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**OA/ID Number:** 13779  
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**Folder Title:**  
GOPAC Charter Members 11/8/91 [OA 8317]

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Grant/Aarhus  
November 8, 1991  
Draft four A:GOPAC2

**REMARKS: GOPAC CHARTER MEMBERS  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER, 11, 1991  
5:30 P.M.**

Newt, thank you; and Bo Callaway, it's always a pleasure to see you; Mary and Terry Kohler. I've come here today because I've heard a lot about your latest program to build a Republican majority -- recruiting House challengers in 170 districts, each with 1,000 volunteers and \$100,000 in the bank. The name says what every American is thinking: **"Change Congress Now!"**

Why Change Congress Now? Because America needs our agenda for the future -- the G.O.P. agenda -- of **Growth, Opportunity and Prosperity**. America doesn't need the Democrats' tired old agenda from the past -- one of **Desperation, Divisiveness and Disgrace**.

We need a new Republican Congress because the liberal leadership has bricked itself into a maze of power -- more than 300 committees, subcommittees, and ad hoc committees -- all stuck in the same statist mindset that went out with the Berlin Wall. The Democrats controlling Congress have built an Orwellian bureaucracy -- 30,000 staffers and counting, a more than 2.4 billion dollar budget for FY 1991 -- and, after Havana, the last bastion of big-government one-party rule in this hemisphere. // It's ironic that the Mayor of Moscow can now run to the right of the House Majority Leader. **It is time to Change Congress Now.**//

1992 will be a great year for Republicans. Just last week, we picked up every open New York county executive seat --

including Albany. The Virginia legislature saw the biggest G.O.P. gain in nearly a century. Republicans went from minority status to veto-proof majorities in both houses in the New Jersey legislature. ((I noticed Governor Florio said just before last Tuesday that the election in New Jersey would be a referendum on this Presidency.// So be it.))

Look at these elections and you'll see a pattern. Voters said: we're sick of high taxes and runaway spending. We've had it with politicians who install hotlines to special interests and demean real constituents with form letters. They called for an end to government out of control and out of touch. In the elections last week, we got the message. We're **running to win** at the grassroots level -- and that leaves the Democrats **just plain running.** //

Stay tuned: there's more to come, especially in the House. Realignment continues across America -- young people in particular have joined the G.O.P. in droves. Redistricting and reapportionment alone could give us as many as 30 new seats. **And I will work as hard as I can to elect every Republican we've got to the House of Representatives in 1992.** //

Come January of 1993, if we win control of the Congress, Bob Michel has pledged to cut committee staffs in half -- saving \$26 million for taxpayers -- and most importantly, he'll apply to Congress all laws from which it has exempted itself. For thirty years, I've called Bob Michel my friend -- but I can't wait until I can call him **"Mr. Speaker."** //

Bob and Newt have done a great job, fighting for our agenda every step of the way. They've persuaded some of the opposition to see the light and vote with us -- on the historic **Clean Air Act Amendments** which uses free market principles to clean up our environment; and on the most sweeping civil rights bill in decades, the **Americans With Disabilities Act**; and on our **child care bill**, which put choice in the hands of parents.

But we've had it tough -- last year, liberal Democrats blocked our every effort. Since 1977, Democratic leaders have resorted increasingly to closed voting rules -- rules that prevent us from getting our ideas to the floor of the House. I say it's time to restore democracy to Congress. **Stop blocking the people's business, and get the job done. //**

Let me give you an example. A week ago Friday, the Democrats in the Senate voted to prevent Congress from even considering our comprehensive National Energy Strategy. They had no alternative plan -- and they didn't want to debate ours. There is no question that we need an energy policy -- we need energy to fuel jobs and economic growth. And we need legislators who will stand up and enact it -- **Republican legislators. //**

((I'm reminded of that old joke -- you know what you get when you play country music backwards? You get your job back, your wife back, your dog back ... Well, you know what you get when you throw the Democrats out of Congress? You get your job back, your **pride** back, your **country** back. ///))

With Republicans in charge of the House, we can move forward with our agenda for the future: for example -- our **education initiative**, "America 2000," to create a new generation of American schools; our **crime bill**, to ensure that the rights of victims come before the rights of criminals; and funding our **HOPE initiative**, to take the first step toward home ownership for public housing residents and first-time home buyers.

The American people have had enough of the liberals' tax-and-spend, search-and-destroy, hem-and-haw political agenda. My detractors, when they're not off on recess, say I don't have an agenda for the economy. Take a look at the record: **three times in three years, I've asked Congress for much-needed economic growth legislation.** I've asked for incentives for investment like our **R&D tax credits**, and **penalty-free withdrawals** from IRAs for first-time home buyers -- to stimulate the housing industry. [But our **banking reform legislation**, which would have put the industry on sound footing, was gutted by special interests.]

And I've asked for a **capital gains tax cut.** We now have the highest effective tax on capital gains of any major industrialized nation in the world. I say it's time for a level playing field. Think of it this way: Right now, we have literally billions of dollars sitting around collecting dust because tax rates make it unprofitable for investors to invest their money. Well, let's get that money moving. Let's put the entrepreneurs and investors back to work on the American Dream.

A high capital gains tax doesn't hurt the rich -- they've already made their fortunes. **It hurts people with dreams.**

I'll take the political heat -- let the demagogues call it a "tax cut for the rich" -- but watch and learn as the farmers, middle-income homeowners, small businessmen and women, and the rest of Middle America feels the fresh winds of opportunity.

We all remember that fateful day two years ago when, despite winning majorities in both Houses of Congress, George Mitchell and the Democratic leadership buried capital gains. **Congress went into recess, and the country went into recession. //**

That single act demonstrated the difference between our parties. The Democrats don't have new ideas or issues, so they try to make an issue out of me. They deliberately send bad legislation to the White House, knowing that I'll have to veto it. Then they complain about the vetoes. **This isn't leadership -- it's Democratic showboating -- and the American people know it.** That's why we had to postpone our Asia trip -- to keep an eye on a Congress run amok.

George Mitchell has said that he wants to send another bad unemployment bill to my doorstep, knowing I will veto it. Our ten-week extension of benefits would have become law long ago and the unemployed would have their checks if Democrats really cared about workers. Instead, the Democrats treat the unemployed like political pawns. So the unemployed go hungry while the opposition sells t-shirts and holds press conferences.

No wonder the voters want term limits. If we can impose term limits on Ronald Reagan and Dwight Eisenhower, we can certainly impose term limits on Richard Gephardt and George Mitchell. //

We do need to Change Congress Now. People see a Democratic Congress that's out of sync with society, full of way-out liberals who don't understand the world we live in. We live in an integrated world, one where foreign and domestic priorities are the same: **excellence, competitiveness, strength and peace**. That's true whether I'm at the drug summit fighting to keep crack off our streets, or in Europe opening markets for American jobs.

I hear this question all the time: how can it be that we have such successes in foreign policy and such difficulties on the domestic side? Let me just say this: **Thank God I didn't have to listen to Secretary of State Dick Gephardt and Secretary of Defense Ted Kennedy and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Pat Schroeder during the Gulf War**. If I did, Saddam Hussein would probably be in Saudi Arabia by now and Norman Schwarzkopf would still be in Florida. **That's why we need to Change Congress Now**.

I am tired of hearing Democrats gloat about how bad things are, preying on misery -- while we try to bring hope and opportunity to all Americans. Here's the key difference between us and them: unlike the Democrats, we believe that the working men and women of this country can outproduce, outperform and outwork any other nation on Earth -- if only they get the chance.

Our domestic initiatives have one aim and one aim only: to **unleash the power of the American people**. So while the

Democratic naysayers preach their gospel of doom and gloom, we want to act. We want to give people reason for hope.

To all of you, I say keep up the good fight. 1992 will be a big year for Republicans -- and GOPAC is on the front lines.

Thank you very much and God bless the United States.

# # #

REVISED

Document No. 285031

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/07/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 10:00a.m. Friday 11/08

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GOPAC CHARTER MEMBERS/MCH. NOV. 11th  
(11/07 draft three)

|                | ACTION                              | FYI                                 |             | ACTION                              | FYI                                 |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | HORNER      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| SUNUNU         | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | MCCLURE     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| SCOWCROFT      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PETERSMEYER | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DARMAN         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PORTER      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BRADY          | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGICH      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BROMLEY        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            | SMITH       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CARD           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN      | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| DEMAREST       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | KAUFMAN     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCBRIDE     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY           | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | SNOW        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY        | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |             | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

REMARKS: Please forward your comments directly to Tony Snow, Rm. 122, x 2930, no later than 10:00 a.m., Friday, November 8, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

REVISED

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

Grant / Aarhus  
November 7, 1991  
Draft three A:GOPAC

REMARKS: GOPAC CHARTER MEMBERS  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER, 11, 1991  
5:30 P.M.

Jenny Plona,  
GOPAC

*newly-elected congressman*  
*Terry & Mary Kohler*  
[Newt, thank you; and Bo Callaway, it's always a pleasure to see you. Other acknowledgements to come.] I've come here today because I've heard so much about your latest program to build a Republican majority -- recruiting strong House challengers in 170 districts, each with 1,000 volunteers ready and \$100,000 in the bank. The name says what every American is thinking: **"Change Congress Now!"**

Why Change Congress Now? Because America needs our agenda for the future -- the G.O.P. agenda -- of **Growth, Opportunity and Prosperity** for all Americans. And America doesn't need the Democrats' tired old agenda from the past -- one of **Desperation, Divisiveness and Disgrace.**

We need a new Republican Congress because the liberal leadership has bricked itself into a maze of power -- more than 300 committees, subcommittees, and ad hoc committees -- all stuck in the same statist mindset that went out with the Berlin Wall. The Democrats controlling Congress have built an Orwellian bureaucracy -- 30,000 staffers and counting, a more than 2.4 billion dollar budget for FY 1991 -- and, after Havana, the last bastion of big-government one-party rule in this hemisphere. // It strikes me as ironic that the Mayor of Moscow can now run to

the right of the House Majority Leader. It is time to change Congress Now. //

*Susan Dawson*  
*11/5/91*  
*Chicago Tribune 11/7/91*  
1992 will be a great year for Republicans. Just last week, Republicans went from minority status to veto-proof majorities in both houses in the New Jersey legislature. We picked up every open New York county executive seat -- including Albany. Virginia saw the biggest G.O.P. gain in years. Look at these elections and you'll see a pattern. Voters said: we're sick of high taxes and runaway spending. We've had it with politicians who install hotlines to special interests and demean real constituents with form letters. They called for an end to government out of control and out of touch.

In the elections we won and the elections we lost last week, we got the message. That's why we're running to win at the grassroots level -- and that leaves the Democrats just plain running. //

Stay tuned: there's more to come, especially in the House. Realignment continues across America -- young people in particular have joined ~~the~~ G.O.P. in droves. Redistricting and reapportionment alone could give us as many as 30 new seats. And I will work as hard as I can to elect every Republican we've got to the House of Representatives in 1992. //

Come January, if we win control of the Congress, Bob Michel has pledged to cut committee staffs in half -- saving \$26 million for taxpayers -- and most importantly, he'll apply to Congress all laws from which it has exempted itself. For thirty years,

*Tony Zagatta*  
*said it.*

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*RNC uses*

*RNC*  
*David Winston*

I've called Bob Michel my friend -- but I can't wait for the day when I can call him "Mr. Speaker." //

Bob and Newt have done a great job, fighting for our agenda every step of the way. They've persuaded some of the opposition to see the light and vote with us -- on the historic **Clean Air Act Amendments** which uses free market principles to clean up our environment; and on the most sweeping civil rights bill in decades, the **Americans With Disabilities Act**, which will bring 43 million Americans into the economic mainstream; and our **child care bill**, which put choice in the hands of parents.

But we've had it tough -- last year, liberal Democrats blocked our every effort, stopping us in two out of every three votes. That's when we could get a vote. Since 1977, Democratic leaders have resorted increasingly to closed voting rules -- rules that prevent us from getting our ideas to the floor of ~~the~~ either house. I say it's time to restore democracy to Congress. Stop blocking the people's business, and get the job done. //

It's no surprise that people think **America's** off on the wrong track -- they see a **Congress** stopped dead in its own tracks. //

((I'm reminded of that old joke -- you know what you get when you play country music backwards? You get your job back, your wife back, your dog back ... Well, you know what you get when you throw the Democrats out of Congress? You get your job back, your **pride** back, your **country** back. ///))

With Republicans in charge of the House, we can move forward with our agenda for the future: for example -- our **education**

→ in office 16 terms

Norm Ornstein  
JE will fax  
Political or Leg.

Jeff S.

initiative, "America 2000," to create a new generation of American schools; our National Energy Strategy, to decrease our dependency on foreign oil and encourage innovative energy technology and jobs; and our HOPE initiative, to take the first step toward home ownership for public housing residents and first-time home buyers.

