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Grant/Simon
December 1, 1989
Draft one
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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HANK BROWN FUNDRAISER
CURRIGAN CONVENTION HALL/DENVER
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1989
12 NOON

Good afternoon. My thanks to our distinguished Senator from Colorado, Senator Bill Armstrong ... and Congressmen Hefley and ~~Shafer.~~ Schaefer Thanks also to our GOP Chairman, Bruce Benson. My son Neil and his wife Sharon. Of course, I'd like to say hello to one of Colorado's great leaders and the next junior Senator from Colorado, Hank Brown.//

Hank wanted to get a big crowd today, so I know his campaign was trying to get the three H-Men [players all from Houston] from C.U.'s football team. Unfortunately, they couldn't make it, so you've got me instead. But hey, it's not so bad -- I'm from Houston.///

Before I go any further, I'd like to say a few words about one of the finest men we've got in Washington, Senator Bill Armstrong. Bill has been one of the best and brightest, a top player on our Republican team. He's served in Congress since 1973, first in the House and now in the Senate, and he's going to be missed -- by me, by his fellow Senators, and by the people of Colorado who have kept him in office for so long. Bill, thanks for a great job. ///

We're all here today to support the next Senator from this great state, Hank Brown. You know, people say Hank and I have a

Denver Post 5-11-86 11-26-89

lot in common: we both volunteered to fight in the war -- for the Navy, both good family men, solid environmentalists, dedicated public servants, ((PAUSE)) and good-looking guys.

But there's one crucial difference: People don't call his dog names. Like "prudent." "Cautious." "Timid." //

Seriously, Hank and I are on the same team, working together on the issues important to all of us -- keeping the economy strong, protecting our environment, ensuring equal opportunity for all Americans. Hank Brown is what Colorado needs and what this Administration needs -- a Senator to make Colorado strong, a public servant to make this Nation proud, and a leader in the Senate that I can work with as President of the United States.

In just a few short weeks, we'll be entering the next decade. As events in the world quickly unfold, I see Americans filled with optimism, hope, and a sense of new beginnings. I have just returned from meeting with Soviet leader Gorbachev off the coast of Malta, on the U.S.S. Belknap.

((I guess you heard I only brought a small number of my top staff with me. But there was one key advisor we left behind, and I regret it to this day. Willard Scott. //

Alternate joke: You probably heard how rough the seas were. But despite the difficult situation, we held our negotiations anyway. You see, I just didn't want to make waves. //

The seas were rough, and some of the sailors got terribly seasick. Everyone was suggesting cures, from Coca-cola to Dramamine. I say my cure's the best: dry land. //

I was well prepared for the meeting, with many advisors visiting the White House in the weeks before. But no one told me the one thing I'd need. My surfboard. //))

press conf. 12-3-89 WYT 12/4/89 p. A12

As Chairman Gorbachev and I said, this is just the beginning -- we are looking at the beginning of our long road to long-lasting peace. As democracy blooms across the Atlantic, the Eastern European people no longer think about change -- they have changed the way they think. About the future. And about their deepest aspirations for freedom.

Our meeting in Malta was a very productive meeting, in which we had wide-ranging discussions -- ones in which I think each came to understand the other side much better. It's time now to move forward and demonstrate our commitment to the conventional forces talks, to the reduction and eventual elimination of chemical weapons, and of course, to the START talks.

GB press conf. 12-3-89

After the new year, Congress will return and we'll continue dealing with the important issues -- like the capital gains tax cut. The capital gains battle may be over for this year, but the fact is this: We have the votes. A majority in both the Senate and the House are on record in favor of cutting the capital gains rate. And as a member of the House Ways and Means committee, Hank Brown played a key role in getting the majority vote in both the committee and on the floor of the full House.

CQ 11-18-89 p. 3141 CQ 9-30-89 p. 2592 Joel Hassidy Brown's AA

When Congress reconvenes in the new year, cutting capital gains is going to be one of the top items on my agenda -- and the

battle will commence again in the House Ways and Means Committee. I'm counting on Hank to be one of my top lieutenants in that fight, and because of people like him, it's a fight we are going to win. We must keep America's economy strong and the job creation machine rolling.

Next year, I'm also counting on Hank Brown to help me hold the line on new taxes. As Congress returns, I'm reminded of a story Franklin Roosevelt used to tell about his opponents, which I think fits our tax-and-spend Democrats today. It's the little story about the poor chameleon that turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a scotch plaid. ///

Leon Harris Fine Art of Political Wit p. 141

Holding the line on new taxes is what we've got to do to keep our economy strong. We can't let the chameleons in Congress talk about deficit reduction, then raise taxes so we can spend some more. We've got to stick to what the American people elected us to do: hold the line on new taxes, exercise fiscal restraint, and keep America's longest peacetime economic expansion going strong.///

Hank Brown knows the people of Colorado like no one else. Five generations of Browns have lived in Colorado, and Hank was born and raised here. They say "all politics is local," and Hank really has taken that to heart. Student body president at C.U. Former state senator. U.S. Congressman since 1980. And over the years, Hank has earned a reputation as a fighter for his principles and a go-getter for the people of Colorado.

Denver Post 11-26-89

Almanac of Am. Politics 990

Joel Kassidy
Brown's A.A.

Hank's district is known as "Colorado's Breadbasket," home of the state's agricultural heartland. As we begin work on the 1990 Farm Bill, we'll be looking to Hank for help. Because Hank knows what farmers are going through to produce a crop nowadays. -- five generations of his family were in Colorado farming. Hank Brown knows the people of Colorado, and Hank Brown knows farming. This Administration has introduced policies to benefit both the farmer and the consumer, and to continue our work, we need Hank Brown in the Senate.

We've also initiated bold new environmental policies to reduce air toxics and urban smog, policies that will protect our wetlands and combat polluters, help clean up our air and hazardous wastes, and expand our parklands. Through it all, Hank's been there with us.

Joel Kassidy
Brown's A.A.

Take a look at his record: he's worked to clean up the drinking water in the state, and got the Rocky Mountain Arsenal Cleanup named to the EPA's Superfund National Priorities List. And just last week, I signed into law Hank Brown's bill to ~~extend~~ expand the Rocky Mountain National Park. He believes, as I do, that public service is part of being a good citizen, and that stewardship of the environment is a primary part of public service.

I've been following the sports pages, and I see that Bill McCartney has made C.U. the college team ranked first in the country -- going to the Orange Bowl. /// And Dan Reeves has led the Denver Broncos through a great season, number one in their

L.A. Times
P. C1
12-4-89

division, maybe even heading for the Super Bowl. /// Hank Brown has led his district through a winning decade as a Congressman. Now it's time for him to lead the state into the next decade as a Senator. We need his energy. We need his commitment. We need his integrity. We need Hank Brown in the U.S. Senate.

Thank you for inviting me to this beautiful state. Thank you for your support, and let's go out and work to make Hank Brown the next Senator from Colorado. God bless you and God bless America.

# # #

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Leon A. Harris

THE FINE ART OF POLITICAL WIT

being a Lively Guide to the Artistic Invective, Elegant Epithet, and Polished Impromptus as well as the Gallant and Graceful Worldly Wit of various British & American Politicians from the 18th Century through our own Days of Grace. A Handbook for Piercing the Political Epidermes of Opponents.

NEW YORK E. P. DUTTON & CO., INC. 1964

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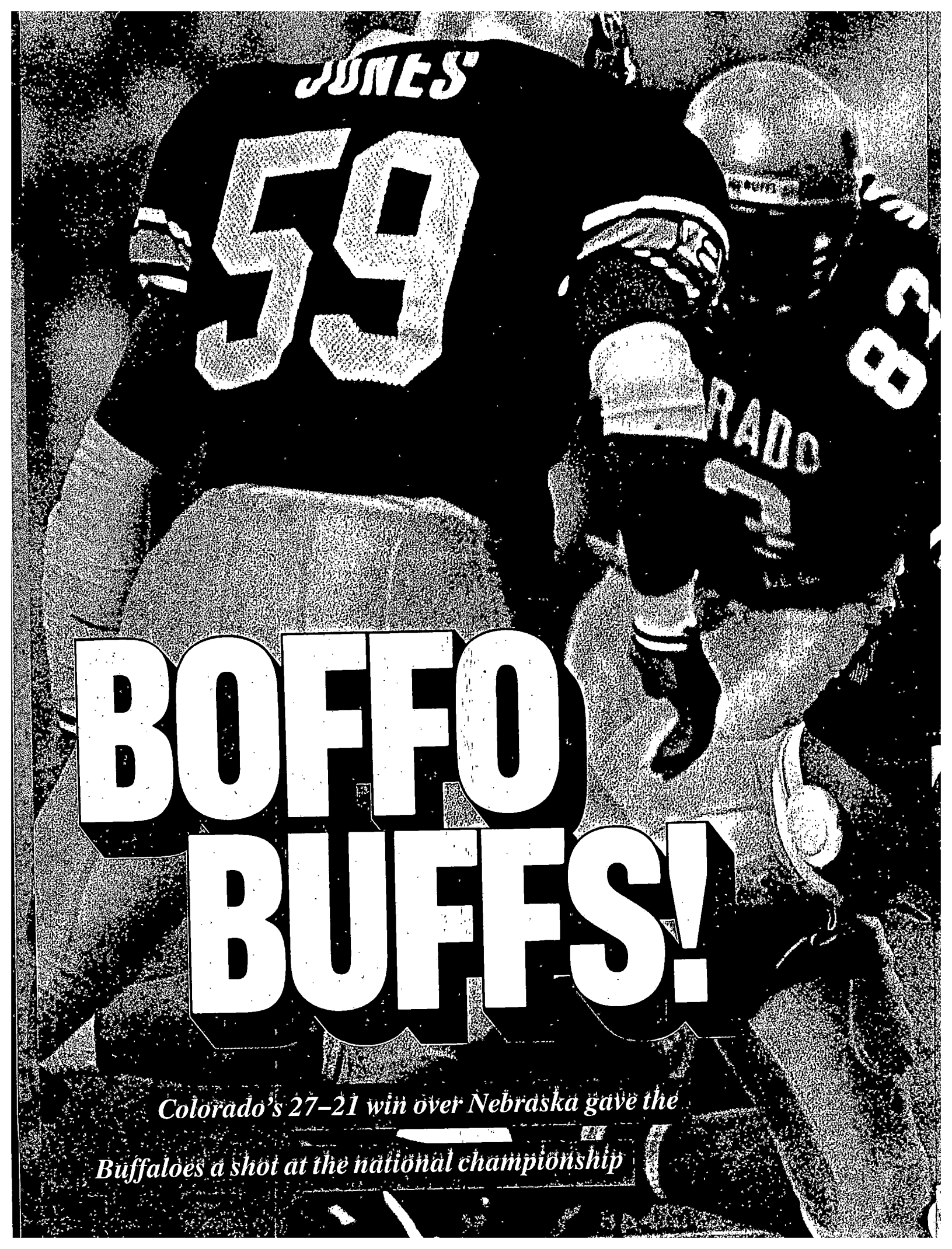
ment of John L. Lewis, the head of the coal miners, and also the American Communists, who attacked Roosevelt because of his anti-Hitler position when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was still in effect. Roosevelt characterized this as an "unholy alliance" and attacked it both seriously and humorously. "There is something very ominous in this combination that has been forming within the Republican party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country.

"There is no common ground upon which they can unite —we know that—unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends that they, each of them, seek. . . .

"We all know the story of the unfortunate chameleon which turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch plaid. We all know what would happen to Government if it tried to fulfill all the secret understandings and promises made between the conflicting groups which are now backing the Republican party."

In this same speech there is an example of Roosevelt's picking up an unfortunate statement by an obscure Republican and turning it to his own advantage (as he was to do four years later in his "Fala" speech). A Republican lawyer in Philadelphia had said in a speech, "The President's only supporters are paupers, those who earn less than $1200 a year and aren't worth *that*, and the Roosevelt family." The statement had been quoted by Arthur Krock in his column in the *New York Times*. Roosevelt quoted the sentence and then said, "I think we might just as well forget the Roosevelt family, but these Americans whom this man calls 'paupers,' these Americans who, in his view, are not worth the income they receive, small though it is—who are they?



BOFFO BUFFS!

Colorado's 27–21 win over Nebraska gave the Buffaloes a shot at the national championship

SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

NOV. 13 1989

PETER READ MILLER

BY AUSTIN MURPHY

FORGIVE THE COLORADO BUFFALOES if they seem unsure of how to behave just now. They have never walked this path before. Being undefeated and all but assured of playing for the national championship on Jan. 1 is new to Colorado. So when an overly exuberant player punched through a dressing-room ceiling tile after Colorado's 27–21 victory over Nebraska last Saturday, his teammates figured, hey, this must be what great teams *do* after clutch wins. In a matter of minutes, ceiling tiles littered the floor.

Though the Buffaloes' celebration had an impromptu feel to it, others had come to Folsom Field in Boulder, Colo., better prepared. Immediately after the game, hawkers outside the stadium shouted "Extra! Extra!" as they sold special-edition copies of *The Denver Post*. BUFFS BEAT NEBRASKA IN GAME OF THE CENTURY trumpeted the *Post*'s head-

Though his blocking was woeful, Hagan darted through the Husker defense for 86 yards.

JOHN BIEVER

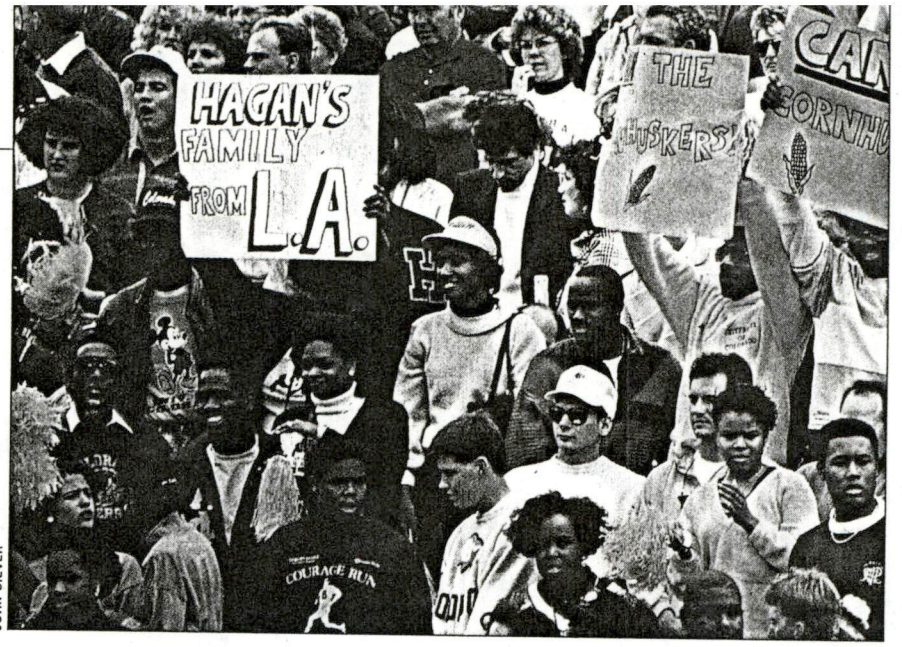
line. The matchup was hardly that, but the winner would probably face Notre Dame in the Orange Bowl for the national title on New Year's Day. Both Colorado and Nebraska came to the game undefeated. And though the Cornhuskers' schedule appeared to have been arranged by a pastry chef rather than an athletic director, Nebraska promised to be Colorado's toughest foe of the season.

How did the Buffaloes win? Well, it wasn't with pass defense. Colorado's defensive backs took a competent, if uninspiring, Nebraska quarterback, Gerry Gdowski, and nearly turned him into a hero. Gdowski threw for 211 yards and three touchdowns, was not intercepted and seemed able to convert third downs at will. Nor did the Buffs win with pass offense. By sending safety Tyrone Byrd flying up to stuff the option, the Huskers appeared to have made themselves vulnerable to the pass. The problem was, almost every time Colorado quarterback Darian Hagan tried to set up and throw, some carnivorous defensive lineman climbed through his face mask. The Buffs' offensive line, which had been strong all season, was humbled by Nebraska. Pass protection was nonexistent.

Fortunately for the Buffaloes, Hagan didn't need much help. With some timely assistance from tailback J.J. Flannigan, who ached for redemption after a costly fumble against Nebraska last season, and Jeff Campbell, an ex–hockey player and walk-on from nearby Vail, who set up two touchdowns with electric punt returns, Hagan mustered enough offense to carry the day.

Afterward, Campbell identified the primary reason for the Buffs' 9–0 season. "We have a focus," he said, inclining his head toward the other side of the dressing room. There, a locker had been encased in plate glass and transformed into a shrine of sorts. Inside it was the uniform of the Buffaloes' late quarterback, Sal Aunese, who died of stomach cancer on Sept. 23, at the age of 21. In a letter to his teammates, Aunese wrote, "Hold me dear to your heart, as you know I do all of you. Strive only for victory each time we play . . . I love you all. 'Go gettem' and bring home the Orange Bowl. Love, Sal."

A cruel twist in Colorado's schedule made that an extra tall order. The Buffs' two toughest opponents, Oklahoma and Nebraska, would come back-to-back,



JOHN BIEVER

The Hagan faithful journeyed to Boulder to watch the biggest Buffalo game in years.

seven days apart. Thus, when cornerback Dave McCloughan batted away Gdowski's final desperation heave Saturday, the Buffs' 9–0 record was not nearly as significant as their season-within-a-season 2–0 mark.

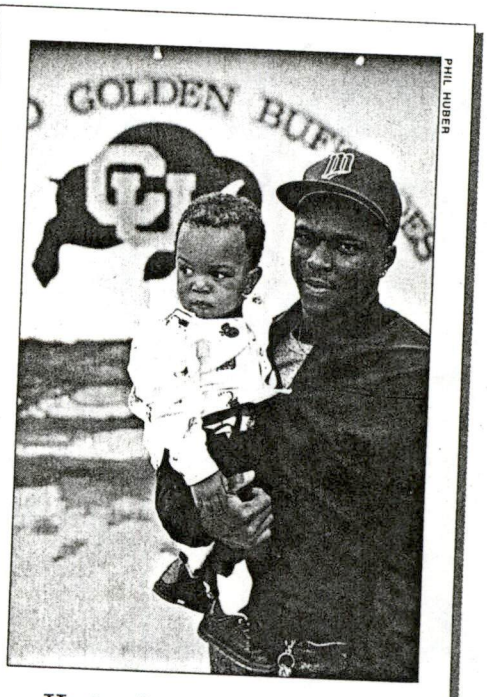
Five years ago, Colorado had finished 1–10, with a 42–17 loss to Oklahoma. On Oct. 26, two days before this season's game with the Sooners, Colorado coach Bill McCartney concluded practice by handing out T-shirts bearing a simple inscription in bold red letters: THINGS HAVE CHANGED.

Thus clad in inspirational attire, the Buffaloes boarded buses to begin the trip to Norman. How had things changed? For starters, the Buffaloes were favored by six points, a concept many veteran Colorado fans simply could not grasp. Yes, Colorado had a better record than the 5–2 Sooners, and Oklahoma's wishbone would not be a mystery to Colorado's front seven, one of the nation's best. And, as usual, Oklahoma's passing game would be more a source of amusement than yardage. Yet there was one immutable fact: The Buffaloes had not won in Norman since 1965. "No team has dominated Colorado, down through the years, like they have," said McCartney, whose personal 0–7 record against the Sooners qualified him as an expert.

McCartney then explained the T-shirt slogan: "What I'm trying to emphasize to the guys is that, if we go down there and lose, then Oklahoma people will say, 'Look, even in their best year, Colorado *still* can't beat Oklahoma.' "

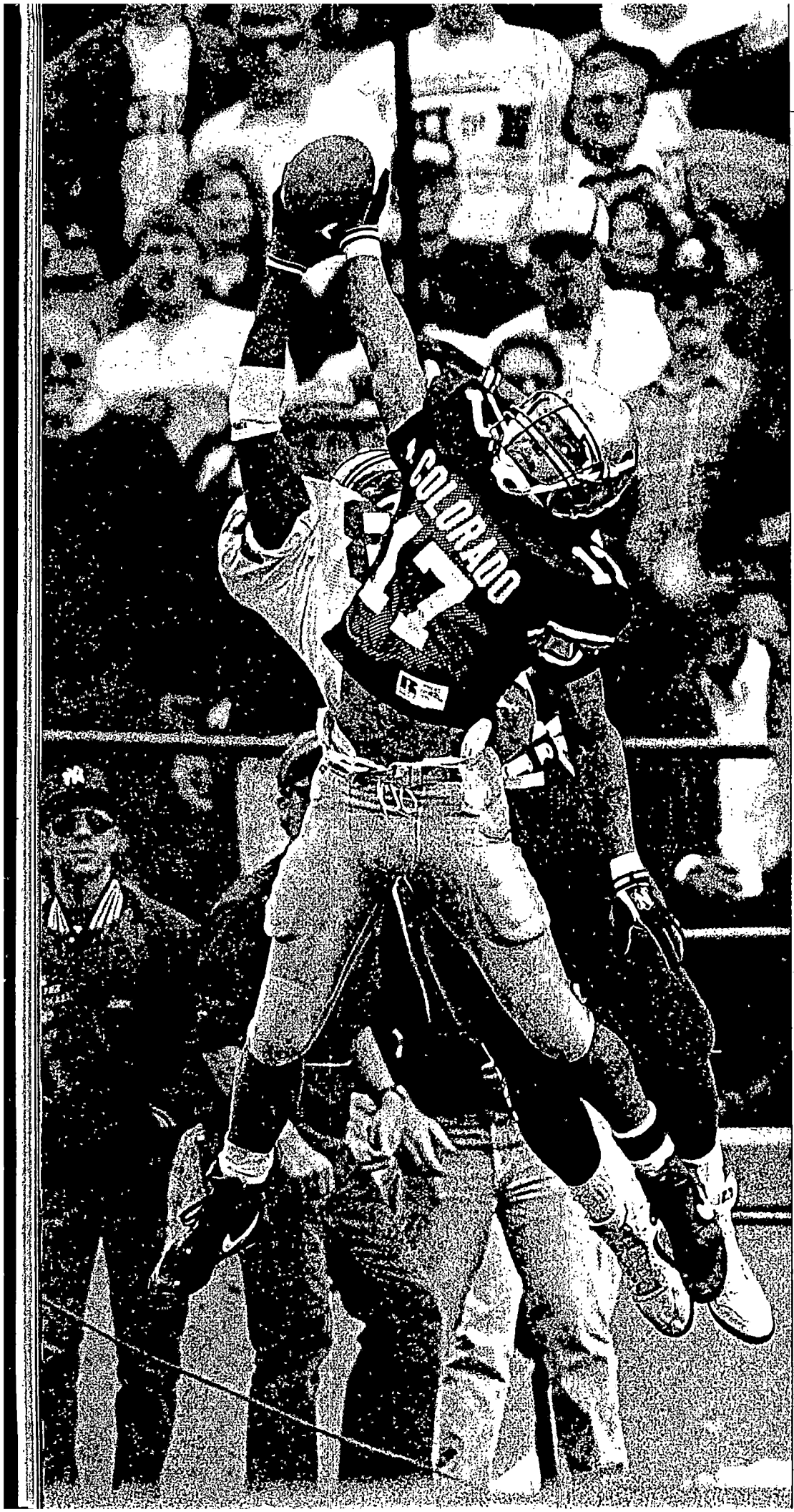
As he spoke, a tall, striking young woman got out of a nearby car and came over to him. "Tim's asleep," Kristyn McCartney said to her father. "Now's a good time for you to say goodbye to him." With that, the coach walked to the car and gurgled various endearments to his seven-month-old grandson, the child of Kristyn and Aunese.

In one way or another, Aunese's presence is everywhere around this Colorado team. The extent to which the Buffaloes have gone to keep his memory alive is touching, if slightly macabre. Normally, for an away game, 60 players are chosen for the traveling squad; 59 made the trip to Norman. A seat was left empty on the bus to the airport and on the charter flight to Oklahoma City. A place was set for Aunese at each team meal. At the motel in Oklahoma City, wide receiver Mark Henry had a room to him-



PHIL HUBER

Hagan hoisted Darian Jr.



JOHN BIEVER

Safety Tim James rose to the occasion, deflecting a Husker pass in the second quarter.

self—in a sense. The other bed was left vacant for Aunese.

One of the goals Aunese had set for himself, once he learned that his cancer was terminal, was to live to see this year's Oklahoma game. He had had a rocky outing against the Sooners last season; twice he missed open receivers for what would have been easy scores. Aunese was obsessed with gaining revenge for the Buffs' 17–14 loss.

"He blamed the whole game on himself," said defensive tackle Okland Salavea. "He would say, 'I should have hit Eric Bieniemy in the end zone; I shouldn't have overthrown Tom Stone.' He talked about it so much, I tried to find ways to get Oklahoma off his mind."

Salavea speaks well, though deliberately: English is his second language. Like Aunese, he is Samoan. Unlike Aunese, who was born and raised in the San Diego area, Salavea moved from Samoa to Oceanside, Calif., in high school. He was the late quarterback's closest friend, and his teammates say he has taken Aunese's loss the hardest.

"Sal said he'd be at that game," said McCartney. "We believed him." Aunese was unable to keep that promise, but the Buffs did not let him down. The Colorado defense completely stymied Oklahoma, limiting the Sooners to a lone field goal en route to a 20–3 victory.

"We have come to take our place at the Big Eight table," said linebacker Michael Jones afterward. "We are tired of being dogs, feeding on the scraps."

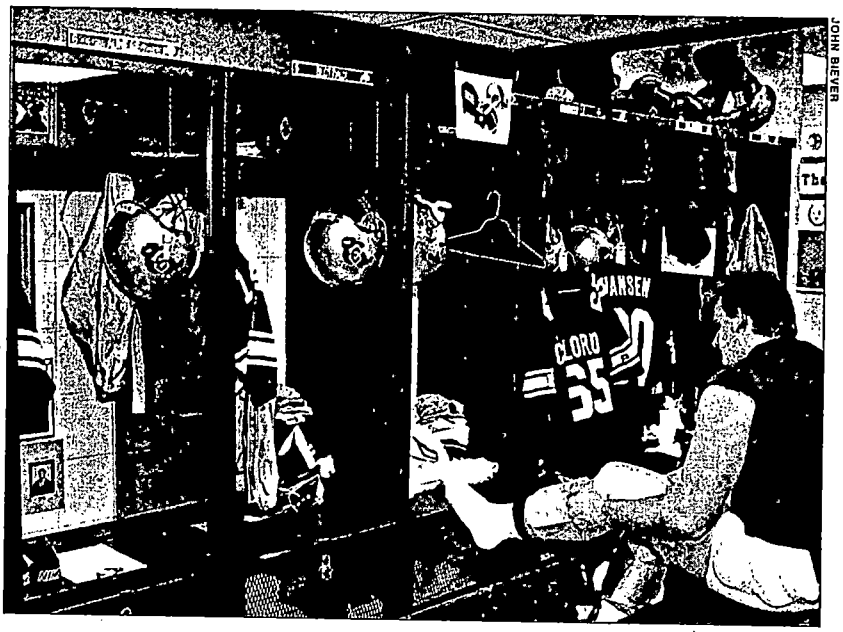
Would the Buffaloes forgo their customary Saturday night celebration, the better to prepare for Nebraska? "Oh, no," said Jones. "We need to get this out." And so, once back in Boulder, they hit the town hard. That was nothing new for them, of course, but this year, according to a set of self-imposed rules, Saturday is now the only night when the Buffaloes can roam.

Over the last several years, some two dozen Colorado players have been arrested on charges ranging from simple assault to rape. The mini crime wave tainted the team's success on the field, and before this season began, the senior players decided something should be done. "We wanted to start a tradition, like they have at USC and Notre Dame

and the other big schools," said senior guard Darrin Muilenburg. They decreed that no Buffalo would patronize Boulder's bars and clubs except on Saturday night. At first, there was near mutiny among the players, until tackle Bill Coleman stood up and said, "How much is the Big Eight championship worth to you? So little that you can't give up Tuesday nights at Tulagi?" There were no dissenters, and so far this season Colorado players have been able to avoid appearances in police reports.

The nightlife prohibition cuts down on drinking; it also keeps football players off the streets of Boulder, limiting the opportunities for mixing with the townsfolk. Many of the Colorado players who have been arrested in the last two years for fighting are black. And many of them say they fought because they were subjected to racial slurs.

"We're talking about something anybody would do," says Flannigan. Last year Flannigan received a deferred sentence on a charge of third-degree assault that alleged he slapped a woman who, he claimed, had uttered a racial epithet. Jones, who is an officer in the university's Black Student Alliance, says that it is not easy being black in Boulder, which is 98% white. "Are you familiar with Howard University?" he asks, referring to the predominantly black school in Washington, D.C. "This school is like Howard in reverse. I'm not criticizing it for that; that's just the reality."


JOHN BIEVER

Aunese's locker (left) has become a sort of shrine.

For a cultural outlet, black students at Colorado often drive 40 minutes to Denver. "Not just for nightclubs," says Jones, who is from San Diego. "But for churches, jazz concerts, restaurants—things you take for granted growing up in a black community." Black players say that Boulder doesn't even have a barber shop that knows how to cut their hair. Fortunately, defensive tackle Art Walker has won his teammates' trust as a hairstylist. "You just show Art a picture of what you want, he does it," says Jones.

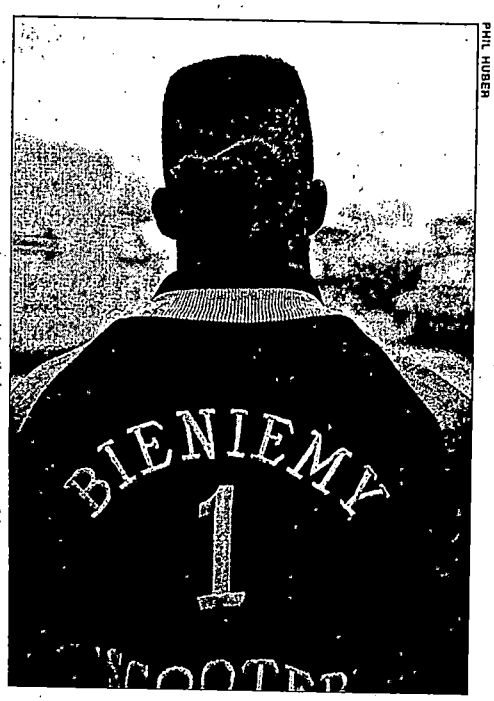
While all has been quiet this fall, Colorado's black players are not ready to say that the racial climate in Boulder has improved. Says Flannigan, "During the season we're not on the streets that much. Ask me again this winter."

On the Monday before the Nebraska game, Flannigan's immediate problem was the throng of reporters gathered outside the Colorado clubhouse before practice. He knew that he would be one of the team's most sought-after interviews—the result of an old error. In the second quarter against Nebraska last season, Flannigan had burst into the Husker secondary and found himself face-to-face with nothing but daylight. Six points, easy, for Flannigan, who has run the 40 in 4.28. Except that, without being touched, he dropped the ball. Colorado lost 7–0, and Flannigan learned he would never hear the last of that fumble.

Monday's practice ended with a lesson on—of all things—how to eat lobster. That night, the supplier of the team's training meals was to make good on his offer of a lobster dinner if the Buf-

PHIL HUBER

Salavea is a picky eater.



PHIL HUBER

Buffalo 'dos were daring.

faloes beat Oklahoma. The tutoring, though, was wasted on Salavea. "In Samoa, that was all we ate," he said. He consumed several lobsters, including, to the general disgust of everyone at his table, the crustaceans' brains and, as his teammates described it, "green stuff."

Strength coach Jeff (Maddog) Madden, for one, was glad to see it. Madden routinely inspects Salavea's plate after meals to be certain he is consuming enough, for Salavea is a finicky eater and has had problems keeping weight on. Last year, he played at 236; he is now at 265, give or take a lobster claw or two.

Amid the lobster shells, the talk at dinner was of Nebraska linebacker Jeff Mills. Posted on the bulletin board in the Colorado locker room was an article from the *Rocky Mountain News* in which Mills was quoted as saying, "They can use Sal Aunese's death however they want . . . they still have to strap it up and play football."

The Buffs regarded those as fighting words. Said fullback Erich Kissick, "If he's implying we're milking Sal's death, he doesn't know what he's talking about. Sal will be with me the rest of my life."

