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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 26, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS
CHANGING PARTIES

The Rose Garden

3:44 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. And all of you, greetings, welcome to the Rose Garden. To Lee -- Lee Atwater and Jeannie Austin -- delighted that the leaders of our party are here for this important occassion. And, of course, to our special friend, Congressman Bill Grant of Florida -- a great, great pleasure to see you again and have you here with us. And to state officials, key elected leaders, fellow Republicans all, welcome to the White House. And welcome officially -- you don't need it from me -- but, welcome to the Republican Party. (Applause.)

It was once said that some men change their principles for their party, while others change their party for their principles. And since the election, scores of elected Democratic officials -- men and women -- have made the right choice and joined the Republican Party -- and because the values and principles of the Democratic Party were not their values and principles. And I think many more will follow them.

The switch is on to the party in sync with the American principles. The switch is on to the Republican Party.

In February -- seems like just yesterday -- Bill Grant, Congressman, came to the White House to announce his switch from Democrat to Republican. And now he's with the party of opportunity, the party of ideas, the party of the future, because in the future, I honestly believe there will be many more Democrats joining our ranks.

And people say the Republican Party is on the move. Well, when I look around here today, I'd say that's true. We're moving in the right direction. But the Democratic Party is on the move, too -- to the left and out of the mainstream.

And as the greatest former Democrat of them all, President Reagan, once said, "I didn't leave the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party left me." The Democratic Party is leaving droves of voters behind as it moves over on to the more liberal side -- the left side of the political equasion. And now many of those stranded voters have made a move on their own -- to the Republican Party, our party of family, faith and the future.

And each of you here has made a courageous decision, sometimes a very tough, political decision to join us -- taking considerable political risk in the process. But you've also made a move to be on the winning side in the contest of ideas and issues in America.

And when you made that bold choice to join us, we made a choice, too. We will support you, we will back you up in every way we can. You've made a tough decision -- the right decision -- and we're with you. And when you're out there on the front lines for us, you won't be fighting alone. This party will stand with you shoulder-to-shoulder.

As former Democrats, you are the most visible sign of the

MORE

great sea-changes that are going on in the American political scene. I'm told that since 1984, the Republican Party in Florida has increased its voter registration by nearly half a million; and in the last 60 days, Republicans have been out-registering Democrats in that state by better than 3-1. And that's because mainstream Americans believe in peace through strength, and economic opportunity, traditional family values. And with the Republican Party, they're swimming with the current.

We know which party stands for a strong America and a growing economy -- and Americans know that too. And that's why with the able leadership of Lee Atwater, Jeannie Austin, the Party will become the majority party in America. We can do it -- I want to help -- we will do it -- because of the courage of you and thousands like you. On behalf of Republicans everywhere then, thank you, congratulations, welcome to the Republican Party.

Thank you all very, very much for coming.

END 3:49 P.M. EDT

CONGRESSMAN BILL GRANT

Bill Grant is a Republican with roots that go deep in the history of North Florida.

A sixth generation Floridian, Bill Grant was born in Lake City, spent his early childhood on a farm in Suwannee County and attended High School in Taylor County. While working his way through Florida State University, he distinguished himself by becoming President of his class and a member of the prestigious Cold Key honorary leadership society before graduating with a degree in Marketing in 1963.

As an active businessman, he helped establish three North Florida banks, including the Bank of Madison County, where he served as President for 13 years.

In the midst of his highly successful banking career, in 1982 he won a seat in the Florida Senate. In 1984, he was re-elected without opposition.

As a Senator, Bill earned the reputation as an expert in the appropriations process and budgetary issues. He was also instrumental in the passage of landmark education and environmental legislation.

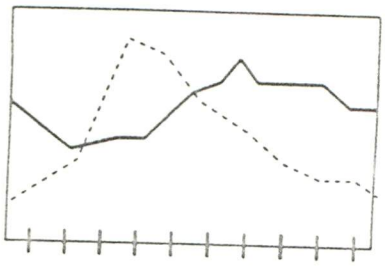
In 1986, then Senator Grant became the 100th Floridian since statehood to represent Florida in the U.S. Congress.

Congressman Grant has taken a leadership role in the fight against illegal drugs, reforming America's welfare system and reducing the Federal deficit. He supports a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced Federal budget and giving the President line item veto authority.

When a member of the Public Works and Transportation Committee, he supported measures to strengthen air safety, and ocean dumping and protect Florida's coastline. When a member of the Government Operations Committee, he took special interest in both agricultural and justice issues, and has introduced legislation to reform the judicial appeals system.

Congressman Grant has earned accolades for his work on behalf of veterans and the elderly. He earned the Golden Bulldog Award for his efforts to cut Federal spending, eliminate waste and reduce the Federal deficit.

Congressman Grant is married to the former Janet Krawiec and has two sons, John and Carter.



THE WIRTHLIN GROUP
NATIONAL QUORUM MEMORANDUM

1363 Beverly Road, McLean, Virginia/703-556-0001/Fax 790-5821

Feb.'90

The Wirthlin Group is providing this current political data to apprise you of changes in the national environment and to give you the opportunity to use this information to help shape your campaign or those with whom you have contact.

If you have any ideas for future surveys or questions about this summary, please call Neil Newhouse, or Bill McInturff at 703-556-0001.

This summary is from our February 19-21, 1990 national survey of 1,000 adults. In general, random samples such as this yield results projectable to the entire universe within ± 3.1 percentage points in 95 out of 100 cases.

HIGHLIGHTS OF FEBRUARY SURVEY:

- Americans continue to be modestly optimistic about the direction the country is headed -- by a 48%-43% margin, Americans believe that the nation is going in the right direction.

- President Bush's job rating continues to be high, with 73% approving of the job he's doing, and only 18% disapproving.

- Contrary to popular belief, just 12% of Americans say that they have either changed their mind or modified their own position on abortion in the past year.

