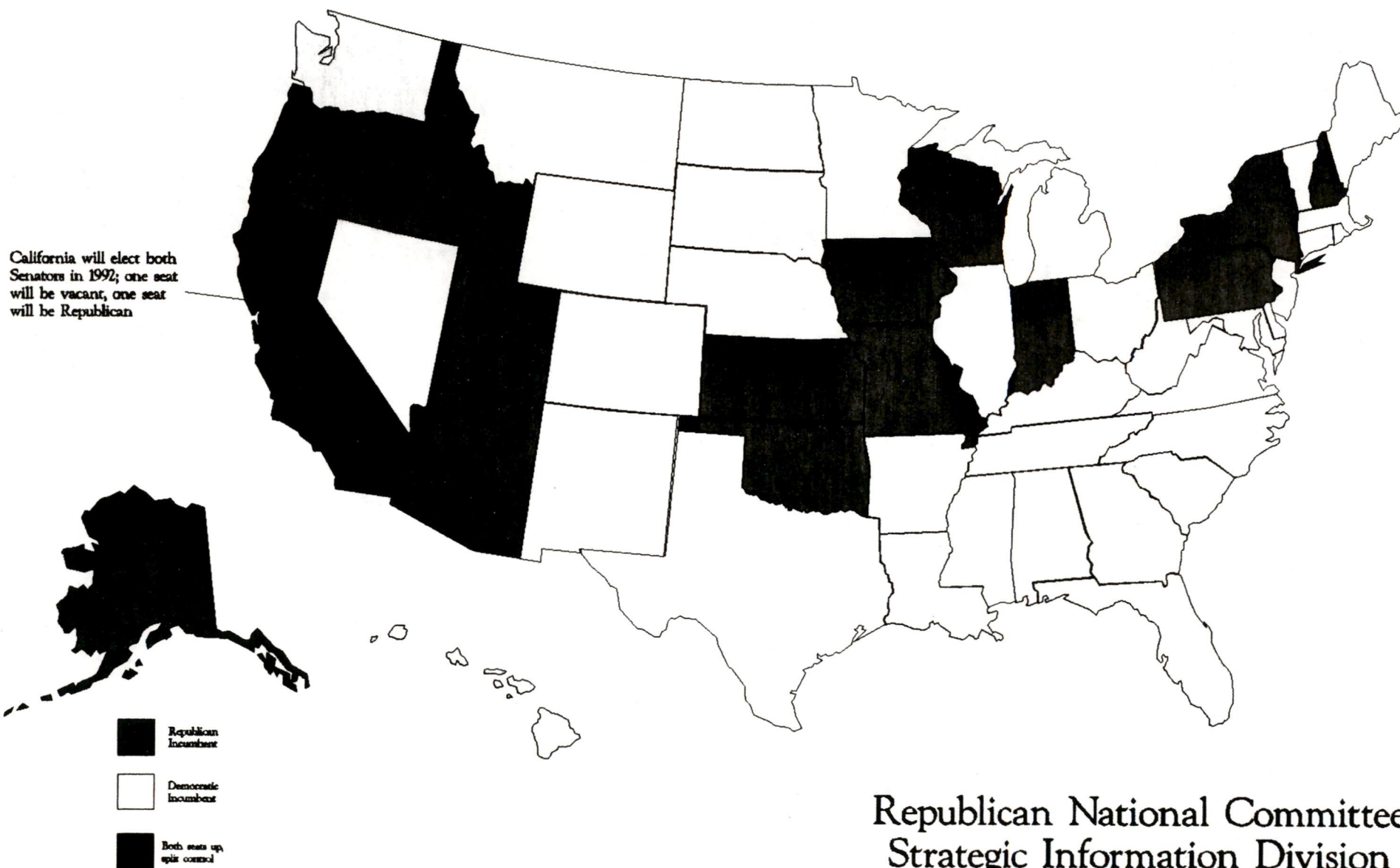
I thought you would find this information interesting and timely. Please contact this office if you have any questions.