Said McCartney, "Nobody could orchestrate the way the team has come together. Nobody could plan it. It just comes from within."

In his office several days before the Nebraska game, McCartney noted that snow was in the forecast, and the observation triggered a memory. "When it gets cold up here, a lot of guys put on gloves and add layers of clothes," said the coach. "Not Sal. Sal was from San Diego, but he refused to acknowledge the cold. He'd go out in short sleeves, just like a lineman. It was like that when he got sick. He refused to show us his pain. Only his spirit." By the end of his reminiscence, McCartney was crying.

By the next morning, Boulder was under five inches of snow. "This isn't bad," said Walker. "It isn't one of those bitter cold snows we get in February, around then." He was equally unimpressed with Nebraska's offensive line, which he had been studying on film since 8 a.m. "Oh, they do some things to try to trick you. They'll pull a guard one way and run the other way. Nothing I haven't seen."

Walker is a key member of the celebrated H-boys—three Buffaloes who hail from Houston. The other two are linebackers Alfred Williams and Kanavis McGhee. The H-boys live together off campus and take considerable pride in their nickname. Williams was one of 19 players to attend a pep rally at Boulder's Crest View Elementary school last Thursday morning. Introducing himself, he said, "Hello, I'm beautiful—I mean Alfred Williams—I'm a linebacker from Houston, Texas, and I'm one of the H-boys."

The children cheered loudly for this young man who was so obviously pleased with himself. The pep rally's highlight was provided by a fifth-grade class's one-act play. Matt Hess depicted a Colorado player, a bowl of oranges tucked under one arm, standing triumphantly over prostrate Cornhusker Nathan Manning. At the conclusion, Alex Azcona and Chris Angelovic performed an a cappella version of *The Buffalo Rap*, which they had composed the day before. The rap began:

I went to the stadium / With a football in my hand / I'm a mean football player / I'm a stadium man. . . .

And concluded:

I must admit / My running was fun / But I'm sorry to say / My rap is done.

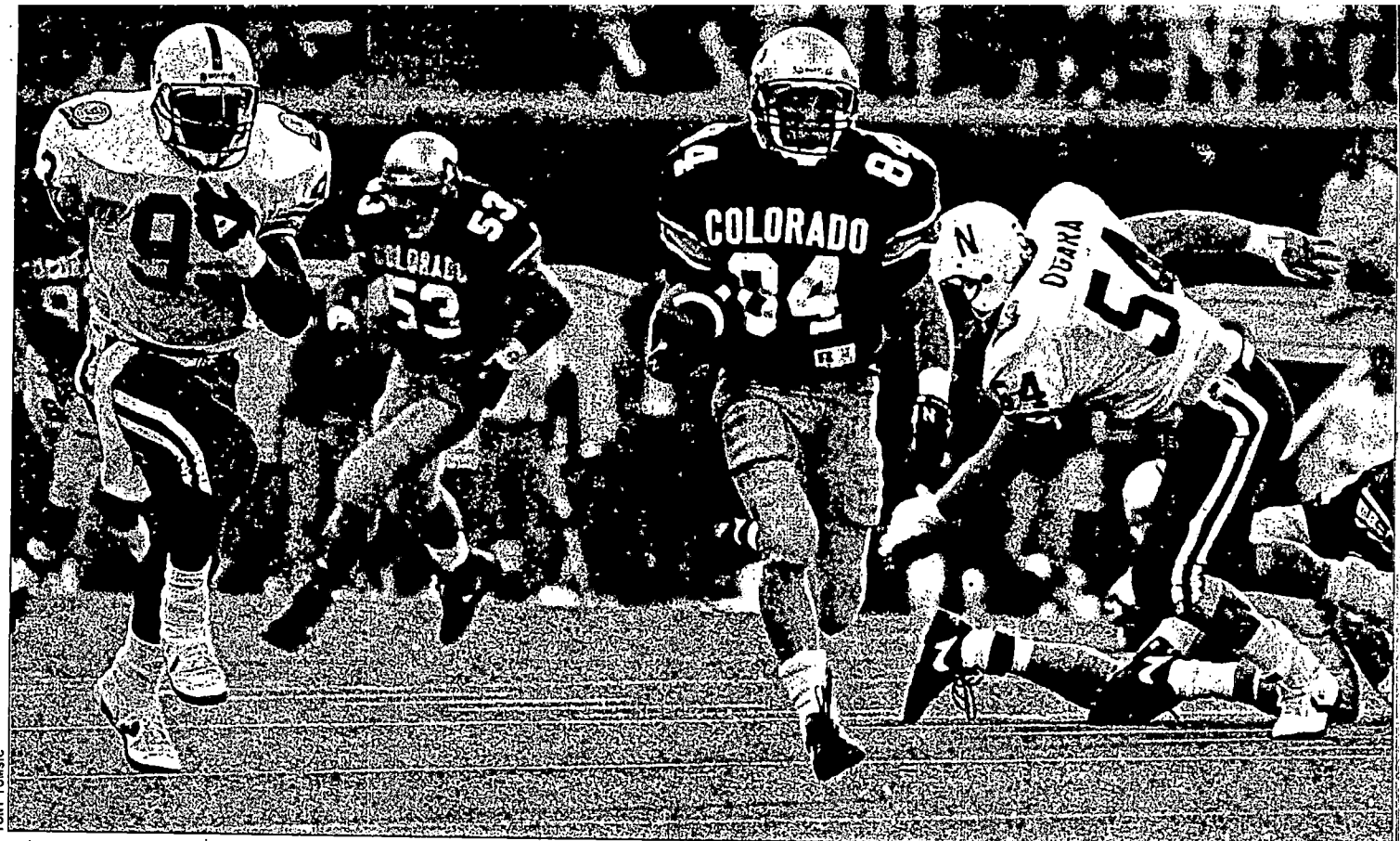
Around Boulder, the excitement over the Nebraska game was only beginning. Tickets were being sold for $200 apiece. Supermarkets found they could not keep oranges in stock. A local TV station held a contest offering tickets to people willing to do crazy things. The response was overwhelming—or, perhaps, alarming. One woman hacked off a foot of her waist-length hair. Another smeared herself with honey and then was drenched in oatmeal. One man agreed to sit still as buffalo dung was dumped on him.

"I want them to raise the rafters," McCartney had said about the home crowd, but as the game began, it was clear that he needn't have worried. The crowd was boisterous and deafening—until Hagan was intercepted on his second pass of the day, the Buffs' fourth play from scrimmage. The stadium grew quieter still as the Huskers scored on their first play from scrimmage, a 51-yard screen pass from Gdowski to fullback Bryan Carpenter.

It took all of two possessions for the Colorado offense to establish that it could not 1) pass the ball or 2) run it inside. Hagan's pass protection was feeble, and Bieniemy, the team's best inside runner, remained hobbled by a fractured right fibula, suffered three weeks before against Iowa State. Clearly, Hagan had to make something happen. On Colorado's third possession, on first and 10 at the Buffalo 30, he did. The call: option left. Hagan kept, turning the cor-

PHIL HUBER

A midweek snowstorm couldn't cool off Colorado.



TONY TOMSIC

Punt returns by Campbell (84) saved the game for Colorado, and Buff fans went wild.

TONY TOMSIC

ner, and, as he has done all season, froze the defenders by faking the pitch to Flannigan. This time, however, 30 yards downfield, Hagan *did* pitch to Flannigan, who had trailed the quarterback down the field. Cradling the ball as if it were an infant—"I was thinking, get into the end zone, *then* celebrate," he said later—Flannigan scored and was credited with a 70-yard run.

Nebraska was forced to punt on its next possession. The kick was short, and Campbell probably should have called for a fair catch. Earlier in the week, however, Colorado assistant Bob Simmons had seen that the Huskers were susceptible to "middle-right returns." Campbell hip-faked his way through the first wave of tacklers and cut to his right, scooting inside a black-and-gold picket fence. He was finally tackled at the Nebraska four, and three plays later, Hagan scored on a one-yard run around the left end. Early in the second half, Campbell and the punt return team did it again, taking a kick 55 yards to the Husker 19. Flannigan scored eight plays later on a pitch from Hagan.

Both of Campbell's returns were crucial for the Buffs. "When your offense is sputtering, and your defense can't force a turnover, your special teams have to do it for you," said McCartney. "Ours did." Indeed, Ken Culbertson's 49-yard field goal into a stiff breeze gave the Buffs a 17–14 halftime lead. And Tom Rouen averaged 51 yards on five punts.

When time finally expired and the crowd covered Folsom Field and rendered the goalposts horizontal, Flannigan's first thoughts were for his own safety. "My goal was to get off the field and into the locker room as quick as I could," he said. Something turned him around. "I had to get out there and see that scoreboard one more time."

Later he reflected on how far Colorado had come. He agreed that, not long ago, the Buffaloes were a source of embarrassment to the university. "But right now," Flannigan said, "they can't be anything but proud of us." ■

Bdb

HANK BROWN FUNDRAISER
CURRIGAN CONVENTION HALL/DENVER
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1989
12 NOON

THANK YOU. MY THANKS TO OUR DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FROM COLORADO, SENATOR BILL ARMSTRONG. I'D ALSO LIKE TO THANK BILL BENNETT, THE DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY, AND LEE ATWATER, OUR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, FOR ACCOMPANYING ME HERE TODAY. CONGRESSMEN HEFLEY AND SCHAEFER. THANKS ALSO TO OUR STATE GOP CHAIRMAN, BRUCE BENSON, AND JUDY HUGHES, THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN. MY SON NEIL AND HIS WIFE, SHARON. OF COURSE, I'D LIKE TO SAY HELLO TO ONE OF COLORADO'S GREAT LEADERS AND THE NEXT SENATOR FROM COLORADO, HANK BROWN.//

HANK WANTED A BIG CROWD TODAY, SO HIS CAMPAIGN TRIED TO GET RALPHIE THE BUFFALO FROM C.U.'S FOOTBALL TEAM. WHEN HE COULDN'T MAKE IT, THEY ASKED FOR C.U.'S HOUSTON TRIO -- THE THREE H-MEN. AS YOU CAN SEE, THEY'RE NOT HERE EITHER AND YOU'VE GOT ME INSTEAD. BUT HEY, IT'S NOT SO BAD -- I AM FROM HOUSTON.///

RS - Neil Bush (303) 623-2001 4/15/5

NEXIS® • NOTES

BEFORE I GO ANY FURTHER, I'D LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT ONE OF THE FINEST MEN WE'VE GOT IN WASHINGTON, SENATOR BILL ARMSTRONG. BILL IS ONE OF THE BEST AND BRIGHTEST -- A PRINCIPLED POLITICIAN AND, A TOP PLAYER ON OUR REPUBLICAN TEAM. HE'S BEEN A LEADER IN CONGRESS SINCE 1973, FIRST IN THE HOUSE AND NOW IN THE SENATE, AND HE'S GOING TO BE MISSED -- BY ME, BY HIS FELLOW SENATORS, AND BY THE PEOPLE OF COLORADO. BILL, THANKS FOR A GREAT JOB.

EARLIER THIS WEEK, I WAS IN MALTA FOR A VERY PRODUCTIVE MEETING WITH CHAIRMAN GORBACHEV. ((I GUESS YOU HEARD I BROUGHT ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF MY TOP STAFF WITH ME. THE MEETING WENT VERY WELL, BUT THERE'S ONE ADVISOR I FORGOT TO CONSULT -- WHERE'S WILLARD SCOTT WHEN I NEED HIM? ///

BUT THE SEAS AND THE RAIN COULD NOT DAMPEN THE SPIRIT OF THE MALTA MEETINGS. I REALLY BELIEVE THAT "MALTA" WILL MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD -- A WORLD WITH MORE FREEDOM, WITH MORE DEMOCRACY.

AFTER THE MEETINGS, I WENT ON TO BRUSSELS TO BRIEF OUR ALLIES. NATO IS TOGETHER AND STRONG. AND AS THE CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE UNFOLD AT THIS DAZZLING PACE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT NATO REMAIN TOGETHER AND STRONG. NOW, HERE I AM IN DENVER. THAT'S A LOT OF TRAVEL FOR ONE WEEK. BUT THAT'S FINE -- BECAUSE WORKING FOR A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS IS VITAL AND, WITH ME, A PRIORITY. AND THAT MEANS ELECTING HANK BROWN TO THE U.S. SENATE.

HANK AND I ARE ON THE SAME WAVE LENGTH, WORKING TOGETHER ON THE ISSUES IMPORTANT TO ALL OF US -- STRENGTHENING PEACE AND FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD, KEEPING THE ECONOMY STRONG AND PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT. HANK BROWN IS WHAT YOU NEED AND WHAT THIS ADMINISTRATION NEEDS: A SENATOR TO MAKE COLORADO STRONG -- TO MAKE THIS NATION PROUD -- AND A LEADER IN THE SENATE THAT I CAN WORK WITH AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN JUST A FEW SHORT WEEKS, WE'LL BE ENTERING THE NEXT DECADE. AS EVENTS IN THE WORLD QUICKLY UNFOLD, I SEE AN AMERICA FILLED WITH OPTIMISM, HOPE, AND A SENSE OF NEW BEGINNINGS. ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, WE ALSO SENSE NEW BEGINNINGS AS DEMOCRACY BLOOMS BEHIND WHAT USED TO BE CALLED THE IRON CURTAIN. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 40 YEARS, THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE BELIEVE THAT FREEDOM IS WITHIN THEIR GRASP. THEY AREN'T JUST THINKING ABOUT CHANGE -- THEY ARE CHANGING THE WAY THEY THINK. ABOUT THE FUTURE AND WHAT IT WILL BRING. THEY'RE TAKING THEIR DESTINY IN THEIR OWN HANDS. THEY'RE HELPING BUILD A NEW EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE.

AT MALTA, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I TOOK <u>OUR</u> FIRST HOPEFUL STEP INTO A NEW AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. WE TOOK OUR FIRST STEP TOWARD THE NEXT DECADE AND THE NEW WORLD THAT IS TAKING SHAPE -- A NEW WORLD OF SECURITY AND FREEDOM.

OUR MISSION TO MALTA WAS ABOUT PEACE. NOT THE KIND OF UNEASY PEACE WE'VE KNOWN FOR THE LAST FORTY YEARS -- HARD AND COLD -- BUT ABOUT A NEW KIND OF PEACE. ONE THAT IS RICH WITH THE PROMISE OF PERMANENCE. ONE THAT FORMS A FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE 1990S CAN BE A TIME FOR PEACE BUT IT MUST ALSO BE A TIME OF CONTINUED PROSPERITY FOR ALL AMERICANS. THAT MEANS KEEPING OUR ECONOMY GROWING THROUGH INNOVATIVE INITIATIVES LIKE THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX CUT -- TO BRING MORE JOBS TO MORE PEOPLE.

THE CAPITAL GAINS BATTLE MAY BE OVER FOR THIS YEAR, BUT THE FACT IS: A MAJORITY IN BOTH THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE ARE NOW ON RECORD IN FAVOR OF CUTTING THE CAPITAL GAINS RATE. AND IT WAS HANK BROWN, AS A KEY MEMBER OF THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, WHO PLAYED A CRUCIAL ROLE IN GETTING ACTION IN THE HOUSE.

WHEN CONGRESS RECONVENES IN THE NEW YEAR, CUTTING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX RATE IS ONCE AGAIN GOING TO BE ONE OF THE TOP ITEMS ON MY AGENDA -- AND THE BATTLE WILL COMMENCE AGAIN IN THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE. I'M COUNTING ON HANK TO BE ONE OF MY TOP LIEUTENANTS IN THAT FIGHT, AND BECAUSE OF PEOPLE LIKE HIM, IT'S A FIGHT WE ARE GOING TO WIN. WE MUST KEEP AMERICA'S ECONOMY STRONG AND THE JOB CREATION MACHINE ROLLING.

AND I'M ALSO COUNTING ON HANK BROWN TO HELP ME HOLD THE LINE ON NEW TAXES. AS CONGRESS RETURNS, I'M REMINDED OF A STORY FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT USED TO TELL ABOUT HIS OPPONENTS, WHICH I THINK FITS THE TAX-AND-SPEND DEMOCRATS TODAY. IT'S THE LITTLE STORY ABOUT THE POOR CHAMELEON THAT TURNED BROWN WHEN PLACED ON A BROWN RUG, AND TURNED RED WHEN PLACED ON A RED RUG, BUT WHO DIED A TRAGIC DEATH WHEN THEY PUT HIM ON A SCOTCH PLAID. ///

WE CAN'T LET THE CHAMELEONS IN CONGRESS TALK ABOUT DEFICIT REDUCTION, THEN RAISE TAXES SO THEY CAN LOAD UP THE BUDGET WITH MORE AND MORE SPENDING. WE'VE GOT TO STICK TO WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ELECTED US TO DO: HOLD DOWN TAXES, EXERCISE FISCAL RESTRAINT, AND KEEP AMERICA'S LONGEST PEACETIME ECONOMIC EXPANSION GOING STRONG. AND WE WILL NOT BE SATISFIED UNTIL PROSPERITY REACHES EVERY CORNER OF AMERICA. ///

YOU KNOW, HANK'S DISTRICT HERE IS KNOWN AS "COLORADO'S BREADBASKET," HOME OF YOUR AGRICULTURAL HEARTLAND. SO, AS WORK BEGINS ON THE 1990 FARM BILL, WE'LL BE LOOKING TO HANK FOR HELP. BECAUSE HANK BROWN KNOWS THE PEOPLE OF COLORADO -- FIVE GENERATIONS OF HIS FAMILY WERE BORN AND RAISED HERE. AND HANK UNDERSTANDS WHAT FARMERS ARE GOING THROUGH TO PRODUCE A CROP NOWADAYS. THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS INTRODUCED POLICIES TO BENEFIT BOTH THE FARMER AND THE CONSUMER, AND TO CONTINUE OUR WORK, <u>WE NEED HANK BROWN IN THE SENATE</u>.

WE'VE ALSO INITIATED BOLD NEW ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES TO REDUCE AIR TOXICS AND URBAN SMOG, HELP CLEAN UP OUR AIR AND HAZARDOUS WASTES, AND EXPAND OUR PARKLANDS. THROUGH IT ALL, HANK'S BEEN THERE WITH US.

TAKE A LOOK AT HIS RECORD: HE'S WORKED TO CLEAN UP COLORADO'S DRINKING WATER, AND THROUGH HIS EFFORTS, THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN ARSENAL CLEANUP WAS NAMED TO THE EPA'S SUPERFUND NATIONAL PRIORITIES LIST. AND JUST LAST WEEK, I SIGNED INTO LAW HANK BROWN'S BILL TO EXPAND THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK. HE BELIEVES, AS I DO, THAT THE FUTURE OF GENERATIONS TO COME DEPENDS ON THE KIND OF COMMITMENT TO THE ENVIRONMENT THAT WE MAKE NOW.

YOU KNOW IT LOOKS LIKE THIS STATE IS ON QUITE A ROLL THIS YEAR. I'VE BEEN FOLLOWING THE SPORTS PAGES, AND I SEE THAT BILL MCCARTNEY HAS MADE C.U. THE COLLEGE TEAM RANKED FIRST IN THE COUNTRY -- GOING TO THE ORANGE BOWL. /// AND DAN REEVES HAS LED THE DENVER BRONCOS THROUGH A GREAT SEASON, NUMBER ONE IN THEIR DIVISION, MAYBE EVEN HEADING FOR THE SUPER BOWL. /// WELL, HANK BROWN HAS LED HIS DISTRICT THROUGH A WINNING DECADE AS A CONGRESSMAN. AND, NOW IT'S TIME FOR HIM TO LEAD THE STATE INTO THE NEXT DECADE AS A SENATOR. WE NEED HIS ENERGY. WE NEED HIS COMMITMENT. WE NEED HIS INTEGRITY. WE NEED HANK BROWN IN THE U.S. SENATE.

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO THIS BEAUTIFUL STATE. THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT, AND LET'S GO OUT AND WORK TO MAKE HANK BROWN THE NEXT SENATOR FROM COLORADO. GOD BLESS YOU AND GOD BLESS AMERICA.

# # #

Grant/Simon
December 1, 1989
Draft two
a:brown

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HANK BROWN FUNDRAISER
CURRIGAN CONVENTION HALL/DENVER
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1989
12 NOON

Thank you. My thanks to our distinguished Senator from Colorado, Senator Bill Armstrong ... and Congressmen Hefley and Schaefer. Thanks also to our GOP Chairman, Bruce Benson. My son Neil and his wife, Sharon. Of course, I'd like to say hello to one of Colorado's great leaders and the next Senator from Colorado, Hank Brown.// B.F

Hank wanted a big crowd today, so his campaign tried to get the three H-Men [players all from Houston] from C.U.'s football team. Unfortunately, they couldn't make it, so you've got me instead. But hey, it's not so bad -- I'm am from Houston.///

Before I go any further, I'd like to say a few words about one of the finest men we've got in Washington, Senator Bill Armstrong. Bill ~~has been~~ is one of the best and brightest, a top player on our Republican team. He's been a leader in Congress since 1973, first in the House and now in the Senate, and he's going to be missed -- by me, by his fellow Senators, and by the people of Colorado~~, who have kept him in office for so long.~~ Bill, thanks for a great job. //

Earlier this week, I was in Malta for a meeting with Chairman Gorbachev. ((I guess you heard I brought only a small number of my top staff with me. The meeting went very well, but

I made one key strategic error. I forgot to invite Willard Scott. ///

[[Alternate joke: You probably ~~heard~~ saw how rough the seas were. But despite the difficult situation, we held our negotiations anyway. You see, I just didn't want to make waves. //

The seas were rough, and some of the ~~sailors got terribly~~ stuff was pretty seasick. Everyone was suggesting cures, from Coca-cola to Dramamine. I say my cure's the best: dry land. //

I thought I was prepared for the meeting, done my homework. But no one told me the one thing I'd need. My surfboard. //))]]

After the meetings, I went on to Brussels to brief our allies. Now, here I am in Denver. That's a lot of travel for one week, with not much time at home. But that's fine -- because there's nothing more important to me than working for a Republican majority in the Congress. And that means electing Hank Brown to the U.S. Senate. B.F.

Hank and I are on the same team, working together on the issues important to all of us -- keeping the economy strong, strengthening peace and freedom around the world, protecting our environment, ~~ensuring equal opportunity for all Americans.~~ Hank Brown is what ~~Colorado~~ you need and what this Administration needs: a Senator to make ~~Colorado~~ strong -- to make this Nation proud -- and a leader in the Senate that I can work with as President of the United States. B.F.

In just a few short weeks, we'll be entering the next decade. As events in the world quickly unfold, I see ~~America~~ us filled with optimism, hope, and a sense of new beginnings.

Across the Atlantic, we also sense new beginnings as democracy blooms from Warsaw to Prague. The people of Eastern Europe aren't just thinking about change -- they are changing the way they think. About the future. And about their deepest aspirations for freedom.

At Malta, President Gorbachev and I took our first hopeful step into a new American-Soviet relationship. We took our first step ~~into~~ toward the next decade and the new world that is taking shape -- a new world of freedom.

Our mission to Malta was about peace. Not the kind of peace we've known for the last forty years -- hard and cold -- but about a new kind of peace. One that is rich with the promise of permanence. One that is a growing foundation for freedom.

~~The new decade holds historic opportunities for peace.~~ The 1990s can be a time for peace but it must also be a time of continued prosperity for all Americans. That means meeting the challenge of issues like the capital gains tax cut -- to bring more jobs to more people.

The capital gains battle may be over for this year, but the fact is: A majority in both the Senate and the House are now on record in favor of cutting the capital gains rate. And it was Hank Brown, as a member of the House Ways and Means committee, who played a key role in getting action in the House.

When Congress reconvenes in the new year, cutting the capital gains tax rate is going to be one of the top items on my agenda -- and the battle will commence again in the House Ways

and Means Committee. I'm counting on Hank to be one of my top lieutenants in that fight, and because of people like him, it's a fight we are going to win. **We must keep America's economy strong and the job creation machine rolling.**

And I'm also counting on Hank Brown to help me hold the line on new taxes. As Congress returns, I'm reminded of a story Franklin Roosevelt used to tell about his opponents, which I think fits our tax-and-spend Democrats today. It's the little story about the poor chameleon that turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, but who died a tragic death when they put him on a scotch plaid. ///
Holding the line on new taxes is what we've got to do to keep our economy strong. We can't let the chameleons in Congress talk about deficit reduction, then raise taxes so we can spend some more. We've got to stick to what the American people elected us to do: **Hold the line on new taxes, exercise fiscal restraint, and keep America's longest peacetime economic expansion going strong.** ///

You know, Hank's district here is known as "Colorado's Breadbasket," home of ~~the state's~~ your agricultural heartland. So, as we begin work on the 1990 Farm Bill, we'll be looking to Hank for help. Because ~~Hank knows~~ understands what farmers are going through to produce a crop nowadays -- five generations of his family were in Colorado farming. Hank Brown knows the people of Colorado, and Hank ~~Hank Brown knows farming~~. This Administration has introduced

policies to benefit both the farmer and the consumer, and to continue our work, we need Hank Brown in the Senate.

We've also initiated bold new environmental policies to reduce air toxics and urban smog, policies that will protect our wetlands and combat polluters, help clean up our air and hazardous wastes, expand our parklands. Through it all, Hank's been there with us.

Take a look at his record: he's worked to clean up Colorado's drinking water, and through his efforts, the Rocky Mountain Arsenal Cleanup was named to the EPA's Superfund National Priorities List. And just last week, I signed into law Hank Brown's bill to expand the Rocky Mountain National Park. He believes, as I do, that the future of generations to come depends on the kind of commitment to the environment that we make now.

I've been following the sports pages, and I see that Bill McCartney has made C.U. the college team ranked first in the country -- going to the Orange Bowl. /// And Dan Reeves has led the Denver Broncos through a great season, number one in their division, maybe even heading for the Super Bowl. /// Hank Brown has led his district through a winning decade as a Congressman. Now it's time for him to lead the state into the next decade as a Senator. We need his energy. We need his commitment. We need his integrity. We need Hank Brown in the U.S. Senate.

Thank you for inviting me to this beautiful state. Thank you for your support, and let's go out and work to make Hank

You know it looks like this state is on quite a roll this year.

Brown the next Senator from Colorado. God bless you and God bless America.

# # #

ATTN: BOB SIMON
FROM: DICK WADHAMS

The Denver Post/Sunday, May 11, 1986

* 98

Congressman recalls days over Vietnam

By Patrick Yack
Denver Post Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — Relaxing in his congressional office, Hank Brown can flip the pages of his mental scrapbook and spot the lush green mountains of South Vietnam.

He can hear his father, Harry, telling him, "I sure wished you hadn't volunteered."

He can remember using his flak jacket as a seat cushion and protector of vital parts.

"There was a lot of concern about getting shot in that part of the anatomy," Brown, who had been a 26-year-old Navy lieutenant, recalled with a laugh.

He can sense the excitement of sitting in his tiny observer airplane and watching A-4 Skyhawks roaring past to unload their bombs.

And he remembers the day — 20 years ago — when he came home after flying 60 reconnaissance missions over the coastal regions of South Vietnam. Although most members of the Colorado congressional delegation served in the military, Brown is the only member to have been in combat.

In the summer of 1962, Brown signed up for Officers' Candidate School while in graduate school at the University of Colorado. He eventually was assigned to aviation and earned his Navy wings in 1963.

When the Navy asked for volunteers in the fall of 1965, Brown raised his right hand. "I was interested in finding out what Vietnam was all about. I thought it would give me a chance to do my part."

He knew little about the country, except America was trying to build its defenses.

"At that time it certainly never occurred to me that we would be unable to make decisions over there or that we would lack a commitment to win," he said.

Brown left the United States in September and arrived in Da Nang, where the Army called on him to be a spotter. Brown and a pilot flew 500 feet or so above enemy territory. After drawing enemy fire, Brown dropped smoke bombs to mark enemy positions. Then he called in the planes stationed on the carriers at sea.

Brown worked 12- and 14-hour days, seven days a week. He flew 2½ hours in the morning and 2½ hours in the afternoon. "I loved it," Brown said of his flights in the cramped little airplane. "I loved it. It was exciting."

In April 1966, Brown was shipped to San Diego, where he helped set up a training program.

Later that year, Brown came back to Colorado to study law. While in school, Brown began to feel resentment. He hated listening to classmates, who had never gone to war but who enjoyed telling him all about it.

Brown served as a spotter during the Vietnam War.

SERVICE RECORDS OF ELECTED OFFICIALS

NAME	SERVICE	JOB	RANK
Sen. Bill Armstrong, R	Colorado Army National Guard 1957-63. Six months active duty.	Signal unit	1st Lt.
Sen. Gary Hart, D	Naval Reserve 1961 to present; 10 days active duty.	Judge advocate corps	Lt.
Rep. Ken Kramer R-Colorado Springs	Army 1967-70	Judge advocate corps	Capt.
Rep. Dan Schaefer R-Lakewood	Marine Corps 1955-57	Platoon leader school	Sgt
Rep. Mike Strang R-Carbondale	Army 1950-53; served in Japan	Infantry	2nd Lt.
Rep. Tim Wirth D-Boulder	Army Reserves 1961-1967; some active duty.	Army Security Agency	Pvt.

Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Denver, has not served in the military.

What made him more angry was how the government responded to a prolonged war. The government did not want to lose international face, but it also didn't want to escalate the war. It was frozen in indecision.

"Most of those folks were volunteers who were willing to give anything for their country, including their lives," Brown said, his voice tensing. "And the politicians didn't care enough about them even to make up their minds."

The lesson has not been lost on Brown, a three-term member of Congress. "I have a strong determination to not let our troops hang out to dry. If we commit them, then we ought to stand behind them."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/29/00

Bob -

Rob Portman called with an addition for the Hank Brown Speech. Its a bill S137 that extends the Rocky Mountain Nat. Park. They'd like us to mention the signing of it (today). Contact Nancy Dorn at x.7766 for the details.

Kristen

Hank Brown

economic opportunity
bottom to top then hard work

it's what they seek in
E. Europe

reputation for integrity
served on Ethics Comm.

Rocky Mtn. National Park
new purchase
saved one area from
development
500 new acres Lilly Lake area

gift to govt. by private

GATT talks on reducing
ag barriers

252. Procedural Motion. Synar, D-Okla., motion to approve the House *Journal* of Wednesday, Sept. 27. Motion agreed to 283-91: R 71-83; D 212-8 (ND 139-7, SD 73-1), Sept. 28, 1989.

253. HR 3299. Fiscal 1990 Budget Reconciliation/Alternative Revenue Package. Rostenkowski, D-Ill., amendment to strike the Jenkins-Archer capital gains tax cut included in the reconciliation bill and substitute restored deductibility for Individual Retirement Accounts, a deficit-reduction trust fund and an increase from 28 percent to 33 percent in the marginal tax rates for the highest incomes. Rejected 190-239: R 1-175; D 189-64 (ND 152-20, SD 37-44), Sept. 28, 1989. A "nay" was a vote supporting the president's position. *(Story, p. 2533)*

254. HR 2990. Fiscal 1990 Labor, HHS and Education Appropriations/Previous Question. Conte, R-Mass., motion to order the previous question (thus ending debate and the possibility of amendment) on the Conte motion to instruct the House conferees on the fiscal 1990 Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education appropriations bill regarding the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program. Motion agreed to 270-148: R 46-127; D 224-21 (ND 158-10, SD 66-11), Sept. 28, 1989. (The effect of the vote was to prevent Dannemeyer, R-Calif., from offering a motion to instruct conferees to accept a Senate provision barring funding for educational materials that promote or encourage homosexuality.) *(Story, p. 2570)*

255. HR 2990. Fiscal 1990 Labor, HHS and Education Appropriations/Instruction of Conferees. Conte, R-Mass., motion to instruct the House conferees on the fiscal 1990 Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education appropriations bill to insist on the House funding total ($1.4 billion instead of $1.228 billion in the Senate version) for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program. Motion agreed to 388-18: R 152-18; D 236-0 (ND 162-0, SD 74-0), Sept. 28, 1989. *(Story, p. 2570)*

256. HR 3014. Fiscal 1990 Legislative Appropriations/Recommittal Motion. Frenzel, R-Minn., motion to recommit to the conference committee the conference report on the bill to appropriate $1.9 billion for the operations of Congress and legislative branch agencies in fiscal 1990. Motion rejected 137-280: R 122-50; D 15-230 (ND 7-159, SD 8-71), Sept. 28, 1989. *(Story, p. 2531)*

257. HR 3014. Fiscal 1990 Legislative Appropriations/Conference Report. Adoption of the conference report on the bill to appropriate $1.9 billion for the operations of Congress and legislative branch agencies in fiscal 1990. The president had requested $2.2 billion. Adopted 274-137: R 49-121; D 225-16 (ND 152-10, SD 73-6), Sept. 28, 1989. *(Story, p. 2531)*

KEY

Y Voted for (yea).
\# Paired for.
\+ Announced for.
N Voted against (nay).
X Paired against.
\- Announced against.
P Voted "present."
C Voted "present" to avoid possible conflict of interest.
? Did not vote or otherwise make a position known.