And, on a couple of issues outside the standard political agenda of most candidates:

- Americans aren't taking sides in the current baseball lockout of players by the owners. Thirty-six percent of those interviewed say they sympathize more with the players, compared to 32% who side with the owners.

- Public opinion is split down the middle on the issue of banning fur sales: 49% of Americans believe there is nothing wrong with people having the right to buy furs, but another 49% are against fur sales.

PRESIDENT BUSH JOB APPROVAL

George Bush maintains his high approval ratings across the demographic spectrum, receiving a total approval score of 73%-18%, with 30% now strongly approving of the job he's doing, and 8% strongly disapproving.

Although there isn't all that much difference between the President's overall ratings by specific groups, there is a significant difference in the intensity of support he receives. Key findings on this include:

- President Bush receives considerably stronger support from men (35% strongly approve) than from women (25%), with his most intense base of support coming from older men (47%).
- Although the President's highest overall approval scores come from younger Americans (77% among 18-34 year olds), his strongest approval comes from older Americans (36%).
- The higher the education level and income level of a respondent, the more likely he or she is to strongly approve of the job that President Bush is doing.
- Democratic men are President Bush's strongest Democratic support group (63%-28% approval), with 28% being strong approvers.
- The President's regional strength emerges most strongly in the South (32% strongly approve) and the West (36%).

HAVE AMERICANS CHANGED THEIR MINDS ON THE ABORTION ISSUE?

Last year's Supreme Court ruling granting states wider power to regulate abortions sparked heated debate among politicians and forced an examination, perhaps for the first time, among voters and politicians as to their opinions on the issue. Amid this controversy and debate, voters did not undergo the realignment of opinion as was expected. In fact, just 12% say they have changed their mind or modified their position on this issue.

Those most likely to have changed their position are younger Americans: 61% of those who report changing or modifying their position in the past year are 18-to-34 years old. That is especially true among younger Democrats, 27% of whom say they have changed their minds on this issue.

Although younger Americans appear to have shifted somewhat on this issue, older Americans have held steadfast -- just 4% of Americans over 55 years of age say they have changed their minds.

RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK

Americans continue to express optimism about the direction of the country, with 48% saying the nation is headed in the right direction, and 43% believing it is off on the wrong track. It is important to note that this is just the sixth time in the last 36 monthly surveys that a plurality of Americans are positive on this measure.

Men, younger Americans, those with higher education and income levels, Republicans, and Westerners are all significantly more positive than the nation as a whole.

Consistently throughout the last few years, our surveys have shown both a gender and a generation gap on this question. Although we have examined these differences in our summaries, it is also important to note that differences of opinion exist within political parties. For example, GOP women and older Republicans are considerably less optimistic than their male and younger counterparts.

On this survey, the most pessimistic Republican groups [older Republicans (49%-45%) and Republican women (49%-45%)] match up with the most optimistic Democratic groups [younger Democrats (50%-45%) and Democratic men (46%-43%)].

MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

Once again, concern over drugs dominates Americans' response as the most important problem facing the country, receiving 33% of the mentions from Americans. The next highest concerns are each mentioned by 6% of Americans. This is the 22nd month of the past 23 (dating back to April 1988) that drugs has topped the issue agenda.

The issues mentioned most frequently by Americans include:

Drugs	33%
Environment/pollution	6%
The economy	6%
The deficit	5%
Poverty/hunger/homelessness	5%
Unemployment	3%
Education	3%

THE BASEBALL LOCKOUT

By a 36%-32% margin, Americans side more with the players than with the owners in the current baseball lockout. These results differ dramatically from our September 1988 polling during the NFL Football strike (players 47%-28% owners), indicating that the players have struck out in whatever efforts they may have made to sway fans strongly in their direction.

Part of that failure may be attributable to the significant amount of press that baseball player salaries have received in the past few months, with few Americans being able to sympathize with such highly paid entertainers.

The crosstabs show some interesting demographic trends, with owners receiving a plurality of support among men (especially middle-aged and older men), higher educated Americans, those with higher household incomes, Republicans, and those living in the Midwest.

Those more likely to support the players include: women, younger Americans, less educated and lower income Americans, Democrats, and those Americans living in the South and the West.

BAN THE SALE OF FURS?