The American people have had enough of the liberals' tax-and-spend, search-and-destroy, hem-and-haw political agenda. My detractors, when they're not off on recess, say I don't have an agenda for the economy. Take a look at the record: **three times** in three years, I've asked Congress for much-needed **economic growth** legislation. I've asked for incentives for investment like our R&D tax credits, and penalty-free withdrawals from IRAs for first-time home buyers -- to stimulate the housing industry. [But our banking reform legislation, which would have put the industry on sound footing, was gutted by **special interest** ~~partisan~~ zealots.]

And I've asked for a capital gains tax cut. We now have the highest effective tax on capital gains of any **major** industrialized nation in the world. I say it's time for a level playing field. Think of it this way: Right now, we have literally billions of dollars sitting around collecting dust because tax rates make it unwise for investors to invest their money. We tell our investors we don't need them -- and then we worry about jobs.

Well, let's get that money moving. Let's give working people a chance to make their fortunes. As somebody once said, no one ever got rich on wages. A high capital gains tax doesn't

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Mitnick  
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→ will call w/  
other language

Andy M.  
x 7082

hurt the rich -- they've already made their fortunes. It hurts people with dreams.

I've said it before: I'll take the political heat -- let the demagogues call it a "tax cut for the rich" -- but watch and learn as the farmers, middle-income homeowners and small businessmen and women, and the rest of Middle America feels the fresh winds of opportunity.

We all remember that fateful day two years ago when, despite winning majorities in both Houses of Congress, George Mitchell *and the Dem leadership* ~~single-handedly~~ buried capital gains. Congress went into recess, and the country went into recession. //

That single act demonstrated the difference between our parties. The Democrats don't have new ideas or issues, so they try to make an issue out of me. They deliberately send bad legislation to the White House, knowing that I'll have to veto it. Then they complain about the vetoes. That isn't leadership -- it's showboating -- and the American people know it.

*Jim Dwyer* George Mitchell wants to send another bad unemployment bill to my doorstep, knowing I will veto it. Our ten-week extension of benefits would have become law two months ago if Democrats really cared about workers -- rather than treating them like political pawns. Instead, the unemployed go hungry while the opposition sells t-shirts and holds press conferences. *OK Fred phoned 45 in*

No wonder the voters want term limits. If we can impose term limits on Ronald Reagan and George Bush, we can certainly impose term limits on Richard Gephardt and George Mitchell. //

We do need to Change Congress Now. People see a Democratic Congress that's out of sync with society, full of way-out liberals who don't understand the world we live in. We live in an integrated world, one where foreign and domestic priorities are the same: **excellence, competitiveness, strength and peace.** That's true whether I'm at the drug summit fighting to keep crack off our streets, or in Japan opening markets for American jobs, or in Washington waiting for a growth package from Congress.

I hear this question all the time: how can it be that we have such successes in foreign policy and such difficulties on the domestic side? Let me just say this: **Thank God I didn't have to listen to Secretary of State Ron Dellums and Secretary of Defense Ted Kennedy and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Pat Schroeder during the Gulf War.** If I did, Saddam Hussein would be in Saudi Arabia by now and Norman Schwarzkopf would still be in Florida. *→ probably* **That's why we need to Change Congress Now. //**

I am tired of hearing Democrats gloating about how bad things are, preying on misery -- while we try bring hope and opportunity to all Americans. Here's the key difference between us and them: we believe that the working men and women of this country can outproduce, outperform and outwork the people of any other nation on Earth -- if only they get the chance.

Our domestic initiatives have one aim and one aim only: **to unleash the power of the American people.** So while the Democratic naysayers preach their gospel of doom and gloom, we want to act. **We want to give people reason for hope.**

To all of you, I say keep up the good fight. 1992 is going to be a big year for Republicans -- and GOPAC is out on the front lines. You have my full support and my deep gratitude.

Thank you very much and God bless the United States.

# # #

Clean ans  
PDA

Child Care

Bob Miller  
&  
Neut  
Review?

Reserve room- Fran ext. 2500

Alert West Lobby (Karl) to arrival  
395-4011

Order place cards- Bill ext. 2510

FOLLOW-UP AFTER EVENT:

- Make clip package for POTUS
- Get transcripts and deliver as  
(stenographers office room 20

GOPAC

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ORGANIZATION  
BUILDING  
REPUBLICAN  
LEADERS FOR  
AMERICA'S  
FUTURE

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NORTHWEST  
SUITE 400  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
20001

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FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH  
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY  
CHAIRMAN

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION  
COVER SHEET

TO CAROL AAZHUS 456-6218  
FROM JEFF E.  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 2

REMARKS/MESSAGES

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TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282

Table 8-1 (continued)

| President and year | House and Senate (%) | House (%) | No. of Votes | Senate (%) | No. of Votes |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| 1979               | 76.8                 | 71.7      | 145          | 81.4       | 161          |
| 1980               | 75.1                 | 76.9      | 117          | 73.3       | 116          |
| Average            | 76.4                 |           |              |            |              |
| Reagan             |                      |           |              |            |              |
| 1981               | 82.3                 | 72.4      | 76           | 88.3       | 128          |
| 1982               | 72.4                 | 55.8      | 77           | 83.2       | 119          |
| 1983               | 67.1                 | 47.6      | 82           | 85.9       | 85           |
| 1984               | 65.8                 | 52.2      | 113          | 85.7       | 77           |
| 1985               | 59.9                 | 45.0      | 80           | 71.6       | 102          |
| 1986               | 56.5                 | 34.1      | 88           | 81.2       | 80           |
| 1987               | 43.5                 | 33.3      | 99           | 56.4       | 78           |
| 1988               | 47.4                 | 32.7      | 104          | 64.8       | 88           |
| Average            | 61.9                 |           |              |            |              |
| Bush               |                      |           |              |            |              |
| 1989               | 62.6                 | 50.4      | 86           | 73.3       | 101          |
| 1990               | 46.8                 | 32.4      | 108          | 63.4       | 93           |
| Average            | 54.7                 |           |              |            |              |

n.a. = not available.

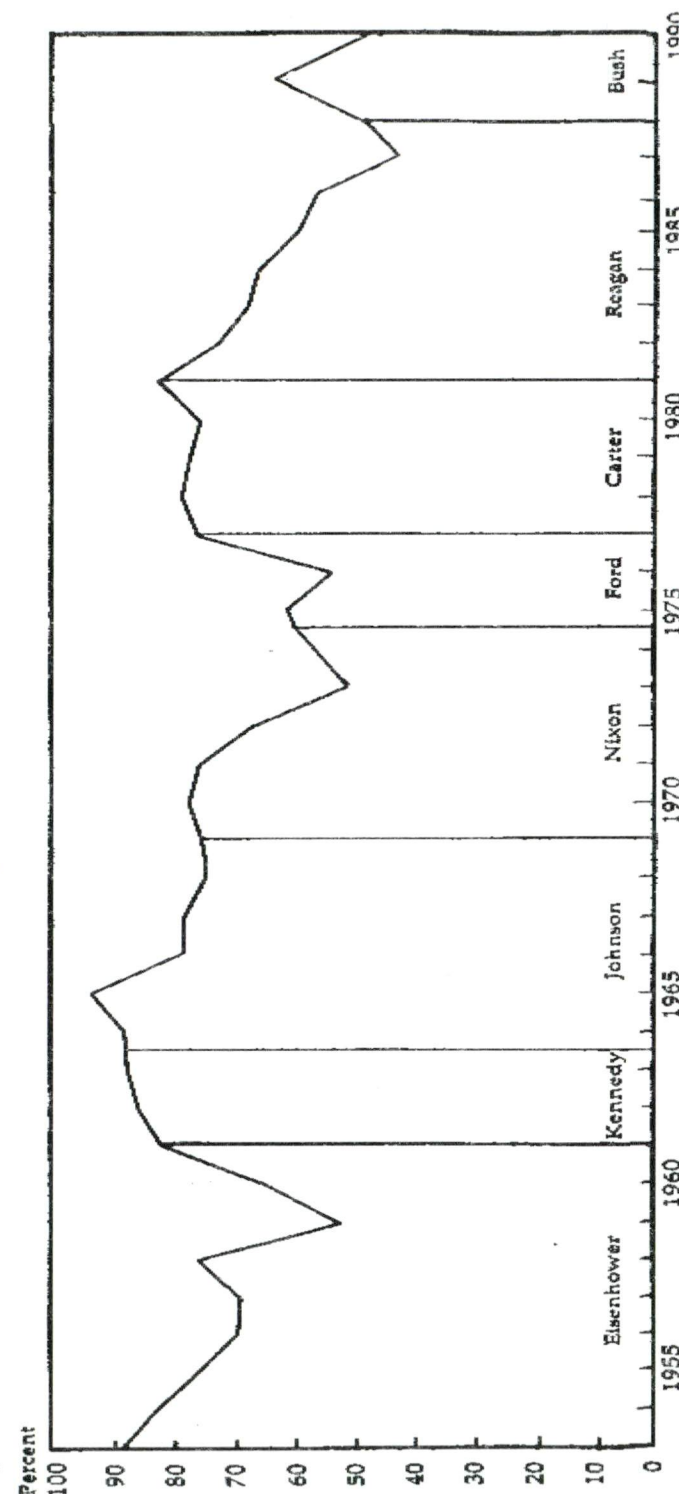
Note: Percentages indicate number of congressional votes supporting the president divided by the total number of votes on which the president had taken a position.

The findings for 1956, 1981, 1982, and 1983 differ slightly from previous editions due to recalculation and corrections in the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*. The *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* frequently rounds off House and Senate percentages, but figures in *Vital Statistics* are not rounded.

Sources: *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, various years); *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, January 2, 1982; December 31, 1983; October 27, 1984; January 11, 1986; October 25, 1986, 2690; January 16, 1988; November 19, 1988; December 30, 1989; January 6, 1990; December 22, 1990. Some percentages recalculated.

CAROL -  
ALMOST  
THAT  
due to  
[Signature]

Figure 8-1 Presidential Victories on Votes in Congress, 1953-1990



Note: Percentages indicate number of congressional votes supporting the president divided by the total number of votes on which the president has taken a position.

Continued: Table 8-1

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL  
GRASS-ROOTS  
ORGANIZATION  
BUILDING  
REPUBLICAN  
LEADERS FOR  
AMERICA'S  
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET  
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SUITE 400  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
20001

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FAX (202) 783-3306

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GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY  
CHAIRMAN

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TO Tony Snow 456-6218  
FROM Jeff Eisenach  
DATE 11/4  
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 3

REMARKS/MESSAGES

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TALKING POINTS FOR PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH  
GOPAC CHARTER MEETING  
11/11/91

THE GOPAC PROGRAM

- o Charter Members (audience) = \$10,000 donors (very involved, entrepreneurial group)
- o GOPAC General Chairman Newt Gingrich.
- o Chairman Bo Callaway was member of Base Closing Commission. Now focussing on recruiting House challenger candidates in 170 districts.
- o GOPAC Gavel Club Co-Chairs Mary and Terry Kohler, from Wisconsin, are working to find 100 people to give or raise \$1,000 each -- total of \$17 million -- for House challengers in each of 170 districts.
- o GOPAC is working to identify 1,000 volunteers to get out the vote in each of 170 districts.
- o Summary: 170 challenger candidates; \$100,000 each; 1,000 volunteers each.
- o Program is called Change Congress Now!

WHY WE NEED TO CHANGE CONGRESS NOW!

- o We have an agenda for governing. Just three examples:
  - Capital gains and our growth package -- we've sent it up for three years running, and we will send it up again next year.
  - America 2000 and education choice -- watered down by Ted Kennedy and Bill Ford, who apparently believe bureaucrats, not parents, should control where children go to school. (Lamar Alexander is scheduled to speak afternoon of 11/11)
  - Jack Kemp's HOPE plan -- the first step towards tenant ownership for all public housing and homeownership for first-time buyers, but can't even get it funded. (Jack is a Charter Member favorite, scheduled to speak at breakfast on 11/11.)

(May want to use energy, based on 11/1 Senate vote, or environment, or crime -- probably should tie to some event of the week.)

These are three pretty big things -- jobs, education, housing -- but in to the liberal Democrats who run Capitol Hill, they don't count. Why? Because they empower people rather than government.

o That's our vision -- empowering people -- summed up in a speech this Summer which GOPAC has been kind enough to mail out to 7,500 people on its "farm team" -- about "An America Whole and Good." (Tape attached; Newt talks about this in every speech. See also Newt handout.)

- Market properly understood;
- Service properly engaged;
- Government properly defined.

This is the vision for America.

o But the liberal Democrats don't see it, and they block every effort to move in the right direction:

- Last year, lost two out of every three votes where we took a position. (CQ) *→ fax over Norm Ornstein*
- That's because Democrats vote together 86 percent of the time (CQ average "unity rating" for Democrats = percent of members who vote with their party on typical vote.)
- And that's when we get a vote. Use of closed rules has quadrupled since 1977 (15 percent to 60 percent; Bob Michel, forthcoming, Policy Review, attached). Tyranny of the majority in the U.S. House.

#### WE CAN WIN THE HOUSE IN 1992

o 1992 is going to be a great year for Republicans, especially in the U.S. House.