Democrats *Republicans*

	252	253	254	255	256	257
ALABAMA						
1 *Callahan*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
2 *Dickinson*	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Browder	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Bevill	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Flippo	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Erdreich	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
7 Harris	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ALASKA						
AL *Young*	?	N	N	Y	N	N
ARIZONA						
1 *Rhodes*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 Udall	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 *Stump*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
4 *Kyl*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
5 *Kolbe*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
ARKANSAS						
1 Alexander	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Robinson*	Y	N	N	?	Y	N
3 *Hammerschmidt*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Anthony	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
CALIFORNIA						
1 Bosco	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 *Herger*	N	N	N	Y	N	N
3 Matsui	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Fazio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
5 Pelosi	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 Boxer	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
7 Miller	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	#
8 Dellums	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Stark	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 Edwards	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
11 Lantos	Y	Y	Y	?	N	Y
12 *Campbell*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 Mineta	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
14 *Shumway*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
15 Condit	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
16 Panetta	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 *Pashayan*	N	N	N	?	N	Y
18 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
19 *Lagomarsino*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
20 *Thomas*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
21 *Gallegly*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
22 *Moorhead*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
23 Beilenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
24 Waxman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
25 Roybal	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
26 Berman	Y	Y	Y	?	N	?
27 Levine	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
28 Dixon	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
29 Hawkins	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
30 Martinez	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
31 Dymally	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
32 Anderson	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
33 *Dreier*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
34 Torres	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
35 *Lewis*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
36 Brown	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
37 *McCandless*	?	N	N	Y	?	X
38 *Dornan*	?	N	?	N	Y	N
39 *Dannemeyer*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
40 *Cox*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
41 *Lowery*	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
42 *Rohrabacher*	?	N	N	N	Y	N
43 *Packard*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
44 Bates	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
45 *Hunter*	N	N	N	N	Y	N
COLORADO						
1 Schroeder	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Skaggs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Campbell	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
4 *Brown*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *Hefley*	N	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Schaefer*	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
CONNECTICUT						
1 Kennelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Gejdenson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Morrison	?	Y	?	?	N	Y
4 *Shays*	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
5 *Rowland*	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
6 *Johnson*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
DELAWARE						
AL Carper	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FLORIDA						
1 Hutto	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
2 *Grant*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
3 Bennett	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4 *James*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
5 *McCollum*	?	N	N	Y	N	N
6 *Stearns*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Gibbons	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 *Young*	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
9 *Bilirakis*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
10 *Ireland*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
11 Nelson	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
12 *Lewis*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
13 *Goss*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
14 Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
15 *Shaw*	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
16 Smith	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
17 Lehman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Ros-Lehtinen*	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
19 Fascell	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	?
GEORGIA						
1 Thomas	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
2 Hatcher	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Ray	?	N	N	Y	Y	N
4 Jones	Y	N	Y	?	N	Y
5 Lewis	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Gingrich*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
7 Darden	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rowland	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Jenkins	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
10 Barnard	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
HAWAII						
1 *Saiki*	?	N	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Akaka	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
IDAHO						
1 *Craig*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
2 Stallings	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
ILLINOIS						
1 Hayes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Savage	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
3 Russo	?	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
4 Sangmeister	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
5 Lipinski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
6 *Hyde*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
7 Collins	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
8 Rostenkowski	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
9 Yates	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
10 *Porter*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
11 Annunzio	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
12 *Crane*	?	N	N	?	Y	N
13 *Fawell*	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
14 *Hastert*	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
15 *Madigan*	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
16 *Martin*	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N
17 Evans	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
18 *Michel*	Y	N	N	?	?	?
19 Bruce	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
20 Durbin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
21 Costello	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
22 Poshard	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
INDIANA						
1 Visclosky	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2 Sharp	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
3 *Hiler*	Y	N	?	Y	Y	N

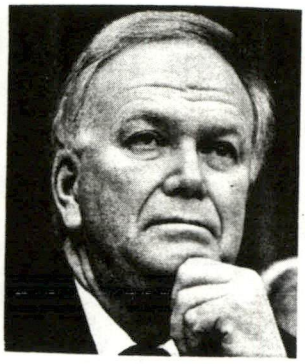
ND Northern Democrats SD Southern Democrats

Capital Gains Cut Dead for the Year

The issue of a capital gains tax cut, the gray eminence that has influenced congressional maneuvering for months, finally came to a Senate floor vote Nov. 14. It was a vote that gave proponents and opponents a taste of both victory and defeat.

A bare majority — 51 senators — supported the cut, President Bush's top tax-policy goal, in the test vote. Yet the day was won by the Democratic opponents, because the question at hand was procedural.

Bill Bradley



Bob Packwood

The Senate was actually voting on whether the Democrats' threat of a filibuster would continue to bar a vote on the cut itself. Proponents of a cut fell nine votes shy of the 60 required to cut off debate, a result that had been expected. "I know probably what the outcome will be," said Republican leader Bob Dole of Kansas in his summary.

The question was tried again Nov. 15 and produced an identical 51-47 total with no senators switching on the bill (HR 3628). But even the first vote had been somewhat anticlimactic. *(Votes 295, 298, p. 3197)*

Any chance of enacting a cut this year had effectively been foreclosed Nov. 2, when Bush agreed not to press for its inclusion in the deficit-reducing reconciliation bill (HR 3299). *(Weekly Report p. 2929)*

Since then, the White House had also agreed not to push for capital gains riders on other "must pass" bills such as the debt-limit extension and the Poland-Hungary aid measure. But the White House and some Republicans had persisted in seeking some form of floor vote now. "I think we can demonstrate to the American people that a majority in this Senate support a capital gains rate reduction," said Dole.

To this end, the proponents were willing to accept a vote on the procedural question of cloture. This amounted to a test of strength for Majority Leader George J. Mitchell of Maine, an opponent of the cut who had stood in the breach since it was included in the House's reconciliation bill in September. Mitchell had to deal with 15 or more Democrats who were inclined to support some form of cut in the gains tax.

But on Nov. 14 and 15, only six crossed the aisle to oppose him on cloture. They were Howell Heflin and Richard C. Shelby of Alabama, Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, Dennis DeConcini of Arizona, J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana and David L. Boren of Oklahoma.

Boren had been the convener of a group of pro-cut Democrats, and each of the others has been identified to some degree with the business-oriented wing of the party. *(Weekly Report p. 2849)*

Somewhat more surprising was the announcement by Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, an old-line liberal, who said he would have voted for cloture if he had not been paired with an opponent, Spark M. Matsunaga, D-Hawaii, who was absent and could not cast his "no" vote.

Majority Whip Alan Cranston of California — one of several pro-cut Democrats who explained their votes against cloture in statements for the record — called the vote "a futile exercise to help the White House politically."

"But since many senators such as myself are not voting as we would on the substance," Cranston said, "little has been gained and, frankly, much good will has been lost."

David Pryor, D-Ark., said he expected to vote for capital gains "one day" but added that it must "be part of a comprehensive economic and budget package."

Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., said he opposed the Senate plan because of its "financing mechanism" — a restructuring of Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs). That mechanism, the brainchild of William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., would have raised about $11.5 billion in five years by encouraging holders of IRAs to convert them into a new kind of IRA that would be tax-free upon withdrawal. Dodd cited an analysis by the Congressional Budget Office that said this short-term revenue gain would cost the Treasury about 10 times as much in the long run (in nominal dollars). *(Weekly Report p. 2850)*

Although all 45 Republicans voted for cloture, William S. Cohen of Maine said he was less sure about the capital gains cut itself.

The Nov. 14 debate featured two of the architects of the landmark 1986 tax overhaul: Bob Packwood, R-Ore., and Bill Bradley, D-N.J. Bradley was an early prophet of the low-rates, broad-base philosophy of the 1986 tax measure; Packwood was the Finance Committee chairman who fashioned it into a bill.

But on capital gains the two fought a genial duel on the floor. Packwood paced in the Senate well as Bradley, a few feet away, delivered the afternoon's longest speech.

Bradley described the average taxpaying family and contrasted it with the wealthy he said would absorb most of the benefits of the Packwood cut. He said that the capital gains exclusion in effect in 1985 was worth an average of $13 million to each of the nation's 100 richest taxpayers.

Bradley responded to charges of "class rhetoric" by saying the failure to cite such statistics would "constitute a conspiracy of silence." He said the gains cut would force up taxes on the income of ordinary taxpayers.

Packwood countered with anecdotes about small entrepreneurs and the benefit they would reap from his proposal. He said any "demagogue" could highlight the advantages of the bill for "Mister $200,000-a-year" but that the benefit to the rich was beside the point.

"What has the person who makes $20,000 lost? Nothing," said Packwood.

—Ronald D. Elving

THE SUNDAY DENVER POST

November 26, 1989 — *Voice of the Rocky Mountain Empire* — ★ Final Edition

11-28-89 10:16AM FROM BROWN FOR SENATE P02

Brown makes the most of his 'nice guy' image

Influence in national arena not yet clear

By Beth Frerking
Denver Post Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — In this era of television sound bites, U.S. Rep. Hank Brown's tag would go something like this: Nice. Bright. Hard-working. Respected. Good sense of humor.

And if time allowed, there would be a slight modification: *Genuinely nice.*

A reporter can't talk to Brown's congressional colleagues, friends, staff members or even political foes without hearing repeated references to how "nice" and "decent" Brown is.

"I would be surprised if you could find anyone who would say anything bad about him," said Washington political analyst Norman Ornstein.

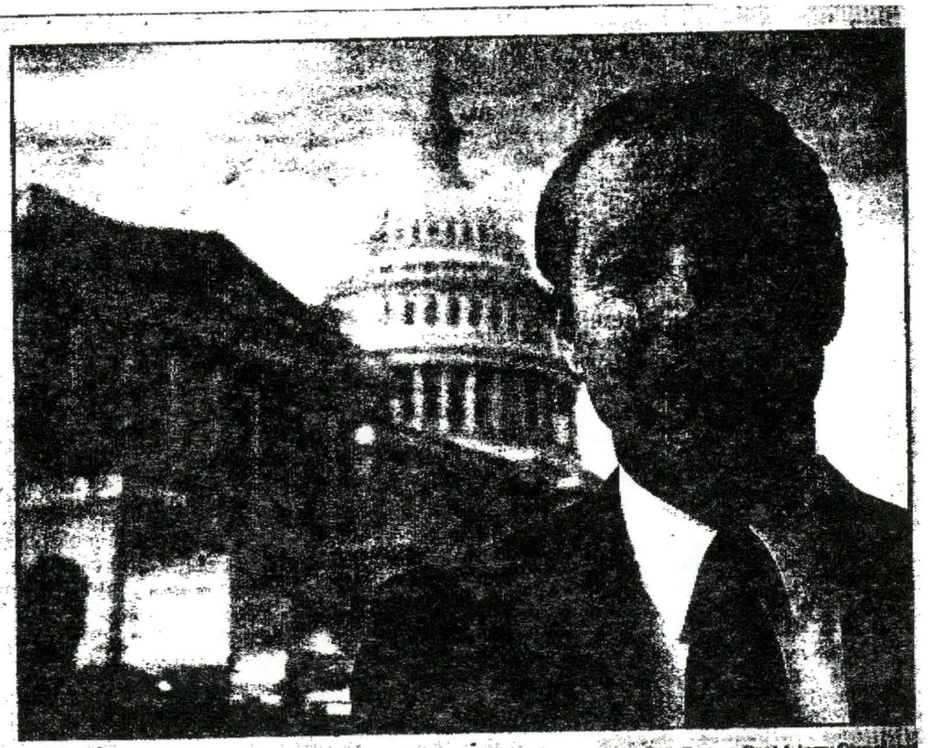
Still, two questions arise regarding Colorado's 4th Congressional District representative: How far does nice, bright and hard-working get a Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives? And, do those attributes constitute leadership in its broadest sense?

COLORADANS IN CONGRESS

The first answer is easy: A long way.

In an arena where competing egos bruise each other daily, Republicans and Democrats appreciate a colleague who remains affable and composed during sometimes bitter debate. "He never personalizes the issues" was a common re-

Please see BROWN on 16A



The Denver Post / Jerry Cleveland

A SHAPER OF POLICY? Colorado's U.S. Rep. Hank Brown at the Capitol.

Senate race will focus on Brown's leadership abilities

'He never personalizes the issues'

BROWN from Page 1A

frain during interviews with a dozen of Brown's Democratic and Republican colleagues.

But whether Brown, 49, is viewed as a leader, a shaper of national domestic and foreign policy, is not as clear.

David Sprague, a Phillips County farmer who ran against Brown to represent the sprawling 4th District in 1986, said he could never focus voters' attention on Brown's political vision and leadership because Brown is so well-liked and employs such a helpful district staff.

"It's difficult to get people to look beyond (his personality) to see what he's done or what he hasn't done," Sprague said. "He doesn't lead on the issues of the day. He hasn't done much outside his district.

"When people really ask hard questions, it will be interesting to see if he's been advocating things and influencing Congress as a whole."

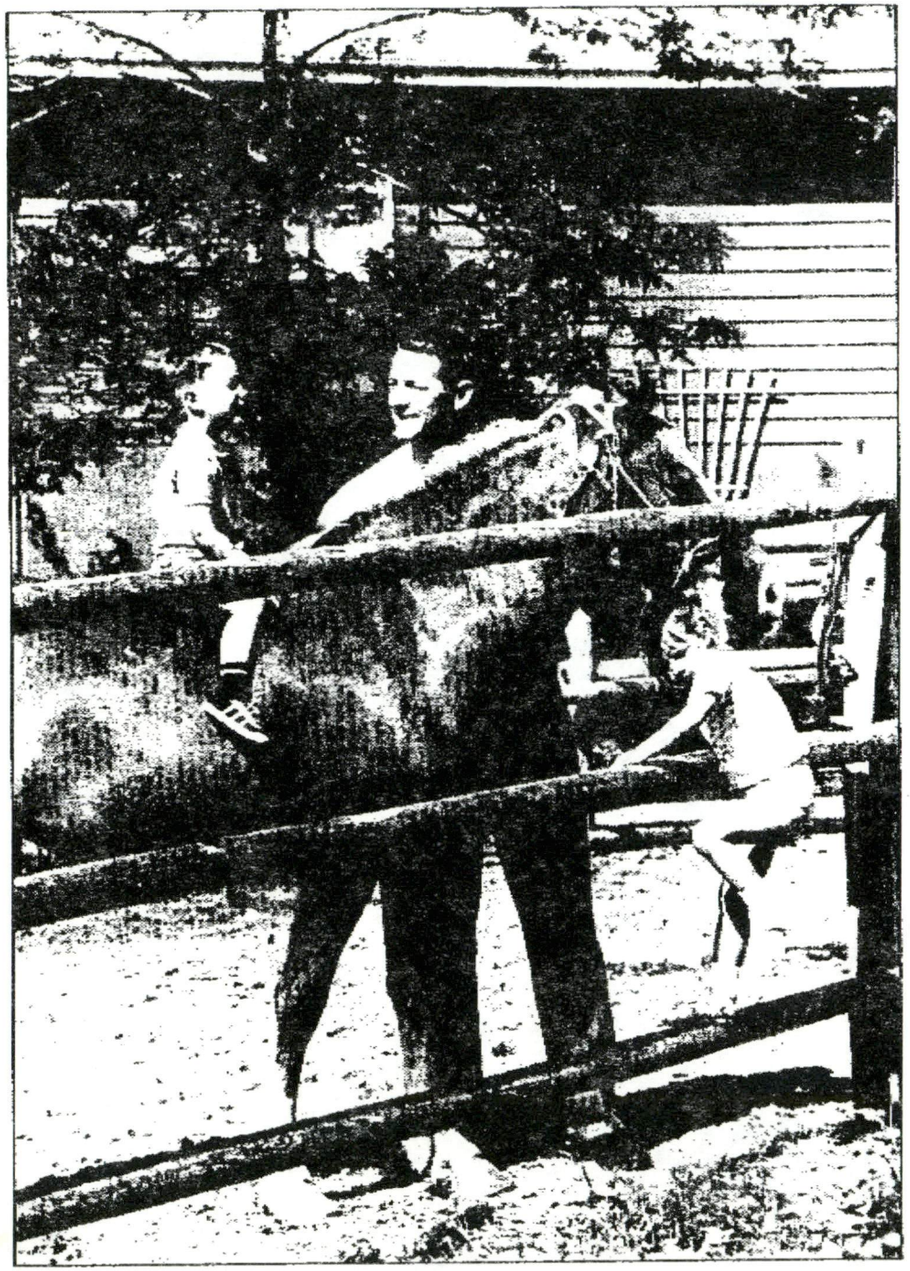
This is certain: As Brown embarks on his campaign to succeed Republican Sen. Bill Armstrong in the U.S. Senate in 1990, he will face questions about his leadership abilities with increasing frequency, both from his Democratic contenders and from voters.

□□□

There is an old saying in Washington that "all politics are local."

Brown took that to heart the moment he arrived, and he's been an effective legislator on Colorado's behalf ever since.

He shepherded through Congress the state's first "wild and scenic" river designation, guaranteeing federal protection for the Cache La Poudre River, and helped expand the boundaries of Rocky Mountain National Park.



FAMILY TIME: Harry and Christy Brown with their father in 1972.

1961: CU student body president.

1972: Running for Colorado Senate.

1980: Running for Congress seat.

REP. HANK BROWN

"The way you accomplish something here is not necessarily to get on C-SPAN. The way you accomplish something here says more about persistence than anything else.'

■ **Born:** Feb. 12, 1940, Denver.

■ **Education:** Bachelor of science degree, University of Colorado, 1961; law degree, University of Colorado, 1969; master's of law, George Washington University, 1986.

■ **Occupation:** Politician, businessman. Colorado Senate, 1972-1976, serving as assistant majority leader in 1975; U.S. House of Representatives, 1980-1989; Monfort of Colorado Inc., 1969-1979, assistant to the president, corporate counsel, vice president of Monfort Food Distributing Co., vice president of international operations, and director of the lamb feeding and processing divisions.

■ **Military career:** U.S. Navy, 1962-1965. Rose to the rank of lieutenant. Awards include Air Medal with two gold stars, Vietnam Service Medal and National Defense Medal.

■ **Net worth:** $169,517.

■ **Family:** Wife, Nan Morrison; son, Harry, 19; daughters, Christy, 19, and Lori, 18.

■ **Religion:** Congregationalist.

■ **Hobbies:** Skiing, bridge.

■ **Favorite magazines:** American Heritage, Smithsonian, National Geographic.

■ **Latest books read:** "From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Major Stephen Long's Expedition" — a journal edited by Maxine Benson.

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Brown also convinced the Environmental Protection Agency that Colorado farmers should be allowed to use pesticides to fight the Russian wheat aphid, and he more recently led the effort to secure federal money for cleanup of South Adams County drinking water contaminated by the Rocky Mountain Arsenal.

Brown's effectiveness has depended partly on the associations he's made in Congress. His resume is studded with the honors of someone who has been an insider all his life.

As a youth, that meant being a high school athlete, a debater and a recipient of a Rotary award for "Service Above Self." At the University of Colorado, Brown presided over his sophomore and junior men's honorary societies, and he was elected president of the student body his senior year in 1961.

After three years in the U.S. Navy, including a one-year tour of Vietnam, Brown returned to Boulder and graduated from law school in 1969. He won several civic and business honors during the decade he worked at Monfort of Colorado. And, during his first and only term in the Colorado Senate, Brown was voted the body's second-most-effective member.

The pattern hasn't changed since the father of three came to Washington in 1980 as a U.S. representative for the largely agricultural 4th District, which stretches across the state's arid eastern plains and is dotted with such medium-sized towns as Greeley and Fort Collins.

He is on the powerful Ways and Means Committee, a coveted panel because of its tax-writing responsibilities. He served as president of his freshman class. And, during his freshman year, he was inducted into an elite House Republican fraternity — the Chowder and Marching Society, which counts among its members former presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford and Vice President Dan Quayle.

Brown also belongs to a monthly dinner discussion group with three influential House Republicans — Reps. Lynn Martin of Illinois, Vin Weber of Minnesota and Tom DeLay of Texas — where guests as diverse as freshmen Democrats and syndicated newspaper columnists analyze current events and congressional policy.

Participation in these groups pays incalculable dividends. "It plugs him in to influential members," said Rep. Bill Archer, a Texas Republican who serves with Brown on the House Ways and Means Committee and is also a member of the Chowder and Marching Society.

By most reports, Brown's industriousness and consensus-building abilities have distinguished him almost as much as his pleasant disposition.

He has learned that Republicans must heed the old adage of "try, try again" to influence legislation.

"The way you accomplish something here is not necessarily to get on C-SPAN," Brown said, referring to the cable television network that broadcasts sessions of Congress. "The way you accomplish something here says more about persistence than anything else."

Yet, Brown's "stick-to-itiveness," as he describes it, has not made him so preoccupied as to be unmindful of other opinions.

"He's got a very inclusive attitude, very open-minded," said Rep. Bill Gradison, an Ohio Republican who serves with Brown on Ways and Means.

Rep. John T. Myers, an Indiana Republican, persuaded a reluctant Brown to serve a second stint on the House ethics panel during the investigation of former House Speaker Jim Wright because he believed that "Brown would devote all his mental energies on what became a grueling and thankless task.

'I would not want to have him cornered. He might possess far more strength in a tough situation than some of his detractors might think.'

Duane Woodard
Colorado attorney general

Brown usually works 8 a.m. to midnight in Washington and, when on the trail, even longer hours — 'five in the morning until one or two at night . . . killing himself campaigning.'

His mother, **Anna Marie Brown**

"He was one of the most dedicated members, spent a lot of hours studying the issues, and asked a lot of questions," said Myers, ranking Republican on the ethics committee.

Brown managed to cut through the "legal lingo," Myers said. "Often, attorneys can get wrapped up in their own jargon and not see the forest for the trees, but Hank wasn't that way."

Still, colleagues invariably mention courteousness and a sharp wit as Brown's most appealing characteristics.

Brown acknowledges that his good relations with colleagues aid his legislative goals at some level.

"If you want people to listen to you, you have to be willing to listen to them. If you want people to accept your ideas, then you have to be comfortable in working with them."

What makes Brown uncomfortable is reciting his own successes. He traditionally has issued fewer press releases than the rest of the Colorado congressional delegation, and for years operated without a press secretary. (The pace has picked up noticeably since Brown began his Senate campaign and hired a full-time press aide, however.)

"He is not egotistical at all about his talents, and I think that's one thing that endears him to his colleagues," Archer said.

Rep. Larry Craig, an Idaho Republican who has served with Brown on the ethics and interior committees, was more succinct: "Hank Brown's a quiet doer."

□□□

To understand Brown's modesty and diligence requires a look at his family, especially his mother, who 40 years ago achieved what remains formidable for women today.

When Brown was 13 years old, his mother moved him and his older brother, Harry, to Menlo Park, Calif. (His parents had divorced several years earlier.) She left her lifelong home of Colorado to become the first female lawyer at Standard Oil Co.

By the time she arrived, Anna Marie Brown, now 78, was prepared for the odd glances, the snide remarks, the outright discrimination she faced. She was ready because she'd been hazed, informally, at the University of Denver School of Law.

One professor, who she politely declined to name, told her that law school was "a rough thing" and to "get out." A Denver socialite felt compelled to advise her to drop out because a law career was "not something women should do."

Mrs. Brown discovered, as her son would decades later, that her best retort came in performance. While at law school, she earned one of only two As in a freshman torts class. She took a study course for the California bar while working at Standard Oil, all the while raising two sons alone. And, she passed the California bar on her first attempt.

Asked about the influence she had on Hank Brown's successes, Mrs. Brown takes scant credit. She concedes that his views about women's and civil rights probably developed from his role model at home, a theory Brown confirms.

Having a mother who worked outside the home "was not something to be frightened of," Brown said recently. "It seemed to me the norm."

But there are even more striking parallels between mother and son.

Brown's Washington workday usually begins before 8 a.m. and ends at midnight — a schedule enabled by the fact that his family lives in Greeley.

His mother said he works even longer hours on the campaign trail. "He's making it from 5 in the morning until 1 or 2 at night," she said, adding protectively that he's "killing himself campaigning."

Brown's hours should surprise no one, least of all his mother.

Mrs. Brown seems to forget that she set

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Sunday, November 26, 1989

COLORADANS IN CONGRESS: HANK BROWN

THE DENVER POST

George Washington U.

an equally exhausting pace the year she prepared for the California bar. She worked at Standard Oil during weekdays and studied "from 5 a.m. until midnight" weekends. "I went through a whole year of that."

Brown's upbringing also instilled in him an aversion to special treatment.

In 1983, while in his second term in Congress, Brown began attending night classes to earn a master's degree in tax law from Georgetown University. He never told his professors he was a congressman and had no reason to until December 1985, when the House was scheduled to vote on the Gramm-Rudman budget-cutting bill.

Brown — who usually posts a 98 percent or 99 percent voting average — faced missing the Gramm-Rudman vote or a final exam. He chose to vote. And, instead of explaining to his professor why he missed the exam, he wrote a thesis to make it up.

"I didn't want them to know," he said, appearing uncomfortable at the mere suggestion.

Three decades earlier, Brown's mother had rejected special treatment when she became seriously ill at the end of a law school term. She had missed three weeks of classes and faced missing the final exam. Her professor offered to let her drop the class.

"But I didn't want a favor," she said.

Instead, she completed the class with the help of a classmate's notes.

Brown inherited the same determination, but he says another event in his youth also may have motivated him to succeed: His brother's death in a car accident when Brown was 13.

"I think you feel a sense of loss, but some obligation to make up for that loss."

Whatever its genesis, Brown's tenacity has bolstered him as a minority member in the House and on Ways and Means. During development of the 1988 welfare reform measure, for example, he insisted that Congress mandate work requirements for welfare recipients.

"He hung right in there. That's what I admired about him," said Rep. Barbara Kennelly, a Connecticut Democrat whose views on welfare reform placed her squarely opposite Brown in the Ways and Means subcommittee on public assistance.

"Time and again he did not win the argument . . . (but) he didn't walk away. He stayed in there, right to the bitter end."

□□□

Until Congress overhauled the welfare system last year, Brown had not emerged as a leader on any national issue.

Granted, it remains difficult for House Republicans to seize national issues because they don't enjoy the privileges and visibility afforded committee chairmans, all of whom are Democrats.

But those House Republicans who move through the leadership ranks — who go on to play roles in Republican administrations or to become senators — carve out national niches despite the odds.

While a representative from New York for 18 years, Jack Kemp, now secretary of Housing and Urban Development, became a national conservative hero for his economic proposals that led to massive tax cuts in 1981.

Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, a former Wyoming congressman who chaired the House Republican Policy Committee from 1981-1987 and was minority whip, became one of his party's most articulate spokesmen on a variety of domestic and foreign policy issues.

And, by pushing for government spending cuts while in the House, Republican Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas made a national splash years before he orchestrated the Gramm-Rudman measure in the Senate in 1985.

Stephen Hess, a senior fellow at the think-tank Brookings Institution, said Kemp and Cheney were "ahead of the pack" as House members partly because of earlier national exposure: Kemp was a quarterback for the Buffalo Bills and Cheney served as chief of staff for President Gerald Ford.

Nevertheless, Hess agreed there are two echelons in the House: The members who become experts on national issues and the far larger group that works primarily, if not exclusively, for its home district and state.

"There are many members of Congress -- and I would put it close to two-thirds — who are largely there to do good for their district. It's not quite the city council . . . but they're not there to debate cosmic issues," he said.

"At this point, Brown would more fit in that category. But he's a man with ambition, and that would distinguish him."

That Brown has not taken center stage may in part derive from his position on the political spectrum. He is not an extremist, and extremists in both parties frame the debates, leaving to moderates like Brown the task of negotiating compromises.

In Washington jargon, Brown is a mainstream Republican — moderate on social issues such as abortion and civil rights, yet fiscally conservative.

"To me, it is very consistent to be for economic freedom as well as civil rights. They are part of the same philosophy . . . an effort to maximize individual liberty," Brown said.

He also has been described as a maverick because he opposed President Reagan on numerous defense issues. He was against

Please see **BROWN** on 17A

P06
11-28-89 10:16AM FROM BROWN FOR SENATE

He's tapping strength for U.S. Senate race

BROWN from Page 16A

Reagan's decision to send U.S. troops to Lebanon in October 1983, and he has voted for cuts in defense spending.

On welfare reform, however, he was solidly in line with his conservative brethren.

Brown insisted on one premise as the controversial legislation slowly wound its way through the House Ways and Means Committee onto the House floor: Welfare recipients should be encouraged, if not required, to get jobs.

"I saw independence as the goal . . . whereas (Democrats) saw the nurturing hand of government as the solution."

Rep. Tom Downey, a New York Democrat who was chairman of the Ways and Means subcommittee on public assistance at the time, said he wanted to reward work but not require it. He feared that the poor would become poorer and less stable if they took jobs but lost government-sponsored health and child care in the process.

Eventually, both sides gave in. Democrats accepted work requirements, while Republicans swallowed mandatory state coverage for two-parent welfare families. The bill established education and job training programs for welfare mothers, and guaranteed health and child care benefits for a year after a welfare recipient got a job.

Downey acknowledges that Brown influenced the measure. But he says he did his level best to cut Republicans out of the process — a tactic enabled by the Democrats' 2-to-1 majority on Ways and Means.

"Later on, I needed them, and sought them out, and (Brown) was helpful," Downey said. "I'd have to credit him with a certain generousness of spirit that others might not have exhibited."

Said Archer: "He is smart enough to know that in a democracy, no one wins 100 percent of the time."

Brown has lost only one race for public office — when he ran for lieutenant governor on a Republican ticket topped by state Sen. Ted Strickland in 1978.

But it was a race Brown *didn't* run that has cast the longest shadows.

In early January 1985, after speculation that he might run for governor, Brown announced he wasn't interested. Ten days later, he announced he would run, and even appointed a finance chairman. Two months later, he withdrew.

Brown said then, and still contends, that his family and congressional obligations would have made it impossible for him to compete strongly in an aggressive primary.

Friends of Brown say he is devoted to his family. He calls his wife, Nan, "my best friend," and he is close to his three children, 19-year-old twins Harry and Christy, and Lori, 18. He skipped the 1988 Republican National Convention to spend time with the twins, who were leaving that week for college at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio.

But some political observers weren't convinced by Brown's rationale not to enter the governor's race. They wondered if the soft-spoken, scholarly Brown — accustomed to walks in his congressional elections — lacked the fire to take on a feisty contender.

Some still wonder privately whether Brown would have the mettle to survive a contentious race.

But since Brown has not drawn a high-profile opponent in his Senate bid — someone with the political stature of former Gov. Dick Lamm or another congressman like Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell — the question may be moot. Three Democrats have said they will run: former Colorado Democratic Party Chairman Buie Seawell, Alamosa attorney Carlos Lucero and Boulder County Commissioner Josie Heath.

"He's lucky" Campbell did not enter the race, said one Republican consultant, who asked not to be identified. "Brown's nonconfrontational attitude is a potential problem."

Brown dismisses such talk as hooey. "I think of myself as a very combative person, very competitive. And that's why you get into this, because it is a competitive atmosphere. But I have never felt a need to point and shout."

It's hard to picture Brown as combative, this man whose voice is so soft as to be inaudible at times, whose smile is so friendly and open.

But there is evidence that beneath the calm exterior lies a big cat waiting to spring. His duty in Vietnam, as an enemy spotter, was not for the meek. Flying at low altitudes to mark enemy nests, Brown often came into firing range of the Vietcong.