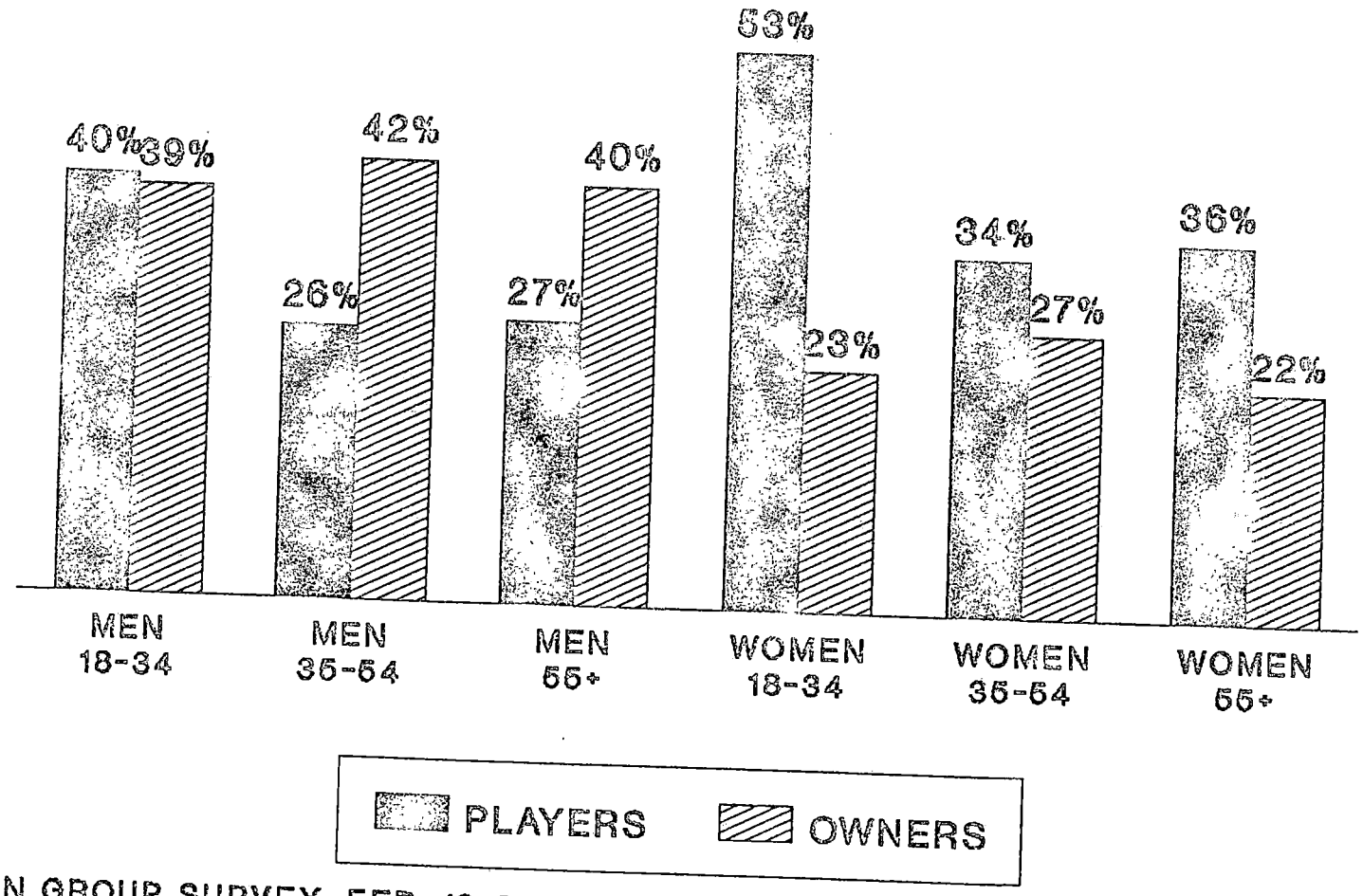
Almost half of Americans (49%) believe there is nothing wrong with people having the right to buy furs if they choose to, but an equal number believe either that people shouldn't purchase furs (28%), or that the sale of furs should be banned (21%).

On this obviously divisive issue, this survey also reveals some interesting sub-group trends. Those who oppose the purchase of furs tend to be women (especially younger women), post-grads and Independents, while those taking the other side on this issue tend to be men (especially middle-aged and older men), lower educated Americans, blacks and residents of the South.

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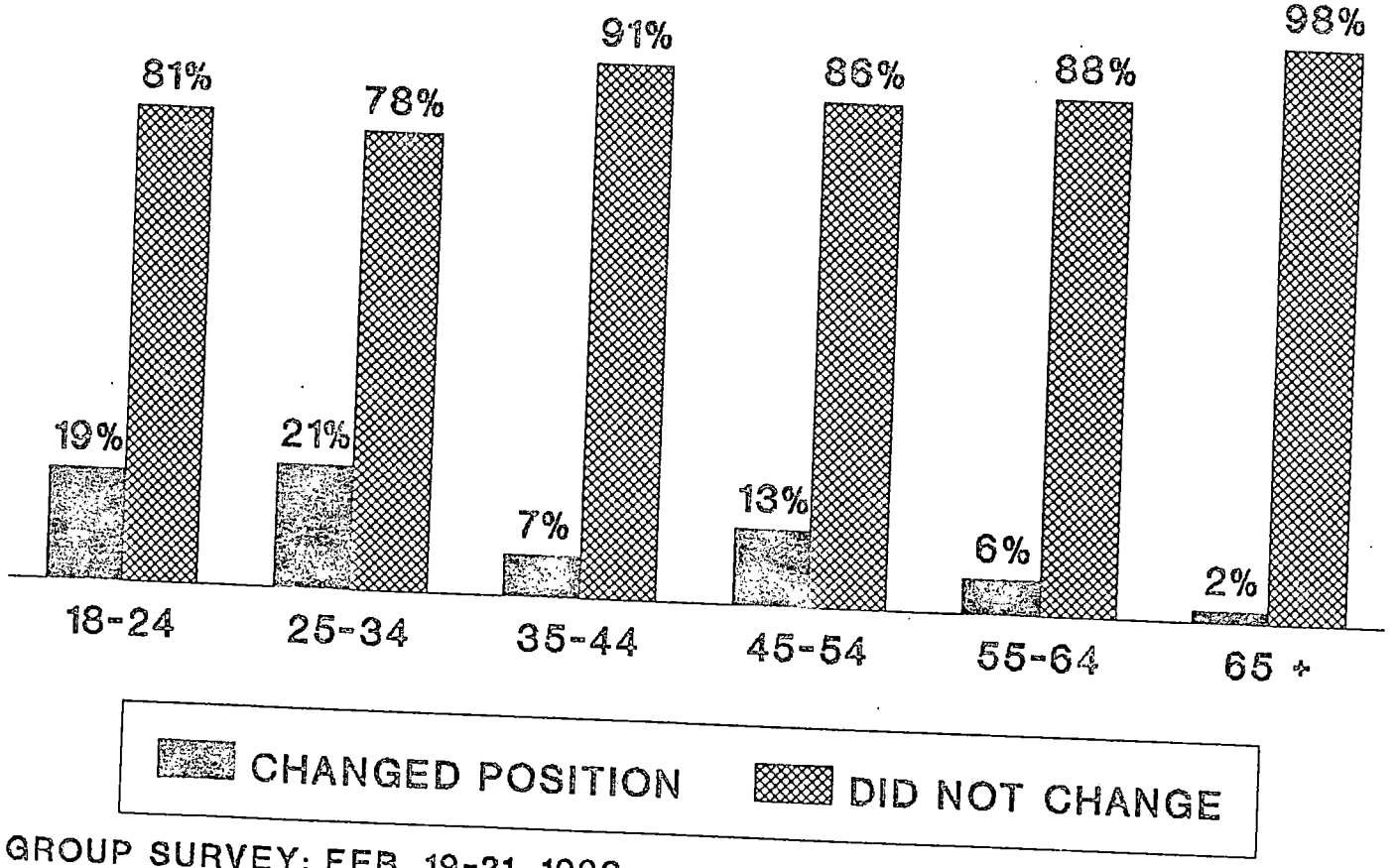
Again, we hope you find this information interesting and helpful to your efforts. Please feel free to call on us (703/556-0001) if we can be of further assistance.