- Redistricting and reapportionment alone could give us as many as 30 seats. (Per John Morgan, RNC's lead demographer.) *703-476-4071*
- Realignment continues, and young people are Republican by overwhelming margins.
- Retirement of Democrats -- some because of the chance to take their campaign funds for personal use, and some just because Newt has worn them down. . . .
- Re-election (some reference to President's re-election and willingness/enthusiasm to campaign for House candidates)

o We're going to win big in 1992. In fact, with your help, Bob Michel will be elected Speaker of the House when Congress comes back next January.

o And then you will see some changes. Bob has already committed to cutting committee staffs in half -- saving \$26 million -- and to applying to Congress all of the laws from which it has exempted itself. (Bob Michel, forthcoming, Policy Review, attached.)

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GENERAL CHAIRMAN  
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY  
CHAIRMAN

31 NOV 8 11:37

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DATE 11/8  
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REMARKS/MESSAGES

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## How Would the House Change With a Republican Majority?

by House Republican Leader Robert H. Michel

### FORTHCOMING, POLICY REVIEW

"...as Speaker Robert H. Michel received the gavel symbolizing his new office he told his colleagues that "from now on we will do unto ourselves what we have heretofore done unto others." Michel referred to the fact that the House is not subject to a wide-ranging number of laws, from the Social Security Act of 1935 to the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988, including the Freedom of Information Act and The Civil Rights Act of 1964. The House will under my Speakership be obliged to abide by all the laws, rules, and regulations that we impose upon the American people legislatively," Michel said.

Front page, The Washington Post, January 3, 1993

A fantasy? Perhaps, but I believe the public's disgust with the way Congress operates makes it possible for the first time in many years for a Republican majority to be formed in the House of Representatives. Overgrown staffs and underhanded procedures, irresponsible budgets and irrational schedules, the arrogance of unlimited power and the power of unchecked privileges--these are the legacy of Democratic control of the House of Representatives, in January of 1993, for 56 out of the last 60 years.

House Republicans claim no monopoly on legislative or ethical virtue, but we alone can provide the will and the vision to rid the House of decades of institutional decay and decline, and create a new Hill order. The Democrats have had their chance, and failed.

A Republican majority would embark on a truly conservative revolution in the House, for our goal would be to restore the institutional virtues that have been lost, preserve the strengths that have survived, and direct the energies of the House to enhance and protect traditional American values.

As Speaker of the House, I would in the first one hundred days lay out a program for broad, comprehensive reform of the House's procedures and practices, and guarantee prompt and expeditious consideration of all the great issues of the day. A Republican-controlled House would work with a Republican President, not thwart his efforts as the Democratic majority has done on every major issue from the war in the Gulf to a highway bill.

But exciting as such a program might seem, it would be impossible to pass unless Republicans first take control of the legislative machinery of the House.

While the often volatile nature of the legislative process doesn't always lend itself to the managerial disciplines of business, there is absolutely no excuse for the House to be the kind of bureaucratic monstrosity it has become.

In the thirty-five years I have been a Congressman--all as a member of the minority--the House has changed from a relatively small and efficient institution into a chaotic, bureaucratic empire of 11,000 staff members, 1800 support staff, including shademakers, venetian blind technicians and upholsterers, not to mention 27 committees and 136 subcommittees.

The Congressional staff--House and Senate--is nine times larger than the second largest legislative staff in the world, the Canadian parliament. In 1960, three years after I became a member, the legislative budget was \$131 million. In 1990, it was \$2.24 billion---an increase of 1,709%.

As a majority, Republicans would cut committee staffs in half, saving at least \$26 million. We would get rid of most of the select committees and drastically reduce the number of sub-committees.

In order to make the House more responsive I would insure that all controversial bills come to the floor with rules guaranteeing free and open debate. One of the worst outrages of Democratic Party domination has been its insistence upon closed or semi-closed rules, effectively disenfranchising millions of Americans who lose the chance to have their representatives offer amendments. When I first came to the House, civil rights bills were debated for days, not hours. In 1977, 85% of all rules were open rules. By 1990, that figure had fallen to 45%. The phrase "free and open debate" becomes meaningless when the chance for such debate is effectively eliminated by closed rules.

I would also establish a more orderly schedule for the consideration of legislation. The current process of doing very little in the early part of the year and then cramming important legislation into the very end of the schedule is not conducive to thoughtful legislating.

If all of these reforms strike some as being "merely" structural or procedural changes, I can only say that in the House, structure determines process, form dictates substance, and procedure shapes outcomes.

The cancer eating at the House is the inability or unwillingness on the part of the Democrats to undertake a comprehensive House reform, from the rules that govern the House to the rules that govern our elections.

The reforms that the House needs are varied, and I have touched on just a few of them in this article. As Speaker of the House I would have the scope--and the majority--to undertake the first comprehensive reform of the House of Representatives in modern times. I look forward to it.

###

Gramm-Rudman cuts, but instead it relied heavily on them to meet the \$14 billion target. The measure achieved nearly one-third of its savings, or \$4.6 billion, by retaining some of the cuts. It reduced the affected programs by a percentage equal to having the cuts in place for four months and a week, or 130 days.

The bill was actually projected to save \$17.75 billion in 1990, including \$6.9 billion in spending cuts and \$5.6 billion in higher revenues, according to preliminary Congressional Budget Office (CBO) calculations.

But, in keeping with Bush's demands for real savings, negotiators subtracted more than \$300 million in questionable cuts and \$2.7 billion from accelerated collections of payroll, gasoline and airline ticket taxes, a sum that had been criticized as inflated.

Within the \$14.7 billion in "hard savings," \$2.9 billion resulted from Postal Service changes generally acknowledged to be bookkeeping shell games, while a House GOP analysis listed more than \$800 million of the Medicare cuts as paper savings.

The brief House debate was marked mostly by protests from Appropriations Committee members, who opposed the retention of the automatic cuts. They complained that the cuts were a second hit at spending bills that had been held to strict limits, and all because other panels had failed to raise taxes or cut programs in their jurisdictions.

The bill left Congress and the president far short of the \$28 billion in 1990 deficit reduction called for in their April budget summit. And it did little to dent long-term deficits as the president and Congress turned to drafting the 1991 budget — a process that was projected to require up to \$40 billion in additional cuts. "Even with this, the size of the gap for '91 will be very large," said Darman. ■

## Capital Gains Tax Cut Killed for the Year

President Bush's greatest legislative disappointment in 1989 was his near-miss on cutting the tax rate on capital gains. The issue was effectively settled for the year Nov. 2, when the president formally asked Congress to strip the rate cut from a pending deficit-reduction bill (HR 3299 — PL 101-239). That move cleared the way for completion of HR 3299, which had been stalled by a deadlock over the rate cut.

A version of the capital gains cut had been approved by the House as part of HR 3299. But supporters in the Senate were unable to get the cut into the bill in the Finance Committee and failed to overcome a procedural hurdle that blocked them from adding it on the floor. (Majority Leader George J. Mitchell of Maine made it clear he would require 60 votes for any capital gains amendment.) The White House and Senate Republicans struggled for weeks to find a way to keep a capital gains provision in the bill or hitch it to another vehicle. But each time, they ran up against the fact that they could not muster 60 votes. Republicans finally settled for two symbolic but unsuccessful cloture votes and dropped the issue for the year, although there was no doubt that it would resurface in 1990. (*Deficit-reduction bill*, p. 92)

### BACKGROUND

In his February budget, Bush reiterated a proposal

made during his presidential campaign for a permanent top rate of 15 percent on capital gains (income from the sale of an appreciated asset). But the idea languished until the summer, when it found friends among six Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee. Led by Ed Jenkins, D-Ga., they joined with committee Republicans to force a version of the cut into the committee's deficit-reduction bill — over the objections of Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill. Strenuous efforts by the House Democratic leadership to defeat the Jenkins plan on the floor failed 190-239.

Attention then turned to the Senate, where Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, proposed an alternative tax cut — an expansion of the Individual Retirement Account (IRA) as part of that chamber's deficit-reduction package. Bentsen narrowly defeated efforts led by ranking Republican Bob Packwood of Oregon to replace it with a variant of the capital gains reduction.

Supporters of the capital gains cut then needed a floor amendment to add it to the reconciliation bill, a move that was subject to special Senate rules requiring 60 votes. Given that procedural advantage, Majority Leader Mitchell forced a winning minority coalition of those who opposed the cut on substance and those who opposed waiving the usual procedures on its behalf.

Frustrated, Senate GOP leaders on Oct. 13 gave up on the reconciliation bill and began looking for other vehicles. For a time, the cut was a pending amendment on legislation authorizing emergency aid to Poland and Hungary (S 1582). At another stage, supporters threatened to attach it to a bill raising the limit on the national debt (H J Res 280 — PL 101-140).

But as Thanksgiving neared, a compromise was reached. The House agreed to drop its capital gains provision in HR 3299, then reapproved it Nov. 9 as a free-standing bill (HR 3628). The following week, the new bill was brought to the Senate floor, where Packwood's plan was substituted for the substance of the House version. Two attempts, on Nov. 14 and 15, to win cloture failed.

### History

When Bush unveiled his capital gains plan, he set in motion a new installment of a debate that went back at least to 1978. The question: Would lower capital gains taxes actually increase government receipts through greater investment and other economic activity?

Some academics and other experts argued that lower capital gains rates would spur more revenues in two ways. First, investors would respond to lower rates by cashing in investments to realize locked up gains, thus generating tax revenue to the government. Second, more investors would direct capital into securities and other business investments in anticipation of a generous after-tax return.

But others argued that the so-called unlocking effect would be a one-time event. Long-term economic behavior would not change enough to make up for reduced revenues generated by the lower rate. And many investors would simply shift money from investments that produced income taxable at ordinary, higher rates, to those that resulted in capital gains. That threatened big revenue losses.

In 1989, the top rate on capital gains, as for other types of income, was 28 percent (or, for some higher-income taxpayers, 33 percent). But that had only been the case since the 1986 tax overhaul.

In 1978, a Democratic-controlled Congress, against the wishes of President Jimmy Carter, slashed the rate from 48 percent to 28 percent. The reduction was the centerpiece of

Democrat, David L. Boren of Oklahoma, joined the panel's nine GOP members in voting for the Packwood plan.

### Bentsen's 'Supor' IRA

Bentsen's plan would have allowed individuals with incomes higher than the cutoff set in the 1986 tax law (\$25,000 a year, \$40,000 for those filing jointly) or with pension plans to write off 50 percent of their contributions to an IRA, up to \$1,000. IRAs could be used without tax penalty for down payments on first homes or for college tuition. Bentsen estimated that by fiscal 1994, the plan would lower the year's tax collections by \$4 billion.

Bentsen won support for his IRA as part of a much larger tax package that included an array of pet proposals from committee colleagues estimated to cost \$5.1 billion more over the 1990-94 period.

### SENATE FLOOR ACTION

Bentsen's success in keeping the capital gains cut out of the reconciliation bill in committee gave Mitchell an opening to block it on the Senate floor. Mitchell quickly made it clear that he would force Republicans to muster 60 votes to overcome a budgetary point of order to a capital gains amendment. (Under the so-called Byrd rule, named for Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., a point of order could be lodged against tacking "extraneous matter" onto reconciliation bills, including provisions that reduced revenues in subsequent years. The Packwood plan was estimated to gain revenue in its first two years but lose revenue thereafter.) While Republicans said they had 50 votes, they were not confident they could get to 60.

Then in a surprise move on Oct. 5, Mitchell offered a way around the impasse: a stripped-down budget-reconciliation package that would exclude capital gains as well as hundreds of other extraneous items including Democratic initiatives such as child care that did not contribute to deficit reduction.

After a week of negotiations and partisan maneuvering, Senate Republicans accepted Mitchell's offer. In the beginning, they stuck with the White House, which continued to demand a vote on capital gains, apparently insisting it come on the reconciliation bill. But when failure to reach agreement on reconciliation by Oct. 16 led to across-the-board budget cuts under the Gramm-Rudman law, GOP leaders seemed to lose patience with their position as middle men. They accepted the Mitchell plan, giving up their insistence on a promise of a simple majority vote on capital gains. On Oct. 13, a stripped-down reconciliation bill — without a capital gains provision — won Senate approval.

Senate Republicans quickly began looking for another vehicle for what had become known as the Packwood-Roth plan, combining Packwood's moderate cut in the capital gains tax with a radical redefinition of the IRA offered by William V. Roth Jr., R-Del.

### Packwood-Roth Plan

Packwood's plan would have excluded from taxes 5 percent of a capital gain for each year the asset was held (up to 35 percent after seven years). As an alternative, a person could choose to reduce a gain to account for inflation. The provision would have applied to assets sold Oct.

1, 1989, and after, regardless of when they were acquired. The top tax rate for corporations would have fallen from 34 percent to 33 percent on assets held three years — and lower for assets held longer (to a minimum of 29 percent on assets held at least 15 years).