- Projected 1992 Congressional Seats -
 - Net Change by State -
 - Congressional Redistricting Control -



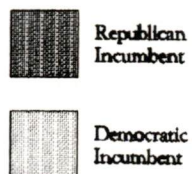
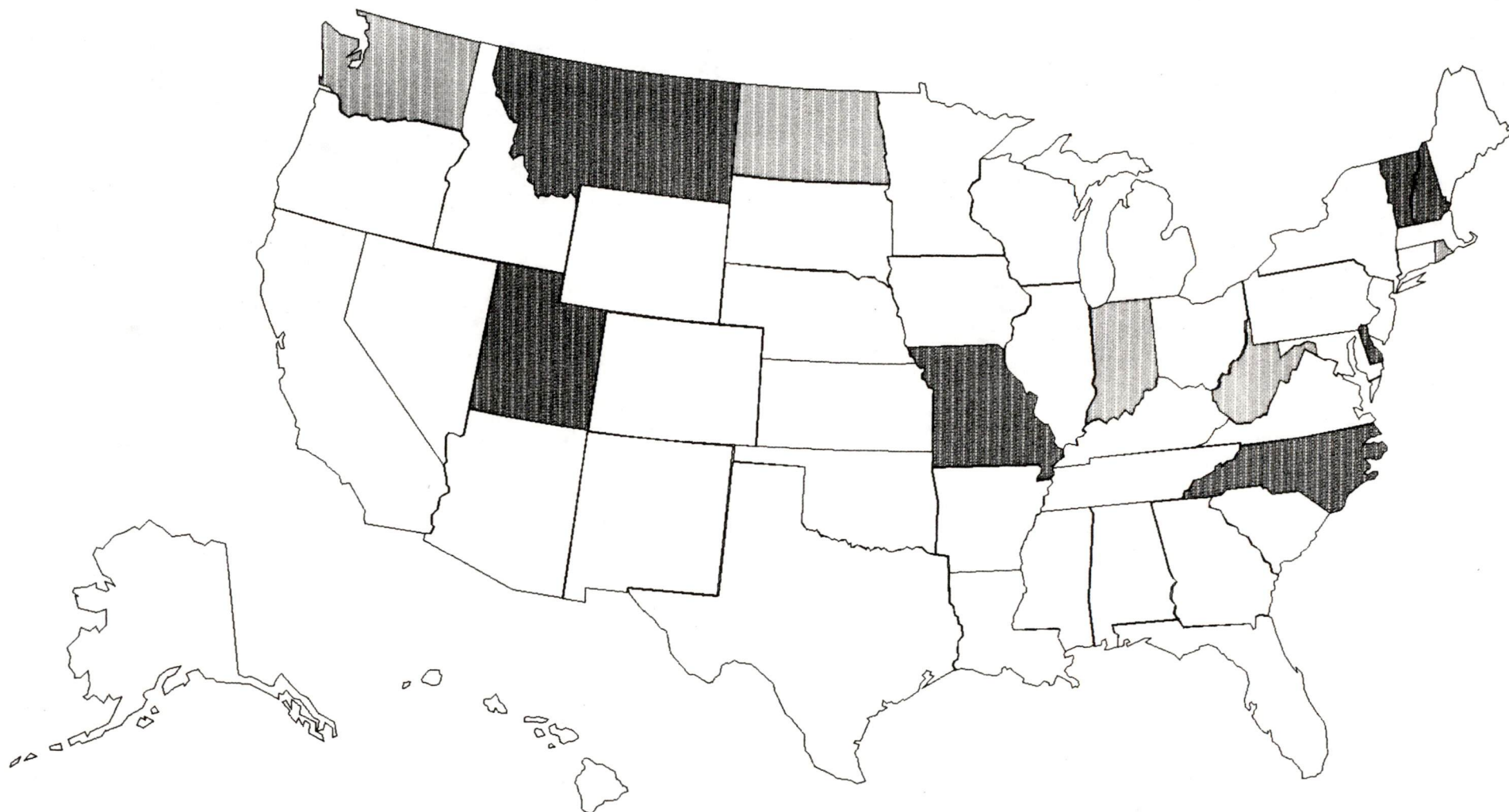
Republican National Committee
 Strategic Information Division
 Political Analysis Department