WHO DO YOU SIDE WITH IN THE CURRENT BASEBALL LOCKOUT?



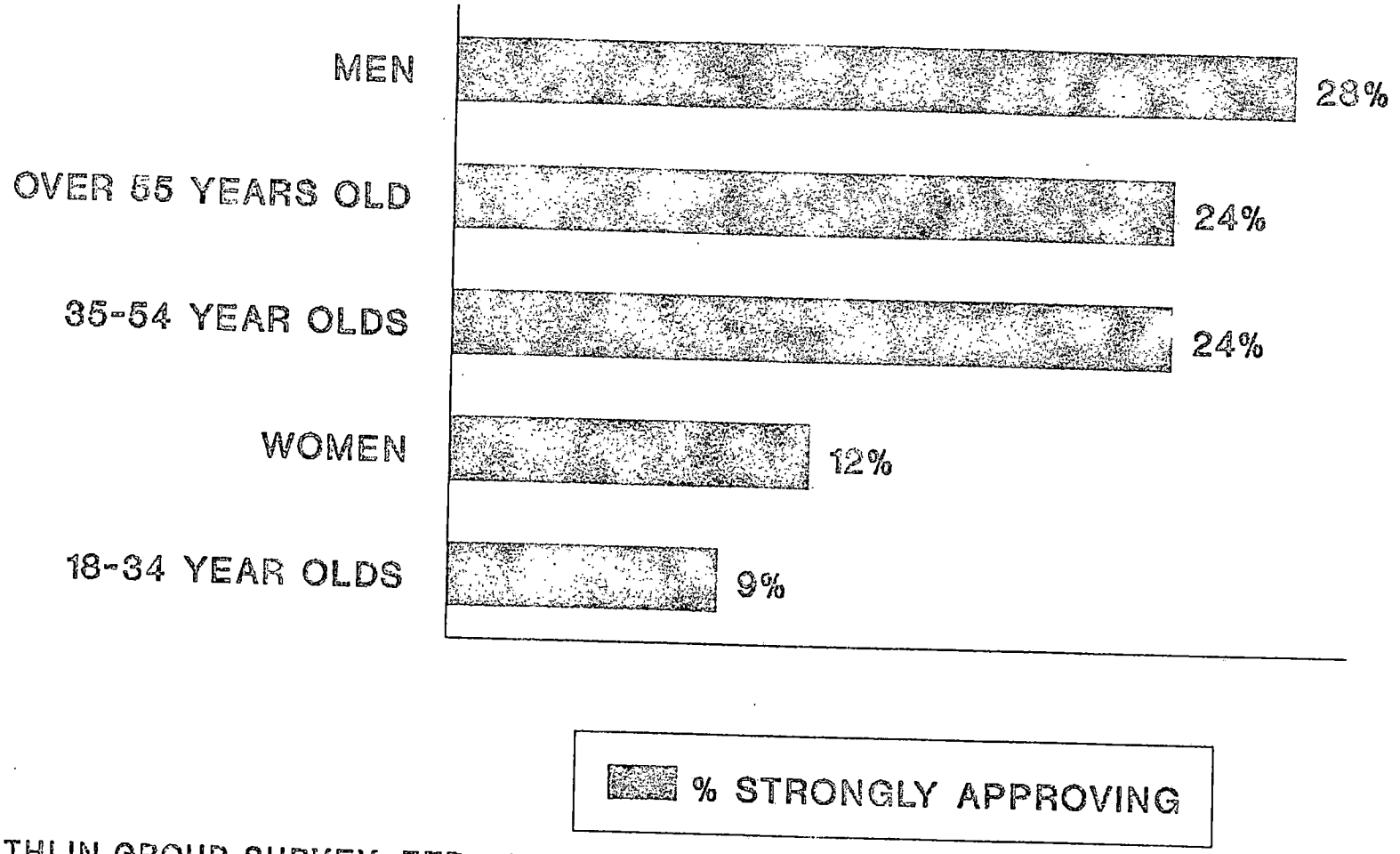
WIRTHLIN GROUP SURVEY: FEB. 19-21, 1990

CHANGED POSITION ON ABORTION BY AGE



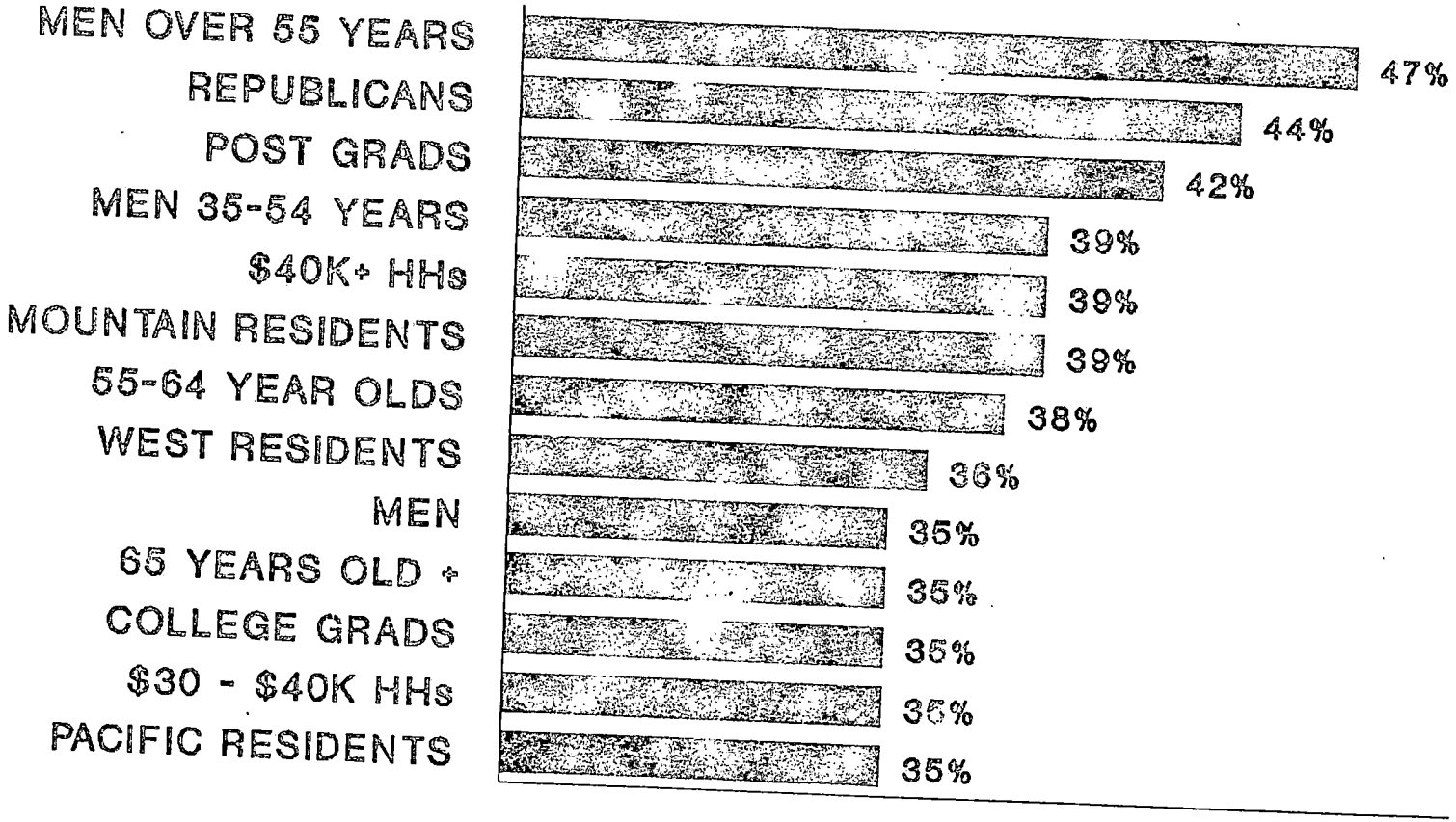
WIRTHLIN GROUP SURVEY: FEB. 19-21, 1990

GEORGE BUSH STRONG APPROVERS AMONG *DEMOCRAT PARTISANS*



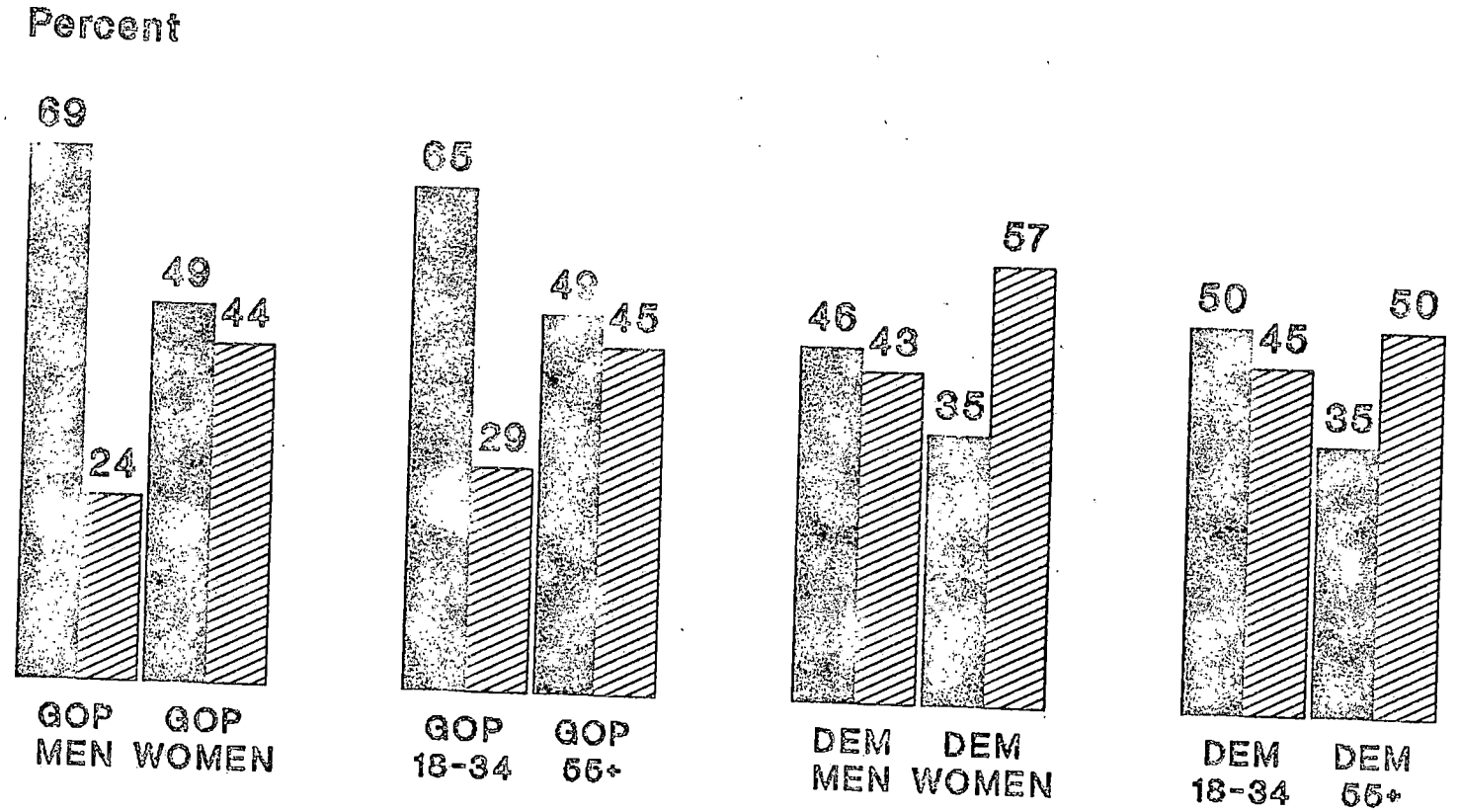
WIRTHLIN GROUP SURVEY: FEB. 19-21, 1990

GEORGE BUSH STRONG APPROVERS



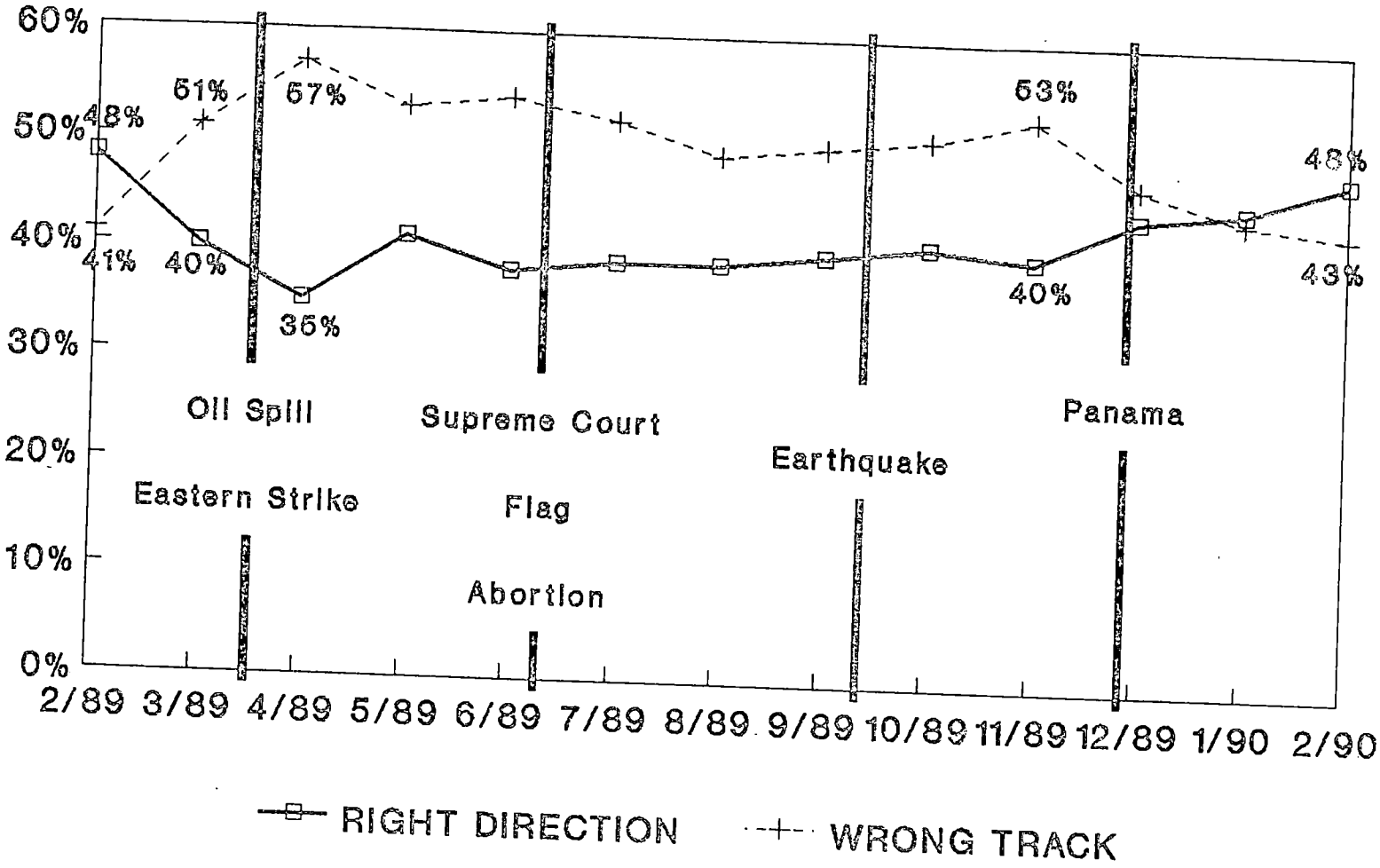
WIRTHLIN GROUP SURVEY: FEB. 19-21, 1990

RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK AMONG PARTISAN SUBGROUPS



WIRTHLIN GROUP SURVEY: FEB. 19-21, 1990

RIGHT DIRECTION/WRONG TRACK
ONE YEAR TREND: Feb. '89 - Feb. '90



SOURCE: WIRTHLIN GROUP SURVEYS

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HEADLINE: ESSAY;
The Opposition Stirs

BYLINE: By William Safire

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

''For myself, as a Democrat, respectfully,'' quietly begins the best public speaker in American politics today, ''I think we have given an appropriate period of deference to the newly victorious President.''

First he thanks Mr. Bush for ''candidly rejecting his predecessor's narrow view of life in America.'' He warns that if kinder, gentler talk is not backed up with resources, ''then he will be revealed as an unconverted, conservative Republican who has simply earned himself some cheap grace by reciting a little Democratic poetry.''