Joint Tax projected a revenue loss over five years of \$6.9 billion from the individual capital gains cut and \$3.3 billion from the corporate cut — a total of \$10.2 billion.

But Packwood's loss would have been covered, for those five years, by Roth's restructuring of the IRA.

Roth would have allowed IRA contributions up to \$2,000 (\$3,000 after five years). They would have been deductible, as in a traditional IRA, but Roth would have allowed the entire account — contributions and earnings — to be paid out tax-free after retirement. (He also would have allowed up to 25 percent to be withdrawn for a first home, college tuition or catastrophic medical bills.)

The result: the Roth plan would have cost the Treasury nothing at the outset — no matter how many new IRAs were opened. But the earnings on these new savings, which otherwise would have been taxed sooner or later, would now have been tax-free.

Moreover, an added feature of the Roth plan would have enabled it to raise revenue in the short term. IRA holders would have been permitted to convert their old accounts into new ones, paying taxes over four years on any contribution that had previously been deducted. That would have brought a short-term windfall in revenue, but the earnings already accrued on the full account could have been rolled over tax-free, resulting in a long-term loss.

### Breaking the Logjam

The maneuvering continued for another month, with Republicans unwilling to take the capital gains provision out of the reconciliation bill in conference until they had secured an agreement on another vehicle for the tax cut, and Mitchell vowing that a capital gains amendment on any other bill would draw a filibuster.

Mitchell was able to hold Democrats, such as Boren, who otherwise favored a capital gains amendment by making it a procedural issue; Republicans were unable to secure the 60 votes needed to halt a filibuster.

The stalemate held up not only reconciliation, but a must-pass debt-limit bill, along with popular provisions to repeal the catastrophic-health-costs law and the tax code's Section 89 regulations against discriminatory employee benefit plans. An aid bill for Poland and Hungary also was stalled, as Packwood tried to attach the capital gains provision to it.

Finally on Nov. 2 Bush broke the logjam, calling for the capital gains provision to be stripped from the reconciliation bill. In the end, Senate Republicans won agreement for two symbolic votes on the issue. For that purpose, the House passed the Jenkins-Archer plan as a free-standing bill (HR 3628). Then on Nov. 14, after debating the Packwood plan as a substitute, supporters of the cut fell nine votes shy of the 60 needed to close debate. The vote by which motion for cloture failed was 51-47; it was followed the next day by an identical vote. (Votes 295, 298, p. 55-S)

The issue was dead for the year, but it was expected to resurface as soon as revenue issues were rejoined in 1990. ■

# **VITAL STATISTICS ON CONGRESS 1991-1992**

**Norman J. Ornstein  
Thomas E. Mann  
Michael J. Malbin**

**American Enterprise Institute**

Table 8-4 Party Unity Scores in Congressional Voting, 1954-1990 (percent)

| Year | House         |                    |             | Senate        |                    |             |
|------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|
|      | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans |
| 1954 | 80            | n.a.               | 84          | 77            | n.a.               | 89          |
| 1955 | 84            | 68                 | 78          | 82            | 78                 | 82          |
| 1956 | 80            | 79                 | 78          | 80            | 75                 | 80          |
| 1957 | 79            | 71                 | 75          | 79            | 81                 | 81          |
| 1958 | 77            | 67                 | 73          | 82            | 76                 | 74          |
| 1959 | 85            | 77                 | 85          | 76            | 63                 | 80          |
| 1960 | 75            | 62                 | 77          | 73            | 60                 | 74          |
| 1961 | n.a.          | n.a.               | n.a.        | n.a.          | n.a.               | n.a.        |
| 1962 | 81            | n.a.               | 80          | 80            | n.a.               | 81          |
| 1963 | 85            | n.a.               | 84          | 79            | n.a.               | 79          |
| 1964 | 82            | n.a.               | 81          | 73            | n.a.               | 75          |
| 1965 | 80            | 55                 | 81          | 75            | 55                 | 78          |
| 1966 | 78            | 55                 | 82          | 73            | 52                 | 78          |
| 1967 | 77            | 53                 | 82          | 75            | 59                 | 73          |
| 1968 | 73            | 48                 | 76          | 71            | 57                 | 74          |
| 1969 | 71            | 47                 | 71          | 74            | 53                 | 72          |
| 1970 | 71            | 52                 | 72          | 71            | 49                 | 71          |
| 1971 | 72            | 48                 | 76          | 74            | 56                 | 75          |
| 1972 | 70            | 44                 | 76          | 72            | 43                 | 73          |
| 1973 | 75            | 55                 | 74          | 79            | 52                 | 74          |
| 1974 | 72            | 51                 | 71          | 72            | 41                 | 68          |
| 1975 | 75            | 53                 | 78          | 76            | 48                 | 71          |
| 1976 | 75            | 52                 | 75          | 74            | 46                 | 72          |
| 1977 | 74            | 55                 | 77          | 72            | 48                 | 75          |
| 1978 | 71            | 53                 | 77          | 75            | 54                 | 66          |
| 1979 | 75            | 60                 | 79          | 76            | 62                 | 73          |

(Table continues)

Table 8-4 (continued)

| Year | House         |                    |             | Senate        |                    |             |
|------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------|
|      | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans | All Democrats | Southern Democrats | Republicans |
| 1980 | 78            | 64                 | 79          | 76            | 64                 | 74          |
| 1981 | 75            | 57                 | 80          | 77            | 64                 | 85          |
| 1982 | 77            | 62                 | 76          | 76            | 62                 | 80          |
| 1983 | 82            | 67                 | 80          | 76            | 70                 | 79          |
| 1984 | 81            | 68                 | 77          | 75            | 61                 | 83          |
| 1985 | 86            | 76                 | 80          | 79            | 68                 | 81          |
| 1986 | 86            | 76                 | 76          | 74            | 59                 | 80          |
| 1987 | 88            | 78                 | 79          | 85            | 80                 | 78          |
| 1988 | 88            | 81                 | 80          | 85            | 78                 | 74          |
| 1989 | 86            | 77                 | 76          | 79            | 69                 | 79          |
| 1990 | 86            | 78                 | 78          | 82            | 75                 | 77          |

n.a. = not available.

Note: Data show percentage of members voting with a majority of their party on party unity votes. Party unity votes are those roll calls on which a majority of a party votes on one side of the issue and a majority of the other party votes on the other side. The percentages are normalized to eliminate the effects of absences, as follows: party unity = (unity)/(unity + opposition).

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac, various years; Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, January 9, 1982; January 15, 1983, 388; October 27, 1984, 2804-2805; January 11, 1986, 88; November 15, 1986, 2902-2906; January 16, 1988; November 19, 1988; December 30, 1989; January 6, 1990; December 22, 1990.



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November 7, 1991, Thursday, FINAL

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 5; ZONE: M

LENGTH: 717 words

HEADLINE: Economic frustrations surface at polls

BYLINE: By Steve Daley and Mitchell Locin

BODY:

National politics looked different the morning after Tuesday's elections: There was a sense that next year's presidential election might not be a coronation for President Bush.

Harris Wofford, a novice in electoral politics, managed to connect with voters in Pennsylvania and win a Senate seat from a state that had not elected a Democrat to the U.S. Senate in nearly 30 years. (Wofford had been appointed to the seat) He did so by identifying an issue - affordable health care - and tapping a vein of voter resentment toward business-as-usual in Washington.

His surprising political savvy sent former Atty. Gen. Dick Thornburgh into private life, even as it emboldened national Democrats and transformed Bush into a political mortal.

Watching Wofford rebound from a 40-point deficit in opinion polls to defeat Bush's handpicked choice for the Senate made some Democrats giddy. But voter anger cut deep Tuesday, and the Democrats were hardly unbloodied.

Voters in Virginia turned their state legislature over to the GOP for the first time in years, and Republicans won the governor's mansion in Mississippi for the first time since Reconstruction.

New Jersey voters made the state legislative races a referendum on Democratic Gov. Jim Florio's record tax-increase package and, without Florio to target, they rewarded rival Republicans with a veto-proof majority.

With few exceptions - the mayoral races in Boston and Baltimore, to name a couple - any association with incumbency provided a target, any link with the political establishment became an issue.

"I don't think any of us should underestimate the frustration and anger people feel," said Rep. Vic Fazio of California, who heads the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

That standard would have to apply to Bush, who in recent days has endured one of the toughest periods of his presidency.

Rumblings of domestic discontent have forced Bush to cut back his overseas travel plans, an itinerary that has included stops in more than 30 countries in his three-year tenure.



(c) 1991 Chicago Tribune, November 7, 1991

Bush left Wednesday for a NATO meeting in Rome, but earlier the White House announced he had postponed a 10-day Asian trip scheduled for later this month.

Proud of his foreign policy skills, Bush has watched Americans react with little interest to the recent series of Mideast peace talks in Madrid, talks that were crafted by the president and Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

Meanwhile, Democrats have pounded away at what they call Bush's "passport presidency," and at the failure of his administration to cope with the continuing economic recession.

On the heels of all that came the Thornburgh defeat, a 55-45 rout that froze Republican expectations for the next election cycle, and allowed Democrats to draw a line of political vulnerability from Thornburgh to the White House.

As for his own standing with the electorate, Bush said, "I do not live and die by these polls that go up and down." Noting that the polls still show him beating all potential Democratic challengers in head-to-head races, Bush said he "feels pretty good about it."

For their part, Democrats made it clear they will continue to challenge Bush on pocketbook issues. By late next week, for example, the House will vote on another family-leave plan, which Bush has threatened to veto, as he did the first proposed legislation.

Negotiations between the White House and Capitol Hill on extending unemployment compensation should end by next week, and Bush may be put in the position of having to veto that bill. Democratic leaders also promised to pass a health-care plan by next fall, just in time for the election.

Feeling the pulse of voter anxiety in Pennsylvania, the six Democrats chasing their party's presidential nomination have begun to offer their own plans for national health insurance, assuring that the issue will figure prominently in the race for the White House.

The last word went to Harris Wofford, back in the Senate courtesy of an angry electorate and a sputtering economy.

"I think George Bush better wake up," Wofford said Wednesday. "But there's a lot of feeling the people in Washington don't have a spirit of urgency about these problems we're talking about . . . I want to build a fire under my own party."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Dick Thornburgh's loss in Pennsylvania's Senate race Tuesday showed increasing voter resentment toward business-as-usual in Washington. AP Laserphoto.

PHOTO: Harris Wofford won his Senate race courtesy of a spirited campaign and a sputtering economy. AP Laserphoto.

TERMS: ANALYSIS; REACTION; ELECTION; RESULT; PENNSYLVANIA; ECONOMY; QUOTE



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November 6, 1991, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: New York, New York Metro

LENGTH: 462 words

HEADLINE: Both parties trumpet local elections victories

DATELINE: ALBANY, N.Y.

KEYWORD: NY-ELECTIONS

BODY:

State Republican Committee Chairman William Powers Wednesday called GOP victories in four county executive races a sign of a 'pronounced Republican swing' in New York, while the state Democratic leader celebrated victories in Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato's Nassau County.

Powers said victories over Democratic incumbents in Suffolk and Monroe counties, an easy win in Dutchess County and the defeat of the Albany County political machine 'reflect a new, energized Republican Party' that will 'deliver for President Bush and Sen. (Alfonse) D'Amato' in 1992.

'The Republican Party offered the electorate a meaningful alternative to the failed record of Gov. Mario Cuomo and the tax-and-spend Democrat liberals that have dominated New York for nearly 20 years,' Powers said.

Dutchess County Clerk William Steinhaus easily defeated Democratic political neophyte Dom Cannizzaro for the county executive seat vacated by Democrat Lucille Pattison. Robert King, a Rochester state Assemblyman, defeated incumbent Monroe County Executive Thomas Frey.

The GOP reclaimed Suffolk County as Robert Gaffney defeated incumbent County Executive Patrick Halpin.

But the party's biggest coup was Michael Hoblock's win -- despite an enrollment advantage of 2-to-1 -- over Robert Lyman, the contender for the Albany County Executive post vacated by fellow Democrat James Coyne, who resigned under a 28-count federal indictment of accepting bribes and conspiracy.

That GOP win ended 70 years of Democratic domination of the county legislature, dating back to 1921, when Daniel O'Connell and Edwin Corning founded one of the country's most enduring political machines.

Democrats still have a majority in the county legislature, but Tuesday lost the two-thirds majority crucial for important spending measures.

Still, State Democratic Chairman John Marino found things to brag about in the elections, including 'amazing stories' in Westchester and Nassau counties.



Proprietary to the United Press International, November 6, 1991

'Nassau County Republicans made a critical error. Seeking to exploit the strong anti-incumbent mood, they tried to run against Governor Cuomo the way Harris Wofford successfully ran against President Bush in Pennsylvania,' Marino said, referring to Wofford's victory in a Senate race over U.S. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, which some had called a referendum on Bush's presidency.

'It didn't work,' he said, noting Democrats won the towns of Oyster Bay and North Hempstead in the traditionally Republican county.

'We've sent a real message to Al D'Amato for '92,' Marino said.