"I would not want to have him cornered," said Colorado Attorney General Duane Woodard, a Republican-turned-Democrat. "He might possess far more strength in a tough situation than some of his detractors might think."

For now, Brown is tapping some of that strength to run for Senate. He travels the state each weekend, touting a Reaganesque theme of "keeping America a land of opportunity."

His message is not unique, nor does it have the eloquence, the sterling ring of someone grabbing at destiny. But the election's still a year away. And, maybe someone as popular as Brown doesn't need a Willie Horton to convince people he's worth their vote.

Maybe nice, hard-working and bright is more than enough.

DENVER POST- 11-26-89 Sec 6

VIETNAM DUTY: Brown at Da Nang in 1963 with the L-19 spotter plane in which he served as forward air controller.

P07

11-28-89 10:16AM FROM BROWN FOR SENATE

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COLORADANS IN CONGRESS: HANK BROWN

Brown crosses party lines for supporters

By Beth Frerking
Denver Post Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — Rep. Hank Brown is a Republican, but he crosses partisan lines when it comes to his friends, staff and supporters.

One of his oldest friends and chief contributors is Denver lawyer Norman Brownstein, an independent who has raised money for Colorado and national candidates, primarily Democrats.

The two met at the University of Colorado in the late 1950s, when Brownstein was invited to pledge Brown's fraternity — Delta Tau Delta. Brownstein, one of the chapter's first Jewish members, was Brown's pledge "son."

Brownstein, 46, also knew Brown's future wife, Nan Morrison, because he "hashed" — worked in the kitchen — of her sorority.

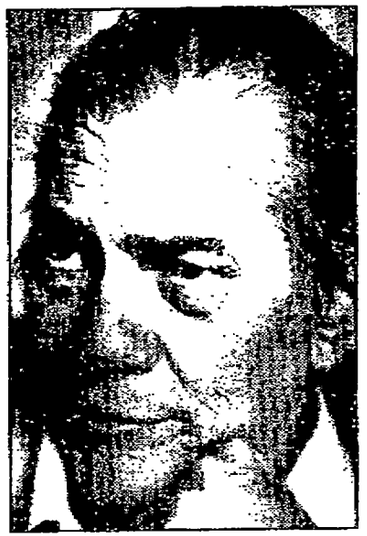
He later attended the Browns' wedding, remained friends with Brown during his career at Monfort of Colorado, and has supported him in all his political campaigns.

"I think he is a very easy guy to support, even though he's Republican and is conservative. He listens, and his positions are not always so rigid that he is unable to" modify them, Brownstein said.

Although he declined to say how much money he intends to raise for Brown in the Senate campaign, Brownstein said he will seek contributions from friends and business associates in New York, Los Angeles, Dallas, Houston, Miami and Detroit.

Another of Brown's closest friends and mentors is Kenneth Monfort, 60, who once ran against Colorado Sen. Peter Dominick, a Republican. Monfort, whose Greeley meat-processing plant is one of the country's largest, was a Democrat and anti-war activist in the 1960s.

Norman Brownstein



Kenneth Monfort

Brown went to work for Monfort after graduating from law school in 1969, even though he had worked on Dominick's campaign. But as the years passed, Brown said he and Monfort found themselves closer together on issues.

They agreed, for example, that most of President Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" poverty programs had not worked, Brown said.

"At that time, we really thought we could eliminate poverty with the bulk of the programs," Brown said. "They haven't really done what I think everybody hoped they would."

By the early 1980s, Monfort saw that his party wasn't willing to change, so he switched to the Republican Party, Brown said. The two men still talk regularly.

Brown also considers former state Republican Chairman Kenneth Lloyd, 67, a close adviser. Lloyd and Brown met during Dominick's campaign for the U.S. House in 1960, and became friends during 1967, when Brown was field director for Dominick's second U.S. Senate race in 1967.

His closest confidant and friend, however, is his wife Nan.

"I guess she, more than any person, is easy to talk to and share (my) thoughts with," Brown said.

But, because Nan and the couple's three children lived in Washington only two of the nine years he has served in Congress, she has not been an active adviser on daily issues, Brown said.

Most of Brown's aides have worked for him his entire tenure in Washington. Most have Colorado roots. And, his is a more-than-equal opportunity office in terms of its female-to-male ratio: Seven of Brown's nine Washington aides are women, and six of his seven district aides are women.

His closest aides are:

■ **Joel Kassiday, 37, administrative assistant.** He served as press secretary to former Rep. Jim Johnson, a Colorado Republican, before joining Brown in 1980. A registered independent, Kassiday graduated from Colorado State University and was managing editor of the Fort Collins Triangle Review before going to Washington.

■ **Roxie Burris, 41, legislative director.** Burris has been on Capitol Hill for 16 years — seven with Johnson and nine with Brown. Her work primarily encompasses the issues Brown deals with on the House Ways and Means Committee. Burris' maternal grandparents lived in the Fleming area, but Burris lived all over the world because her father was in the military. She graduated from Centenary College in Shreveport, La.

■ **Gary Hickmon, 47, district director in Greeley.** He has directed Brown's district operations since 1981, when he joined the staff after teaching history and government at Fort Morgan High School. He grew up in Oklahoma, graduated from the University of Oklahoma in Norman, taught school in California and served in the U.S. Army, including a tour of Vietnam. He moved to Fort Morgan in 1970, met Brown a year later, and has worked on all of Brown's campaigns.

HANK BROWN - GOOD DEEDS, 101ST CONGRESS
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o Following Brown amendments have been included in the budget reconciliation legislation, H.R. 2990:

Extension of 25% Health Insurance Deduction. (Dorgan-Brown amendment) Provides equity for self-employed taxpayers by extending for two years the current 25% deduction of health insurance costs for self-employed individuals.

Limit net operating loss carrybacks in leveraged buyouts. (Dorgan-Brown amendment) Limits the ability of a corporation to obtain a refund of taxes paid in prior years by carrying back an NOL where the losses were created by the interest deductions allocable to certain corporation equity-reducing transactions (CERTS).

Tax simplification. Simplifies tax code by conforming the dividend received deduction treatment under the alternative minimum tax with the regular corporate tax rules for companies owning more than 20% but less than 80% of another company's stock.

o **Denver Airport Funding.** As part of ongoing effort to obtain funding for the new airport, helped lead opposition to raid on Airport and Airway Trust Fund, which resulted in a compromise plan that would increase funds available to airports under the Airport Improvement Program. Improves prospects for funding for new Denver Airport. Also helped lead successful congressional effort to obtain $60 million in FY 1989 discretionary funds. Brought Transportation Secretary Sam Skinner to Denver to review proposed airport site.

o **HUD Reform.** Introduced first comprehensive reform package to clean up shoddy practices and to prevent future abuse at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Aimed at eliminating influence peddling and embezzlement problems at HUD related to federal housing assistance programs. Places tighter regulation on HUD management practices.

o **Rocky Mountain National Park.** Prime sponsor proposal enacted to expand the park by adding 400 acres to its southern boundaries. Additional acreage will insure that the elk migration path is protected and that the land will not be used for development purposes. Addition includes Lily Lake and provides access to the park off Hwy. 7. Land will be donated to the federal government without cost to the taxpayer.

o **High-Altitude Vehicle Testing.** Prime sponsor of proposal now included in House Energy and Commerce Committee draft clean air bill to establish a high altitude vehicle emissions testing center. Although Clean Air Act requires cars operating at high altitudes to meet the 3.4 gram per mile standard for carbon monoxide, studies have shown that motor vehicles operating in Colorado emit on the average between 10-20 grams per mile.

o **Rocky Mountain Arsenal Cleanup**. As part of ongoing efforts aimed at cleanup of the arsenal, Brown's request to place Basin F, the Arsenal's most contaminated site, on the Superfund National Priorities list was approved and listed on Mar. 6, 1989.

o **Rocky Mountain Arsenal Open Space**. Brown took lead in urging state and local development of a plan for open space and wildlife preservation at arsenal site following cleanup. An agreement between the U.S. Army and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to allow the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to manage the wildlife sources at the Arsenal was signed Mar. 23, 1989.

o **Poudre River National Recreation Area Update**. Poudre River National Recreation Area study authorized by Brown's 1986 legislation (Pub. L. 99-590), designating 75 miles of the Cache la Poudre River as Colorado's first wild and scenic river, has been completed and will be forwarded to the Secretary of Agriculture at the end of October.

o **Rocky Flats Monitoring**. Prime sponsor of legislation to give the State of Colorado permanent legal authority to monitor Department of Energy activities at Rocky Flats. Would provide state governments with access necessary to monitor environmental compliance at DOE facilities to protect public health and safety.

o **Rocky Flats Hazardous Waste Storage**. As part of Brown's effort to find a workable solution for storage of hazardous radioactive waste produced at Rocky Flats, Brown has proposed to President Bush that he issue an executive order to permit immediate temporary storage of plutonium waste at the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP) in New Mexico, pending finalization of permanent underground storage at the same site. This will significantly reduce the hazards and the costs that would otherwise be posed by transporting the waste to seven different states and then eventually to WIPP.

o **Repeal of Charity Tax**. Prime sponsor of legislation to change a federal tax law that otherwise could cost Colorado non-profit groups thousands of dollars each year. Bill repeals the $50-per-person occupational stamp tax on volunteers who sell pull-tab and raffle tickets on behalf of nonprofit groups. Also exempts from the federal excise tax on wagers, those net proceeds from drawings conducted by such groups when the funds are used for charitable donation purposes, that is, charitable, educational, scientific, literary, or religious purposes.

ment on the addition of land to Rocky Mountain National Park but that there have been differences over a provision contained in the Senate bill that deals with a private landowner within the park boundary. We have been working with the sponsors and other interested parties to see if an agreement on this difference could be reached. We have reached agreement and that has been incorporated into the Senate amendment before the House today. While I am not completely satisfied with the necessity of this language, I am willing to accept it in this instance and this instance only so that we can completer action in a timely manner that will allow important lands to be donated to Rocky Mount National Park.

I support S. 737, as amended, and recommend its adoption by the House.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago the bill to expand Rocky Mountain National Park was stopped dead in its tracks.

The U.S. Senate had amended the bill in a way that our House committee leadership could not accept. There appeared to be no way to resolve the different versions and the bill appeared dead.

At that point our colleague from Colorado, HANK BROWN, the original sponsor of the bill, developed an innovative compromise that will save the Lilly Lake expansion of the park. His proposal insured the property rights safeguard that the Senate insisted on and at the same time avoided the precedents the House leadership opposed. The leadership of the gentleman from Colorado saved the expansion of Rocky Mountain National Park.

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Mr. LIGHTFOOT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his explanation, and I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. DONNELLY). Is there objection to the original request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include therein extraneous material on the legislation just adopted.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 3566, making appropriations for fiscal year 1990 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and related agencies.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1990

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it be in order to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 3566) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1990, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, and that it be in order to consider motions to dispose of Senate amendments numbered 1 through 7.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

Mr. CONTE. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to object, but I merely wish to ask my dear friend, the gentleman from Kentucky, to explain this matter. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky for that purpose.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I say to my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE], as he knows, the Senate has made seven changes in H.R. 3566 as it passed the House on November 15.

The first amendment is a technical change which would require that funds appropriated for health care for the homeless be expended by December 31, 1990. I will offer a motion that the House concur in this amendment.

The second amendment modifies the language agreed to by the House with respect to the State Legalization Immigrant Assistance Program. This amendment is technical only and does not change the basic agreement. Both the House and the Senate language reduce funds in fiscal year 1990 and replace these funds in fiscal year 1992. I will offer a motion that the House concur in the Senate amendment.

The third amendment specifies in law that $50 million of the funds appropriated for foster care be used for independent living programs. This is the amount included by the House. I will offer a motion that the House concur with this Senate amendment.

The fourth amendment specifies in law the amounts agreed to for State administration and program improvement under the chapter 1 compensatory education program. These are the same amounts that were included by the House, and the motion at the desk will propose that the House concur in this amendment.

The fifth amendment changes existing law with respect to Medicare reimbursement for rural referral centers. This is an authorization matter under the Ways and Means Committee. It is in conference in the reconciliation bill and should be disposed of in that bill. At the proper time, I will therefore offer a motion that the House insist on its position and that the Senate recede.

The sixth amendment prohibits the use of funds for needle exchange programs or for programs to distribute bleach to drug abusers. I will offer a motion to concur in the Senate language prohibiting funds for needle exchange activities, but I will propose to delete the language regarding bleach programs.

With respect to the Centers for Disease Control, we want to reemphasize that separate AIDS funding must be provided to any local health department which serves the largest political jurisdiction in a MSA, when such MSA reported more than 2,000 AIDS cases as of June 30, 1989, and such cases represent at least 75 percent of the AIDS cases reported in that State.

This was part of the original conference agreement, and we want to be sure that CDC is clear that it still applies.

We also want to reemphasize that $11,154,000 is included for activities for the hemophilia project, and $14,515,000 for direct grants to minority community-based organizations.

Finally, the seventh amendment would attach a legislative provision to the bill relating to the dial-a-porn issue. This is a matter, as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] knows, that is under the jurisdiction of the Energy and Commerce Committee. It is currently being considered by the authorizing committees. I will therefore offer a motion that the House insist the the Senate recede with respect to this amendment.

(Mr. CONTE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Senate took up our bill, H.R. 3566, making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services and Education for fiscal year 1990. The Senate made seven amendments to the bill: Four of them deal with technical matters; the other three deal with some policy and regulatory issues.

I strongly believe its in our best interest to consider these amendments as rapidly and efficiently as possible. If we can move on our bill now, we can have our bill at the President's desk very soon. I want to thank my friend, BILL NATCHER, for working with me in shepherding this bill through the hoops.

We have $157 billion on the table here. Let us get this show on the road—millions of Americans are depending upon us to do your job and pass this bill.

Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, the dial-porn amendment should not be deleted from H.R. 3566, the Labor/HHS appropriations bill. As the ranking Republican member of the Sub-

Congressman Hank Brown
100th Congress

1. **Santa Fe Trail.** Prime sponsor of legislation designating the Santa Fe Trail as part of the National Historic Trails System to preserve historic artifacts and landmarks along the trail. The Santa Fe Trail was a 950-mile, major trade route from 1821 to 1880 between the U.S. and Mexico, running through parts of Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. Designation of the trail is a plus for tourism in Southern Colorado and will not affect the rights of private landowners (Pub. L. 100-225, Dec. 31, 1987).

2. **Poudre River Recreation Area.** Led House effort to obtain $75,000 in FY 1988 budget for U.S. Forest Service (Pub. L. 100-202, 12/22/87) to conduct study of an 18-mile section of Cache la Poudre River as it flows through city of Fort Collins, Colorado, as a possible National Recreation Area. [Study was authorized in legislation Brown sponsored which was included in the 1986 Wild and Scenic River Act Amendments (Pub. L. 99-590), to protect portions of the Poudre River.] The City of Fort Collins, Larimer County, and the U.S. Forest Service currently are working together to complete the study.

3. **Child Support Enforcement.** Prime sponsor of successful Floor amendment to clarify that child support enforcement services are to be continued after eligibility for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) ends and only discontinued at the request of the family. The amendment simplifies and reduces the cost of program administration and ensures continuation of child support payments and other activities which would assist families from having to return to AFDC for financial support (H.R. 3545, Pub. L. 100-203, 12/22/87).

4. **Pinon Canyon Preservation.** Led successful congressional effort to preserve Southern Colorado's historic Pinon Canyon by having U.S. Army turn over its management of 17,000 acres of canyon land along the Purgatoire River to U.S. Forest Service for scenic, archaeological and wildlife preservation. In addition to Indian-etched pictographs on the canyon's walls and the footprints of four species of dinosaurs, the area is home to native fish species, golden eagles and Colorado bighorn sheep. A historic church and adjacent early Spanish graveyard are located near the canyon's rim.

5. **Impact Aid for Adams County School District.** Successfully assisted Adams County School District 14's effort to obtain from the U.S. Department of Education over $2 million in "sec. 2 payments" owed the district since 1985 in compensation for untaxable federal land in the district.

100th Congress

6. **Welfare Reform.** As Ranking Member of the House Ways and Means Public Assistance Subcommittee, built coalition of House Members and White House to push Brown welfare proposals to make welfare recipients independent and productive through job and skill training and by encouraging and rewarding work.

7. **Welfare Reform.** Led successful effort on Floor to instruct House conferees on H.R. 1720, welfare reform, to assure that cost of bill will be no more than $2.8 billion over five years and to reject provisions, beyond those in the Senate bill, that would discourage welfare recipients from working (Adopted 227-168, 7/7/88; adopted second time 9/16/88, 249-130).

8. **Repeal of Fuel Tax and Heifer Tax.** Cosponsored and successfully led repeal of two troublesome and unnecessary provisions of federal law that add inconvenience and increased cost to farming and ranching: H.R. 3865, to reinstate tax-free sales of diesel fuel for on-farm use and H.R. 3907, to repeal the so-called "heifer tax." (Provisions included in H.R. 4333, "Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988," Pub. L. 100-647, 11/10/88.)

9. **Omnibus Congressional Reform.** Prime sponsor of the "Sunshine Resolution," H. Res. 439, to make Congress more accountable to the public and the House rules more fair to members and staff.

The bill would apply the nation's civil rights, labor relations, safety and freedom of information laws to Congress and its employees. It also would establish conflict of interest provisions limiting lobbying by members and staff when they leave Congress and applies the same special prosecutor statute to Congress that applies to the executive branch. Resolution also would change House rules to require honest reporting in the Congressional Record, eliminate phantom voting by abolishing proxy voting in committees and subcommittees, require accurate House Floor schedules, remove the secrecy surrounding the signing of discharge petitions, allow dissenting views in conference reports and require fair party ratios in committees. Further, the bill aims to end pork barrel and log-rolling abuses by curtailing the use of massive omnibus spending bills known as continuing resolutions.

10. Energy Security. A founder of the Bipartisan Congressional Energy Security Working Group, focusing on future energy security for the U.S.

100th Congress

11. **Safe Drinking Water for South Adams County.** Led congressional effort to help ensure safe drinking water for residents of South Adams County by promoting federal funding to clean up Rocky Mountain Arsenal chemical contamination of local groundwater. Cleanup agreement between federal, state and water district officials finalized Oct. 30, 1987. Arsenal cleanup costs estimated to total $1.8 billion. Brown also took the lead in urging state and local development of a plan for open space and wildlife preservation at arsenal site following cleanup.

12. Anti-Apartheid. Successfully amended H.R. 1580, the South African sanctions bill, to protect those harmed by apartheid rather than establishing a racial standard for discrimination (in committee, 7/27/88).

13. Clean Air Initiatives. Prime sponsor of H.R. 4005, to allow Colorado to make the decision on going to year-round daylight savings time (DST) to improve air quality. Colorado Dept. of Health has estimated that year-round DST could reduce carbon monoxide pollution by as much as 12% during the winter months. Prime sponsor of H.R. 4801, to establish a high altitude vehicle emissions testing center. Brown also is a cosponsor of H.R. 3404 to reinstate the federal tax exemption for employer-provided bus and vanpools and H.R. 4968, the Clean Air Fuel Conversion Act, to require that federal vehicles convert to low emission fuels, such as ethanol, where ozone or carbon monoxide pose a danger to health.

14. Two Forks Water Project. To assure future adequate supplies of water in Colorado for municipal and agricultural uses, Brown has actively worked on behalf of the 1.1 million acre-foot Two Forks Water Project proposed by the Denver Water Department and 47 suburban municipalities.

15. New Airport Funding. Wrote letters, conducted personal meetings, and testified before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Transportation in support of adequate funding for construction of a new major hub airport in Denver. The airport will help reduce air traffic congestion in the Rocky Mountain region and nationwide. (Denver-Stapleton is the world's fifth busiest airport.) Colorado's new airport is expected to provide 50% of the national air traffic system's additional capacity during the next ten years.

16. Extension of Mortgage Revenue Bond Program. Cosponsored and successfully supported extension of the mortgage revenue bond program which provides below-market interest rate mortgages to first time homebuyers of limited means. (H.R. 1692; H.R. 4333, "Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988," Pub. L. 100-647, 11/10/88.)

100th Congress

17. **Extension of Exclusion for Employer-Provided Educational Assistance.** Cosponsored and successfully supported extension of the tax benefit which allows an employee to exclude from gross income certain job-related education expenses that are reimbursed by the individual's employer. (H.R. 1692; H.R. 4333, "Technical and Miscellaneous Revenue Act of 1988," Pub. L. 100-647, 11/10/88.)

18. **Economic Development and Jobs for Baca County.** Successfully supported selection of Baca County, Colorado, as site for a 15.5 million-gallon ethanol and power generation plant, which will employ 450 construction workers and 70 full-time employees, use 6 million bushels of Colorado corn, and contribute about $70 million annually to local tax revenues (9/9/87).

19. **Promoting U.S. Meat Exports to Europe.** Cosponsored H. Con. Res. 153, opposing a proposed European Economic Community plan that would cut off $130 million in U.S. red meat exports to Europe.

20. **Taxpayer Rights and Repeal of Unfair Tax Provisions.** Cosponsor of H.R. 3470 to protect taxpayers from Internal Revenue Service mistakes or abuses, while preserving the IRS' ability to effectively collect taxes. Prime sponsor of H.R. 1204 to eliminate earnings penalty for Social Security for individuals who have reached retirement age, who wish to continue to work and contribute to the economy. Prime sponsor of H.R. 4015 to repeal the employer Social Security FICA tax on all cash tips, i.e, compensation the employer does not receive, pay out, or control.

21. **Repeal of 55 MPH Speed Limit.** Prime sponsor of H.R. 788 to limit application of 55 MPH speed limit by allowing states that maintain safe conditions to set own limits.

22. **Relief for "Captive Shippers."** Cosponsored and continued support in 100th Congress for passage of legislation, H.R. 941, to encourage competition in rail transportation by repealing provisions of law that now prevent private parties from recovering damages against railroads that engaged in noncompetitive practices.

23. Brown also is an active member of the following congressional groups: Rural Health Care Coalition, Day Care Task Force, Drug Abuse Task Force, and the Republican Women's Task Force.

Congressman Hank Brown
99th Congress

1. Sodbusters. Led successful movement to end government incentives to plow highly erodible lands. Persons producing crops on such lands without adequate conservation measures would be ineligible for federal farm assistance. Similar language incorporated in the 1985 omnibus farm bill. (Public Law 99-198)

2. Cache la Poudre River Designation. Prime sponsor of H.R. 3547, which designates 75 miles of the Cache la Poudre River as Colorado's first wild and scenic river. Bill subsequently incorporated into H.R. 4350, an omnibus wild and scenic rivers bill signed by the President. (Public Law 99-590)

3. Superfund Litigation Simplification. Successfully amended the Superfund reauthorization bill to simplify the Superfund litigation process for small businesses and speed clean-up at hazardous sites. Amendment encourages Environmental Protection Agency to identify and reach settlement with individuals who have contributed only small quantities of safe materials to a Superfund site. Also permits settlements with "innocent owners" who are not responsible for and did not know about the hazardous substances discovered on land they own.

4. Plant Closing. Helped lead successful fight on House Floor against H.R. 1616, the Plant Closing bill, which would have required early notification and other provisions prior to the closing of a plant. These provisions would have the effect of driving away sales and credit from companies trying to keep their plants open. Bill would have jeopardized the survival of these companies and would have lost jobs. Bill defeated 203-208.

5. Railroad Antimonopoly Reform. Prime Republican sponsor of H.R. 1140, the Railroad Antimonopoly bill, to provide competition between rail carriers to provide service to shippers now "captive" to a railroad with a monopoly on transportation. Promotes railroad efficiency, reducing costs to consumers, while increasing international competitiveness of certain U.S. commodities such as grain. Measure approved by House Judiciary Committee in April 1986.

6. Defense Contracting. Successfully amended the FY 1986 Defense Authorization bill to eliminate unnecessary paperwork requirements for contracts under $100,000, thereby saving millions of dollars in paperwork costs.

99th Congress

7. International Trade. Co-chairman of House Republican Task Force on International Trade. The group monitors trade negotiations and develops positive legislative proposals designed to promote U.S. exports of agricultural and other products.

8. Honey Program Elimination. Won passage of the only Republican amendment which was adopted changing the body of the Democratic budget in the Budget Committee. Brown amendment called for elimination of the honey program, saving $111 million the first year. Amendment adopted May 14, 1986.

9. Immigration Reform. Won adoption of a committee amendment to H.R. 3810, Immigration Reform, to exempt employers from certain paperwork requirements when hiring a worker referred by a state employment agency. Provisions subsequently included in S. 1200, Pub. L. 99-603.

10. Rocky Mountian Arsenal Cleanup. Led successful congressional effort to secure $7 million in funding from the Army for permanent cleanup of South Adams County, Colorado public water supplies contaminated at or near the Rocky Mountain Arsenal and to provide emergency water treatment to public water supplies in the interim.

11. Canadian Beef Ban. Led opposition to the cutoff of U.S. beef and veal shipments to Canada. Sponsored resolution (H. Con. Res. 55) opposing Canada's unilateral imposition of import quotas. Urged President to aggressively pursue talks with Canada to end quotas and urged Administration to seek appropriate trade relief. (U.S. ultimately negotiated exemption for high quality beef and veal, in effect circumventing the quota.)

12. Colorado Supercollider Campaign. Led Colorado's congressional effort on behalf of the Supercollider. The Supercollider will be the world's largest particle accelerator, used for basic research in high-energy physics. The Colorado plains northeast of Denver offer an ideal site for this facility. It could make Colorado the world center for physics research.

Brown has organized strategy sessions involving Colorado scientists, business, state government, and congressional delegation to puch project ahead. Working with the Department of Energy, the White House, and Colorado groups, he has helped make Colorado's case.

Congressman Hank Brown
98th Congress

1. **High Plains Groundwater Recharge.** Cosponsored and served as floor manager for measure which provides cooperative means for federal, state and local governments, and private entities to work together on actual testing of artificial methods of groundwater recharge. Measure was in response to growing concern over the depletion of Ogallala Aquifer and other groundwater supplies in High Plains. (Public Law 98-434, September 28, 1989)

2. **"Forgotten Widows" Benefits.** Corrected a quirk in Department of Defense survivors benefit plan that excluded widows of reservists who died between 1972 and 1978 from collecting survivors benefits. Brown amendment adopted by the House, subsequently dropped during House-Senate conference.

3. **Immigration Reform and Control Act.** During committee mark-up, members adopted a modified Brown amendment that more evenly distributed burden of enforcement related to the hiring of illegal aliens between employer and government agencies. Passed House June 20, 1984.

4. **Rocky Mountain National Park.** Obtained a $4 million appropriation for U.S. Park Service to acquire a "scenic easement" for the addition of 1200-acre Old MacGregor Ranch to Rocky Mountain National Park. The easement allows for continuation of the historic ranch as a working ranch and existing agreements with education institutions to use the ranch for environmental research. (Public Law 98-63, July 30, 1983)

5. **Coal Pipline Act of 1983.** Amended measure to protect private landowners from excessive legal costs in settling with coal companies in condemnation actions. H.R. 1010 was defeated by the House September 27, 1983.

6. **National Endowment for Democracy.** Led successful effort to eliminate $10 million federal authorization and appropriation for the Republican and Democratic Party Institutes of the National Endowment for Democracy. (Public Laws 98-164 and 98-411)

7. **Congressional Administrative Costs.** Initiated effort that trimmed $1.170 million from the Congressional Research Service Budget, providing for budget oversight to promote greater economy. (Public Law 98-51)

8. **Sodbusters.** Sponsored legislation which reduced government incentives to individuals to plow highly erodible lands. Passed House May 5, 1984.

98th Congress

9. Foreign Assistance. Amended continuing appropriations resolution to reduce by 2 percent all foreign assistance programs ($280 million), except for funds earmarked for Egypt and Israel. Passed House September 25, 1984.

10. California Trail. Sponsored bill to study California Trail for inclusion in the National Trails System. (Public Law 98-405)

11. Sunshine Resolution. Authored resolution, cosponsored by 112 House members, to amend House rules and apply the nation's civil rights, labor relations, safety, and freedom of information laws to Congress and its employees.

12. Math and Science Education. Led drive to establish $425 million authorization for teacher training and programs to improve instruction in science, math, and foreign languages. (Public Law 98-377)

13. Educational Assistance Extension. Cosponsored renewal of existing tax law allowing an employer to exclude from income and employment tax up to $5,000 annually for educational benefits provided to employees. Passed House October 1, 1984.

14. European Trade. Cosponsored resolution opposing restrictions on U.S. farm exports to Europe. Passed House November 7, 1983.

Congressman Hank Brown
97th Congress

1. Atomic Energy Act. Amended H.R. 3809, the Atomic Energy Act (Public Law 97-425). During Interior Committee markup, members adopted a Brown admendment which provides an economic incentive for states to agree to the creation of repositories for disposal of radioactive waste and spent nuclear fuel. The amendment provides for the payment of the equivalent of property taxes and is a major incentive for locating a facility.

2. Federal Spending and the Deficit. Focused efforts to control public spending and reduce the deficit, which included:

- Authoring H.R. 5404, the first bill to repeal the Synthetic Fuels Corporation. The measure would have abolished the corporation and its $12.2 billion appropriation. The corporation was eventually eliminated in 1985.
- Offering an amendment to H.R. 3518, State Department authorization of FY 1983 and FY 1984, to reduce the funds for the adminstration of foreign affairs by $500 million. The amendment was adopted and subsequently defeated on final passage. The final State Department authorization contained reductions for the adminstration.
- Cosponsoring several measures that would require Congress to balance the federal budget and reduce the public debt. (H.Res. 100, H.J. Res. 350, H.R. 1981)

3. Social Security Benefits. Cosponsored legislation to control Social Security costs while maintaining proper benefits for recepients:

- H.R. 4328 would have assured continued payments of minimum Social Security benefits to recipients.
- H.R. 3766 would have eliminated the earnings penalty for individuals 65 years of age and older who receive benefits.

4. Social Security Spending. Cosponsored two measures designed to save the Social Security system millions of dollars annually:

- H.R. 5507, would have returned $20 million in uncashed Social Security checks to the Social Security system instead of the U.S. Treasury's general fund.
- H.R. 5920, would have limited the amount of Social Security benefits paid to nonresident aliens to the actual amount they have contributed to the system, resulting in $700 million in savings.

97th Congress

5. **Education Funding.** Helped organize the Coalition Against Reductions in Education (CARE). The group of 21 Republican freshmen concerned with the disproportionate impact of budget reductions on education assistance succeeded in preventing budget cuts to assistance programs.

6. **Land Conservation.** Sponsored the Erosion Reduction Act (H.R. 6895) which would prohibit certain federal assistance payments to persons who till land susceptible to excessive soil erosion in a manner that contributes to the erosion. (This measure was incorporated into the 1985 Farm Bill.)

7. **Congressional Reform.** Worked to reform Congressional accountability with a series of measures that would have:

- reduced the pay and benefits for members of Congress;
- capped House committees' staff and budgets;
- made the House committee system more accountable and the legislative process more efficient, manageable and representative.

Colorado - 4th District

4 Hank Brown (R)

Of Greeley — Elected 1980

Born: Feb. 12, 1940, Denver, Colo.
Education: U. of Colorado, B.S. 1961, J.D. 1969; George Washington U., LL.M. 1986.
Military Career: Navy, 1962-66.
Occupation: Tax accountant; meatpacking company executive; lawyer.
Family: Wife, Nan Morrison; three children.
Religion: United Church of Christ.
Political Career: Colo. Senate, 1973-77; Republican nominee for lieutenant governor, 1978.
Capitol Office: 1424 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-4676.

In Washington: Brown's overall voting record is that of a conservative Westerner and party loyalist, but his pleasant manner and open-mindedness earn him respect from both parties and both ends of the ideological spectrum.

His personal popularity, maintained despite an iconoclastic streak, could help catapult Brown to the Senate when Colorado voters decide in the 1990 election who will replace retiring Republican William L. Armstrong.

Brown's potential for higher office has been evident almost since the day he came to the House. He backed away from a foray into statewide politics in 1986, after flirting with the idea of running for governor.

But Brown's legislative career has not been conspicuously tailored to position him for a climb up the political ladder. For example, his service on the House ethics committee is more a measure of his standing in the House than of political ambition (although, in this time of increased public attention on congressional ethics, committee service could enhance Brown's image).