After this jab, some serious punching: ''In the campaign,'' he reminds the President, ''you said there was no money for housing or child care or education programs. Remember?

''Now, suddenly, you've come up with $166 billion for savings and loans . . . You said you didn't have it. Where did you get it? Is it there for banks but not for babies?''

He zings that point home with specifics: ''Do we have $166 billion to fight fiscal problems but not $16 billion to fight drugs? One hundred sixty-six billion dollars to protect investors but not $20 billion to educate kids and teach them the fundamental values that could save a generation? It's there, Mr. President . . . if you want to do it.''

Finally, the peroration that pulls partisans out of their seats: ''If the Administration says that we have the will but not the wallet; the desire but not the ability; the intention but not the imagination, that the country has run out of resources, that we have run out of steam - then we will know the flag they've been waving so furiously is a flag of surrender! And the American people will never accept that!''

That ringing oratory is delivered with passion by the Governor of New York, Mario Cuomo.

Nobody is listening yet; you don't see those words on television or even quoted in a newspaper. It's too soon, the fun is in foreign affairs, and the public is readier to quell than cavil.

LEXIS NEXIS LEXIS NEXIS

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(c) 1990 The New York Times, January 1, 1990

This weekend, as the President's supremely confident staff is passing around drafts of the State of the Union message, New York's hungry Governor puts the finishing flourishes on his State of the State address. The two speeches are the opening guns of the 1992 Presidential campaign.

What makes me think Mario is going for it this time? (That's pronounced marry-o; mah-rio on non-Italian lips is a subtle ethnic slur.) Little signals count: for the first time since he became Governor, he granted no executive clemencies at the end of the year. Somebody remembers Willie Horton.

A bigger signal is the Presidential focus of his interests. When members of a delegation from Solidarity visited him, Mr. Cuomo discovered they were unfamiliar with the writings of Abraham Lincoln. Forty top scholars assembled by Prof. Gabor Boritt of Gettysburg College are now choosing those works of Lincoln to be translated into Polish that will best help the new Government learn democracy.

Seeking to capture Lincoln for his party just as candidate Reagan captured F.D.R., the Governor thinks big about the peace dividend: ''Use it to bring down the deficit and interest rates,'' he tells me, ''and to answer national interests, like drugs and education - you can't get away with that 'goals' stuff; and to help Eastern Europe make it with a market economy.''

That's a national candidate at work, honing his themes. Practical question: Should he run for re-election this year? Reagan's route was to leave the governorship and concentrate on running for President; Gov. Dukakis held on to his post and was putting out home fires throughout his campaign.

That suggests it makes more sense these days to leave the state house first. But if he left Albany, would Mario control the New York delegation at the Democratic Convention? He is a loner, and if succeeded by a Democrat in office - Robert Abrams, Liz Holtzman, Andrew Stein, Felix Rohatyn or Arthur Liman - he could count on no automatic deliverance of delegates.

Forget the old favorite-son approach. The former Governor would win the New York delegation in a primary. Besides, a Republican would probably become New York governor in time for the next recession. Rudolph Giuliani and Chief Judge Sol Wachtler would slug it out in a primary, unless Jack Kemp decided to return. (Mario observes innocently, ''But Jack's no longer a resident.'') I like Mario. (I like Nixon too; what does that say?) With George Bush's popularity peaking, Democratic White House stock is at an all-time low. Good time to buy. Mario Cuomo knows that; listen to his speeches.

TYPE: OP-ED

SUBJECT: Terms not available

LEXIS NEXIS LEXIS NEXIS

Deputy Director of Research for Issues
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 863-

DRAFT OP-ED ON THE DEMOCRATS' "NEW DIRECTION"

The Democratic Leadership Council, a group of elected officials trying to move their party toward the center, recently issued "The New Orleans Declaration," a credo that speaks of "expanding opportunity, not government." Some Democrats say the Declaration shows that their party is ditching the "liberal fundamentalism" that has cost it five of the past six presidential elections.

Before the Democrats congratulate themselves, however, they should read the policy statements they have issued over the past decade. It turns out that they have sworn off leftism as often as Roseanne Barr has sworn off Twinkies -- with about as much effect.

1980: Senator Paul Tsongas tells the Americans for Democratic Action: "I believe that liberalism must extricate itself from the 1960s when we had the answers. We must move on to the pressing problems of the 1980s."

1981: Tsongas elaborates his point in The Road from Here: "Realism -- some of it Republican in its origins -- combined with the value system of the Democratic liberal tradition is the objective."

1982: The House Democratic Caucus issues a report called Rebuilding the Road to Opportunity, which says that "our policies must change -- because our country and the world have changed."

1983: Senator Gary Hart writes A New Democracy: "The more we care about fulfilling our historic commitment and achieving our traditional values, the more we must adapt to change, the more we must innovate, the more we must create."

1984: The House Democratic Caucus issues a report called Renewing America's Promise: "Our program, in fact, amounts to a clean break with the recent rhetoric -- but not the traditional values -- of the Democratic Party." In his acceptance speech a few months later, Walter Mondale says that the Democrats have made mistakes: "So tonight we come to you with a new realism ... We know that a government must be as well-managed as it is well-meaning."

1985: In an address at Boston's Fanueil Hall, Gary Hart says "our past achievements are not a cathedral in which to worship ... The party of change must change." Senator Edward Kennedy says that the Democrats lost in 1984 because they lost "the feeling of hope, the spirit of change." He says that the Democrats must show "the courage to discard" outdated programs.

1986: The Democratic Policy Commission issues a report called New Choices in a Changing America, which offers "a whole new agenda arising out of the many changes in America today." In a report called Choices for Change, the House Democratic Caucus says: "As the party of change in the land of change, Democrats offer new direction at home."