Marino also noted three town victories for Democrats in Westchester and hailed the fact that 'Democrats gained control of the County Board for the first time in 83 years.'

Cong.-elect.  
George Allen

and. → 175

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FROM: CHARLES BACARISSE  
Office of Public Liaison

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HR 5399  
Report #  
101-964

16

tracking cable TV channels. Similar to the Senate floor tracking cable TV channels, two such stations are provided for the House of Representatives, one to be managed and operated by the Speaker or his designee and one to be managed and operated by the Minority Leader of his designee. Following a three month airing period, these channels shall be subject to review by the Speaker and the Minority Leader.

Amendment Nos. 61-63: Delete Senate provisions regarding allocation transfers, cost reporting, and Library of Congress reductions.

#### CONFERENCE TOTAL—WITH COMPARISONS

The total new budget (obligational) authority for the fiscal year 1991 recommended by the Committee of Conference, with comparisons to the fiscal year 1990 amount, the 1991 budget estimates, and the House and Senate bills for 1991 follow:

|                                                                          |                 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| New Budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1990.....               | \$1,941,913,100 |
| Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1991.....  | 2,411,881,000   |
| House bill, fiscal year 1991 .....                                       | 1,670,823,000   |
| Senate bill, fiscal year 1991 .....                                      | 2,072,426,425   |
| Conference agreement, fiscal year 1991 .....                             | (2,161,866,500) |
| Conference agreement compared with:                                      |                 |
| New budget (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1990 .....              | 219,453,400     |
| Budget estimates of new (obligational) authority, fiscal year 1991 ..... | -250,514,500    |
| House bill, fiscal year 1991 .....                                       | 490,543,500     |
| Senate bill, fiscal year 1991 .....                                      | 88,940,075      |

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JOHN T. MYERS,  
JOHN EDWARD PORTER,  
Managers on the Part of the House.

HARRY REID,  
ROBERT C. BYRD,  
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# VITAL STATISTICS ON CONGRESS 1991-1992

Norman J. Ornstein  
Thomas E. Mann  
Michael J. Malbin

American Enterprise Institute

Table 5-9 Legislative Branch Appropriations and the Consumer Price Index, 1946-1990

| Year              | Appropriation<br>(dollars) | Increase<br>(percent) | Consumer<br>Price Index | Increase<br>(percent) |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1946              | 54,065,614                 | —                     | 58.5                    | —                     |
| 1947              | 61,825,020                 | 14.4                  | 66.9                    | 14.4                  |
| 1948              | 62,119,714                 | 0.5                   | 72.1                    | 7.8                   |
| 1949              | 62,057,678                 | -0.1                  | 71.4                    | -1.0                  |
| 1950              | 64,313,460                 | 3.6                   | 72.1                    | 1.0                   |
| 1951              | 71,888,244                 | 11.8                  | 77.8                    | 7.9                   |
| 1952              | 75,673,896                 | 5.3                   | 79.5                    | 2.2                   |
| 1953              | 77,670,076                 | 2.6                   | 80.1                    | 0.8                   |
| 1954              | 70,925,361                 | -8.7                  | 80.5                    | 0.5                   |
| 1955              | 86,304,923                 | 21.7                  | 80.2                    | -0.4                  |
| 1956              | 94,827,986                 | 9.9                   | 81.4                    | 1.5                   |
| 1957              | 120,775,798                | 27.4                  | 84.3                    | 3.6                   |
| 1958              | 107,785,560                | -10.8                 | 86.6                    | 2.7                   |
| 1959              | 136,153,580                | 26.3                  | 87.3                    | 0.8                   |
| 1960              | 131,055,385                | -3.7                  | 88.7                    | 1.6                   |
| 1961              | 140,930,781                | 7.5                   | 89.6                    | 1.0                   |
| 1962              | 136,686,715                | -3.0                  | 90.6                    | 1.1                   |
| 1963              | 150,426,185                | 10.1                  | 91.7                    | 1.2                   |
| 1964              | 168,467,869                | 12.0                  | 92.9                    | 1.3                   |
| 1965              | 221,904,318                | 31.7                  | 94.5                    | 1.7                   |
| 1966              | 197,965,307                | -10.8                 | 97.2                    | 2.9                   |
| 1967              | 221,715,643                | 12.0                  | 100.0                   | 2.9                   |
| 1968              | 282,003,322                | 27.2                  | 104.2                   | 4.2                   |
| 1969              | 311,542,399                | 10.5                  | 109.8                   | 5.4                   |
| 1970              | 361,024,327                | 15.9                  | 116.3                   | 5.9                   |
| 1971              | 443,104,319                | 22.7                  | 121.3                   | 4.3                   |
| 1972              | 564,107,992                | 27.3                  | 125.3                   | 3.3                   |
| 1973              | 645,127,365                | 14.4                  | 133.1                   | 6.2                   |
| 1974              | 662,180,668                | 2.6                   | 147.7                   | 11.0                  |
| 1975              | 785,618,833                | 18.6                  | 161.2                   | 9.1                   |
| 1976 <sup>a</sup> | 947,185,778                | 20.6                  | 170.5                   | 5.8                   |
| 1977              | 963,921,185                | 1.8                   | 181.5                   | 6.5                   |
| 1978              | 1,009,225,350              | 4.7                   | 195.4                   | 7.7                   |
| 1979              | 1,124,766,400              | 11.4                  | 217.4                   | 11.3                  |
| 1980              | 1,199,061,463              | 6.6                   | 246.8                   | 13.5                  |
| 1981              | 1,285,943,826              | 7.2                   | 272.4                   | 10.4                  |
| 1982              | 1,365,272,433              | 6.2                   | 289.1                   | 6.1                   |
| 1983              | 1,467,318,263              | 7.5                   | 298.4                   | 3.2                   |
| 1984              | 1,644,160,600              | 12.0                  | 311.1                   | 4.3                   |
| 1985              | 1,599,977,138              | -2.7                  | 322.2                   | 3.6                   |

Table 5-9 (continued)

| Year      | Appropriation<br>(dollars) | Increase<br>(percent) | Consumer<br>Price Index | Increase<br>(percent) |
|-----------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1986      | 1,783,255,000              | 11.4                  | 328.4                   | 1.9                   |
| 1987      | 1,635,190,214              | -8.3                  | 340.4                   | 3.6                   |
| 1988      | 1,745,201,500              | 6.7                   | 354.3                   | 4.1                   |
| 1989      | 1,804,624,000              | 3.4                   | 371.3                   | 4.8                   |
| 1990      | 1,968,441,000              | 9.1                   | 391.4                   | 5.4                   |
| 1946-1990 | —                          | 3,540.8               | —                       | 569.0                 |

Note: Appropriations include supplementals, except for 1986; appropriations are for fiscal years, but the consumer price index is for calendar years.

<sup>a</sup> From fiscal year 1946 through fiscal year 1976, the fiscal year began on July 1. Beginning with fiscal year 1977, the start of the fiscal year was shifted to October 1. During the transition quarter of July 1-September 30, 1976, the amount appropriated for legislative branch operations was \$207,391,365. This amount is not included.

Sources: For 1946-1976, U.S. Congress, House, Committee on House Administration, *Studies Dealing with Budgetary, Staffing, and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1947-78*, 95th Cong., 2d sess., 1978. For 1977-1979, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1977-1980). For 1980, *House LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 1, 10-11; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1981*, pt. 1, 15-23; Public Law 96-304 (July 8, 1980); Public Law 97-51 (October 1, 1981). For 1981, *House LBA Hearings for 1982*, pt. 1, 15-23; *Senate LBA Hearings for 1982*, 268; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority and Outlays—Fiscal Year 1983*, 97th Cong., 2d sess., 1982 (unpublished committee document), 3; Public Law 97-12 (June 5, 1981). For 1982-1986, House Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority* (unpublished committee documents). For 1987, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 42 (1987). For 1988, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 43 (1988). For consumer price index, 1946-1986, *Economic Report of the President*, January 1989. For 1987-1990, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Table 5-10 Legislative Branch Appropriations, by Category, 1982-1990  
(in thousands of dollars)

|                                      | 1982    | 1983    | 1984    | 1985    | 1986 <sup>a</sup> | 1987    | 1988    | 1989    | 1990    |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Senate                               | 228,034 | 239,008 | 255,856 | 285,930 | 308,834           | 307,658 | 337,314 | 340,677 | 373,761 |
| House of Representatives             | 380,386 | 367,871 | 419,784 | 439,398 | 455,431           | 463,907 | 513,786 | 506,068 | 537,207 |
| Joint items <sup>b</sup>             | 84,472  | 102,448 | 128,933 | 96,415  | 155,804           | 103,136 | 94,981  | 120,983 | 170,454 |
| Architect of the Capitol             | 83,173  | 143,768 | 82,021  | 85,181  | 112,191           | 101,633 | 107,306 | 103,640 | 116,221 |
| Botanic Garden                       | 2,351   | 1,897   | 2,158   | 2,080   | 2,197             | 2,062   | 2,221   | 2,521   | 2,638   |
| Congressional Budget Office          | 13,226  | 15,094  | 16,723  | 17,541  | 18,455            | 17,251  | 17,886  | 18,361  | 19,580  |
| Congressional Research Service       | 31,605  | 33,851  | 36,700  | 39,833  | 38,963            | 39,602  | 43,022  | 44,684  | 46,895  |
| Copyright Royalty Commission         | 487     | 469     | 210     | 217     | 227               | 123     | 129     | 123     | 101     |
| General Accounting Office            | 236,000 | 252,665 | 271,710 | 299,704 | 339,639           | 304,910 | 329,847 | 347,339 | 364,720 |
| Government Printing Office           | 129,851 | 121,829 | 125,700 | 122,704 | 122,268           | 94,956  | 89,521  | 85,731  | 98,018  |
| Library of Congress                  | 195,123 | 209,185 | 228,715 | 228,242 | 242,829           | 183,670 | 191,998 | 199,650 | 211,100 |
| Office of Technology Assessment      | 12,169  | 13,084  | 14,831  | 15,692  | 17,000            | 15,532  | 16,901  | 17,937  | 18,900  |
| Railroad Accounting Principles Board | —       | —       | 50      | 1,000   | 1,000             | —       | —       | —       | —       |

Note: Includes supplemental appropriations, except for 1986.

<sup>a</sup> Figures for 1986 are prior to Gramm-Rudman-Hollings sequestration.

<sup>b</sup> Includes such items as joint committees, Capitol police, and official mail costs.

Sources: For 1982-1986, House Committee on Appropriations, *Comparative Statement of New Budget Authority*. For 1987, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 42 (1987). For 1988, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 43 (1988). For 1989, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 44 (1989). For 1990, *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, vol. 45 (1990).

Table 5-11 Costs of Official Mail, 1971-1989

| Year                           | Appropriations<br>(dollars) | Average unit cost<br>of franked mail<br>(cents) |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1971                           | 11,244,000                  | 8.0                                             |
| 1972                           | 14,594,000                  | 8.0                                             |
| 1972 supplement                | 18,400,000                  |                                                 |
| 1973                           | 21,226,480                  | 9.0                                             |
| 1974                           | 30,500,000                  | 9.9                                             |
| 1975                           | 38,756,015                  | 11.4                                            |
| 1976                           | 46,101,000                  | 13.2                                            |
| Transition period <sup>a</sup> | 11,525,000                  |                                                 |
| 1976 supplement                | 16,080,000                  |                                                 |
| 1977                           | 46,904,000                  | 13.4                                            |
| 1978                           | 48,926,000                  | 11.4                                            |
| 1979                           | 64,944,000                  | 12.8                                            |
| 1980 <sup>b</sup>              | 50,707,000                  | 13.4                                            |
| 1981                           | 52,033,000                  | 12.4                                            |
| 1982                           | 75,095,000                  | 13.9                                            |
| 1983                           | 93,161,000                  | 13.1                                            |
| 1984                           | 117,277,000                 | 12.8                                            |
| 1985                           | 85,797,000                  | 12.6                                            |
| 1986                           | 95,700,000                  | 12.6                                            |
| 1987                           | 91,423,000                  | 18.4                                            |
| 1988                           | 82,163,000                  | 14.1                                            |
| 1989                           | 85,262,000 <sup>c</sup>     | 14.9                                            |

Note: See Table 6-8 for number of pieces of franked mail.

<sup>a</sup> Reflects change in the fiscal year from July 1 to October 1.

<sup>b</sup> Lower figure reflects decrease in bulk mail rates.

<sup>c</sup> Adjusted to reflect FY89 shortfall in the mail account.

Sources: For 1971-1987, Office of the Clerk of the House. For 1988 and 1989, Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, "U.S. Congress Official Mail Costs: FY 1972 to FY 1991," July 20, 1990.