In another sign of his colleagues' respect, Brown won a coveted seat on the Ways and Means Committee in 1987. He was thrust immediately into a leadership role as ranking minority member of the Public Assistance Subcommittee just as Congress was gearing up for a major overhaul of the welfare system.

That bill proved to be the most partisan issue before the committee in the 100th Congress, and Republicans' input in House deliberations was therefore limited. But Brown helped his fellow Republicans exert what leverage they could.

He put together a GOP alternative that struck a middle ground between a Democratic-drafted bill they deemed too costly, and a Reagan administration proposal that would have focused not on new federal money and mandates, but on allowing states to experiment with new welfare approaches.

Brown's efforts to mold the bill in committee fell victim to immovable party lines. And the Republican alternative did little better on the House floor, even though the Democratic leadership had a hard time holding onto its conservative flank.

But once the Senate passed a welfare bill with a lower cost and a more stringent work requirement for welfare recipients, Brown had an opening. Republicans won a rare victory when the House approved a Brown motion instructing its conferees to accept the Senate's price tag. Although the cost ultimately exceeded that, Brown's move helped pressure the House negotiators to move closer to the Senate position.

After that one term as top Republican on the least popular of Ways and Means' subcommittees, Brown got a more appealing slot for the 101st Congress, when he became ranking member of the Social Security Subcommittee.

Although he was elected in 1980 with the huge class of Republicans swept into the House on Reagan's coattails, the independent-minded Brown was never a "Reagan robot." He was a solid backer of Reagan's economic policies, but voted against higher funding for the strategic defense initiative (SDI). In 1985, Brown was one of only two Budget Committee Republicans to vote with the Democratic majority on spending for defense. In the 100th Congress' debate on an omnibus trade bill, Brown was one of only 17 Republicans who voted for a controversial "fair trade" amendment sponsored by Missouri Democrat Richard A. Gephardt that critics called protectionist.

Brown's reputation for independent thinking made him a popular choice among conservative Republicans when he was reappointed to the House ethics committee in mid-1988, just as the panel was beginning an investigation of alleged improprieties by Speaker Jim Wright of Texas.

Brown had served on the ethics committee from 1981-84, when he demonstrated a willing-

Colorado 4

North and East — Fort Collins; Greeley

The 4th is Colorado's breadbasket, home of the state's agricultural heartland and its major farm markets.

Most of the voters live near the northern flank of the Front Range in Larimer (Fort Collins) and Weld (Greeley) counties. Both are educational and trade centers for agricultural northern Colorado, an area that was once one of the nation's top suppliers of sugar beets. As beet prices dropped, many farmers switched to corn or beans.

With nearly one-third of the district population, Larimer County is the larger, faster growing and more diverse of the two. Newcomers have been drawn by the spillover of high-tech firms from the Boulder area to Fort Collins and Loveland and the academic community at Colorado State University in Fort Collins (19,000 students).

To the east, on the fringe of the Great Plains, Weld County is more dependent on agriculture. Influenced by German and Russian immigration in the 19th century, it is also home to a large community of Hispanic truck farmers. Hispanics comprise nearly a fifth of the Weld County population.

The University of Northern Colorado (9,500 students) is in Greeley, but ranching is crucial to life in Weld County. Greeley is the home base of Montfort of Colorado, Brown's former employer and one of the largest feed lots and packing plants in the country. Small, family-run competitors dot the county.

The territorial heart of the 4th is the eastern plains, a vast agricultural region that covers one-third of the state but casts barely 30 percent of the district vote. Like neighboring Nebraska and Kansas, this area is conservative and heavily Republican. But it has been a center of agrarian ferment — in the small community of Springfield, in Baca County, the American Agricultural Movement was born in the mid-1970s.

Most of the Democratic votes in the 4th are concentrated in the southern portion of the district. Las Animas County, which straddles the New Mexico border, is nearly half Hispanic, and is the only county that has given Brown any trouble.

Population: 481,512. White 441,718 (92%), Black 2,364 (1%), Other 5,429 (1%). Spanish origin 65,848 (14%). 18 and over 342,745 (71%), 65 and over 49,097 (10%). Median age: 28.

ness to dissent from the committee majority rather than go along with a conclusion he did not buy.

Most notably, Brown in late 1984 filed a dissenting statement when ethics concluded that New York Democratic Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro violated financial-disclosure requirements, but that the committee should take no further action because she was leaving the House at the end of the year. Brown argued that the decision set up a double standard, noting that Idaho Republican George Hansen had earlier been reprimanded for similar offenses.

Brown has openly criticized what he thinks is inadequate enforcement of ethical standards in the House.

His critique of Congress as an institution goes further, putting him on the opposite side of certain questions from the Democratic leadership. Brown has tried to end Congress' practice of exempting itself from civil rights and other laws it imposes on others. He has made several attempts over the years to cut funding for members' perks such as franked mail, elevator operators and leadership staff.

At Home: Brown has not had much practice at failure. He was student body president at the University of Colorado, a decorated Vietnam War veteran and a successful executive with a Colorado meatpacking firm. His first political campaign brought him election to the state Senate in 1972; two years later he was assistant majority leader.

He actually did lose one election, as the GOP nominee for lieutenant governor in 1978. But even that experience turned out to help more than hurt him. He won high marks for his vigorous campaigning and established solid name identification in the sprawling 4th District. U.S. Rep. Jim Johnson's decision to retire in 1980 set the stage for Brown's promotion.

A former campaign manager for Johnson, Brown was personable, well financed and enough of an orthodox Republican to quiet complaints from district conservatives about his support for the Equal Rights Amendment and resistance toward those seeking to ban abortion. He won the seat easily, routing veteran Democratic Party activist Polly Baca Barragan by more than 2-to-1. In four elections since then, he has never dropped below 70 percent of the vote.

Hank Brown, R-Colo.

Committee

Ways and Means (9th of 13 Republicans)
Social Security (ranking), Human Resources; Select Revenue Measures

Elections

1988 General

Hank Brown (R)	156,202	(73%)
Charles S. Vigil (D)	57,552	(27%)

1986 General

Hank Brown (R)	117,089	(70%)
David Sprague (D)	50,672	(30%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1984 (71%) 1982 (70%) 1980 (63%)

District Vote For President

	1988	1984	1980	1976
D	95,025 (44%)	65,303 (31%)	58,221 (29%)	76,028 (42%)
R	119,554 (55%)	139,545 (67%)	115,469 (58%)	99,766 (55%)
I			20,455 (10%)	

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1988			
Brown (R)	$287,187	$190,691 (66%)	$109,146
Vigil (D) †	$3,166	0	$3,165
1986			
Brown (R)	$184,809	$64,700 (35%)	$212,172
Sprague (D)	$22,526	$2,600 (12%)	$22,273

† Totals based on incomplete data.

Key Votes

1987

Raise speed limit to 65 mph	Y
Approve Gephardt "fair trade" amendment	Y
Ban testing of larger nuclear weapons	Y
Delay "re-flagging" of Kuwaiti tankers	Y
Approve tax-raising deficit-reduction bill	N

1988

Approve aid to Nicaraguan contras	Y
Enact civil rights restoration bill over Reagan veto	Y
Kill 60-day plant-closing notification measure	Y
Pass omnibus trade bill over Reagan veto	N
Approve death penalty for drug-related murders	Y
Bar federal funds for abortions in cases of rape and incest	N
Oppose seven-day waiting period for purchase of handguns	Y

Voting Studies

	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1988	68	29	85	12	87	11
1987	58	39	84	11	77	14
1986	67	32	92	7	84	16
1985	70	29	87	11	82	18
1984	65	35	85	15	83	17
1983	67	33	82	18	75	25
1982	68	32	89	11	75	25
1981	66	34	77	23	71	29

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1988	30	72	21	100
1987	16	73	18	86
1986	10	77	0	94
1985	30	87	12	82
1984	10	83	8	75
1983	25	61	12	90
1982	20	86	0	91
1981	20	100	13	89

HANK BROWN
U.S. SENATE

November 13, 1989

Mr. Bob Simon
Office of Speechwriting
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob,

I was told by the advance team this morning you would be the person to send the enclosed videotape and clips in preparation for the President's visit to Colorado for Hank on December 8.

The enclosed materials should give you a good overview of the race but please call me if you need additional information.

Sincerely,

Richard Wadhams
Campaign Manager

P.O. Box 1445
Englewood, Colorado 80150
(303) 756-7690

Paid for by Hank Brown for U.S. Senate
Contributions are non-deductible

Brown points to world's phenomena: Walesa's triumph, Marxism's failure

By JUAN ESPINOSA
The Pueblo Chieftain

Conservative Congressman Hank Brown, R-Colo., borrowed a line from the liberals Monday when he told Pueblo Rotarians, "The times they are a-changing."

Brown spoke about "the unique phenomenon going on around the world" exemplified by the recent success of Lech Walesa's Solidarity union in Polish elections this month.

"I think it is typical of a new wind sweeping across the whole world," said Brown. "Marxism has failed."

The 4th District congressman, who has announced his candidacy for Sen. Bill Armstrong's, R-Colo., seat in the Senate, told the luncheon audience that "liberty" was the basis for the sweeping changes.

"China looks out and sees Taiwan and see that they produce 11 times what they do in mainland China," said Brown. "In Hong Kong, they produce 40 times as much as they do in mainland China. The difference is liberty."

West Germany produces more than East Germany, said Brown. And Cuba has slipped from second to 23rd in per capita income on this continent since Fidel Castro seized control.

"And that's with the $4 billion they receive from the Soviet Union every year," Brown pointed out.

"What makes America strong is the hard-working people who make it go, not those charming people in Washington, D.C.," said Brown.

He cited Section 89 of the Catastrophic Health Bill as an example of too much government.

"Section 89 says the federal government is going to decide for you who gets health care," said Brown.

"The thesis behind the Catastrophic Health Bill is that seniors should not be allowed to choose the kind of health care they will get. I think we should go in the other direction."

During a question-and-answer period, Brown commented on topics ranging from election reform to the Ethics Committee.

"I don't think the founding fathers ever dreamed we'd develop such a system," said Brown. "The system is rigged in favor of incumbents. Last year, we had more incumbents indicted than defeated."

Brown noted that, since the late Wayne Aspinall was a powerhouse in Congress, the number of staff authorized for each congressman has grown from four to 78.

"Most of those are patronage jobs," charged Brown. "I drive past six parking lot attendants every morning on my way to work. After a while, you get to know where your parking place is."

Brown served on the Ethics Committee during the time Speaker of the House Jim Wright, D-Texas, was under investigation. Wright resigned in June after he was accused of violating House ethics rules.

"As painful as that was, in the long run it will be a very good thing for this country," predicted Brown. "The message is clear — the rules apply to everybody."

1-8-89

Jay Ambrose
Editor

Rocky M

"Give light and the p

Jean Otto, Associate Editor

Edi

Cutback in free mail would trim edge of incumbents

IN 1789, when the U.S. had a citizen Congress, members considered it important to communicate with their constituents — that is, they thought congressmen should answer their mail. So when they convened in that year, they initiated the "frank." That let them correspond without the use of stamps.

Today the franking privilege costs taxpayers $114 million a year in mailing costs alone — in addition to providing incumbents with a huge advantage every election year. About 70% of the "correspondence" sent out from Congress is in the form of mass mailings. For every piece of mail received by Congress, five pieces are sent out. The clerk of the House estimates that this year 777 million pieces of mail will be sent out by Congress, at a total cost of $134.7 million.

You'd assume that members of Congress are paying attention to their constituents' concerns. But the kind of mail they send indicates they are more concerned for themselves. In sending six newsletters a year to constituents, members make their names household words. The average newsletter sent districtwide costs $4,000 to print and another $20,200 for postage, plus staff time to prepare it.

Colorado Rep. Hank Brown questions both the ethics and the cost of this gush of politicking. He's introduced a bill that would limit Congress members to two newsletters in non-election years and one in election years. That would save from $11 million to $13 million annually in postage.

More important, it would reduce the advantage of incumbency. Challengers for congressional seats have no such taxpayer-supported privilege. They send mail the hard way — they pay for it.

Brown himself would be affected by his proposed limits: He has sent out two postal patron newsletters every year since 1981 — except in '82 and '85, when he sent three. With the limit at six, not many congressmen voluntarily send fewer. And probably not many will go for reducing their access to voters at taxpayer expense. That doesn't mean it's not a good idea.

OP- 6-30-89

Brown's campaign reforms similar to Bush's

By The Denver Post

Colorado Congressman Hank Brown has urged campaign reforms similar to those proposed yesterday by the president.

The 4th District Republican on June 1 introduced a bill that differs from Bush's proposal chiefly in two respects. Brown would effectively ban all PAC contributions to congressional campaigns and limit the use of franking privileges for electioneering. The president would be harder on franking, softer on PACS.

Brown was flying from Washington to Denver last night and couldn't be reached for comment, but Dick Wadhams, manager for Brown's U.S. Senate campaign, said the similarity of the two proposals illustrates a consensus that is developing in Washington to reform campaign spending.

Democrat Buie Seawell, the only other candidate officially entered in the 1990 Senate race, coincidentally made a separate plea yesterday for overall campaign spending limits.

Seawell, speaking at a Colorado Springs seminar for history and government teachers, said, "It is easy to talk about prohibiting PAC contributions, and increasing the amount individuals can contribute, but until there's a ceiling on campaign spending it will continue to cost an obscene amount of money to get elected."

Seawell, the former Democratic state chairman, predictions that each Senate candidate in Colorado could spend as much as $5 million in the November 1990 election.

DENVER POST 7-1-89 P.B2

The Denver Post/ Brian Brainerd

SENATE CANDIDATE: Greeley Rep. Hank Brown speaks at the Hispanic Public Affairs Committee luncheon yesterday.

Brown says creativity is key

But congressman tells Hispanics opportunity must be made available

By Fred Brown
Denver Post Political Editor

The opportunity to "tap the most important of all resources — human creativity" is more important for a nation's greatness than its size or wealth, Congressman Hank Brown told the Hispanic Public Affairs Committee yesterday.

"There's no law that says everyone has to be successful, however you define it. But we ought to be dedicated as a people to see that that opportunity is available," Brown told about 40 people at the group's monthly luncheon.

The 4th District Republican, a candidate for the Senate in 1990, was asked about the lack of minority appointments during the Reagan administration's eight years. One questioner challenged his theme equating freedom with economic opportunity.

And John Garcia, committee chairman, reminded him, "The Hispanic vote will decide who will be our next senator. . . . We're going to be looking at you for leadership."

Brown agreed that top federal jobs should represent a wide spectrum of able people and said his own recommendations for regional directors' jobs "have been much broader in terms of ethnic backgrounds" than appointments made in the Reagan years.

He said many in his audience "have seen jobs and public positions awarded on a basis other than ability. . . . It's wrong not just because society suffers by it, but it's wrong because it denies that creative opportunity."

Brown also agreed that the pursuit of profits needs to be tempered by government anti-trust and anti-pollution laws. Without such controls, he said, opportunities are lost. "You can deny people opportunity both by government action and by allowing monopolies that can squeeze out competition."

On another issue, the Greeley congressman reiterated his support for the proposed Two Forks Dam.

Water needed to support growth will have to come either from what now flows downstream to other states or from agriculture, which uses more than 90 percent of the water in Colorado, he said.

"I think environmentally, it is an enormous plus not to dry up the irrigated farmland," he said. The land would revert to a semi-arid state, affecting air quality, temperature and even rainfall. "From an environmental point of view, Two Forks makes a great deal of sense, and I back it."

Brown also cited examples of government stifling incentive.

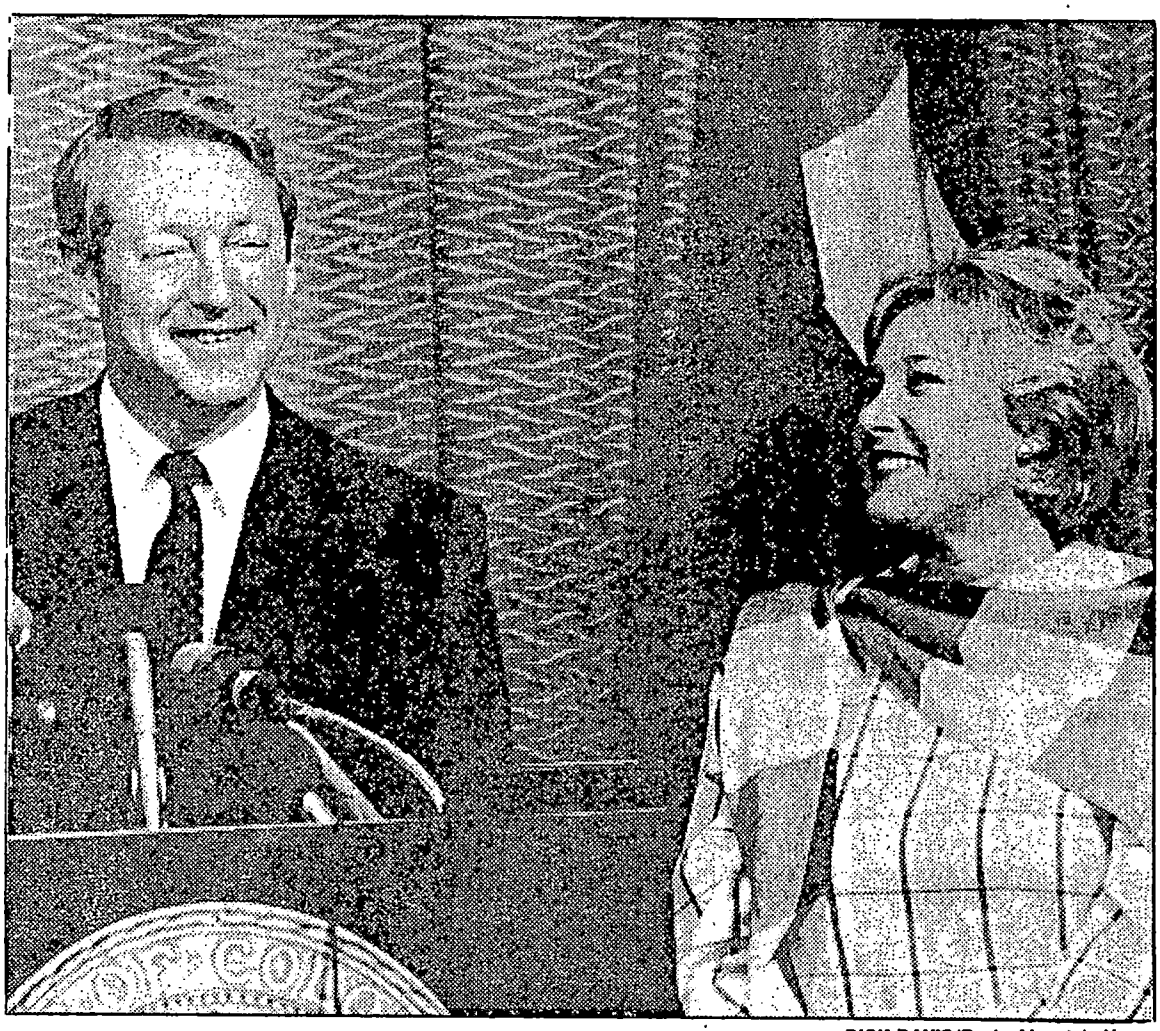
New Social Security laws requiring recipients to give back money if they earn more than $8,800 a year "penalize people for being productive and creative and looking out for their future. That's just plain wrong." He is sponsoring legislation to raise the threshold to $10,700.

He also criticized colleagues who wanted to bar welfare recipients from work-training programs unless they paid union dues. "Welfare programs that simply keep people down are not humanitarian."

Brown said it moved him to see replicas of the Statue of Liberty that dissident Chinese students erected before the military crackdown in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Americans "hold out our example to the rest of the world in a shining light of opportunity," he said.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS - 2-21-89

2-21-89



DICK DAVIS/Rocky Mountain News

Rep. Hank Brown, with wife Nan, announces his candidacy for Bill Armstrong's Senate seat in 1990. The Colorado Republican made his bid official yesterday.

Brown officially enters race for Senate seat

By PAM MAPLES
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., made his candidacy for the U.S. Senate in 1990 official yesterday, saying his campaign to succeed fellow Republican Bill Armstrong is destined for victory.

Brown announced his candidacy in a morning press conference at the state capitol, one week after Armstrong set off the 1990 campaign with his announcement that he would not seek a third term.

Brown is the first candidate to announce, though several Republicans and Democrats are aggressively testing the waters.

Paulson, R-Englewood, have said they are exploring Senate candidacies. Paulson said he will make a decision after the legislative session.

Democrats also appear headed for a Senate primary. Besides Campbell, Democratic state chairman Buie Seawell is a likely contender.

Brown said he announced now partially to stake an early claim to contributions but also because "it's unrealistic to assume you can avoid putting your cards on the table ... when you've decided."

Brown was reluctant to talk about how much the race would cost but conceded spending could approach the $3.8 million spent by each candidate in the 1986 Senate race between Democrat Tim Wirth and Republican Ken Kramer.

said Brown, a popular five-term congressman. "We're going to take the campaign from Lakewood to Lake County, from Durango back to Denver."

Brown, 49, represents the 4th Congressional District, which stretches across northern and eastern sections of Colorado. Brown, a businessman and decorated Vietnam veteran, is a ranking member of the Social Security subcommittee of the House ways and means committee.

Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo., said last week that he plans to run and will make a formal announcement in about a month.

Brown said he expects a primary for the Republican nomination to the Senate against state Sen. Terry Considine, R-Cherry Hills Village, or any one of several other potential candidates.

"I haven't had anybody come up and say, 'Hank, if you'll run, I won't,' " Brown said.

Considine and House Majority Leader Chris

million.

Brown brushed off concerns about whether he is in the race for the long haul. He said several things have changed since 1985, when he dropped a potential candidacy for governor after several weeks.

"This is a little different this morning," he said. "This is the announcement of my candidacy."

Brown said he and his wife, Nan, have more time for campaigning. Their twins, Christine and Harry, 19, are freshmen in college, and their daughter, Lori, 17, is a senior at Greeley West High School.

Brown's five terms have been won with consistent ease after low-key, low-budget campaigns. He acknowledged that the Senate race will be "a much different campaign . . . much more intense."

In his announcement, Brown spoke of the need to balance the federal budget, welfare reform "to help people out of poverty" and for greater access for American products in the world markets.

DENVER POST 2-21-89

Brown first candidate to enter Senate race

By Fred Brown
Denver Post Political Editor

Republican Hank Brown on Monday became the first candidate to formally announce for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Bill Armstrong.

Brown, a five-term congressman from Colorado's 4th District, said during a news conference at the state Capitol: "I want to use the good common sense of Coloradans to solve our nation's problems."

As dozens of supporters crowded the hallway outside, Brown predicted he would win a primary and the November general election.

Brown, a 49-year-old lawyer, said this wasn't like his brief 1985 entry into the Colorado governor's race. He withdrew in March 1985, only weeks after announcing, citing time and family commitments.

"This isn't the announcement of formation of a committee to explore it; this is the announcement of the candidacy," he said.

By 1990, he said, all his children will be in college, and "Nan (his wife) and I have a great deal more time to campaign together. That's the big difference."

If there is a Republican primary, state Sen. Terry Considine of Arapahoe County is considered another likely contender. He had Armstrong's support in the 1986 Senate race, but was beaten for the party's nomination by Ken Kramer, who lost to Democrat Tim Wirth.

Considine on Monday still wasn't ready to make a definite statement about running.

"Hank is a very popular person and will make a very formidable candidate," Considine said. He said he doesn't have a formal exploratory committee, but "many friends" have asked him to run and are working on his behalf.

Considine said he has been pursuing several "meaty issues" before the state Senate, and "I'm not prepared to drop them to start a campaign at this time."

House Majority Leader Chris Paulson, another possible contender, said he, too, feels compelled to wait until after the legislative session to make a formal declaration.

Brown is "bowing to pressure that he has to act like a front-runner," Paulson said. "He had to announce. But it's too early for me . . . I have to take care of business here first."

A third Republican who had expressed interest, 6th District Rep. Dan Schaefer, was en route to Washington from Denver and couldn't be reached for comment. He had said last week that he wanted to "talk to Hank" before deciding whether to run.

Rep. Hank Brown

Brown said Monday he hadn't talked recently to any of the other potential Senate candidates. But he expected other Republicans to enter the race, and predicted it would be a close primary.

Either of the two Democrats most prominently mentioned for the Senate race — state Chairman Buie Seawell and "my old friend," 3rd District Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell — would be "an excellent opponent," Brown said.

He agreed that such a race would be conducted on a higher plane than the 1986 Wirth-Kramer campaign.

"I think what Colorado voters respond to is a thoughtful and rea-

Please see **BROWN** on 7-A

Brown first to make Senate race official

BROWN from Page 1-A

soned discussion of the issues, not a mudslinging campaign . . . I don't think Colorado voters are going to reward people who deal in personalities."

Nearly $4 million was spent by each major candidate in the 1986 Senate race in Colorado, but Brown said he has no budget target. He spent only $61,000 in his last congressional campaign, and has $287,000 left from previous campaigns.

"Money is important; there's no question about it," he said. "But the most important thing is support . . . what we'll spend depends on what comes in. That's one of the values of announcing early — to raise funds."

Brown was born in Denver. He received his undergraduate and law degrees from the University of Colorado and is a decorated Vietnam veteran. He was a vice president for Monfort of Colorado in Greeley before his election to Congress in 1980, and also served in the Colorado Senate.

He ran for lieutenant governor with state Sen. Ted Strickland in their 1978 race for the governorship, but they were defeated by Gov. Dick Lamm and his lieutenant governor candidate, Nancy Dick.

Brown and his wife have twins, Harry and Christine, 19, who are attending Miami of Ohio University, and a daughter, Lori, 17, a senior at Greeley West.

RMN - 6-21-89

Seawell travels state to unveil Senate bid

By JOHN SANKO
Rocky Mountain News Capitol Bureau

Former state Democratic Party chairman Buie Seawell made his long-known U.S. Senate candidacy official yesterday with announcements of his political plans at news conferences in Denver, Greeley and Pueblo.

The 51-year-old Democrat is making a three-day motor-home trip across the state to unveil plans for "the toughest U.S. Senate race in this state's history."

He opened the day in Greeley, home of Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., who also is seeking the Senate seat being vacated by Sen. William Armstrong, R-Colo.

Brown is a good man, Seawell said, but he stressed that "this election isn't about who is a good guy. It's an election about who can best serve Colorado and the nation.

"I didn't go there as a confrontation," he later told a crowd of about 50 people in Denver, adding, however, that Brown "will have never had an opponent like Buie Seawell. I will respect him, but I'm going after him."

Seawell made his Denver stop at Confluence Park, where Cherry Creek flows into the South Platte River.

Flanked by 16 family members, including his wife, Marjorie, and six children, Seawell said he chose the site because he wanted to announce the start of his campaign near where Denver began.

Seawell, who faces Democratic opposition from Alamosa lawyer Carlos Lucero, said he thinks he is the best candidate to represent Colorado in the Senate.

"The stakes have never been so high," Seawell said, citing nuclear disarmament, the environment, the national debt, health costs and other issues as major areas facing Colorado's next senator.

Seawell also called for a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. "The next generation, these children of mine, should not have to pay my taxes," he said.

A native of Lumberton, N.C., Seawell holds an undergraduate degree from Davidson College in North Carolina, a master's degree in theology from Union Seminary in Virginia and a law degree from the University of Denver.

Buie Seawell

- **AGE:** 51
- **PARTY:** Democrat
- **CANDIDATE FOR:** U.S. Senate seat that will open at the end of Republican Bill Armstrong's term in 1990
- **PREVIOUS POSITIONS:** Chairman of Colorado Democratic Party, 1985-89; top administrator for former Gov. Richard Lamm and former U.S. Sen. Gary Hart; communications director of the Rocky Mountain Center on the Environment; hosted a series on the environment on KRMA-TV, Channel 6; and was guest commentator on KMGH-TV, Channel 7.
- **PERSONAL:** Born July 8, 1937, in Lumberton, N.C.; graduated from Davidson College in North Carolina; master's in theology from Union Seminary in Virginia; law degree from the University of Denver; member of the Colorado and American Bar associations. Hobbies include sailing and marathon running. He and his wife, Marjorie Beaird Seawell, have six children

DENVER POST 6-21-89 P.1

Seawell announces campaign for Senate

By Fred Brown
Denver Post Political Editor

Democrat Buie Seawell, pledging to take a political high road, officially opened his campaign for the U.S. Senate yesterday with a three-city tour in a motor home.

The former state Democratic Party chairman began in Greeley, home base for U.S. Rep. Hank Brown, the only announced Republican candidate for the seat being vacated next year by incumbent Republican Sen. Bill Armstrong.

But Seawell is expected to encounter a primary against Alamosa lawyer Carlos Lucero, who has formed an exploratory committee to assess his chances for the Democratic nomination.

Seawell invited Brown to join him in a high-minded discussion of the issues over the 17½ months until the 1990 election.

The Denver Post / David Denney

ON THE TRAIL EARLY: Buie Seawell, right, and campaign manager Mary Alice Mandarich start on the 1990 race.

"Hank, you and I can change Colorado politics, and we can do it this year," Seawell said to a group of about two dozen supporters and shoppers at Greeley's downtown shopping mall.

He also stressed the "new politics" theme at later appearances at the Pueblo County Courthouse and at Denver's Confluence Park. Seawell's three-day announcement tour continues today and tomorrow in Grand Junction, Delta, Montrose, Gunnison, Alamosa, Walsenburg and Cañon City.

Seawell, 51, said Colorado must send a senator to Washington "who

Please see **SEAWELL** on 15-A

Seawell campaigns for Senate

SEAWELL from Page 1-A

has the qualities to serve in the kind of world that's facing us."

He described Brown as "a good guy . . . a nice guy . . . my friend. And even in the heat of campaigning I will remember that.

"But this election isn't about who is a good guy," he added. "It's an election about who can best work and act to serve Colorado and our nation."

At each stop, Seawell stressed three themes:

- The hope for better superpower relations and arms reduction.
- The need to reduce the nation's $2.8 trillion national debt.
- The importance of leaving the heritage of a clean environment and a good education for the nation's children.

"I want a nation that cares for its young," Seawell said, urging full funding for Head Start, prenatal care and early childhood programs.

He said he'd support an oil import fee to finance the programs he feels are vital. "You cannot spend money that you don't have the fortitude to raise."

Seawell, who has worked in environmental and energy policy administration and as an aide to both former Gov. Dick Lamm and former Sen. Gary Hart, predicted that global warming will become a dominant political issue in the decade ahead.

THE DENVER POST

Voice of the Rocky Mountain Empire

2-14-89

Armstrong won't run again for the Senate

The Denver Post / **Shaun Stanley**

DECISION: Armstrong will continue to live in Englewood and plans to devote more time to his business and to Christian evangelism.

By Fred Brown
Denver Post Political Editor

Bill Armstrong, a Colorado officeholder since 1963, said Monday he won't run again for the U.S. Senate after his current term expires in 1990.

His announcement — a surprise, but not a shock — came six weeks after the Democratic front-runner, former Gov. Dick Lamm, bowed out. The race that was going to be a battle between two heavyweights now becomes a free-for-all among several contenders in both parties.

"A lot of people will look in the mirror tomorrow and see a U.S. senator," Lamm quipped Monday.

Lamm said he had "really half predicted" Armstrong's withdrawal a number of times because of "a lot of signs" that the Republican senator saw an increasing inconsistency between his religious principles and politics.

But that wasn't the reason Armstrong gave. He wasn't specific about why he decided to bow out, except to suggest that he simply had served long enough in the Senate.

He didn't rule out an eventual return to the campaign trail — or much of anything else, for that matter — during a relaxed and jovial news conference in his downtown Denver office.

Armstrong, 51, said he has an unfinished agenda in the Senate, fighting Denver air pollution, pre-

■ **PROFILE:** Armstrong's career detailed./**6A**
■ **MIXED FEELINGS:** Politicians react to senator's decision./**7A**

Please see **ARMSTRONG** on 7-A

DP-2-14-89

Senator suggests that he has served long enough

ARMSTRONG from Page 1-A

serving wilderness water, confirming federal judges and finding jobs for Coloradans. He also said he will continue his work as chairman of the Republican Policy Committee and is eager to help President Bush promote his agenda in Congress.