U.S. Senate Seats up in 1992



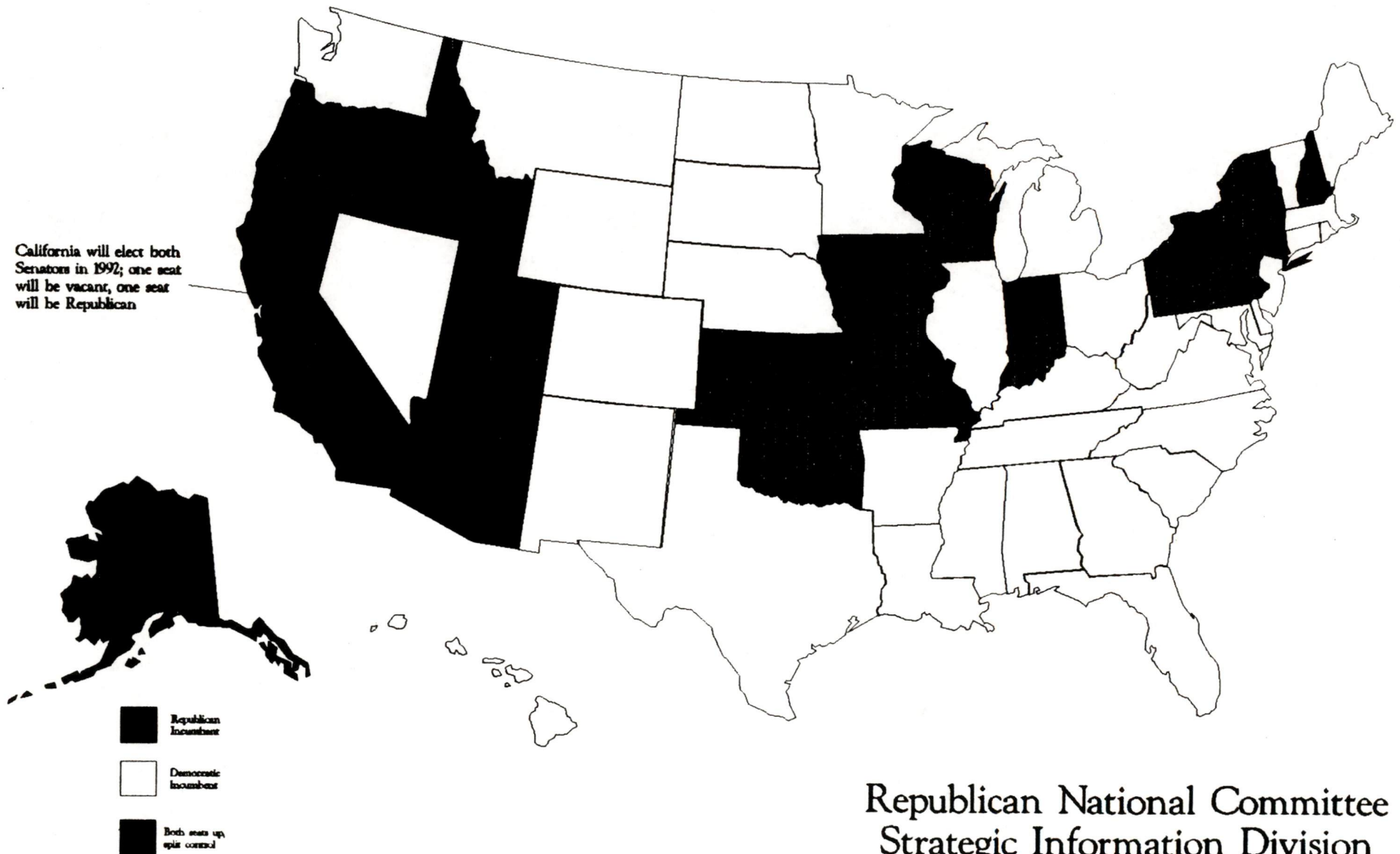
Republican National Committee
Strategic Information Division
Political Analysis Department