Table 5-12 Allowances for Representatives, 1977-1991

| Category                                         | 1977                                                            | 1979                 | 1981                 | 1983                  | 1985                  | 1987                               | 1989                   | 1991                   |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Clerk-hire                                       | \$238,580                                                       | \$288,156            | \$336,384            | \$366,648             | \$394,680             | \$406,560                          | \$431,760 <sup>a</sup> | \$475,000 <sup>a</sup> |
| Postage                                          | \$211                                                           | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |
| Stationery                                       | \$6,500                                                         | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |
| Travel (round trips)                             | 33                                                              | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |
| Telephone/telegraph                              | \$5,200 for<br>equipment;<br>15,000<br>long-distance<br>minutes | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |
| District and state<br>offices rental             | 2,500 sq. ft.                                                   | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |
| Furnishings (one-time)                           | \$27,000                                                        | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |
| Official expenses                                | \$7,000                                                         | \$50,000—<br>130,000 | \$66,200—<br>248,601 | \$588,850—<br>279,470 | \$105,513—<br>306,509 | \$105,513—<br>306,509 <sup>c</sup> | \$108,400—<br>306,500  | \$135,000—<br>317,000  |
| Constituent<br>communications<br>(begun in 1975) | \$5,000                                                         | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |
| Equipment lease                                  | \$9,000                                                         | b                    | b                    | b                     | b                     | b                                  | b                      | b                      |

<sup>a</sup> Each member was entitled to an annual clerk-hire allowance of \$475,000 for a staff not to exceed twenty-two employees, four of whom must fit into five categories: (1) shared payroll—employees, such as computer experts, who are shared by members; (2) interns; (3) employees on leave without pay; (4) part-time employees; (5) temporary employees—employees hired for a specific purpose for not more than ninety days.

<sup>b</sup> As of January 3, 1978, previous individual allowances for travel, office equipment lease, district office lease, stationery, telecommunications, mass mailings, postage, computer services, and other official expenses were consolidated in a single allowance category—the official expenses allowance. Members may budget funds for each category as they see fit. The official expenses allowances for individual members ranged from \$135,000 to \$317,000 for the 1991 calendar year. The average allowance for 1991 was \$173,500.

<sup>c</sup> Each member is entitled to a base official expenses allowance of \$105,500. In addition, there are three variables that determine the total amount allotted for official expenses: (1) transportation costs, (2) telecommunications costs, and (3) cost of office space. The amount allotted for travel is computed as follows:

64 multiplied by the rate per mile multiplied by the mileage between the District of Columbia and the farthest point in the member's district. The minimum amount allotted for travel in 1987 was \$6,200 per member.

The amount allotted for telecommunications is computed as follows: 15,000 times the highest long-distance rate per minute from the District of Columbia to the member's district. The minimum amount allotted for telecommunications in 1987 was \$6,000 per member. If the member has elected to use WATS or a similar service in his office, the 15,000-minute multiplier will be reduced by one-half.

The amount allotted for office space costs is computed as follows: 2,500 square feet multiplied by the highest applicable rate per square foot charged by the administrator of the General Services Administration to federal agencies in the district for rental of office space.

The official expenses allowance may not be used for:

1. expenses relating to the hiring and employment of individuals, including, but not limited to, employment service fees, transportation of interviewees to and from employment interviews, and cost of relocation upon acceptance or termination of employment
2. items purchased from other than the House stationery store that have a useful life greater than current term of the member and that would have a residual value of more than \$25 upon the expiration of the current term of the member
3. holiday greeting cards, flowers, and trophies
4. personal advertisements (other than meeting or appearance notices)
5. donations of any type, except flags of the United States flown over the Capitol and items purchased for use as gifts when on official travel
6. dues other than to legislative support organizations as approved by the Committee on House Administration
7. educational expenses for courses of study or information or training programs unless the benefit accrues primarily to the House and the skill or knowledge is not commonly available
8. purchases of radio and television time
9. parking for member and employees at district offices, except when included as an integral part of the lease or occupancy agreement for the district office space.

Each member may allocate up to \$40,000 from the clerk-hire allowance to supplement the official expenses allowance. A member also may allocate up to \$40,000 from the official expenses allowance to supplement the clerk-hire allowance, provided that monthly clerk-hire disbursements not exceed 10 percent of the total clerk-hire allowance.

Sources: For 1977 and 1979, Committee on House Administration, *Studies Dealing with Budgetary, Staffing and Administrative Activities of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1946-1978*. For 1981, 1983, and 1985, U.S. House of Representatives, *Congressional Handbook*. For 1987, "Salaries and Allowances: The Congress," Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., July 15, 1987, update. For 1989, Office of the Clerk of the House. For 1991, Committee on House Administration.

Table 5-13 Allowances for Senators, 1972-1991

| Category                             | 1972                               | 1979                                    | 1981                                    | 1983                                    | 1985                                    | 1987                                 | 1989                                    | 1991                                    |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Clerk-hire                           | \$311,577—<br>588,145 <sup>a</sup> | \$508,221—<br>1,021,167 <sup>a</sup>    | \$592,608—<br>1,190,724 <sup>a</sup>    | \$645,897—<br>1,297,795 <sup>a</sup>    | \$695,244—<br>1,396,947 <sup>a</sup>    | \$716,102—<br>1,438,856 <sup>a</sup> | \$754,000—<br>1,636,000 <sup>a</sup>    | \$814,000—<br>1,760,000 <sup>a</sup>    |
| Legislative assistance               | n.a.                               | \$157,626 <sup>b</sup>                  | \$183,801 <sup>b</sup>                  | \$200,328 <sup>b</sup>                  | \$215,634 <sup>b</sup>                  | \$243,543 <sup>b</sup>               | \$248,000 <sup>b</sup>                  | \$269,000 <sup>b</sup>                  |
| Postage                              | \$1,215—1,520                      | c                                       | c                                       | c                                       | c                                       | c                                    | c                                       | c                                       |
| Stationery                           | \$3,600—5,000                      | c                                       | c                                       | c                                       | c                                       | c                                    | c                                       | c                                       |
| Travel (round trips)                 | 20—22                              | c                                       | c                                       | c                                       | c                                       | c                                    | c                                       | c                                       |
| District and state<br>offices rental | n.a.                               | 4,800—<br>8,000<br>sq. ft. <sup>d</sup> | 4,800—<br>8,000<br>sq. ft. <sup>d</sup> | 4,800—<br>8,000<br>sq. ft. <sup>d</sup> | 4,800—<br>8,000<br>sq. ft. <sup>d</sup> | 4,800—<br>8,000<br>sq. ft.           | 4,800—<br>8,000<br>sq. ft. <sup>d</sup> | 4,800—<br>8,000<br>sq. ft. <sup>d</sup> |
| Furnishings,<br>state offices        | n.a.                               | \$22,550—<br>31,350                     | \$22,550—<br>31,350                     | \$22,550—<br>31,350                     | \$22,550—<br>31,350                     | \$30,000—<br>41,744                  | \$30,000—<br>41,744 <sup>e</sup>        | \$30,000—<br>41,744 <sup>e</sup>        |
| Official office<br>expense account   | n.a.                               | \$33,000—<br>143,000 <sup>f</sup>       | \$33,000—<br>143,000 <sup>f</sup>       | \$36,000—<br>156,000 <sup>f</sup>       | \$36,000—<br>156,000 <sup>f</sup>       | \$36,000—<br>156,000                 | \$33,000—<br>156,000 <sup>f</sup>       | \$47,000—<br>122,000 <sup>f</sup>       |

n.a. = not applicable.

<sup>a</sup> There is no limit on the number of employees a senator may hire. He must, however, use only the clerk-hire or legislative assistance allowance to pay staff salaries. The clerk-hire allowance varies according to state population.

<sup>b</sup> In addition to clerk-hire, each senator has a legislative assistance allowance worth \$269,000 in 1991. This allowance is reduced for any committee chairman or ranking minority member of a committee. It is also reduced for any other senator authorized by a committee chairman to recommend or approve any individuals for appointment to the committee staff who will assist that senator "solely and directly" in his duties as a member of the committee. The reduction requirements were waived for the 99th and 100th Congresses.

<sup>c</sup> This allowance is one of the allocations of the consolidated office expense allowance. Before January 1, 1973, senators were authorized individually controlled allowances for six expense categories as follows: transportation expenses for the senator and his staff; stationery; air mail and special delivery postage; long-distance telephone calls; telegram charges; and home state expenses, which include home state office expenses; telephone service charges

incurred outside Washington, D.C.; subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and clipping or similar services; and home state office rent (repealed effective July 1, 1974).

Effective January 1, 1973, the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1973, provided for the consolidation of these same allowances to provide flexibility to senators in the management of the same dollars provided for their expense allowances. No limit was imposed on any expense category by this authorization. The allowance was designated as the consolidated office expense allowance. Effective January 1, 1977, the Legislative Branch Appropriation Act redesignated the consolidated office expense allowance as the official office expense account.

<sup>d</sup> Effective July 1, 1974, the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1975, provided a formula for the allowable aggregate square feet of office space in the home state of a senator. There is no limit on the number of offices that may be established by a senator in his home state, but the designated square footage may not be exceeded. The cost of office space in the home state is not chargeable to the official office expense account.

<sup>e</sup> An aggregate furniture and furnishings allowance is provided through the General Services Administration for one or more state offices in either federal or privately owned buildings. The \$30,000 minimum allowance for office space not greater than 4,800 square feet is increased by \$734 for each authorized increase of 200 square feet of space.

<sup>f</sup> The expense account may be used for the following expenses (2 U.S.C. 58[a], as amended):

1. official telegrams and long-distance phone calls and related services
2. stationery and other office supplies purchased through the stationery room for official business
3. costs incurred in the mailing or delivery of matters relating to official business
4. official office expenses in home state, other than equipment or furniture (purchase of office equipment beyond stated allocations may be made through 10 percent funds listed under item 9 below)
5. official telephone charges incurred outside Washington, D.C.
6. subscriptions to newspapers, magazines, periodicals, or clipping or similar services
7. travel expenses incurred by a senator or staff member, subject to certain limitations
8. expenses incurred by individuals selected by a senator to serve on panels or other bodies making recommendations for nominees to service academies or federal judgeships
9. other official expenses as the senator determines are necessary, including (a) additional office equipment for Washington, D.C., or state offices; (b) actual transportation expenses incurred by the senator and employees for official business in the Washington metropolitan area (this is also allowed to employees assigned to a state office for actual transportation expenses in the general vicinity of the office to which assigned but is not available for a change of assignment within the state or for commuting between home and office).

The total reimbursement expense for the calendar year may not exceed 10 percent of the total official office expense account.

Beginning with fiscal year 1981, each senator was also allowed to transfer funds from the administrative, clerical, and legislative assistance allowances to the official office expense account.

Sources: For 1972, *Senate LBA Hearings for 1980*. For 1979-1985, U.S. Senate, *Congressional Handbook*. For 1987, "Salaries and Allowances: The Congress." For 1989, Office of the Secretary of the Senate; Office of the Sergeant-at-Arms. For 1991, Senate Disbursing Office.

TS Edits

Grant / Aarhus  
November 8, 1991  
Draft four A:GOPAC2

REMARKS: GOPAC CHARTER MEMBERS  
THE WILLARD HOTEL  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER, 11, 1991  
5:30 P.M.

[Newt, thank you; and Bo Callaway, it's always a pleasure to see you. Other acknowledgements.] I've come here today because I've heard a lot about your latest program to build a Republican majority -- recruiting House challengers in 170 districts, each with 1,000 volunteers and \$100,000 in the bank. The name says what every American is thinking: **"Change Congress Now!"**

Why Change Congress Now? Because America needs our agenda for the future -- the G.O.P. agenda -- of **Growth, Opportunity and Prosperity** <sup>&</sup> [for all Americans.] And [America doesn't need the Democrats' tired old agenda from the past -- one of **Desperation, Divisiveness and Disgrace.**

We need a new Republican Congress because the liberal leadership has bricked itself into a maze of power -- more than 300 committees, subcommittees, and ad hoc committees -- all stuck in the same statist mindset that went out with the Berlin Wall. The Democrats controlling Congress have built an Orwellian bureaucracy -- 30,000 staffers and counting, a more than 2.4 billion dollar budget for FY 1991 -- and, after Havana, the last bastion of big-government one-party rule in this hemisphere. // <sup>It's</sup> [It strikes me as] ironic that the Mayor of Moscow can now run to the right of the House Majority Leader. It is time to Change Congress Now. //

1992 will be a great year for Republicans. Just last week, we picked up every open New York county executive seat -- including Albany. The Virginia legislature saw the biggest G.O.P. gain in nearly a century. Republicans went from minority status to veto-proof majorities in both houses in the New Jersey legislature. ((I noticed Governor Florio said just before last Tuesday that the election in New Jersey would be a referendum on this Presidency. // So be it.))