But, he said it's time to step aside "so that others who need to make plans about running for the Senate or running for Congress or running for governor or so on can get on with it.

"In fact, I judge that the roar we hear in the background is candidates revving up right now. We don't know all their names, but there are members of city councils who see themselves moving up to be county commissioners because the county commissioners are going to be running for state legislative seats, which will be vacated when those candidates get ready to run for Congress because somebody is going to run for the Senate seat which I will not be seeking."

Armstrong didn't single out anyone as a potential successor.

He was noncommittal when asked about state Sen. Terry Considine, whom he endorsed in the Republican primary two years ago for the Senate race against Democrat Tim Wirth.

Armstrong said he had been tempted to run again, citing his record in winning approval for tax indexing, a bill to preserve croplands, housing reform, welfare reform and other bills.

But, he said, "deep down inside I have always seen myself as a citizen legislator . . . I guess people never heard when I said a decade ago that I thought 12 years was about the right length of time. That's an ideal that the Founding Fathers had. . . . The returning is just as important in the civic sense as the going."

He said he will continue to live in Englewood and will devote more time to his business and to Christian evangelism.

His company owns two television stations in Idaho and is buying a third in Wyoming. Asked if he might think about running for governor in the future, he said, "It's not likely I'll run for any office at any time, but don't rule it out."

He said he plans to work in the 1990 campaign to put more Republicans in the Senate and spend "a lot of time on political issues . . . A lot of it depends on what the world looks like when my term expires."

DENVER POST – 2-14-99

Armstrong kept his word

BILL Armstrong's surprise announcement Monday that he won't seek re-election to the U.S. Senate is both a disappointment and an opportunity for Colorado.

It is disappointing because Armstrong has been an outstanding political leader and public official who served his state superbly during 12 years in the Senate, six years in the U.S. House and 10 years in the Colorado Legislature.

In an era when politicians more often prefer bland rhetoric to definitive position statements, Armstrong has stood out in sharp contrast. Perhaps the most frequently repeated comment about Armstrong is: "You may disagree with him, but you always know where he stands."

Colorado will miss his refreshing candor.

Armstrong also has compiled an impressive legislative record in Congress and has been an influential member of the Senate Republican leadership. Now, at the very young age of 51, Armstrong has decided to step down from elective office at a point in his career where his re-election was virtually guaranteed. He said his decision was based on his long-held belief that the terms of public officials should be limited to an appropriate number of years.

Too many Washington politicians, Armstrong said, "dig themselves deeper and deeper into the banks of the Potomac," thereby losing touch with the real world.

In the future, Armstrong said, he will concentrate on his business interests — newspapers, broadcasting and banking — and on his Christian ministry. He also plans to become involved in the political campaigns of candidates he supports strongly.

His first chance undoubtedly will come next year in the race for U.S. Senate. One likely candidate is state Sen. Terry Considine, who ran Armstrong's re-election campaign in 1984 and whom Armstrong endorsed in the GOP Senate primary two years ago.

But it will be a wide-open race, and therein lies the opportunity for Colorado.

With Armstrong out of the picture, next year's U.S. Senate campaign will attract many of the rising stars in the Republican and Democratic parties. The tough primary and general election campaigns that an open Senate seat will spawn should give Colorado the chance to select several of the state's future top political leaders.

Half-dozen politicians express interest in seat

CONTENDERS from Page 1-A

cal stars — most of them Democrats — took their names out of speculation, including Gov. Roy Romer, former Gov. Dick Lamm, Rep. Pat Schroeder, former state Sen. Martha Ezzard and Denver Mayor Federico Peña.

Lamm said Armstrong's decision hadn't changed his resolve not to run, announced a few weeks ago. "It simply was not a consideration in my decision," he said. "This will definitely kick off, in both parties, a real scramble . . . a political free-for-all, which is good."

Kramer, a Republican who lost his 1986 Senate bid to Democratic Sen. Tim Wirth and now works at the Pentagon, also said he would not run. Republican Rep. Joel Hefley of Colorado Springs also indicated he's not interested in the Senate seat.

Brown, who has been quietly surveying his political currency on trips back to Colorado, said he has answered one of the most critical questions regarding a Senate race: Would he have his family's support?

"I've talked with my wife, Nan, about it, and she's promised not to leave me if I run. And I'm interested in it," Brown said in a telephone interview from his Greeley office. He said his three children will be in college next fall, leaving him ample time for a campaign.

A nine-year veteran of the House, Brown said he will spend the next few weeks determining if he can raise enough money, and whether the race is worth losing his House tenure and a prestigious seat on the Ways and Means Committee.

"There is a trade-off in leaving the House, most particularly in the committee," said Brown, a leader on tax and Social Security issues.

Considine refused to discuss the 1990 race, saying only that Monday was "Bill's day . . . There'll be plenty of time to talk about that campaign and the issues in that campaign later."

Paulson said he was "obviously interested, but you have to ask a lot of questions: whether my candidacy could achieve (the) stature" that Armstrong achieved as senator. He said he will continue to poll state Republican activists about a possible candidacy.

Among Democrats, Seawell said Armstrong's announcement did not change his plans. "I will just work harder, study the issues more carefully." Campbell and Skaggs have "a tough political call to make," since they will forfeit their House seats if they run for the Senate, he said.

Brown

Considine

Paulson

Seawell

Skaggs

Campbell

Campbell — who ranked second behind Lamm as the Democrats' toughest challenger to Armstrong in a December Denver Post poll — appeared willing to take that risk.

Insisting that he has not made a final decision, Congress' lone American Indian said he has had "quiet time" with his family "to make sure they're supportive." Like Brown, he is still trying to ascertain whether he can raise the cash for what he predicts will be a $4 million race.

"I think I can, but you never know. I have to talk to a lot of people to make sure I can do it," he said in a telephone interview from his ranch in Ignacio.

Campbell said he would bring a "nice balance" to Colorado's representation in the Senate, because "my interests and background really reflect rural Colorado."

He said he also has garnered significant support among Republicans and independents in his conservative 3rd Congressional District. "I've always relied very heavily on crossover votes and independent votes, and that makes the winning combination" in a statewide race.

Denver Post Political Editor Fred Brown contributed to this story.

Starting gun fires for 1990 Senate race

By Beth Frerking
Denver Post Washington Bureau Chief

The 1990 Senate race began in earnest Monday after Republican Sen. Bill Armstrong announced his retirement, with half a dozen politicians already expressing interest in the seat.

Only one would-be successor, outgoing state Democratic Chairman Buie Seawell, has talked openly about running, and he announced that months ago. On Monday, several other possible contenders made it clear that the 1990 field will be crowded for both political parties.

Rep. Hank Brown of Greeley, who appears to be the leading Republican candidate, said he will decide in a few weeks whether to run.

Two other often-mentioned Republicans who did not rule out candidacies were state Sen. Terry Considine, who lost his 1986 primary bid for the U.S. Senate to former Rep. Ken Kramer, and state Rep. Chris Paulson of Englewood.

The Democratic field also broadened considerably with Armstrong's announcement. Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Ignacio appears almost certain to run. He said he will make an announcement in 30 days. And Rep. David Skaggs of Boulder said that he would "examine carefully" a Senate race.

Several past and present politi-

Please see **CONTENDERS** on 7-A

SEN. ARMSTRONG WON'T SEEK RE-ELECTION

GOP lawmaker carved a place of respect in Senate

By Beth Frerking
Denver Post Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — In 1978, when Bill Armstrong defeated incumbent Democratic Sen. Floyd Haskell, a collective grin spread across the national visage of conservative Republicans.

The young, sharp, articulate congressman from Colorado represented to them the Paul Revere of conservatism — a crier of the political revolution that would commence in full force with the election of President Ronald Reagan two years later.

To Coloradans, however — who had watched Armstrong since his 1963 election to the Colorado state Legislature at the age of 25 — Armstrong's Senate victory was another predictable accomplishment on a rack of political successes.

More than a decade later, Armstrong has carved a place as one of the most respected Republicans in the Senate.

And, although colleagues often differ pointedly with him on issues, they uniformly praise him as one of the most congenial, polite and sincere members of Congress.

"In a place where people don't always deal fairly and directly, he was, in his dealings with me and in his convictions, a very straightforward and honest person," said former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, a Democrat.

Eddie Mahe, a Republican consultant in Washington and longtime friend and admirer of Armstrong, said Armstrong's ability to stand by his convictions without being rude made him popular among Democrats and Republicans alike.

"I think the point he has proven, and few have learned, is you can remain a man of principle while in the Senate, and you can do it without being a contentious person," Mahe said.

Mahe was one of several far-right conservatives who touted Armstrong as their first choice for President Bush's running mate during the 1988 campaign. He met many of their social-issue litmus tests: He was anti-abortion and pro-school prayer, for example.

But Lee Stillwell, Armstrong's press secretary and political aide in Washington from 1978 through 1987, said that it is wrong to peg Armstrong solely as a darling of conservatives.

"He's sort of his own enigma," said Stillwell, now an executive at the American Medical Association in Washington. "No other senator belongs both to the (Republican Policy Committee) and to the Wednesday Group," he said, referring, respectively, to conservative and moderate Republican policy groups in Congress.

"He was a guy with a foot in both camps . . . and that always made him strong nationally," said Stillwell.

Armstrong, who is chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, has concentrated on fiscal issues since he came to Washington in 1972 as U.S. representative from the 5th District. In the Senate, he served on the Finance, Budget and Banking committees, although he recently gave up his seat on the banking panel.

A longtime advocate of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, he has sought to cut most domestic programs, but he also was a vocal supporter of President Reagan's military build-up.

He was one of the key players in the institution of "tax indexing," in which tax brackets are tied to inflation.

"That was a critical element of the Republican Party's attempt to attract blue-collar voters, who were most affected by 'bracket creep,' " said Doug Goodyear, a former political director for the state Republican Party.

Armstrong also worked with Hart in 1980 to produce the Wilderness Act; he pushed successfully for television coverage of Senate proceedings; and he was a major force behind a Korean War memorial.

During his nine years in the statehouse, where he served as Senate majority leader, Armstrong was one of a group of Republicans known as the "Young Turks."

After reapportionment in 1971, Armstrong became the first congressman from the new 5th District, which included the heavily Republican Colorado Springs area.

POLITICAL PROFILE: WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG

File photo

William L. Armstrong as a state senator in 1972.

Associated Press

THANKS: Sen. Armstrong, with wife Ellen and son Will, thank supporters in Denver for his 1984 re-election.

BORN: March 16, 1937, in Fremont, Neb.
EDUCATION: Attended Tulane University and University of Minnesota.
MARRIED: Ellen, in 1962. They have two children.
BUSINESS: Has been involved in broadcasting; currently owns television stations in Idaho.
ENTERS POLITICS: Served as a Colorado state representative from 1963 to 1964 and as a state senator from 1964 to 1972.

Armstrong in '62

NOVEMBER 1972—Elected from the newly created 5th Congressional District and held that seat until 1977.
NOVEMBER 1977—Joins the Republican race for U.S. Senate
SEPTEMBER 1978—Defeats former astronaut Jack Swigert for Republican nomination to challenge incumbent Democratic Sen. Floyd Haskell.
NOVEMBER 1978—Beats Haskell, takes 59 percent of the vote.
NOVEMBER 1984—Defeats Democratic challenger, Lt. Gov. Nancy Dick, by almost 2-1 margin.
FEB. 13, 1989—Announces his retirement from the U.S. Senate.

Surprise, disappointment greet 'Mr. Conservative's' announcement

By Gary Schmitz
Denver Post Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Surprise and disappointment greeted the announced retirement Monday of Sen. Bill Armstrong, with many suggesting the Coloradan known as "Mr. Conservative" was exiting the political stage long before his career had peaked.

"I'll miss his strong voice and so will America," said Senate Republican Leader Bob Dole of Kansas, who called Armstrong "a Senate heavyweight."

Paul Weyrich, president of the Free Congress Foundation, a national conservative group, recalled that when Armstrong first arrived in Washington, "He said he was not going to make a career of it. He's a man of his word."

Weyrich, who promoted Armstrong as a potential presidential contender, noted that the two-term senator was "pulling out at the height of his popularity, when major figures of the Democratic Party have declined to run against him."

Even ideological foes had kind words following Armstrong's announcement not to seek re-election in 1990.

"I disagree with many of his basic philosophical positions," said former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, but "I have the utmost respect for him. I think he attempted to be a public servant in the best sense of the phrase."

"Bill Armstrong has served the state of Colorado admirably both as a member of the U.S. Congress and the Colorado Legislature," said Gov. Roy Romer, a Democrat. "He is to be commended for his long and effective service."

Sen. Tim Wirth, a Democrat elected in 1986, said he was surprised at Armstrong's decision not to run for another term, and said the state "owes a vote of thanks to Bill and Ellen (Armstrong's wife) for their service. I hope whoever comes in will have the same commitment to clean air and the (Denver) airport."

A less charitable assessment came from Rep. Pat Schroeder, a Denver Democrat whose liberal views ensured frequent clashes with her Republican colleague.

Although Armstrong may "sound reasonable," Schroeder said, "he's always been on the very, very far right . . . his voting record is more conservative than that of Jesse Helms."

That hard-line stance "has not helped . . . Colorado's interests," according to Schroeder. "I remember him for stopping things like wilderness legislation, rather than for getting things going."

His supporters predicted he will not fade quickly from the national scene.

In a conversation Monday, Armstrong "stressed he is not leaving politics," Weyrich said. "He assured me he will maintain a high profile," through the Free Congress Foundation, on which Armstrong sits as a board member, and through other forums.

Weyrich said Armstrong was looking forward to his new role. "He told me, 'In some ways I may be able to do more on the outside than on the inside.' "

Denver Mayor Federico Peña, a Democrat, said Armstrong's decision will prompt "a re-examination of where we're going" that will "be good for the state."

Wyoming Republican Sen. Al Simpson offered personal remembrances, and heaped praise on Armstrong's debating and lawmaking skills. "I would see him amble onto the floor, hands in his pocket and just fire questions away," Simpson said. "He's just a hell of a fine legislator."

Sen. Rudy Boschwitz, a Minnesota Republican who developed a close friendship with Armstrong, characterized the Colorado politician as "one of the truly nice guys in Washington."

Idaho Republican Sen. Steve Symms said Armstrong was not one to soften his position just to avoid controversy. Serving on the Finance Committee in 1983, Armstrong and Symms were attacked for voting down a compromise budget proposal they said would add to the deficit.

"I always felt comfortable standing next to Armstrong, whether we were being criticized or not," said Symms.

The Associated Press contributed to this story.

2-14-89

SCRIPPS HOWARD

Rocky Mountain News

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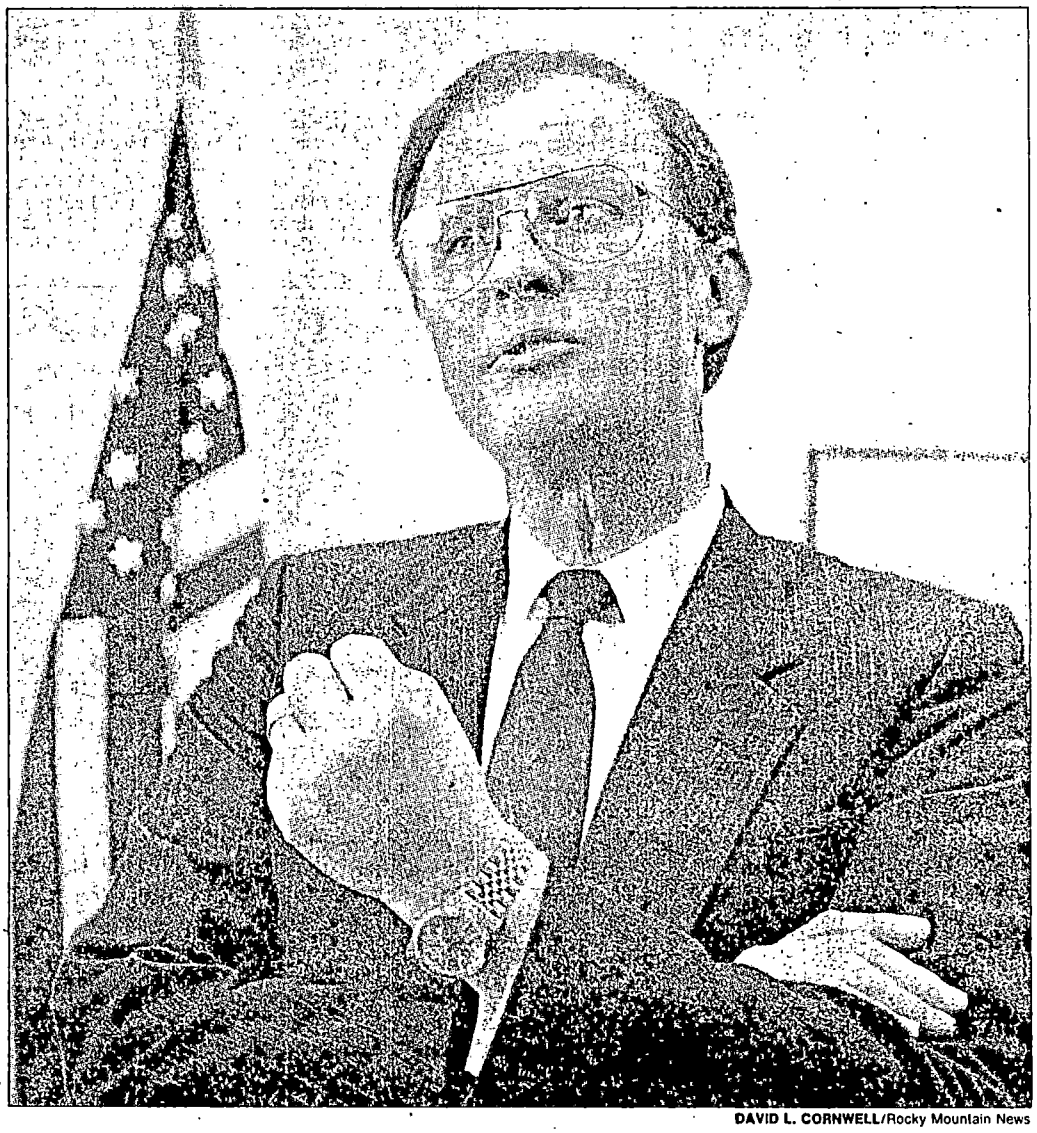
Armstrong won't run again

- Senator declines to seek re-election at end of this term
- Lawmaker worked way up through ranks from state legislature
- Decision opens way for many changes in Colorado politics.

STORIES, PAGE 7



DAVID L. CORNWELL/Rocky Mountain News

Sen. William Armstrong, R-Colo., announces his intention to retire at the end of his current term. Yesterday's announcement at a press conference in Denver drew tears from Kathie Finger, new Denver County Republican Party chairwoman. Armstrong is serving his second six-year term.

OPEN SEAT OPENS DOORS

Armstrong won't seek re-election

By PAM MAPLES
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Republican Sen. William Armstrong announced yesterday that he will not seek re-election in 1990, setting off a swirl of speculation and rumors about probable Republican and Democratic candidates for the seat.

Armstrong was jovial and relaxed as he announced his decision in his Denver office before reporters, staff members and a handful of Republican activists.

He said he was tempted to run again, but "deep down inside I have always seen myself and still see myself as a citizen legislator ... serving in Congress for a time, but always with the firm intention of returning to private life."

But, Armstrong said, his decision does not mean he is leaving politics.

"I'M NOT GOING TO do that," he said. "It's not likely, necessarily, that I'm going to run for anything, but when you look around you'll find that I'm there and I'm involved in some of the ways that I have been, but also in some new ways."

Armstrong's announcement touched off a flurry of phone calls and speculation in political and media circles about potential 1990 Senate candidates.

"The Senate campaign began at 2 p.m. today," said Senate Majority Leader Jeff Wells, R-Colorado Springs.

In many respects, that wasn't an exaggeration.

Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., and Reps. Ben Nighthorse Campbell and David Skaggs, D-Colo., expressed varying degrees of interest in the race. Campbell said he will make a decision within 30 days and admitted he is leaning increasingly toward running.

Rep. Joel Helfley, R-Colo., also is said to be considering the contest. Also on the list are Republican state Sens. Terry Considine and Chris Paulsen, and Democratic state party chairman Buie Seawell.

HEFLEY SAID HE WAS not interested in seeking the Senate seat and said he was unhappy Armstrong won't run again.

"I did everything I could to talk him into running," Hefley said. "We simply aren't going to replace him very easily."

The speculation about incumbent congressmen entering the Senate race led in turn to speculation about potential candidates for their seats, and in turn speculation about potential candidates for the state legislative seats some of those candidates would leave.

"It's a domino effect," said Republican political consultant Doug Goodyear. "You'll have four of the six congressmen speculated as candidates. There are a whole lot of phone lines burning up tonight."

Armstrong said he made his decision and announcement early — contrary to his habit — to give Republicans time to get their campaigns going.

"It is so that others who need to make plans of running for Senate or running for Congress or running for governor or so on can get on with it," he said. "I judge that the roar that we hear in the background is candidates revving up now."

ARMSTRONG DECLINED TO SAY whether he would endorse Considine as his preferred successor and said he "may or may not" get involved in the Republican primary.

Considine ran Armstrong's 1984 campaign and had his backing in his unsuccessful bid to make the GOP Senate ballot against Ken Kramer in 1986.

Considine tried to deflect questions about his 1990 ambitions.

See ARMSTRONG, page 14

QUICK FACTS:

DAVID L. CORNWELL/Rocky Mountain News

Republican Sen. William Armstrong strikes a casual pose.

Born in Fremont, Neb., on March 16, 1937.

Attended but did not receive degrees from Tulane University and University of Minnesota.

Married the former Ellen Eaton in 1962.

Moved to Aurora in 1962, where he went into family broadcasting business. Served in Colorado House of Representatives 1963-64.

Served in Colorado Senate 1965-72. Majority leader 1969-72.

Elected to U.S. House of Representatives in 1972 from Colorado's 6th District. Defeated Byron Johnson.

Re-elected to House of Representatives in 1974. Defeated Dr. Ben Galloway.

Re-elected to House of Representatives in 1976. Defeated Dorothy Hores.

Elected to U.S. Senate in 1978. Defeated Democratic Sen. Floyd Haskell. Defeated astronaut Jack Swigert in GOP primary.

Re-elected to Senate in 1984. Defeated Lt. Gov. Nancy Dick.

Served or serves on Senate finance committee and banking and budget committees. Headed Social Security subcommittee.

Elected chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee in 1984, 1986 and 1988.

Member of Senate Republican leadership team.

RECENT LEGISLATIVE FACTS:

December 1988: Armstrong urges former President Reagan to sign an executive order forbidding the sale of sexually explicit magazines such as *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler* in federal facilities, particularly military bases.

October 1988: Congress repeals a controversial tax break sponsored by Armstrong in 1986 that eliminated a tax break worth almost $2 million to Cimarron Coal of Colorado. After Armstrong introduced the legislation, it was learned that one of Cimarron's partners, Oklahoma media magnate Edward Gaylord, had an ongoing financial relationship with Armstrong when he sponsored the legislation. Armstrong defended the proposed tax break, but it eventually was removed from the 1986 bill. Because of an error, however, it wound up in the final version of the bill and became law. Cimarron used the tax break for two years until the error was corrected in 1988.

July 1988: Armstrong introduces legislation that would permit western states to choose year-round daylight-saving time as part of the clean air battle. Armstrong has been an advocate of Denver's Better Air Campaign and efforts to reduce air pollution along the Front Range.

July 1988: Armstrong leads the effort to attach an amendment to a District of Columbia spending bill that directs the city to allow religiously affiliated educational institutions to deny certain rights to gay student organizations. The city council filed a lawsuit in November, claiming that the order is unconstitutional.

Armstrong's departure to open field

By PAM MAPLES and BERNY MORSON
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writers

The 1990 campaign for a U.S. Senate seat, perhaps two congressional seats, the lieutenant governor's office and a handful of state legislative seats opened yesterday.

In the space of 30 minutes, Republican Sen. William Armstrong announced that he wouldn't seek re-election — and set a series of political dominoes falling across Colorado.

He knew it.

Armstrong joked in his news conference that "the roar we hear in the background is candidates revving up right now.

"We don't know of their names, but there are members of city council who see themselves moving up to be county commissioners because the county commissioners are going to be running for state legislative seats, which will be vacated when those candidates get ready to run for Congress because somebody is going to run for the Senate seat," Armstrong said.

Armstrong's plans have been the subject of speculation in recent months, and a list of probable candidates to replace him has been taking shape.

In turn, that list led to other lists — of probable candidates to replace congressmen likely to run for the Senate and of probable candidates to replace those state lawmakers and officials likely to run for Congress.

It goes like this:

■ Possible Senate candidates include Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo.; Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo.; Democratic state party chairman Buie Seawell; Sen. Terry Considine, R-Greenwood Village; and Rep. Chris Paulson, R-Englewood. Other potential candidates include Rep. David Skaggs, D-Colo., Rep. Joel Hefley, R-Colo., and Attorney General Duane Woodard.

■ If Brown runs for the Senate, potential contenders for his 4th Congressional District seat include Republican Sens. Wayne Allard of Loveland and James Brandon of Akron, and former Sen. John Donley of Greeley. Potential Democratic contenders are led by Sen. James Rizzuto of Swink.

■ If Campbell runs for the Senate, the race to replace him in the 3rd Congressional District could be one of the hottest in the state. Expected candidates are Lt. Gov. Mike Callihan and former state Sen. Tom Glass for the Democrats and state Rep. Scott McInnis, R-Glenwood Springs, for the Republicans.

Democratic state Sens. Larry Trujillo of Pueblo and Bob Pastore of Monte Vista also are considering the race. Alamosa attorney Carlos Lucero also is said to be considering the race.

■ If Callihan runs for Congress, likely contenders to replace him as lieutenant governor are Sen. Regis Groff, D-Denver, who lost the nomination to Callihan, and House Minority Leader Ruth Wright, D-Boulder.

If any of the above state legislators enter the races for Senate, Congress and lieutenant governor, then a whole series of state house seats could come up for grabs.

"Every domino is wavering right down to the school board," said Rep. Don Ament, R-Iliff.

See DEPARTURE, page 14

Republican Sen. Bill Armstrong's decision to retire at the end of his term opens up several races. A list of potential candidates follows:

Lieutenant governor:
1. Sen. Regis Groff, D-Denver
2. W Mitchell.
3. Rep. Ruth Wright, D-Boulder

Third congressional district:
1. Lt. Gov. Mike Callihan.
2. Sen. Larry Trujillo, D-Pueblo.
3. Sen. Bob Pastore, D-Monte Vista.
4. Rep. Scott McInnis, R-Glenwood Springs
5. Former Sen. Tom Glass, D-Frisco
6. Carlos Lucero, D-Alamosa.

Fourth congressional district:
1. Sen. Wayne Allard, R-Loveland
2. Sen. James Brandon, R-Akron,
3. Sen. James Rizzuto, D-Swink
4. Former Sen. John Donley, R-Greeley
6. Rep. Ellwood Gillis, R-Lamar.

U.S. Senate:
1. Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., Greeley
2. Sen. Terry Considine
3. Rep. Chris Paulson, R-Littleton
4. Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Colo., Ignacio
5. Rep. David skaggs, D-Colo., Boulder
6. Buie Seawell, state Democratic chairman

ARMSTRONG/from page 7

"There will be time enough to think about that." he said. "'What I've tried to talk about today is Bill Armstrong ... He's very close friend."

Considine said he and his wife learned of the decision over lunch with the Armstrongs after church on Sunday.

"I was quite surprised," he said.

Wells said he was not surprised but was glad Armstrong made it early.

"SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THE potential domino effect, I think he has done the Republican Party and the state of Colorado both a service by making his decision clear at this time," Wells said. "I've talked to Bill on and off for the past couple of years on a variety of issues, and I got the distinct impression he wanted to tackle other projects and move onto other things."

Armstrong said several times during his news conference that he and his wife, Ellen, felt "profound appreciation" for the people of Colorado and that the state always has remained his home.

After leaving the Senate, Armstrong said he will spend time on his business interests — which include radio and television stations — his work in Christian ministries and on politics. He said he will not go into full-time ministry.

Armstrong said he will devote the rest of his term to pressing an aggressive legislative agenda, including passage of a new Clean Air Act and measures to help President George Bush eliminate the federal deficit.

"I am still interested," he said. Armstrong said he told Senate President Bob Dole, R-Kansas, that he does not want to be treated like a lame duck who has lost interest.

State Republican Party chairman Bruce Benson said Armstrong's decision "is disappointing news not only for the Colorado Republicans, but for the state and the nation, as well."

Armstrong drew praise from Republicans and Democrats alike.

"I'm sorry to see Bill leave," said Brown. "I think he's been an outstanding senator."

Wirth said many people were "very surprised, and I hope pleased, at the strength of the professional and personal relationship that Bill and I developed. I think it was good thing."

Gov. Roy Romer praised Armstrong for "his long and effective service in behalf of this state and its citizens."

Walt Klein, who managed Armstrong's first Senate campaign and then served as his top aide and has continued to be one of his closest friends and confidantes, praised Armstrong for "stepping out on his own terms."

"He is one of those rare elected officials in public life who has been able to step into the process and serve without being consumed by the process," Klein said.

Lt. Gov. Mike Callihan, who said he probably will run for the 3rd Congressional District seat if Campbell leaves it to run for the Senate, said the lining up that started yesterday "is beginning to remind me of a young bull elk in mating season."

Staff writers Peter Blake and John Sanko contributed to this report.

DEPARTURE/from page 7

Ament, for example, is eyeing a run for the state Senate if Brandon decides to seek the 4th Congressional District seat. Throughout the state capitol yesterday, legislators and lobbyists were handicapping possible races.

While leaders of both parties said the competition is healthy and welcomed, many also worried about its effect on fund-raising of individual candidates.

Spending in the Senate is estimated to hit at least $4 million for each of the two candidates in the general election. The governor's race is expected to cost $2 million or more, and each congressional candidate can be expected to spend $500,000.

That's a lot of money to raise in a state still struggling to bolster its sagging economy, said Democratic political consultant Mike Stratton.

"If several are in the primary, that closes down the PACs (political action committees). Nobody gets it because they'll wait to give to the nominee," said potential Senate candidate Seawell. "It becomes, how long can you tread water?"

Campbell said he's considering money and family issues, and will make a decision in 30 days.

"It will be determined by whether I'll be able to raise the estimated $4 million. I think I can. And, we're still talking about what kind of effect it will have on the family."

But, Campbell said his family is "tentatively supportive."

Brown said his wife, Nan, has agreed to the idea and now he will "spend a little time talking to Republican leaders, asking advice around the state ... the key factor is who's most able to win the seat. That, obviously, is not immediately clear."

Considine — expected to be Armstrong's favorite because of their longtime ties — and Paulson, were evasive yesterday about their intentions.

"I'll continue to look at whether it makes sense for me to throw my hat in the ring," said Paulson, who earlier this year talked openly about his desire to run for the Senate, if Armstrong stepped out.

Both Paulson and Considine have been mentioned as possible gubernatorial candidates. If they run for the Senate, Republicans will lose two of their strongest potential challengers to Gov. Roy Romer.

Republicans have privately said they want to at least hold Romer to a close race so that his ability to help Democrats pick up seats in the legislture is minimized.

Enough legislators are on the verge of announcing races for higher office to bring more changes than the legislature has seen in years.

"The scramble on both sides (of the aisle) is going to be wild," said Wright.

Staff writers John Sanko and Peter Blake contributed to this report.

Ralph Looney
Editor

Rocky Mountain News

William W. Fletcher
President, General Manager

"Give light and the people will find their own way"

Jay Ambrose, Executive Editor

Editorials

Jean Otto, Editorial Page Editor

Armstrong his own man, in the Senate and leaving it

IT'S too early to pen a lasting assessment of Bill Armstrong's Senate career. After all, he's got two years remaining on a second term. But a review of some sort is inevitable given his announcement yesterday that he won't seek the office in 1990.

How will Armstrong the senator be remembered? Certainly not as a bearer of goodies to the state on the order of "Big Ed" Johnson and others. Yet perhaps the era when politicians measure success primarily by the quantity of pork they can bring home *should* be relegated to history. It is one of the reasons we're burdened with out-of-control budgets.