Governors, Seats up in 1992



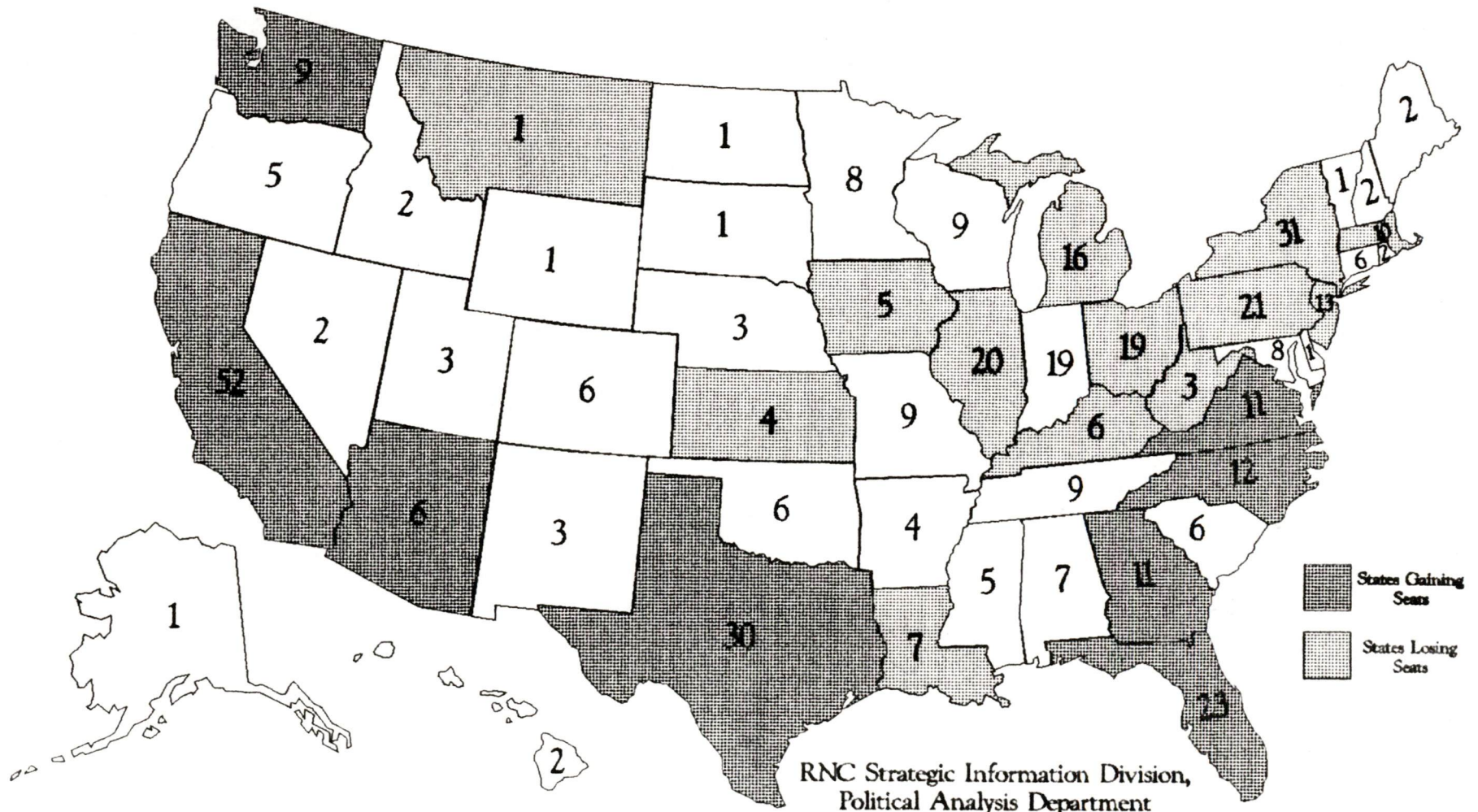
Republican National Committee
Strategic Information Division
Political Analysis Department

U.S. Senate Seats up in 1992



Republican National Committee
Strategic Information Division
Political Analysis Department