Look at these elections and you'll see a pattern. Voters said: we're sick of high taxes and runaway spending. We've had it with politicians who install hotlines to special interests and demean real constituents with form letters. They called for an end to government out of control and out of touch. In the elections ~~we won and the elections we lost~~ last week, we got the message. ~~That's why~~ We're running to win at the grassroots level -- and that leaves the Democrats just plain running. //

Stay tuned: there's more to come, especially in the House. Realignment continues across America -- young people in particular have joined the G.O.P. in droves. Redistricting and reapportionment alone could give us as many as 30 new seats. **And I will work as hard as I can to elect every Republican we've got to the House of Representatives in 1992. //**

Come January of 1993, if we win control of the Congress, Bob Michel has pledged to cut committee staffs in half -- saving \$26 million for taxpayers -- and most importantly, he'll apply to Congress all laws from which it has exempted itself. For thirty

years, I've called Bob Michel my friend -- but I can't wait until I can call him "Mr. Speaker." //

Bob and Newt have done a great job, fighting for our agenda every step of the way. They've persuaded some of the opposition to see the light and vote with us -- on the historic **Clean Air Act Amendments** which uses free market principles to clean up our environment; and on the most sweeping civil rights bill in decades, the **Americans With Disabilities Act**; and on our **child care bill**, which put choice in the hands of parents.

But we've had it tough -- last year, liberal Democrats blocked our every effort, [stopping us in two out of every three votes. That's when we could get a vote.] Since 1977, Democratic leaders have resorted increasingly to closed voting rules -- rules that prevent us from getting our ideas to the floor of the House. I say it's time to restore democracy to Congress. **Stop blocking the people's business, and get the job done.** //

Let me give you an example. A week ago Friday, the Democrats in the Seante voted to prevent Congress from even considering our comprehensive National Energy Strategy. They had no alternative plan -- and they didn't want to debate ours, [before America.] There is no question that we need an energy policy -- we need energy to fuel jobs and economic growth. And we need legislators who will stand up, [debate it,] and enact it -- **Republican legislators.** //

((I'm reminded of that old joke -- you know what you get when you play country music backwards? You get your job back,

your wife back, your dog back ... Well, you know what you get when you throw the Democrats out of Congress? You get your job back, your **pride** back, your **country** back. ///))

With Republicans in charge of the House, we can move forward with our agenda for the future: for example -- our **education initiative**, "America 2000," to create a new generation of American schools; our **crime bill**, to ensure that the rights of victims come before the rights of criminals; and funding our **HOPE initiative**, to take the first step toward home ownership for public housing residents and first-time home buyers.

The American people have had enough of the liberals' tax-and-spend, search-and-destroy, hem-and-haw political agenda. My detractors, when they're not off on recess, say I don't have an agenda for the economy. Take a look at the record: **three times in three years, I've asked Congress for much-needed economic growth legislation.** I've asked for incentives for investment like our **R&D tax credits**, and **penalty-free withdrawals** from IRAs for first-time home buyers -- to stimulate the housing industry. [But our **banking reform legislation**, which would have put the industry on sound footing, was gutted by special interests.]

And I've asked for a **capital gains tax cut.** We now have the highest effective tax on capital gains of any major industrialized nation in the world. I say it's time for a level playing field. Think of it this way: Right now, we have literally billions of dollars sitting around collecting dust because tax rates make it unprofitable for investors to invest

their money. ~~[Democrats tell our investors we don't need them -- and then we worry about jobs.]~~

Well, let's get that money moving. Let's put the entrepreneurs and investors back to work on the American Dream. A high capital gains tax doesn't hurt the rich -- they've already made their fortunes. **It hurts people with dreams.**

~~[I've said it before.]~~ I'll take the political heat -- let the demagogues call it a "tax cut for the rich" -- but watch and learn as the farmers, middle-income homeowners, small businessmen and women, and the rest of Middle America feels the fresh winds of opportunity.

We all remember that fateful day two years ago when, despite winning majorities in both Houses of Congress, George Mitchell and the Democratic leadership buried capital gains. **Congress went into recess, and the country went into recession.** //

That single act demonstrated the difference between our parties. The Democrats don't have new ideas or issues, so they try to make an issue out of me. They deliberately send bad legislation to the White House, knowing that I'll have to veto it. Then they complain about the vetoes. This ~~[action by the Democrats]~~ <sup>Democratic</sup> isn't leadership -- it's <sup>Democratic</sup> showboating -- and the American people know it. That's why we had to postpone our Asia trip -- to keep an eye on a Congress run amok.

George Mitchell has said that he wants to send another bad unemployment bill to my doorstep, knowing I will veto it. Our ten-week extension of benefits would have become law ~~two months~~ <sup>long</sup>

*and the unemployed would have their checks*  
6  
ago. If Democrats really cared about workers, ~~and they would~~  
~~have had their checks already.~~ Instead, the Democrats ~~are~~  
treating the unemployed like political pawns. So the unemployed  
go hungry while the opposition sells t-shirts and holds press  
conferences.

No wonder the voters want term limits. If we can impose term  
limits on Ronald Reagan and Dwight Eisenhower, we can certainly  
impose term limits on Richard Gephardt and George Mitchell. //

We do need to Change Congress Now. People see a Democratic  
Congress that's out of sync with society, full of way-out  
liberals who don't understand the world we live in. We live in  
an integrated world, one where foreign and domestic priorities  
are the same: **excellence, competitiveness, strength and peace.**  
That's true whether I'm at the drug summit fighting to keep crack  
off our streets, or in Europe opening markets for American jobs.

I hear this question all the time: how can it be that we  
have such successes in foreign policy and such difficulties on  
the domestic side? Let me just say this: **Thank God I didn't have  
to listen to Secretary of State Dick Gephardt and Secretary of  
Defense Ted Kennedy and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Pat  
Schroeder during the Gulf War.** If I did, Saddam Hussein would  
probably be in Saudi Arabia by now and Norman Schwarzkopf would  
still be in Florida. **That's why we need to Change Congress Now.**

I am tired of hearing Democrats gloat about how bad things  
are, preying on misery -- while we try to bring hope and  
opportunity to all Americans. Here's the key difference between

us and them: unlike the Democrats, we believe that the working men and women of this country can outproduce, outperform and outwork any other nation on Earth -- if only they get the chance.

Our domestic initiatives have one aim and one aim only: **to unleash the power of the American people.** So while the Democratic naysayers preach their gospel of doom and gloom, we want to act. **We want to give people reason for hope.**

To all of you, I say keep up the good fight. 1992 <sup>will</sup> ~~is going~~ ~~to~~ be a big year for Republicans -- and GOPAC is ~~out~~ on the front lines. [You have my full support and my deep gratitude.]

Thank you very much and God bless the United States.

# # #

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440 FIRST STREET  
NORTHWEST  
SUITE 400  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282  
FAX (202) 783-3306

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GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY  
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## NEWT GINGRICH

REPUBLICAN WHIP OF THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

GENERAL CHAIRMAN, GOPAC

Newt Gingrich, Republican Whip of the House of Representatives, is in his seventh term in office and has served the people of the sixth district of Georgia since 1979. In 1986, when asked by Governor Pete du Pont, he assumed the role of GOPAC's General Chairman.

GOPAC, one of four national Republican Committees, works with state, local, and federal candidates to build a team of elected officials who will help win a Republican majority in the U. S. House.

Co-founder of the Conservative Opportunity Society, Gingrich has played a major role in changing the forces that shape American politics and believes today that a Republican majority can be achieved in 1992.

He also co-founded the Congressional Military Reform Caucus and the Congressional Space Caucus. He believes that the future of America rests in developing high technology designed to keep our freedoms and assure that our allies are strong and secure.

Most recently, Newt has joined with Congressional colleagues in a concerted effort to address the most prominent of our country's problems. Along with Senator Phil Gramm, Newt co-sponsored the Economic Growth Act, an initiative designed to facilitate economic growth and job creation.

Newt also serves as co-chairman, with House Minority Leader Bob Michel, of the Leaders' Task Force on Health, an organization dedicated to the provision of affordable health care for all Americans.

The Almanac of American Politics describes Newt as one of the most influential Members of the House. He was responsible for filing charges against House Speaker Jim Wright which resulted in Wright's resignation.

Newt, along with wife Marianne, and David Drake co-authored WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY.

Son of a career soldier, he received his Bachelor's degree from Emory University, and his Master's and Doctorate from Tulane University.

**HOWARD H. (BO) CALLAWAY****Chairman, GOPAC**

Since 1987, Howard H. (Bo) Callaway has generously given of his time to serve as the Chairman of GOPAC. He and his wife, Beth, are GOPAC Charter Members.

A fifth generation Georgian, born on April 2, 1927, in LeGrange, Georgia, Bo Callaway married the former Elizabeth Walton, and together they have raised five children, and now have 16 grandchildren.

After graduating from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1949, he served as a Lieutenant in the U.S. Army Infantry from 1949 to 1951, a Platoon Leader in Korea, and in instructor in Tactics at Fort Benning, Georgia from 1951-52. He was decorated with the Combat Infantry Badge, three Campaign Ribbons, and the Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citation.

Bo returned to Georgia to run his family business, Callaway Gardens, and now serves as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Ida Cason Callaway Foundation.

In 1965, Bo was elected as a Member of the U.S. Congress from the Third District in the State of Georgia, and he was the Republican nominee for Governor of Georgia in 1966.

From 1970 to 1973, he served as Vice Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Bo served as Secretary of the Army under the Nixon and Ford Administrations from 1973 to 1975, and was the recipient of the Medal of Distinguished Public Service from the Department of Defense in 1975.

He managed President Ford's Presidential campaign in 1975-76.

In 1970, Bo purchased and further developed the Crested Butte Mountain Ski Resort in Colorado.

Always active in politics, Bo was a candidate for U.S. Senate in Colorado in 1980, served as Chairman of the Colorado Republican Committee from 1981 to 1987, and was active in the 1988 Bush Presidential Campaign.

In early 1991, Bo was appointed by President Bush to serve as a Commissioner on the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission.

Bo serves on the Board of Directors of various nationwide corporations, has made numerous philanthropic contributions and social commitments, and enjoys memberships in the World Business Council (serving as International President in 1986), and the Chief Executives' Organization.

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WINDWAY CAPITAL →→ GOPAC

002/004

**MARY STEWART SIMPSON KOHLER****PERSONAL AND CIVIC HISTORY**

Born - Rockford, IL 1929  
 Bachelor of Science, University of Wisconsin - 1950 in Geology  
 Paleontology, cum laude.  
 January, 1981 married to Terry Kohler  
 Four sons, ages 24 - 40.  
 Resident of Wisconsin since 1964  
 Public Affairs, The Vollrath Co., 1983 through 1988  
 Public Affairs, Windway Capital 1989 to present.

**ECOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES**

Delegate Winnebago County, Illinois to State of Illinois  
 Conservancy School, Fox Lake, Illinois, 1945.  
 Teacher, Naturalist at Riveredge Nature Center 1970-1984.  
 Board of Riveredge Nature Center 1971-1975.  
 Volunteer Assistant, Milwaukee Public Museum - 1973-1977.  
 Milwaukee Public Museum Dinosaur Dig - 1978-81-83-84-85.  
 Set up outdoor education program at Wilson Avenue Grade School,  
 Mequon, Wisconsin and subsequently in two other Mequon  
 grade schools. Trained mothers to be teacher/naturalists  
 in this program 1975-79.  
 Board Member, The Nature Conservancy, Wisconsin Chapter 1976-79.  
 Organized and taught ecology classes, summers 1977-86 at Pine  
 Lake, Rusk County, Wisconsin.  
 Crane Count in China for International Crane Foundation Jan. 1987.

**REPUBLICAN ACTIVITIES**

Chairman of the County chairmen (3rd Vice-Chairman Republican Party  
 of Wisconsin) 1979-81.  
 Chairman of Republican Party of Ozaukee County 1977-79.  
 Vice-Chairman, Ozaukee County, 2 terms 1973-77.  
 Ozaukee County Executive Committee - 1971-83.  
 Ozaukee Membership co-chairman 1971.  
 Newsletter Editor, Ozaukee 1971-80.  
 Steering Committees for TFW, Hermening and Keller for Assembly -  
 1986.  
 Campaign Chairman, Keller for Assembly 1984.  
 Campaign Manager, Kohler for Senate, 1980.  
 Campaign Chairman, Vollrath for Assembly, 1979.  
 Wisconsin Commitment, 1980 Honorary Chairman  
 Reagan campaigns, 1976, 1980, 1984.  
 Campaign Committee, Dave Opitz 1979, 1980  
 Jim Sensenbrenner, 1978, 1980  
 Ozaukee Unit of Republican Women, Campaign Chairman 1977 - present.  
 Sheboygan Women's Republican Club, Delegate to National Convention,  
 1981, 1985.  
 Co-Chrm., GOPAC Gavel Club, 1991

**MISCELLANEOUS**

Board of Trustees and Treasurer, Nashotah House, Nashotah, WI  
 (Episcopal Church)  
 Chairman, Coastal Management Council  
 Chairman, Wisconsin Women's Council  
 Board of Directors, Rockford Institute, Rockford, IL  
 Coalitions for Wisconsin, Co-Chrm.