Nor was Armstrong among the leading shock troops, for either side, in some of the most visibly contentious issues of the Reagan years: tax reform in the second term, aid to the contras, the Strategic Defense Initiative. He didn't shrink from positions on such issues, but he didn't seem to seek the limelight, either, despite his formidable gifts of debate.

But to suggest Armstrong has been outside the action is to miss the point as well. We'll mention only a couple of his accomplishments here, although there have been plenty of others.

— Armstrong was instrumental early this decade in convincing Congress to index the income tax to inflation. Not only has indexing saved millions of Americans from being sucked into higher tax brackets without first enjoying a corresponding hike in real income, it has forced Congress to raise taxes the old-fashioned way, by taking a vote.

— Armstrong braved a possible backlash from the elderly and helped put Social Security on a sounder long-term basis by insisting that a blue-ribbon commission relied too heavily on increased payroll taxes in its recommendations. His repeated arguments altered the debate, tempering ultimate congressional action.

Colorado's senior senator has worked with equal tenacity in other areas, too, such as limiting wasteful construction subsidies for housing.

Of course, he's also fought for a religiously oriented agenda of social issues. Although we disagree with much of that agenda, Armstrong is obviously motivated by sincere belief, not political opportunism.

Armstrong's retirement ensures a donnybrook campaign in 1990, perhaps in both parties. Coloradans should consider themselves lucky if, when the dust settles, their next senator is equal in intellect, principles and drive to the man now holding the job.

RMN- 7-1-89 P.28

Brown hopes to tap into Hispanic vote in '90 bid

By PAM MAPLES
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., yesterday told a group of Hispanic political activists he will aggressively seek minority support for his 1990 U.S. Senate bid.

Brown pledged to those attending a luncheon of HISPAC, or Hispanic Public Affairs Committee, that he will recruit Hispanic support for his bid to replace Sen. Bill Armstrong, R-Colo.

Brown said he agreed with audience members that the Hispanic community likely will be the "swing vote" in the election, and he isn't ready to concede it or other minority support to Democrats.

Former state Democratic Party chairman Buie Seawell is seeking his party's nomination and Alamosa attorney Carlos Lucero has said he tenatively plans to challenge Seawell. Brown will face the winner.

Brown said he believes a "good portion" of the Hispanic vote is up for grabs in the Senate race.

HISPAC chairman John Garcia agreed, and pointed out that Armstrong carried the Hispanic vote in his 1984 election. Armstrong announced early this year that he would not seek a third term.

Brown told the audience that the Republican Party shares Hispanic voters' conservative views on some issues, particularly social policies.

HISPAC does not endorse candidates, but provides a forum for people to discuss with candidates issues of particular importance to the Hispanic community, Garcia said.

He said the group wants to meet the candidates early in the campaign to hear their views and also provide input while they still are formulating their stands on issues.

Before fielding questions, Brown spoke about the importance of freedom and opportunity. The focus should be on making this a society of opportunity with government enhancing opportunities with its policies on education, welfare and other issues, Brown said.

He said he considers education one of the keys to providing a society of opportunity. While that requires money, it also requires a commitment from teachers to have higher expectations of students' success and performance, Brown said.

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS - 8-1-89 P. 10

Brown top fund-raiser in Senate race with $300,000

By PAM MAPLES
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

Republican Hank Brown has raised nearly $300,000 since beginning his U.S. Senate campaign in late February, out-distancing Democratic contender Buie Seawell almost 6 to 1.

Brown received $298,947 in contributions — almost evenly divided among individuals and political action committees — since announcing his candidacy June 30, his campaign report filed with the Federal Election Commission yesterday showed.

Seawell raised $48,289, with a $10,000 contribution from himself and most of the rest coming from individuals. The former state Democratic Party chairman announced his candidacy in June after months of preparations.

The reports cover spending and campaign contributions through June 30. Democrat Carlos Lucero does not have to file a June report because he incorporated his campaign committee last week.

Brown also got a big financial boost from $287,180 left over from his 1988 congressional campaign, and transferred into his Senate campaign fund.

The campaign spent about $60,000, leaving it with a cash balance of $526,038 at the end of June.

Seawell's campaign spent $36,235 by the end of June, leaving a cash balance of $12,140.

In a prepared release, Brown emphasized that 900 Coloradans gave to his campaign, and that 750 of those gave less than $200.

"We are committed to having more than 25,000 individual Colorado contributors to our campaign," he said.

His big-ticket individual contributors included members of the Coors brewing family, who gave a total of $1,500 and attorney Norm Brownstein, who gave $2,000. Brownstein, known as one of the biggest Republican fund-raisers in the country, is an old friend of Brown's.

But it is clear from the political action committee contributions that Brown also is benefiting from his status as the sole Republican contender. He received $147,550 from political action committees, including several insurance and health care providers.

In contrast, Seawell had no contributions from political action committees.

"Hank Brown is exactly where I would have expected Hank Brown to be," said Mary Alice Mandarich, Seawell's campaign manager. "He's been running as a candidate since February, concentrating on raising money. ... Buie is where we thought Buie should be."

COLORADO SPRINGS GAZETTE-TELEGRAPH 8-21-89 P. B1

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POLITICS

Hank Brown: Greeley Republican reports $526,038 in fund.

Buie Seawell: Democrat says he will accept money from PACs.

Brown gathers 43 times more than his rivals

Seawell lists $12,141 in campaign for Senate

By **Eric Anderson**/States News Service

WASHINGTON — U.S. Rep. Hank Brown, the front-runner for the Senate seat to be vacated by Bill Armstrong next year, had more than 43 times as much money in his campaign coffer than his nearest competitor at the end of June.

Although the Senate race — with three candidates declared — is expected to be the hottest Colorado contest next year, at least two other House races are in the making.

Brown, a Greeley Republican who received Armstrong's endorsement two weeks ago, declared $526,038 in his war chest in a statement filed with the Federal Election Commission. Buie Seawell, one of Brown's two declared Democratic rivals, reported $12,141.

Democrat Carlos Lucero of Alamosa, who made his candidacy official on Aug. 3, will not have to file a midyear campaign finance report until 1990.

Election committee treasurers are required to file periodic financial reports with the FEC that list receipts, disbursements and outstanding loans.

In non-election years such as this one, only two semiannual reports must be filed.

The first, due July 31, covers the first six months of the year.

Over half of Brown's Senate campaign receipts for the first six months of 1989 came from the Hank Brown for Congress Committee, which was liquidated after the congressman decided to vacate his 4th District House seat when his term ends in order to run for the Senate.

Brown's senatorial campaign pulled in nearly $298,948 in the first half of 1989, with $147,550 coming from political action committees.

Critics say contributions from PACs, the political arms of special interest groups, are often thinly veiled attempts to buy influence.

Brown introduced an ethics reform bill this year that would eliminate PAC contributions. But he said he would continue to accept the funds as long as it is legal.

Seawell received $48,890 in campaign contributions since March 23, when his election committee was incorporated. Included was $10,000 from himself. Seawell will accept PAC money, according to his campaign director, but he had not received any such funding as of June 30.

Another possible candidate for Armstrong's seat is Steve Leatherman, who lost a bid for the Democratic nomination for Armstrong's seat in 1984. Leatherman said he is "moderately interested" in running again for the seat.

Leatherman, a Vietnam veteran and the president of Charter West Capital Co., a Denver finance firm, has also been asked by Dick Freese, chairman of the Colorado state Democratic Party, to consider running for Republican Rep. Dan Schaefer's 6th District seat. Leatherman said he is "mildly" interested in that race — less so than he is in the Senate contest.

While Brown looks to the Senate race, candi-

See **CAMPAIGN**/B3

Campaign/Midyear reports filed

From B1

dates are beginning to line up to fill his House seat.

Republican Wayne Allard declared in June that he will seek Brown's seat, while Democrats Dick Bond and Kelly Ohlson have expressed interest in running.

Republican state Sen. Jim Brandon of Akron is seriously considering running for the seat but has not declared, according to Katy Atkinson, the spokeswoman for Colorado Republicans.

Atkinson said there is speculation that Republican Elwood Gillis, a Lamar businessman and state representative, also could enter the race.

Allard, a Loveland veterinarian and second-term state senator who served as Brown's campaign manager during the 1984 and 1986 elections, said he "started testing waters" in February to run for Brown's seat.

Because of his early activity in the race, Allard was the only 4th District candidate who had to file a midyear campaign finance report with the FEC. As of June 30, his campaign fund was $1,404. Allard has received a total of $4,401 but listed $2,997 in payments for operating expenses.

Ohlson, the Larimer County public trustee and a former mayor of Fort Collins, said, "I intend to be a candidate for the 4th District seat." But he did not reveal when he would formally announce.

Bond, a state representative and former president of the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley, has set up an exploratory committee to look into the possibility of running for the 4th District seat. Trey Rogers, the Bond campaign's only full-time staffer, said Bond "very probably will run" and will make a formal announcement by early 1990.

Jim Rizzuto, a Democratic state senator and La Junta businessman, who has been mentioned as a possible candidate, said his "inclination is not to run." Rizzuto said he wanted to spend more time with his family.

The only other Colorado congressional district with a race in the making is the 3rd District, where Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, D-Ignacio, will face Republican Mike Strang in a rematch of their 1986 contest. Strang was elected as 3rd District congressman in 1984 but was defeated by Campbell after one term.

Strang said he has been "putting the pieces together" for a campaign since Campbell was elected to a second term last November. "The intention, of course, is sometime in the future to announce a candidacy," he said.

Strang, a rancher, said he has been spending half his time organizing a campaign, a task which includes soliciting contributions from individuals and PACs and drumming up support from across the district and state.

Strang's only two recorded contributions with the FEC as of June 30 were worth a total of $4,000. One — a $3,000 May donation for the primary election by a Wisconsin couple — violates an FEC contribution ceiling of $1,000 per person, per election. But Strang said that was a mistake by his accountant and the contribution has since been earmarked both for the primary and general elections.

Republican Barb Smith, a political newcomer to Colorado, filed a statement of candidacy with the FEC in July for the 3rd District race.

Bob Ellis, a Republican accountant from Montrose with no political experience, is considering entering the same race, Atkinson said.

Campbell, who has expressed interest in running for re-election but has made no official announcement, declared $52,775 in contributions in the first half of 1989 with all but $10,000 coming from PACs.

Four other Colorado House incumbents remain unchallenged for 1990 but continue to pad their campaign coffers.

Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Denver, had $250,055 in her war chest — at least three times more than any other House member from Colorado. Most of this money was carried over from 1988, when she spent $217,503 for her re-election bid.

Republican Joy Wood, who was handily defeated by Schroeder in November, may mount another challenge in 1990.

"I've told all my supporters to save the yard signs," said the Denver mother of four.

Kip Cheroutes, Schroeder's press secretary in Denver, said the congresswoman's office is assuming that she will seek re-election in 1990.

Atkinson said the possibility that Schroeder might consider running for president in 1992 could hurt her re-election chance.

But Cheroutes, who said a presidential bid by Schroeder is "not out of the realm of possibility," said the congresswoman is concentrating on what she will do in 1990, not '92.

Second-term 5th District Rep. Joel Hefley, R-Colorado Springs, plans to run for re-election, and no challenger from either party has come forward.

Hefley had $74,722 in his campaign coffer by the end of June, after pulling in more than $23,000 in PAC money, or 95 percent of his total contributions for the first half of 1989. Hefley started 1989 with $60,949 in leftover campaign funds.

Rep. Schaefer, a Lakewood Republican, has not declared whether he will run for a fifth term and "it'll be months yet before he gets into that kind of discussion," said Schaefer spokeswoman Holly Propst.

Schaefer received more than $30,000 in PAC money during the first half of the year, and more than $12,000 of his funding came from individuals. By June 30, the Schaefer to Congress Committee had $30,529.

Rep. David Skaggs, D-Boulder reported the poorest campaign fund of any Colorado incumbent with just $23,643. Skaggs received $30,348 in contributions during the first half of 1989 with more than two-thirds of that money coming from PACs.

Republican Carol Taylor-Little, who had considered running against Skaggs for the 2nd District seat, decided in late July not to enter the race, and no other candidates have come forward. Skaggs has not announced whether he will seek re-election.

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CSGT-8-21-89

RMN — 5-28-89 P.19

STATE NEWS

Brown to revive ethics reforms

Wright, Coelho cases will bring wave of support for new measures, lawmaker says

By PAM MAPLES
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

When the case of House Speaker Jim Wright is over, Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., says he will again push reforms in financial disclosure rules and the way the House handles complaints against members.

Brown said yesterday he believes the Wright case, coupled with the resignation of Rep. Tony Coelho, D-Calif., the House Democratic whip, will increase support for reforms.

Brown, who was temporarily assigned to the House ethics committee for the Wright investigation, said he was surprised by Coelho's decision this weekend to resign his seat to avert a potential ethics committee investigation.

"I don't think that (an investigation) was certain," he said. "Unless there were other things involved, normally what happens in circumstances like this, the member simply discloses the information in question and that's the end of it."

Coelho has indicated he expected it to go beyond that because of the atmosphere created by the Wright case.

Brown said he hopes both cases will prompt members to be more receptive to reforms aimed at making the rules clearer and more consistently applied. The northern Colorado congressman and 1990 U.S. Senate candidate has proposed reforms before, with little success.

He said his temporary reassignment to the ethics committee — which he struggled to get off of a few years ago — made him decide to try again. Brown said his new proposal will include elements of his earlier packages, plus some additions prompted by the Wright case.

The reforms he plans to propose include:

- A provision that all ethics charges be investigated by independent counsel, as they are in the executive branch. Currently, the committee must vote to involve independent counsel.
- Eliminating the requirement that two members of Congress bring charges, or three members refuse in writing to bring charges, before the committee can investigate. Instead, a complaint from an outside party would trigger an investigation.
- Stricter and clearer rules about the types of financial information that members must report on public disclosure forms.

Brown said he left the ethics committee after his second term in Congress out of frustration.

"I simply was uncomfortable with the way the committee functions," Brown said. "I didn't feel we were consistently, aggressively doing our job."

He points to the censure a few years ago of Idaho Congressman George Hansen for failing to disclose his wife's assets, while 23 other members who had done the same thing faced no action. Brown, who supported the censure, said he believes the case was pursued partially because of the attention drawn by a criminal investigation of Hansen.

"The committee's major action really takes place when there is a lot of outside coverage," he said.

Brown was put back on the committee last summer when the ranking Republican member left for health reasons and the Wright investigation was beginning.

"I'm not quite sure why I was selected. I didn't volunteer," he said. "I think perhaps I was a compromise candidate, because I was not on the list of members who brought the charges against the speaker."

His assignment ends when the Wright case does, which could be this week. Wright reportedly will resign from Congress on Wednesday, a day before the ethics committee is to vote on the charges.

RMN - 6-11-89

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"Give light and the people will find their own way"

Jean Otto, Associate Editor

Editorials

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Hank Brown charts path out of the ethics swamp

COLORADO Rep. Hank Brown chose an appropriate time to unveil an ethics-reform plan for the House — just after House Speaker Jim Wright and Democratic Whip Tony Coelho, both mired in ethics troubles, announced their resignations. The collapse of their congressional careers symbolizes the institution's deflated credibility with the American people.

As a member of the House ethics panel that accused Wright of 69 violations, Brown has a unique perspective on what steps Congress should take to earn back the country's trust.

For instance, he would apply the conflict-of-interest and independent counsel laws to House members and their staffs. Many members of the executive branch have been investigated or brought to trial by special prosecutors, but Congress was careful not to apply the statute to itself.

Brown also takes aim at the scandal of incumbent invincibility by proposing to ban contributions to House candidates by political action committees, which are established by business organizations and other special-interest groups. We might not go as far as a ban, but some limitation is certainly in order.

PACs give most of their money to incumbents, one of the reasons it's next to impossible to dislodge sitting members of the House. A smarter, fairer finance system would give individual donors more leverage. Individuals currently are restricted to a ridiculously low contribution of $1,000 per election for any one candidate.

"Honoraria" for making speeches and public appearances would also be banned under Brown's bill. These fees usually come from businesses and other special interest groups trying to purchase access or influence. They offer a way to circumvent restrictions on gifts from groups with a direct interest in legislation.

They're objectionable in another sense as well: Public servants shouldn't charge taxpayers to talk about public business.

Brown would tighten financial-reporting rules in some important ways, requiring exact numbers rather than the broad ranges now allowed, providing for random audits of disclosure forms and mandating disclosure of terms and interest rates on loans in order to ferret out any disguised gifts.

A reform proposal Brown introduced last year dovetails nicely with his latest ethics measure: It would do away with the exemptions by which lawmakers shield themselves from civil-rights laws and health and labor regulations they impose on everybody else.

Taken together, these proposals would move Congress miles toward the institutional uprightness Americans have a right to demand.

DP- 6-4-89

THE DENVER POST

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Voice of the Rocky Mountain Empire

It's time for ethics reform

NEVER IN modern history has the climate been better for closing the ethics loopholes that have permitted so many abuses by members of Congress.

In the wake of the revelations that led to the resignations of House Speaker Jim Wright and Majority Whip Tony Coelho, a lot of voters — and elected officials — are demanding reforms.

U.S. Rep. Hank Brown, who represents Colorado's 4th District, has introduced legislation to spark such a reform. He's in a knowledgeable position to do so, since he served on the ethics committee that investigated Wright's misconduct.

Brown's bill would, among other things, ban House members from accepting the honoraria they now receive for speechmaking and other private appearances. Such payments are often nothing more than a thinly disguised attempt to buy influence.

Brown also wants to require members to disclose such personal financial data as the terms and interest rates on loans and the specific value of assets. And the bill would provide for random audits of financial disclosure forms.

Another very important Brown proposal would repeal the loophole that now allows congressmen elected prior to 1980 to pocket any remaining campaign contributions once they retire. That is a long overdue reform of a system engineered by the "good ole boys" in Congress to protect the millions of dollars they have stashed away.

All of those proposals are good ones and ought to be adopted without delay. It would be difficult for any member of Congress to explain why he or she might vote against such fundamental ethical standards — especially in the environment created by the Wright and Coelho affairs.

One of Brown's suggestions, however, does raise some concerns. He wants to ban campaign contributions to members of Congress from Political Action Committees.

PACs are admittedly open to abuse. But if disclosure laws are strictly enforced, PAC contributions at least provide a good method for voters to keep track of which special interests are supporting which candidates. If PAC contributions are banned, members of special-interest groups simply will give individual contributions to candidates — making it far more difficult to identify the true sources of the money.

On balance, it probably would better to allow PAC contributions, but beef up the disclosure laws and increase penalties for violations.

GRAND JUNCTION DAILY SENTINEL — 9-10-89 P. B1

Christopher Tomlinson/Daily Sentinel

U.S. Congressman Hank Brown, a U.S. Senate candidate, also addressed Club 20 on Saturday.

Brown: Protect western water

Ginger Rice
Daily Sentinel

Congressman Hank Brown says Sen. Tim Wirth's wilderness bill doesn't adequately protect state water rights.

The Western Slope must protect its water against the thirst of the crowded places and the lonely ones, 4th District Congressman Hank Brown said Saturday at a Melrose Park picnic for supporters.

The Greeley Republican, who is running to succeed retiring U.S. Sen. Bill Armstrong, also a Republican, said that Democratic Sen. Tim Wirth's wilderness bill doesn't adequately protect Colorado's water rights.

Brown said he wants language in the bill to ensure that newly created wilderness water rights don't supersede existing rights.

The thirst of metropolitan and wilderness areas already has reduced the amount of irrigated farm land on the Front Range and, warned Brown, unless Western Slope citizens nail their rights down, the same thing could happen here.

Virginia Ranzenberger of Palisade questioned Brown about the Two Forks water diversion project.

"I want to know why we want Denver to get as big as Chicago and Los Angeles," she said.

Brown told her that Two Forks "is dead" but that it was never about growth. Rather, he said, it was a question of where water for Denver's existing population should come from — agricultural land or a diversion.

For Bob and Mildred Elam, who spend part of their winters in Arizona, the water rights issue is a major concern.

"Developers in the desert are building lakes and fountains that are unnecessary and evaporative, said Mildred Elam. "Water is necessary for survival. Let's use it for production and not for recreation," she said.

Brown also said the recently enacted catastrophic health care bill should be repealed and said the cost-transfer system — having financially able patients pay for services provided to the indigent — "is destroying the entire system."

PUEBLO CHIEFTAIN - 8-27-89

Congressional ethics, double standards

With the recent resignation of the speaker of the House of Representatives along with the resignation of the majority whip, ethics has become a hot topic in Washington.

Far from being an exercise in partisanship, the recent turmoil has resulted from the bipartisan activities of the ethics committee.

The House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, as it is formally called, is the only committee in the House that has an equal number of Democrats and Republicans. Under its rules, no action can be taken without securing a bipartisan majority of the committee. Thus no investigation may be started, no charges brought or findings of guilt determined without members of both political parties joining in the decision.

In former Speaker Wright's case, the committee voted unanimously to bring the investigation. The decision this spring to "find reason to believe" 69 different violations may have been committed by Speaker Wright was a bipartisan vote. While the majorities varied on individual counts, none of

Hank Brown

the 69 alleged violations was voted out without bipartisan support. Of the votes on the 116 charges recommended by the committee's counsel in the Wright case, only one vote broke along party lines.

THE SPEAKER'S resignation cut short the process of determining his guilt or innocence on those charges. Because the House Ethics Committee loses jurisdiction when a member resigns from the House, the case was dropped.

The refreshing part of this very unpleasant process is that the speaker's case was the exception and not the rule. The vast majority of the members of the House are honorable and follow the disclosure laws and rules with regularity.

The real ethics problems in Congress to live up to the same rules that others are asked to follow.

For a member of the executive branch, an independent counsel may be appointed if the allegations against him seem to merit it. This procedure avoids having the sttorney general investigate fellow members of the administration.

THE independence of the counsel is a warning to all that a thorough and competent investigation by an outside counsel will be conducted when serious charges arise. This potential tends to preclude favoritism and instills in the members of the executive branch an understanding that the nation is serious about enforcing its ethics statutes.

In the case of Congress, no such independent counsel statute exists. Congress did not apply the independent counsel statute to itself under the same terms it applies to the executive branch. Many of the ethics problems in the House may well be generated by the lack of certainty of enforcement.

A similar variance from the rules that apply to others also exists in many statutes. For example, the prohibitions on racial discrimination or minimum standards set forth in OSHA and the Fair Labor Standards Act do not apply to Congress either. Exempting members of Congress from the laws that others in society must follow is not only unfair but tends to limit Congress' understanding of the statutes they pass.

ONE CAN'T help but observe that Congress' attitude toward many problems might be more realistic if those statutes applied to them as well as the rest of the citizens in the nation.

As we debate ethics reform, it may well be that the most helpful change that can take place is for Congress to commit itself to living under the same rules it sets for everyone else. That change in policy will not only improve Congress but result in better laws as well.

Hank Brown, who serves in the House of Representatives from Colorado's 4th District, is a former business executive who previously served in the Colorado Legislature. He is seeking the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate.

Health-care act proving catastrophic for seniors

By Hank Brown

THE battle over how to fix the Medicare Catastrophic Protection Act is far from over for America's seniors.

As I travel around Colorado, people continue to express concern with the unfairness of the catastophic surtax and the shortcomings of the program.

The original law, which President Reagan signed a year ago last July, was a bad deal for seniors from the start. I voted against the package both in the House Ways and Means Committee and on the House floor. Denying seniors a choice over the health-care insurance they must pay for was simply a bad idea.

Several key problems encumber the measure.

First, the program saddles seniors with one of the biggest tax increases in history. In 1993, the surtax will reach 28%, amounting to as much as $1,050 annually for individuals, $2,100 for married couples. The Part B basic premium will also be increased to an estimated $43.60 a month in 1993, a 37% increase.

The program forces seniors to pay for health insurance from the government that is similar to insurance available from private insurers at a lower cost. The program's phased-in benefits require seniors to pay now for some coverage they may not get until the program is fully implemented in 1993. This, teamed with overall confusion about benefits, has prompted 84% of Medicare recipients to double-up their supplemental health care coverage — maintaining medi-gap insurance while having to pay the government's catastrophic bill.

The program, which was originally touted as a way to assist seniors at or near poverty level, actually duplicates many of the benefits available to the same group of consumers under Medicaid.

Finally, the catastrophic coverage does little to satisfy the long-term care needs of seniors currently saddled with nursing home bills topping $25,000 a year. Nearly all of the private spending for nursing home care, approximately $20 billion in 1987, was paid directly out-of-pocket by seniors because private insurance is very limited.

Lawmakers on the Ways and Means Committee have chiseled away at the problem, but to date have agreed on only one proposal that pleases almost no one.

On a 19 to 17 vote in mid-July, the committee approved a revision to the catastrophic health-care coverage that is more like a ransom than a bargain for seniors.

The change would allow beneficiaries a one-time option to drop catastrophic coverage, but only if they also agree to drop basic Part B coverage for doctor and outpatient expenses. By opting out of the program, seniors can avoid paying both the surtax and the premium.

While the revision halves the average catastrophic surtax for seniors, the Part B premium would double for beneficiaries who maintain coverage.

The proposal, proposed by the law's original House authors, offers seniors a choice which is in reality a sacrifice of Medicare benefits to which they're entitled. Forfeiting coverage that is already paid for or continuing to pay for catastrophic coverage that was never wanted is really no choice at all.

The agreement solves nothing. It simply changes the venue for the repeal battle from committee to the House floor.

Under the revised plan, seniors who stay in the program will still be hit with the costly surtax — the source of much of the program's criticism.

Middle income individuals making between $15,000 and $45,000, and couples with incomes of approximately $25,000 to $80,000, will see a reduction in the catastrophic premium. Beneficiaries on the ends of the scale, however, would actually see an increase in their Medicare costs.

Working Americans are also hauled into the catastrophic mess with a shift of billions of dollars of benefit costs onto payroll taxes. An additional $1.8 billion in payroll taxes collected in 1990 would help pay the added expenses of the catastrophic hospital benefits, which the revision would incorporate into Medicare Part A benefits.

The proposal's main problem is that it still forces the elderly to pay for benefits they do not want. Before catastrophic coverage, 97% of Medicare's participants voluntarily subscribed to Part B. Since the revision requires a forfeit of Part B coverage to opt out of catastrophic, most recipients will not drop out, even though they do not want to be in the catastrophic-care program.

My attempt, along with two other Ways and Means Committee members, to repeal the program in July laid the ground work for our efforts to repeal the program on the House floor. I will continue to fight for giving seniors real options.

People should not have to forfeit their Part B benefits in order to drop coverage that was forced on them. A clean repeal of the entire catastrophic program is still the best solution.

Rep. Hank Brown is the ranking Republican member of the House Ways and Means subcommittee on Social Security and the co-sponsor of legislation that would repeal the Medicare Catastrophic Protection Act.

THE DENVER POST

Monday, July 10, 1989

VIEWPOINT: Does The Davis-Bacon Act Need To Be Reformed?

Outdated labor law costs taxpayers millions

By Hank Brown

Reforming the Davis-Bacon Act could save taxpayers from $400 million to $750 million annually.

The government budget office estimates that additional paperwork and labor costs, as required by the Davis-Bacon Act, drive construction costs up 3 percent to 10 percent. An Oregon State University study found Davis-Bacon to inflate costs in rural areas as much as 38 percent.

Each year the federal government accounts for one dollar in every five spent in the construction industry. In 1989, it is projected that the government will spend almost $68 billion on public works construction projects.

Federally financed projects require the highest quality work for the lowest reasonable cost. The projections, however, are calculated with an outdated system.

For more than two decades, proponents battling government waste have worked to modify the outdated Davis-Bacon measure. Passed in 1931, the act was a way to protect contractors from competition that did not pay the prevailing wage rate.

Hank Brown

Over the years, however, Davis-Bacon has come to operate counter to its original purposes. "Prevailing wage" rates, required on contracts of $2,000 or more, often disrupt the local standards they were meant to preserve.

The paperwork required under the act discourages small and minority-owned firms from bidding on federal work. This results in a loss of competition that further drives up costs; it also reduces the potential number of construction jobs, penalizing labor.

The Davis-Bacon Act of 1989 offers the American government the opportunity to trim some fat from its budgetary diet. Congressional Budget Office estimates say modifying the act could reduce federal outlays by $2.4 billion over the next five years.

This reform measure, recently reintroduced in the House, would make less onerous the way Davis-Bacon applies to federal projects, actually restoring it more closely to its original intention.

The proposal would touch the act in several important ways: raise the project threshold, exempting contracts smaller than $250,000 — 7 percent of current dollar volume — from the Davis-Bacon requirements; utilize training-level "helpers" under the supervision of skilled journeymen; and substitute quarterly payroll reports for weekly reports.

General Services Administration statistics show that in fiscal year 1988 small firms were awarded only four out of every 10 federal contracts. These small firms' relatively low rate of success in securing federal work does not demonstrate their ability to complete the project, but instead reflects their reluctance to submit bids on federal work.

A lighter paperwork burden would also help the federal government. Approximately 11 million payroll reports are submitted annually to contracting agencies, requiring an estimated 5.5 million hours of industry employee time. This flood of paperwork costs $100 million yearly.

In terms of budget economics, labor trends and political momentum, the best arguments are all on the side of reform. It's time to update an outdated system. It's a change we can't afford to bypass.

Rep. Hank Brown, R-Colo., is co-sponsor of the Davis-Bacon Act of 1989.

DENVER POST 9-25-89

THE DENVER POST Monday, September 25, 1989

POINT/COUNTERPOINT: Should Congress Grant a Capital Gains Tax Cut?

Measure encourages investment

By Hank Brown

The proposed capital gains tax can encourage savings and increase revenue to the federal government. But the proposal has drawn strong opposition from those in Congress who see the income tax as the primary vehicle to redistribute wealth in our country.

Congress' efforts to redistribute the wealth of the nation have discouraged savings and investment. This bias against savings was heightened in 1986 by a 65 percent increase in the maximum tax on capital gains. Ironically, the higher tax rate on capital gains produced lower tax income for the federal government. Taxes paid on capital gains dropped more than $16 billion in 1987, even though the net tax rate was up significantly.

Since the sale of a capital asset is often voluntary, investors are

Hank Brown

understandably reluctant to recognize gains if the tax penalty is too high. In recent years, a clear pattern has emerged. When the tax on capital gains is reduced to a moderate level, the sale of assets increases dramatically, and the net tax revenue to the federal government goes up. When the tax rates are increased, the sale of assets slows down and net tax revenue is reduced.

Currently, the U.S. capital gains tax is among the highest in the world. Japan, Canada, France and West Germany, which have lower or no capital gains taxes, all enjoy higher rates of savings investment and capital formation.

The United States has the lowest capital formation rate of the major, non-Marxist, industrialized nations, as measured by real fixed investment in our economy. In 1987, the United States ranked last among major industrialized nations with investments representing 16.7 percent of gross national product, compared with 32.8 percent for Japan, 22.8 percent in Canada, 22.3 percent in Italy, 20.3 percent in France, and 20.2 percent in West Germany.

We compete in an international economy. Taxing savings and investment at rates significantly higher than our competitors harms all Americans. Job opportunities and economic progress will follow investment abroad if we fail to provide a competitive tax structure and economic climate.

Fairness also demands a lower net tax on capital gains. Currently, we do not allow an adjustment for inflation in calculating the gain on a sale of assets. Thus we tax the sale of assets where there may be a loss in real dollars. Indexing the basis of assets is essential if we are to have a fair system.

The proper tax rate on the sale of capital assets is one that maximizes government revenue yet increases savings and investment. A lower tax rate on capital gains can do that. Our goal should be to expand economic opportunity for all.

Hank Brown is a Republican congressman representing Colorado in the U.S. House.

RMN- 7-19-89 P. 8

Brown ahead, on paper

Republican writers counting on winner in senatorial race that's 15 months away

By JOAN LOWY
Rocky Mountain News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The 1990 election may be 15 months away, but the Grand Old Party not only has Republican Senate candidate Hank Brown out the starting gate but heading into the home stretch.

The headline on the cover of this month's "Campaign Report," a newsletter from the National Republican Senatorial Committee, is "Dems' Hopes Dashed." The cover story is on the Colorado congressman with the headline: "Brown Clears the Field."

"The Democrats' hope of picking up some GOP seats has suffered a series of major blows," the cover story begins, and then quickly slips into a description of Colorado Democrats who have announced they won't run.