Projected 1992 Congressional Seats by State

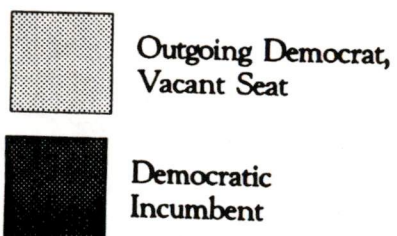
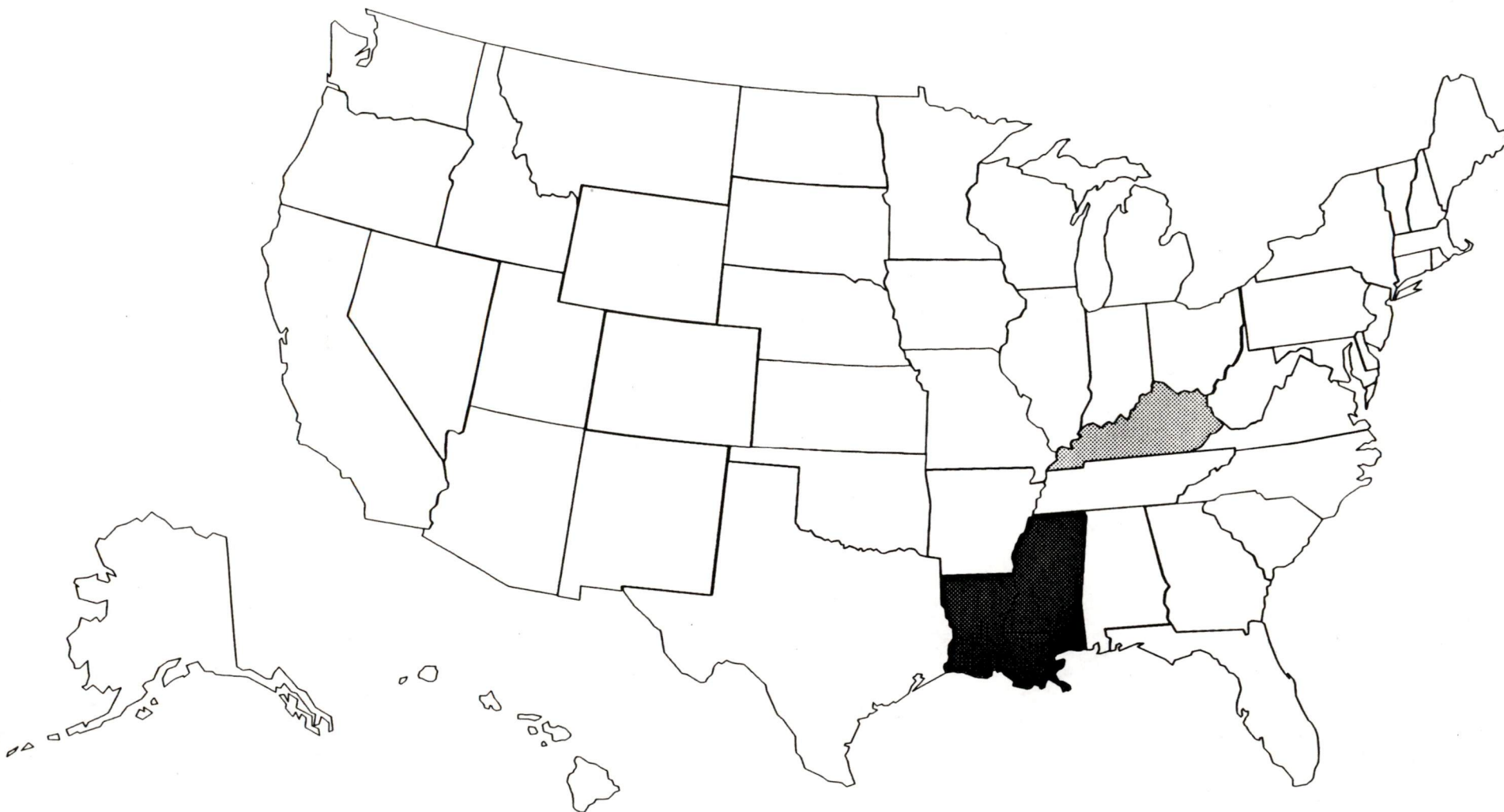