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WINDWAY CAPITAL --- GOPAC

003/004

November 8, 1991

BIOGRAPHY OF TERRY J. KOHLER

Terry Kohler, 57, of Brule, Wisconsin, is President of Windway Capital Corp., a holding company with multiple subsidiaries:

| <u>Subsidiary</u>       | <u>Field</u>            | <u>Position</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| North sails Group, Inc. | sailboat racing sails   | Chairman        |
| The Vollrath Co., Inc.  | Food service smallwares | Board member    |
| Vollrath Group, Inc.    | Medical patient care    | Chairman        |

Mr. Kohler was associated with The Vollrath Co. for 26 years, holding position of Chairman and CEO prior to its reorganization in January, 1989, when Windway Capital Corp., the holding company, was formed.

Terry is a graduate of Admiral Farragut Academy in New Jersey. In 1955 he joined the U.S. Air Force and was trained as a jet fighter pilot. He then spent three years as a B-47 combat crew member pilot, and was discharged from the Strategic Air Command in 1959 with the rank of Captain.

Three years later, he graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) with a Bachelor of Science degree in Industrial Management. Terry earned his Master of Science degree in Industrial Management a year later in 1963 from the Alfred P. Sloan School of Management at MIT. His thesis and research were in the area of business application of large scale computers in smaller companies.

In addition to teaching computer programming as a faculty assistant at MIT, he has taught Production Management at U.W. Appleton, and was the first Business Executive in Residence at Lakeland College in the '70's.

Terry Kohler is also an outdoor sports enthusiast. He spent 6 years on the National Ski Patrol and is a member of the Experimental Aircraft Association (EAA), the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association (AOPA), Riveredge Nature Center, a life member of Ducks Unlimited and the National Rifle Association and serves on the Ice Age Park & Trail Foundation Board of Directors. He is a past Commodore of the Lake Michigan Sail Racing Federation. He also defended the Canada's Cup for the U.S. in 1978, sailing his boat, the Agape'. In two successive years (1984 and 1985) was first in his section in the Chicago Mackinac.

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WINDWAY CAPITAL -&gt;&gt;&gt; GOPAC

004/004

He is a member of the Economics Club of Sheboygan and past Finance Chairman of the Republican Party of Wisconsin. In 1980, Mr. Kohler ran second to Bob Kasten in the Wisconsin four-way primary for the United States Senate. Kasten went on to defeat Gaylord Nelson and become the Senator. In 1982, Mr. Kohler was the Republican candidate for Governor of Wisconsin. Mr. Kohler's father, Walter J. Kohler, Jr. was Governor of Wisconsin from 1951 to 1957. His grandfather, Walter J. Kohler, also served as Governor from 1929 to 1931.

Mr. Kohler is married to Mary Simpson Kohler. Between them they have 7 children, all grown. He is a member of Grace Episcopal Church in Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

Mr. Kohler has been active in the efforts of the nationwide Republican Committee, GOPAC and presently is co-chairman with his wife, Mary, of the Gavel Club, organized as a part of the GOPAC project, Change Congress Now!

Business Address: 630 Riverfront Dr., Suite #200  
Sheboygan, WI 53081  
Phone: 414/437-8601 Fax: 414/437-8599

Mail Address: P.O. Box 897  
Sheboygan, WI 53082-0897

Home Address: P.O. Box 52  
Brule, WI 54820

**GOPAC**  
**Charter Member Meeting**  
November 11th and 12th 1991  
The Willard Intercontinental Hotel

**Attendance List**

ANDERSON, RAY  
BERG, GAYLE AND AL  
BOWER, ERIKA  
BOWER, SOOK  
BOYER, BRIAN  
BRENNAN, DAVID  
BURKE, MURPH AND JOHN  
CALLAWAY, BETH AND BO  
CAMPBELL, TONY  
CASON, JULIE AND KENNY  
CHESTER, CHIPS  
CRONK, DAN  
CROUSE, TERESA AND DAVID  
DENSON, JIM  
DUCHOSSOIS, DICK  
ETEMAD, ANGELA AND MEHRAN  
FERNANDEZ, MARY ELLEN AND WALDEMAR  
FERNANDEZ, MELISSA  
FISHER, WHITNEY  
FLANNAGAN, ANGELA AND BRIAN  
FLOWERS, BILL  
FRENCH, TIM  
FUTCHIK, MARY AND LARRY  
GAINES, LAURA  
GAINES, RALPH  
GAINES, STANLEY  
GAMMON, TOM  
GINGRICH, JACKIE SUE  
GINGRICH, MARIANNE AND NEWT  
GELATT, PHILIP  
GERBER, PATTI  
GRUNDEN, JOHN AND MARC  
HAIG, CHRISTOPHER  
HANNA, SALLY AND FRANK  
HARRINGTON, ELLIE AND CHARLIE  
HADEN, FRED  
HOSKINS, BETTE AND BILL

LAGRANGE, GEORGIA  
MELVILLE, NEW YORK  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
CORONADO, CALIFORNIA  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
AKRON, OHIO  
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN  
DENVER, COLORADO  
THOMASVILLE, GEORGIA  
DALLAS, TEXAS  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
DALLAS, TEXAS  
LAKE FOREST, ILLINOIS  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
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COMMACK, NEW YORK  
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NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
THOMASVILLE, GEORGIA  
BETHESDA, MARYLAND  
GREAT FALLS, VIRGINIA  
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA  
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA  
PALM BEACH, FLORIDA  
TYSONS CORNER, VIRGINIA  
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JONESBORO, GEORGIA  
SPARTA, WISCONSIN  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
FAYETTE, GEORGIA  
HONOLULU, HAWAII  
MARIETTA, GEORGIA  
WILMINGTON, DELAWARE  
FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA  
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

JOHNSON, PAT AND BUTCH  
KERSHAW, TOM  
KOHLER, MARY AND TERRY  
LANIER, BETTY AND SMITH  
LAWRENCE, TORI AND JIM  
LEE, LADONNA AND BILL  
LOOMIS, GINY AND LEE  
LUBBERS, KATHY AND PAUL  
MacNEIL, SANDY  
MAHE, EDDIE  
MANOR, JANIS AND MIKE  
MARK, SUSAN AND MORRIS  
McCORMACK, JOHN  
McLAUGHLIN, CAROLYN AND GEORGE  
McMULLIAN, AMOS  
MILLER, CORBIN  
MURPHY, JOANN AND JOE  
MURRAY, MARY AND GLENN  
NAFTZGER, PAULINE  
NOBLE, BEN  
OGDEN, EMIL  
OWEN, GUS  
PORTMANN, SHAWN  
PRESSLEY, ADRIAN AND JIMMY  
PURSELL, CHRIS AND JIM  
REYNOLDS, PERCY  
RIVA SALETA, LUIS  
ROBERTS, SUSAN AND OWEN  
RYAN, LYNN AND JACK  
SACHER, RUTH AND FRED  
SAWYER, GEORGE  
SCHINE, BERNDT  
SCHWAN, DELORES AND MARVIN  
SCHWAN, MARK  
SEIDMAN, GLORIA AND IRVING  
SIEWERT, MIRIAM AND DAN  
SMITH, PETER  
STUMBERG, SHIRLEY AND BERT  
SWILLINGER, DAN  
TALBOT, JANE AND TOM  
TEICH, LOIS AND BUDDY  
UNGER, PHYLLIS AND BOB  
WEINER, RAYNA AND ED  
WHELAN, JOHN  
WINSHIP, PATRICIA  
WOLFE, TOM

HAYWARD, WISCONSIN  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS  
SHEBOYGAN, WISCONSIN  
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NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
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WRIGHT, BENSON  
WRIGHT, CAROLYN AND CREIGHTON  
WRIGHT, CREIGHTON Jr.  
ZELLI, ELAINE AND KAMRAN  
ZYLA, MARK

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GREAT FALLS, VIRGINIA  
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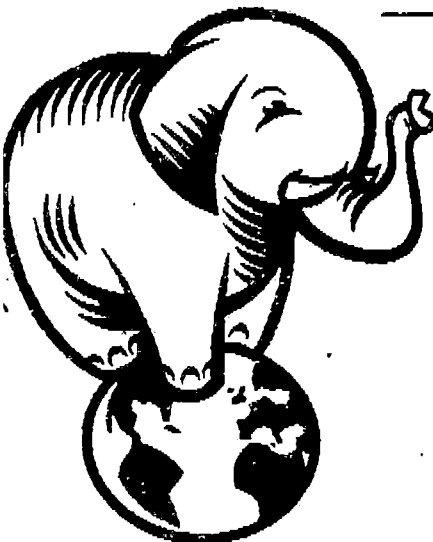
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SUITE 400  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282  
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH  
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY  
CHAIRMAN



GOPAC

LAURA C. STOTZ  
POLITICAL SERVICES DIRECTOR

440 1st ST. N.W., SUITE 400, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001  
PHONE (202) 484-2282 FAX (202) 783-3306

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For a discussion. Thanks a million for your  
help.



## **GOPAC Charter Meeting Victory Celebration**

All winning candidates in Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia to whom GOPAC contributed were invited to attend. Six New Jersey and twenty-two Virginia candidates are present. Charter Members can identify legislators in the audience by the black stars on their nametags.

Congressman-elect George Allen from Virginia's Seventh District is a guest of honor.

Joe Elton, Executive Director of the Republican Party of Virginia, is here with two senior members of his staff. Together Joe and Tom Morgan developed the extremely effective Wilder Index strategy discussed this morning in the political presentation.

Steve Haner, Executive Director of Virginia's Joint Republican Caucus, is widely respected throughout the state for his campaign expertise. He and his staff gave help and advice to every candidate in the field. Steve also provided tremendous assistance with the GOPAC program, including sponsorship of video training workshops.

### **New Jersey Senator-Elect**

|               |                  |     |
|---------------|------------------|-----|
| Andrew Ciesla | Brick (Dist. 10) | 60% |
|---------------|------------------|-----|

### **New Jersey Assemblymen-Elect**

(Note: In N.J. Assembly elections, the two candidates receiving the highest vote percentages win.)

|                 |                              |     |
|-----------------|------------------------------|-----|
| Paul DiGaetano  | Passaic (Dist. 36)           | 30% |
| David Wolfe     | Point Pleasant (Dist. 10)    | 31% |
| Barbara Wright  | Plainsboro (Dist. 14)        | 38% |
| Ginny Haines    | Tom's River (Dist. 10)       | 32% |
| Rose Marie Heck | Hasbrouck Heights (Dist. 38) | 29% |

### **Virginia Senators-Elect**

|              |                            |     |                                                                                            |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Warren Barry | Springfield (Dist. 37)     | 61% | Clerk of the Circuit Court, Fairfax County.                                                |
| Brandon Bell | Roanoke (Dist. 21)         | 54% | Defeated Granger Macfarlane / Wilder Index of 83%.                                         |
| Fred Quayle  | Virginia Beach (Dist. 13)  | 52% | Attended GOPAC video training workshop.<br>Defeated Johnny Joannou / Wilder Index of 100%. |
| Ed Robb      | Charlottesville (Dist. 25) | 51% | Attended GOPAC video training workshop.<br>Defeated Tom Michie / Wilder Index of 83%.      |

|                 |                          |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ken Stolle      | Virginia Beach (Dist. 8) | 54% | Defeated Sonny Stallings / Wilder Index of 78%.                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Walter Stosch   | Richmond (Dist. 12)      | 76% | Open seat election. Opponent was Charlotte Armstrong.                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Del. Jane Woods | Fairfax (Dist. 34)       | 52% | Jane has a Wilder Index of 33% versus her opponent Emilie Miller's Wilder Index of 82%. GOPAC supported Jane in her House of Delegates race in 1989. This hotly-contested race played an important role in the Republican sweep in Fairfax. |

### Virginia Delegates-Elect

|                     |                           |     |                                                |
|---------------------|---------------------------|-----|------------------------------------------------|
| Eric Cantor         | Richmond (Dist. 73)       | u/o |                                                |
| Del. Randy Forbes   | Chesapeake (Dist. 78)     | u/o |                                                |
| Del. Frank Hargrove | Glen Allen (Dist. 55)     | u/o |                                                |
| Del. Bob Harris     | Fairfax (Dist. 37)        | 55% |                                                |
| Riley Ingram        | Hopewell (Dist. 62)       | 54% | Defeated Wesley Jones / Wilder Index of 83%    |
| Bob Marshall        | Manassas (Dist. 13)       | 58% |                                                |
| Roger McClure       | Centreville (Dist. 67)    | 58% |                                                |
| Bob McDonnell       | Virginia Beach (Dist. 84) | 53% | Defeated Glenn McClanan / Wilder Index of 73%. |
| Steve Newman        | Lynchburg (Dist. 23)      | 54% |                                                |
| Jay O'Brien         | Clifton (Dist. 40)        | 56% |                                                |
| Del. Harry Parrish  | Manassas (Dist. 50)       | u/o | Wilder Index 25%                               |
| Panny Rhodes        | Richmond (Dist. 68)       | 69% |                                                |
| Linda Rollins       | Leesburg (Dist. 33)       | 61% |                                                |
| Dave Sanders        | McLean (Dist. 53)         | 50% |                                                |
| Frank Wagner        | Virginia Beach (Dist. 21) | 62% |                                                |