"A race that had once promised to be exciting and hard-fought suddenly, for the Democrats, took on the appearance of an uphill struggle with a second-string candidate, former state party chairman Buie Seawell," the report gloated.

"Brown enters his Senate campaign with a strong record of accomplishment and — so far — without the strength of opposition he had anticipated. With such a candidate, the GOP can be justifiably optimistic about holding ... (the) Senate seat for many years to come."

It appeared for a time that Seawell, an attorney and former top aide to ex-Sen. Gary Hart and former Gov. Richard Lamm, would be the only candidate in the Democratic field. Two Democratic congressmen from Colorado — Ben Nighthorse Campbell ("the most promising candidate," according to the GOP newsletter) and David Skaggs ("their second-best hope") — announced this spring they won't run.

Now, Alamosa attorney Carlos Lucero has said he'll seek the Democratic nomination and is planning a formal announcement for September.

What do Lucero and Seawell think of the Republicans' prognosis?

"It sounds like premature puffing for fund-raising purposes to me," said Lucero. "The results in November 1990 will disprove the accuracy of the puffing of 1989."

Those comments were echoed by Malin Foster, a Seawell campaign spokesman: "They would say that, wouldn't they? I mean, it's their business to. They are not only counting their chickens before they hatched ... but they have to do as much as they can as soon as they can because this is going to be a pretty tough race."

A tongue-in-cheek Dick Wadhams, Brown's campaign manager, called the article brilliant.

"I regard this as a very objective, journalistically precise publication," he quipped. "It is a well-researched piece of work; Pulitzer material in my opinion."

DENVER POST 8-26-89

P.6B Saturday, August 26, 1989

Brown makes sure to vote despite Senate campaign

GOP lawmaker matches Schroeder's record in House; Skaggs tops Colorado delegation

By Eric Anderson
States News Service

WASHINGTON — Although Rep. Hank Brown's Senate campaign is gearing up, the 4th District lawmaker hasn't been skipping his congressional duties, according to vote-attendance records.

Brown has been present for 98.09 percent of House roll-call votes since the 101st Congress opened proceedings in early January, a voting record that leaves him and Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Denver, tied for third among Colorado's six-member House delegation.

Denise Goeser, Brown's press secretary, said the figures demonstrate that the Greeley Republican separates his duties as House member from his campaign for the Senate seat that will be vacated by Republican Bill Armstrong next year.

"He feels it's his responsibility to the 4th District to be there" at votes, Goeser said. She added: "I don't think you'll see his record change" as the campaign progresses.

Rep. David Skaggs, D-Boulder, led Colorado House members with a nearly perfect 99.52 percent attendance record during the 219 roll call votes this year, according to the figures which have been compiled by Legi-Slate, a private congressional record-keeping firm.

Hank Brown

Ignacio Democratic Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell made 98.56 percent of roll-call votes, a figure which ranks him second in the state in terms of attendance.

Thirty-five of the 435 House members did not miss a single roll-call vote this year, the records show. Roll-call votes tabulate individual decisions as opposed to voice votes, where lawmakers make their selections as a group and individual votes are not recorded.

The records show that Rep. Dan Schaefer, R-Lakewood, voted 95.69 percent of the time.

Rep. Joel Hefley, R-Colorado Springs, chalked up the worst attendance record among Colorado lawmakers, showing up for 95.22 percent of roll-call votes, the records show.

Debra Jensen, Hefley's administrative assistant, said the congressman missed several votes when he was meeting with constituents in the district on Mondays or Fridays, usually slow voting days.

Lucero predicts he will face Brown in U.S. Senate race

By Fred Brown
Denver Post Political Editor

PUEBLO — Carlos Lucero doesn't accept the conventional wisdom that Republican Hank Brown is going to wallop Democrat Buie Seawell in the 1990 race for the U.S. Senate.

In the first place, says the 48-year-old Alamosa lawyer, Seawell won't make it far enough to get walloped:

Lucero plans to win the Democratic nomination.

Lucero says he will because he believes Democrats will realize that he has a better chance to beat the 4th District congressman than "professional politician" Seawell.

Although it's still more than a year before the party primaries, Lucero got a comparatively late start in putting together support.

Seawell, immediate past chairman of the state party, started talking about the Senate race almost a year ago, announced an exploratory committee on March 20 and formally declared his candidacy on June 26, releasing a list of 271 supporters.

Lucero incorporated his campaign committee only last Thursday, with 20 prominent Democrats on its board of directors. His official declaration of candidacy is expected in about a month.

Republican Brown, meanwhile, is cruising all by himself. The Greeley congressman announced his candidacy Feb. 20, a week after incumbent Republican Bill Armstrong said he wouldn't seek a third Senate term — and soon drove out all the other potential GOP contenders.

Seawell has been running against Brown, but Lucero is concentrating on the primary, clearly directing his attack against Seawell.

Lucero toured the Democratic stronghold of Pueblo twice last week, looking for people who hadn't already committed to supporting Seawell, hoping to convert others to support him instead.

At the county courthouse, source of about a third of the delegates to the county nominating assembly, Lucero got a warm reception.

County Clerk Chris Muñoz, who is on Seawell's list of 271 "friends," advised him to "treat us like the next-door neighbor. . . . Don't get too elite."

District Attorney Gus Sandstrom was more forthcoming: "I will publicly tell you: I am supporting you."

Lucero, who lost a Democratic primary to Nancy Dick in the 1984 Senate race, delayed getting involved this year until he finished a complicated lawsuit in the San Luis Valley.

Though his success as a lawyer has brought him considerable financial reward, Lucero considers himself more of a working stiff than the other two "professional politicians" in the Senate race.

He plans to enhance that contrast by working a day at a time at different jobs around the state, getting a feel for what other working people do.

He doesn't like to be called the "challenger" in this race. He said Seawell, who talks about spending limits and election reform, used an early entry tactic that lengthens the race and consequently increases the spending.

"If you leave it up to the professional politicians, they'll be announcing six years before the election, and then pretend that whoever else runs is challenging them."

"I think Buie decided to go against his old friends," he added.

Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell would have been a formidable Democratic contender for the 1990 Senate seat. Campbell's own polls showed him beating Brown by 8 points, with Seawell losing by 20 points.

But Seawell wouldn't defer, and Campbell took himself out of contention in May.

"Buie was kind of the dog in the manger who just wouldn't move aside," Lucero said.

Lucero said he was willing to sacrifice in 1986, leaving Tim Wirth as the only Democratic contender for the Senate nomination for Gary Hart's open seat. "Buie Seawell should have done the same thing for Ben Campbell. But he wouldn't do it because blind ambition had taken over. . . ."

Lucero is hoping for Campbell's endorsement. The Ignacio Democrat's son, Colin Arrowtaker Campbell, is on his campaign committee.

And Lucero is listening to as many people as possible. He met at least 200 of them on just one day last week in Pueblo and Colorado Springs. Mostly, he introduced himself with a handshake, other times speaking to groups of from half a dozen to 35 people.

"My brand of politics (is) to focus on people's broad interests rather than on every damned special interest," he said.

"My views on government are pretty conservative in many ways. . . . I'm progressive socially, but I am fiscally conservative."

He stressed what he calls the "the three E's": education, environment and the economy. Economic reform, he said, "should be a critical component of Democratic politics" and it should not left to the Republicans.

During a brief stop in Colorado Springs last week, he was advised by party officials to "take on some of the protective coloration of a Republican" on business issues.

He told the El Paso County Democrats that he takes a tougher stance on balancing the federal budget than does Seawell, who "hides behind . . . support of the line-item veto."

And he said Seawell waffles on whether to build Two Forks Reservoir while he "clearly" opposes that water project.

Dave Ruchman, a member of the county executive committee, told Lucero he could win the county assembly because "Buie is perceived as too liberal" and also as an outsider. "You're Colorado and at some level he's not."

OP-10-26-89

THE DENVER POST Thursday, October 26, 1989

Heath to study chances in Senate race

Boulder commissioner's panel to get facts on Democratic nomination

By Fred Brown
Denver Post Political Editor

Boulder County Commissioner Josie Heath, surrounded by several supporters, yesterday announced formation of a committee to explore her chances of winning the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1990.

Heath told reporters at a Denver Press Club news conference that her final decision will hinge on whether she can raise enough money and grassroots support.

She said she has to decide before the end of the year, when her second four-year term on the county commission expires. She said she'll run for re-election if she decides not to try for the Senate.

Two other Democrats, former state party chairman Buie Seawell and Alamosa lawyer Carlos Lucero, launched their Senate campaigns early last summer.

While the Democrats face a possible three-way primary, Congressman Hank Brown of Greeley has been running alone for eight months as the only Republican in the race.

Heath, 52, said she will become a candidate "if we can demonstrate that we have the grassroots volunteer support that's necessary to win, and if we can raise the kind of campaign money that is important to really financially be able to run that kind of a race."

She estimated she will have to raise $2,000 a day.

She said her campaign will stress improving the environment and education, and "a balanced approach to federal funding."

She characterized herself as a fiscal conservative. She said her years of experience in local government have convinced her that "you don't advocate policy that you can't pay for."

"I'm certainly progressive on social and environmental issues," she added, declaring herself as opposed to Two Forks and on the pro-choice side of the abortion issue.

She also pointed out that she has had experience as an elected official, which Lucero and Seawell have not had.

Heath apologized to state Democratic Party Chairman Dick Freese for not having contacted him earlier to tell him of her political plans. "But I look forward to an excellent working relationship," she said.

Lucero, Seawell and Freese all said they "welcomed" Heath's entry. But Freese also expressed concern:

"As long as we are involved in trying to arbitrate among our own candidates, the harder it's going to be to focus on Brown."

Lucero, however, said a three-way race might prevent a costly primary election.

"The more candidates there are in a race, the more likely it is that the convention is going to decide the nominee of the Democratic Party," Lucero said.

The party convention is in June; the primary not until mid-August.

Seawell echoed Freese's concern about focusing on " the task of defeating Hank Brown."

Chieftain photo by Rollin Banderob

Sen. William Armstrong with Rep. Hank Brown in Pueblo Monday
. . .Brown received 'heartfelt support' from Armstrong

Hank Brown says Pueblo is pivotal to Senate campaign

By RICK RUGGLES
The Pueblo Chieftain

U.S. Rep. Hank Brown says he must do well in Pueblo County to claim the Senate seat that William Armstrong will give up in 1990.

The two Republicans were in Pueblo on Monday, Armstrong to give his "heartfelt support" to Brown, and Brown to request solid backing from Republicans.

Armstrong will leave the Senate next fall after 12 years. He carried heavily Democratic Pueblo County in 1984 when he crushed challenger Nancy Dick statewide.

Armstrong said in an appearance on Brown's behalf at La Renaissance restaurant, "We'll prove that it could happen twice in a row."

Democrats Carlos Lucero, an Alamosa lawyer, and former state Democratic Chairman Buie Seawell have said they will run for their party's nomination in the Senate race.

Armstrong characterized Brown as a welfare reformer who has had a strong influence in Congress. Former President Reagan's welfare changes, Armstrong said, "were really the Hank Brown reform."

Brown later said he still has some welfare-reform ideas to push through. They would involve attaching welfare to job training and work programs, he added.

Brown, a member of the U.S. House since 1980, said his Senate campaign will be simple. .

"It's about winning," he said. "This campaign is about a pretty basic concept. I believe America ought to be a land where you can go from the bottom to the top on hard work."

Brown stressed the hard-work theme during his brief speech in a crowded back room of the restaurant. Elderly Social Security recipients shouldn't suffer a special tax, or "earnings penalty," just because they have a job that generates additional income, he said.

Working people, Brown added, shouldn't be taxed to the point of discouragement. The United States has thrived "because we are more creative, more productive, than any nation in the history of the world," he said.

When asked if he would be willing to limit campaign spending, Brown said he wouldn't hesitate to discuss it with the Democrats when they nominate a candidate.

Brown said he will rely on the efforts of dedicated Pueblo County Republicans.

"You also know that it takes an enormous amount of work," Brown said. "And we want you involved."

That's why he's campaigning 15 months before the November 1990 election. "Why should we get started early? The simple fact is we're not going to win . . . unless we work really hard," Brown said.

COLORADO SPRINGS
GAZETTE-TELEGRAPH 8-9-89
P.20

STATE

Armstrong endorses Brown's Senate bid

By **Raymond McCaffrey**
Gazette Telegraph

Sen. William Armstrong officially endorsed Rep. Hank Brown as the heir to his U.S. Senate seat Monday, acknowledging the Colorado Republican's front-runner status but warning party faithfuls against overconfidence in the 1990 election.

"I'm confident if we had a poll it would likely show he was in good shape," Armstrong said at a news conference held in connection with a coffee for Colorado Springs Republicans.

"I tell you, by October of next year it's not going to look easy."

Brown, who began his campaign in late February after Armstrong announced he would not seek re-election, is being challenged by former Democratic State Party Chairman Buie Seawell. Another Democrat, Alamosa attorney Carlos Lucero, has formed a committee to look into his chances for the office.

Brown stood by Armstrong's side at the news conference and called him "the person I admire the most in American politics." Brown added that he thought endorsements were "enormously important."

"Endorsements help people become willing to look at you . . . they're character references that open people's eyes."

Although Armstrong pledged to "try to finish out my term at warp speed in Washington," he added that one of the most important things he would do in the next 18 months was help Brown become the state's next senator.

Armstrong lauded Brown as "a person who is making a difference in Washington today." He pointed, in particular, to Brown's work for welfare reform.

"His potential for leadership is so great," Armstrong said.

Brown took the opportunity to hammer out several themes of his campaign, including establishing a tax system that he said would reward people for being productive.

"It's going to be about making America a land of opportunity again," Brown said of his campaign.

Armstrong and Brown showed their unanimity when questioned about President Bush's handling of the hostage situation in the Middle East.

Brown said Bush had "handled that with aplomb." Armstrong added that it was "critically important" for the country and Congress to "rally behind the president."

"This is a time to pray for the hostages, pray for the president and get behind him," Armstrong said.

OP - 7-1-89 P.5B

Brown opposes waste-site plan

By The Denver Post

U.S. Rep. Hank Brown yesterday opposed using a remote canyon in Las Animas County for storing nuclear waste, saying such a plan "could cause lasting damage to southern Colorado."

Gov. Roy Romer has mentioned Piñon Canyon as a possible location for temporarily keeping radioactive waste if a site at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant fills before the Department of Energy can open a long-planned repository near Carlsbad, N.M.

"The people of Las Animas County are strongly opposed to having boxcars of hazardous waste parked in their backyards," Brown, a Greeley Republican, wrote in a letter to Romer.

The governor subsequently accused Brown, a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1990, of trying to "appeal to some local voters on an issue that did not need polarizing." Romer said he and Brown exchanged "strong words" over the telephone regarding the congressman's letter and an accompanying news release.

"I was steamed about it because I need people helping me find solutions," Romer said. "I don't need anybody trying to dig pits for me.

". . . I have a problem with trying to maintain stability in this situation until we get answers," he added.

While the governor stressed there are no definite plans to store radioactive waste in Piñon Canyon, Brown said a 1982 congressional measure specifically barred storing hazardous materials at the 244,000-acre site.

RMN - 7-1-89 P.10

Brown, Romer feud over Flats

By JOAN LOWY
Rocky Mountain News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A feud over the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant erupted yesterday between Gov. Roy Romer and U.S. Rep. Hank Brown, with Romer accusing Brown of playing politics and Brown accusing the governor of endangering the safety of his constituents.

Brown fired the first round, sending reporters a copy of a letter to Romer strongly objecting to the governor's suggestion that Piñon Canyon in Las Animas County might be used to store low-level radioactive waste from Rocky Flats.

The Army obtained 244,000 acres in Piñon Canyon east of Trinidad in 1983 for use by motorized infantry at Fort Carson.

"It would be a tragic mistake to store these hazardous materials at a site not prepared to handle them properly," Brown wrote. "To do so would only invite disaster."

Romer responded by angrily accusing Brown of "playing politics with Rocky Flats."

"I would be very happy to discuss (the Piñon Canyon proposal) with Hank Brown, but I resent his putting out a press release on this matter before he sent me the letter," Romer said. "What we need are elected officials who are helping us solve the problem, not fanning the flames of fear and overreaction.

"I would remind Hank Brown that that plant is part of the national security system of this country, and I view national security to be more important than his election."

Brown, a Greeley Republican whose district includes Piñon Canyon, is a candidate for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated next year by another Republican, William Armstrong. Romer is a Democrat.

After learning of Romer's comments to the *Rocky Mountain News,* Brown said he called the governor to explain his position. "The governor and I had a good conversation. While we clearly disagree on Piñon Canyon, I certainly don't question his motives, and I don't think he does mine."

Brown also said: "We are not in any way suggesting that national security should be set aside. Storing hazardous waste in an unsafe manner simply makes no sense."

Romer said in February that he would discuss with the Department of Energy the idea of using the militarily secured area at Piñon Canyon for storage if Rocky Flats reached capacity before the opening of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant near Carlsbad, N.M.

Romer said the area is remote, can be made secure and has rail lines. Romer's proposal, which he has repeated several times, is that if no solution is found to the waste-storage problem at Rocky Flats by January, President Bush should call a meeting of western governors and ask each to temporarily accept three railroad boxcars of waste for storage in their states.

Brown pointed out that the law passed by Congress in 1982 turning the land over to the Army states that the Army must ensure that "no hazardous or nuclear materials or wastes will be stored on the acquired site."

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Democrats looking to build on scandal

By JOAN LOWY
Rocky Mountain News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The unfolding federal housing scandal may have political repercussions in Colorado's U.S. Senate race next year.

Colorado Democrats are trying to link Rep. Hank Brown, the Republican Senate candidate, to former federal housing commissioner Philip Winn, an Englewood home builder and a major figure in the housing scandal.

Winn has been criticized for using his political connections at HUD to win nearly $160 million in federal benefits in build housing for the poor.

Neither Winn nor his partners — former HUD assistant secretary for housing Philip Abrams; former HUD regional director of housing development in Denver J. Michael Queenan; former HUD assistant housing undersecretary Silvio DeBartolomeis, and Lance Wilson, an executive assistant to former HUD Secretary Samuel Pierce — has been charged with any crimes.

Winn has been a large donor and fund-raiser for GOP candidates for more than a decade.

Brown has received $3,500 in campaign contributions from Winn and his partners since he was elected to the House in 1980. Winn has not played an official role in any of his campaigns. Still, Republicans say Brown has told them he wants to distance himself from the HUD scandal.

Last month, Brown introduced legislation aimed at placing safeguards on housing programs to prevent future abuses. Brown is not a member of any of the congressional committees investigating the housing scandal and his plan is likely to be ignored.

But that hasn't stopped Brown from touting his bill as an example of how he is trying to "clean up" HUD.

Colorado Democrats are on the attack even though Brown has no real connection to HUD abuses.

"He (Brown) was really operating out of two sides of his mouth," state Democratic Party Chair Dick Freese said. "He can't talk about cleaning up the HUD scandal on one hand and not seek a prosecution of people like Phil Winn on the other."

Dick Wadhams, Brown's campaign manager, called the Democratic chairman's remarks "the start of the 1990 negative campaign by Mr. Freese."

"Mr. Brown is a legislator, not a prosecutor. It's too bad Mr. Freese doesn't know the difference," Wadhams said.

Brown insisted he believes the HUD scandal will benefit his campaign since he has consistently voted to cut fed-

See HUD, page 15

HUD/from page 7

eral spending for housing for the poor.

"Our only involvement has been to try and clean it up," Brown said.

Freese acknowledged that the Colorado congressman with the closest relationship to Winn is not Brown, but Rep. Dan Schaefer, a Lakewood Republican.

Schaefer has received $7,000 in campaign contributions from Winn, Winn's wife and his partners.

In addition, Winn and two other Colorado real estate investors put up $10,000 each in 1983 when Schaefer was elected to Congress to help buy Schaefer's townhouse in the Virginia suburbs.

"Congressman Schaefer had the same relationship (with Winn) in terms of contributions and so forth that a lot of other people did because Phil Winn was and continues to be a very active person in the Republican Party," said Holly Probst, a spokeswoman for Schaefer.

Schaefer represents one of the most solidly Republican districts in the state. The townhouse issue was raised in Schaefer's 1988 campaign but appeared to have no affect on the race; he soundly defeated his Democratic opponent, former state Sen. Martha Ezzard. No Democrat has emerged to challenge Schaefer next year.

Freese said he has no plans to raise the HUD scandal or Schaefer's relationship with Winn in Schaefer's re-election campaign next year.

"Schaefer's gotten kind of a free ride under the current configuration of his district. You have to be realistic in politics," Freese said.

Other Colorado Republicans whom Winn, his wife and his partners have made major campaign contributions to include: Rep. Joel Hefley of Colorado Springs, who received $4,000 in 1988; former Rep. Ken Kramer, also of Colorado Springs, who received $14,000 over the past 10 years, and Sen. William Armstrong, who received $1,000 in his 1978 Senate campaign and $4,000 in his 1984 campaign.

Hank Brown proposes HUD reforms

RMN - 8-4-89

P. 25

By JOHN REBCHOOK
Rocky Mountain News Staff Writer

U.S. Rep. Hank Brown yesterday unveiled a package of reforms aimed at cleaning up the beleaguered Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Brown, R-Colo., lashed out at "shoddy practices" and "sweetheart deals" that allegedly allowed prominent Republicans — including Denver developer and outgoing ambassador to Switzerland Philip D. Winn — to get millions of dollars from HUD for low-income public housing projects.

The bill calls for competitive bidding on HUD projects; forbids hiring consultants except for limited, technical reasons; and establishes civil penalties of $100,000 for each violation of the act, in addition to criminal prosecution.

"Our bill has some real teeth in it," Brown said. "Surprisingly, this is the first comprehensive package to reform HUD since (the allegations) came out."

Brown said he is most disturbed that HUD's Section 8 moderate rehabilitation projects were not put up for competitive bid.

"It's tragic to see funds meant to help the poor handed out in a noncompetitive fashion," Brown said.

Much of the investigation has focused on prominent Republicans who allegedly used inside knowledge and political connections to get lucrative HUD rehabilitation projects. Winn, formerly a top HUD official, has been targeted.

"I know Phil, but I have not talked with Phil for some time," said Brown, the Republican candidate for the 1990 U.S. Senate race in Colorado. "There were certainly many prominent Republicans involved, no question about it. But the problems have been around for at least a decade, going back to the Carter administration.

"Very clearly, my bill eliminates the potential for someone to use insider influence," he added. "That has been the problem with some of the major projects across the country. Many of the problems that have been exposed don't violate the law. What we have done is to put in a legal prohibition against the abuses."

make uniform for all three branches

Statement of the

Hon. Hank Brown

before the

Bipartisan Task Force on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives

Wednesday, June 28, 1989

Thank you for the opportunity to share my thoughts about ethics reform. The American people expect and deserve high standards of ethical conduct by their government and its leaders.

Having served on the House Standards of Official Conduct Committee -- the Ethics Committee -- for almost five years, my feeling is that we must take a serious look at the whole way we approach ethical standards for Congress. The current system simply does not function adequately. Reporting is vague, and enforcement is sporadic and at times unworkable. It is time for Congress to rethink the entire concept of peer enforcement of ethics.

I have introduced legislation to reform the current congressional ethics system, H. Res. 164. A copy is attached. It covers the following areas.

1. Independent Counsel

As I indicated earlier, the current peer enforcement of congressional ethics is not adequate. The first provision in my proposal would apply the same independent counsel provision to House members and staff, Chapter 39 of Title 28, U.S.C., that now applies to the Executive Branch. The law now does not refer specifically to Members of Congress.

Currently, matters involving a possible breach of law or ethics under the House rules are referred to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. The current system is awkward and often ineffective in enforcing ethics standards.

While the Ethics Committee has sometimes employed outside counsel, these positions are seldom truly independent. Usually counsel serves at the pleasure of the Committee. The same standards that apply to others ought to apply to Congress.

President Bush recommends applying this provision to Congress.

2. Conflict of Interest

The second area covered involves the "revolving door" provision of the Ethics in Government Act, Section 207 of Title 18,

U.S.C. This clearly ought to apply to Legislative Branch as well as the Executive Branch. Members of Congress and their staffs should not use their current positions to gain jobs influencing public policy through a "revolving door" that raises the potential for conflict of interest. Congress should not be exempt from the laws which apply to others.

President Bush has recommended applying this provision to congressional staff, but not to Members of Congress.

3. Random Audits Required

The third provision amends House Rule X to require the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct to conduct random audits of financial disclosure statements filed annually by Members of Congress.

Current procedures call for occasional review by Ethics Committee staff of disclosure forms, but not full-fledged, in-depth audits of all the information on these disclosures.

4. Diversion of Campaign Funds

The fourth provision would eliminate the personal use of campaign funds by Members of the House elected before 1980. Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, 2 U.S.C. 439a, often called the "grandfather clause," would be amended to totally eliminate this practice.

Currently, the House rules prohibit Members from using campaign funds for personal purposes, but under the law, when Members elected before 1980 leave Congress, any excess campaign funds become their personal property. Some Members have accumulated significant amounts of excess campaign funds. This is a loophole in the law that should be closed.

President Bush recommends passage of this provision.

5. Exact Figures

The fifth provision requires that all financial disclosure reports list the dollar amount instead of broad and imprecise ranges of value of holdings, liabilities and income disclosed under the Ethics in Government Act of 1978.

Currently, all that is required is the reporting of general categories of value that may be too vague to be meaningful. Using exact figures on financial disclosures will give the public a much more meaningful report by which to judge whether financial holdings, liabilities or income represent a potential conflict of interest.

President Bush recommends passage of this provision.

6. Blind Trusts Restricted

The sixth provision would restrict the use of blind trusts to those trusts created before a reporting individual became a Member, officer or employee of the House. Currently, an individual can form a qualified blind trust under section 102(e)(3) of the Ethics in Government Act after congressional service begins if the trust meets certain qualifications.

By using such a trust, a Member may avoid disclosing assets or income which pose a potential conflict of interest. Enforcement of restrictions on the Member knowing the transactions in the trust simply are unworkable.

7. Interest Rate Disclosure

The seventh provision would require that all financial disclosure reports list the exact terms and rate of interest paid on liabilities reportable under the law. Currently, loans must be reported, but the amount of interest paid is not.

Interest rate disclosure would reveal any sweetheart loans or below market rates. Currently, the U.S. Senate and the Executive Branch disclosure forms require the disclosure of loan terms and interest rates. This provision merely would treat House Members and staff the same as others.

8. Insurance Policies Reported

The eighth change I propose would require the reporting of insurance policies with a cash value in excess of $20,000. Under current disclosure rules, the cash value of all insurance policies is exempt from disclosure, no matter how high their

value. As a matter of public interest, policies with significant value should be disclosed.

9. Copyright Royalties Included

The nineth proposal would change House Rule XLVII to require that copyright royalties be counted toward the outside earned income limit. Those royalties from publications completed before congressional service would continue to be exempt.

Currently, copyright royalties are exempted from the outside earnings limitation, meaning a Member can earn royalty income far in excess of the limit of 30 percent of his or her salary.

The current system invites the use of book royalties to avoid the outside earnings limitation. This restriction on copyright royalties would not in any way prohibit writing or the generation of royalty income. It merely would mean that this form of income must be counted toward the earned income limitation. Income above the limit may be earned, but not kept. For example, excess earnings may be given to charity.

10. Honorariums Eliminated

The tenth provision changes House Rule XLVII to prohibit the acceptance of honoraria by Members of Congress. Under current rules, Members can accept honoraria up to the limit on outside earnings allowed, which now equals up to 30 percent of a member's salary.

11. PAC Funds Prohibited

The eleventh change would prohibit Members from accepting campaign contributions from multicandidate political action committees by amending section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. Current law permits acceptance of such contributions. It is far better to have contributions come directly from individual donors than from organizations that give donations to candidates of which individual PAC members would not approve.

Like most Members of Congress, I accept honoraria and PAC contributions. However, in the process of restoring the confidence of the American people in Congress, the way business is conducted in the House of Representatives has to change. Eliminating honoraria and PAC contributions is an important step

in the process in restoring public confidence in the House as an institution.

12. Complaint Process Amended

The twelth provision would amend House Rule X to allow investigations to be undertaken by the Ethics Committee upon receipt of a written complaint from any individual. Current procedures allow the Committee to initiate its own investigations with cause, or upon receiving complaints from two Members of Congress, or if a complaint by an individual is rejected by three Members of Congress.

This amendment would clarify that the Ethics Committee has discretion to pursue complaints from any individual or group that it deems worthy of further action.

Mr. Chairman, Madame Co-chair, many thanks for the opportunity to share my views with you and the task force on this subject.

CONGRESSMAN HANK BROWN
ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT

- The American people expect and deserve high standards of ethical conduct by their government and its leaders.

- Has worked to strengthen federal laws and congressional procedures in this area, including barring conflicts of interest, improving financial disclosure, and applying the independent counsel statute to Members of Congress.

- As Member of House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (1981-1984; June 1988 to present), has participated in ethics investigations of 10 Members of Congress (Republicans and Democrats) in an objective, nonpartisan manner.

- As Member of House Committee on the Judiciary (1985-1986) participated in markup of legislation to prevent conflicts of interest and "revolving door" abuses involving defense procurement and foreign representation.

KEY ETHICS VOTES AND LEGISLATION

- 1989 - prime sponsor of legislation to apply to Members of Congress same post-employment conflict of interest provisions and independent counsel statute that apply to Executive Branch.

- 1988 - prime sponsor of legislation to apply to Members of Congress same post-employment conflict of interest provisions and independent counsel statute that apply to Executive Branch.

- 1988 - voted for strengthening post-employment lobbying restrictions for federal officials and expanding them to include Members of Congress.

- 1988 - voted for new restrictions on private employment of former government employees involved in the procurement process.

- 1987 - voted for and spoke on behalf of Floor amendment to apply independent counsel statute (title VI, Ethics in Government Act) to Members of Congress.

- 1987 - voted to extend the independent counsel statute.

- 1986 - successfully offered amendment during House Judiciary subcommittee markup of Defense Procurement Conflict of Interest Act (H.R. 2554) to apply bill's provisions to Members of Congress and key staff having significant policy-making responsibilities for legislation concerning DOD procurement (amendment later ruled out of order by full committee chairman).

- 1986 - supported and participated in subcommittee markup of of H.R. 5426, Foreign Representation Restrictions Act of 1986, barring high level officials and Members of Congress from lobbying for foreign governments for four years after leaving government service.

- 1986 - voted against an increase in House outside earned income limit.

- 1985 - voted against an increase in Senate honoraria limit.

- 1982 - voted against additional restrictions to the independent counsel statute (title VI, Ethics in Government Act).

4/21/89 rb

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

HANK BROWN
U.S. SENATE

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MEMORANDUM TO CHRISS WINSTON
MARY KATE GRANT
BOB SIMON

FROM: SARA MALTBY

DATE: NOVEMBER 15, 1989

SUBJ: PRE-ADVANCE TO DENVER COLORADO

On Friday, December 8th President Bush will travel to Denver for a fundraising luncheon for Congressman Hank Brown. He is running for one of two open Senate seats in the country and has served in Congress for five terms. There are three or four Democrats running with their primary to be held in August of next year.

The President arrives at 11:30 a.m. and will hold briefly in a room at the Convention Center for a photo session with top ticket sellers. At about noon he will be introduced by Congressman Brown for the luncheon remarks to a group of 1,500-2,000. I have told them it will be a 5-8 minute telepromted speech but if we decide differently that can easily change. I'm told the money for telepromting a speech comes from the candidate's budget. It may be an unnecessary additional expense that we re-consider.

So, we're talking a total duration of 45 minutes in Denver. He will not stay for lunch or any additional events. He will probably have private time with his family for an hour or so.

Congressman Brown's office will be sending Bob a 13 minute videotape they recently produced to give extra insight into the man. He shares a common war veteran experience with President, however, he served in Vietnam. Brown did not support the President early on in 1988, he was Jack Kemp's state campaign chair. He claims no particular tie to Bush or son, Neil. Brown will be 50 years old in February and has three college-age children.

The site the President will be speaking at is officially called Currigan Convention Hall and the last time he spoke here was the 1974 Republican National Convention. Not a good year for Republicans.

Contacts;

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(card attached)

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