1992 SENATE AND GOVERNOR SEATS UP

GOVERNOR SEATS - 7 REPUBLICANS - 5 DEMOCRATS

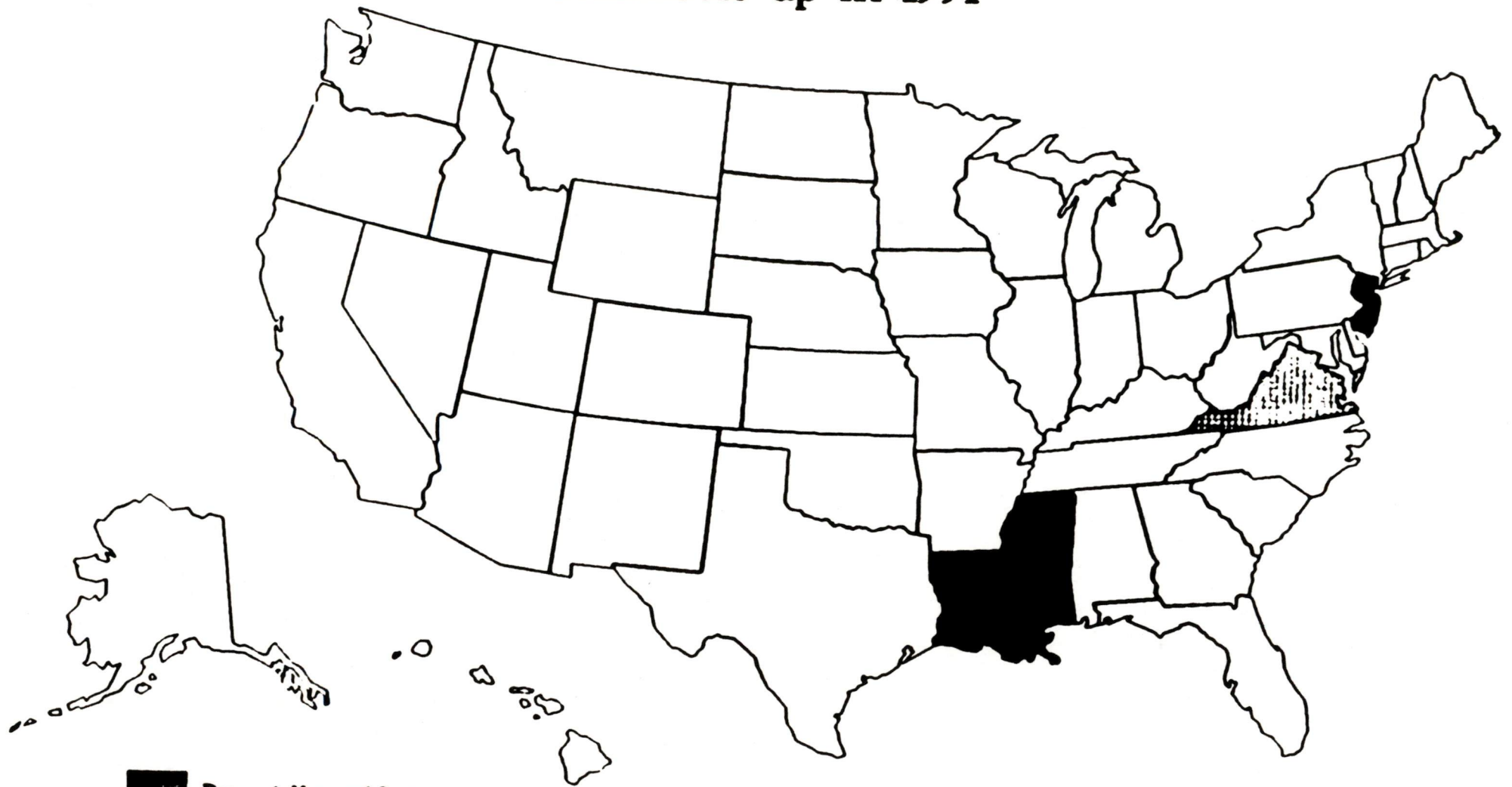
<u>DELEWARE:</u>	GOV. MICHAEL N. CASTLE (R) 1988 RESULTS: 71% - 29%
<u>INDIANA:</u>	GOV. EVAN BAYH (D) 1988 RESULTS: 53% - 47%
<u>MISSOURI:</u>	GOV. JOHN ASHCROFT (R) 1988 RESULTS: 64% - 35%
<u>MONTANA:</u>	GOV. STAN STEPHENS (R) 1988 RESULTS: 53% - 47%
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE:</u>	GOV. JUDD GREGG (R) 1990 RESULTS: 63% - 37%
<u>NORTH CAROLINA:</u>	GOV. JIM MARTIN (R) 1988 RESULTS: 56% - 44%
<u>NORTH DAKOTA:</u>	GOV. GEORGE SINNER (D) 1988 RESULTS: 60% - 40%
<u>RHODE ISLAND:</u>	GOV. BRUCE SUNDLUN (D) 1990 RESULTS: 74% - 26%
<u>UTAH:</u>	GOV. NORMAN BANGERTER (R) 1988 RESULTS: 40% - 38%
<u>VERMONT:</u>	GOV. RICHARD SNELLING (R) 1990 RESULTS: 52% - 46%
<u>WASHINGTON:</u>	GOV. WILLIAM BOOTH GARDNER (D) 1988 RESULTS: 62% - 38%
<u>WEST VIRGINIA:</u>	GOV. GASTON CAPERTON (D) 1988 RESULTS: 59% - 41%

Governors, Seats up in 1991



Republican National Committee
Strategic Information Division
Political Analysis Department

State Legislatures: Chambers up in 1991



-  Democratic House and Senate
Up for 2 year term
-  Democratic House and Senate
Senate 4 yrs. House 2yrs
-  Democratic Senate and House
Up for 4 year term

Republican National Committee
Strategic Information Division
Political Analysis Department

1991 ELECTIONS

GOVERNORS SEATS UP: 3 DEMOCRATS

KENTUCKY: GOV. WALLACE WILKINSON CAN NOT STAND FOR
REELECTION IN 1991
1987 RESULTS: 65% - 35%

LOUISIANA: GOV. BUDDY ROEMER (D)
1987 RESULTS: 33% - 28% (bipartisan primary)

MISSISSIPPI: GOV. RAY MABUS (D)
1987 RESULTS: 61% - 39%

STATE SENATE SEATS UP:

LOUISIANA: 33 D - 6 R
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A FOUR YEAR TERM

MISSISSIPPI: 43 D - 9 R
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A FOUR YEAR TERM

NEW JERSEY: 23 D - 17 R
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A TWO YEAR TERM

VIRGINIA: 30 D - 10 R
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A FOUR YEAR TERM

STATE HOUSE SEATS UP:

LOUISIANA: 86 D - 18 R - 1 I
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A FOUR YEAR TERM

MISSISSIPPI: 104 D - 18 R
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A FOUR YEAR TERM

NEW JERSEY: 44 D - 36 R
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A TWO YEAR TERM

VIRGINIA: 59 D - 38 R - 2 I (1 VACANCY)
ENTIRE CHAMBER UP FOR A TWO YEAR TERM

1991 OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS

Six states will hold off-year elections in 1991, as follows:

Arizona

Governor Runoff - Fife Symington (R)
Terry Goddard (D)

Date TBD

Kentucky

Governor - Wallace Wilkinson (D)

Filing - ? (TBD)

Primary - May 28th

General - November 5th

Louisiana

Governor - Buddy Roemer (D)

State Senate (all)

33D

6R

State House (all)

86D

18R

1 vacancy

Filing - September 3rd, 4th and 5th

Primary - October 19th

General - November 5th

Mississippi

Governor - Ray Maybus (D)

State Senate (all)

43D

9R

State House

104D

18R

MS continued

Filing - July 19th

Primary - September 17th

General - November 5th

New Jersey

State Senate (all)

23D

17R

State Assembly (all)

43D

37R

Filing - April 11th

Primary - June 4th

General - November 5th

Virginia

State Senate (all)

30D

10R

State House (all)

59D

39R

2I

Qualifying & Primary - June 4th

General - November 5th