1987: Al From, executive director of the Democratic Leadership Council, says: "We need to move the Democratic Party in a new direction."

1988: House Democratic Whip Tony Coelho calls the Democratic platform "a new direction for our Party and our people."

1989: Saying that the traditional Democratic message "fails to fully describe [sic] the world as it is, and our future as it must be," House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt says "Democrats must offer a better option to the American people."

Yet the more they've talked of change and new directions, the more they've clung to the status quo and the old directions. A few minutes after proclaiming his "new realism" in 1984, Walter Mondale reverted to the ultimate in old liberalism: he promised to raise taxes. And the 1988 Democratic platform offered new dodges instead of new ideas. According to Robert Borosage of the left-wing Institute for Policy Studies: "The reason we didn't have a real fight over the platform is that the Dukakis people gave us so much of what we wanted -- as long as we were willing to accept language so broad and generalized that the ideas sound innocuous. Seventy percent of the platform is actually from Jackson's agenda..."

After reading all of this, the Democrats may be tempted to say: "Okay, maybe we didn't follow through on the 'new ideas' rhetoric in the past, but this time, we really, really mean it." But recent events show that the "liberal fundamentalists" are still driving the party -- and punishing heretics.

When Representative Tom Downey suggested that a huge bureaucracy might not improve child care, he was reviled by the Children's Defense Fund and public employee unions. When six Ways and Means Democrats supported a cut in capital-gains taxation, Democratic Chairman Ron Brown said that their position was "unethical, immoral." Jesse Jackson threatened Rainbow Coalition attacks in their districts. Representative Charles Rangel, head of the Americans for Democratic Action, said: "Certainly no six monkeys on the Ways and Means Committee are going to direct where my party is going."

The Democratic Leadership Council deserves praise for challenging party orthodoxy. If other Democrats followed DLC back to the mainstream, the party could make a comeback in national politics. But already, Jesse Jackson has told the DLC that his agenda is the mainstream to which the Democrats are returning.

The more the Democrats change, the more they stay the same. Their new direction is always leftward.

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1600 South Joyce Street, #A-1007
Arlington, Virginia 22202
703/486-1639

27 March 1990

Letters Editor
New Republic
1220 19th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

To the editors:

In "What's the Beef?" (April 2), Robert Kuttner shows that he has been snoozing through recent political debate and skimming the Cliff's Notes instead. He belittles the Democratic Leadership Council's differences with "liberal fundamentalist" Democrats by citing DLC's support for an expanded Earned-Income Tax Credit. Kuttner fails to grasp that a goal cherished by liberals, reducing poverty, can be reached through non-bureaucratic or conservative means. The tax-credit proposal would empower the poor to control their own resources and would avoid the old minimum-wage pitfall of destroying thousands of jobs.

The Earned Income Tax Credit started under President Ford and was increased by President Reagan. The proposal for further expansion was sponsored by Republican Congressman Thomas Petri, endorsed by the 1988 Republican platform and articulated by the Heritage Foundation.

Kuttner says that liberal fundamentalists have forsaken factional wars. But when Rep. Tom Downey suggested that more bureaucracy might not improve child care, he was reviled by the Children's Defense Fund and public employee unions. When six Ways and Means Democrats voted to cut capital-gains taxation, Democratic Chairman Ron Brown said that their position was "unethical, immoral." Jesse Jackson threatened them with Rainbow Coalition attacks. Rep. Charles Rangel, head of the Americans for Democratic Action, said: "Certainly no six monkeys on the Ways and Means Committee are going to direct where my party is going."

The Democratic Leadership Council deserves praise for challenging party orthodoxy. If other Democrats followed DLC back to the mainstream, the party could make a comeback. Will that happen? Consider this admission by a leading Democrat: "After we lost we didn't tell the American people that they were wrong. Instead we began asking what our mistakes had been." Sound promising? Alas, these hopeful words come from the 1984 acceptance speech of the pluperfect liberal fundamentalist, Walter Mondale.

Sincerely,

John J. Pitney, Jr.

DEMOCRATS CONTROL THE HOUSE

- The Democrats have run the House since 1955 -- longer than most Americans have been alive (U.S. median age is 32.1). John Rowland (b. 5-24-57), for instance, had not even been born when his party last had the majority.

- Until 1980, it was easy to explain Democratic dominance in the House: voters identified with Democrats over Republicans, 53%-34%.

- Now the parties are virtually tied in voter identification -- 45%D to 44%R (CBS poll taken 1-90). Yet the Democrats still control the House (175R to 257D, 3 vacancies). Why? The Democrats have had advantages in four areas:

  * Redistricting
  * Incumbency
  * Recruitment
  * Minority outreach

- The national GOP seeks to overcome Democratic advantages in each area.

REDISTRICTING

- Gerrymandering is the drawing of district lines to favor one party. Our goal is to prevent gerrymanders following the 1990 census.

- In most states, redistricting plans must be approved by both legislative chambers and the governor. To block a gerrymander, we have to control one of these three power points. Thus, the national GOP is putting effort into winning legislative seats, picking up governorships, and holding onto governorships that we already have.

  * Three states are most important: California, Texas and Florida. After the 1990 census, these three will contain nearly one-quarter of all the seats in the House.

- In addition to working for a seat at the redistricting table, Republicans are fighting the gerrymander through these routes:

  * Supporting ballot propositions to reform the redistricting process.
  * Building coalitions with minority groups, who also suffer from gerrymanders.
  * Assembling the resources to fight unfair redistricting plans in court, if necessary.

INCUMBENCY

- In 1988, over 98 percent of incumbents won re-election. The only members who lost were embroiled in ethics controversies.

- In 1988, only 15.4% of House seats were won with less than 60% of the vote -- the lowest share of competitive seats in the history of the U.S. House.

- And because most incumbents are Democrats, the decline of competition hurts Republicans.

- To restore fair competition to House races, the President is proposing to:

  * End PACs set up by corporations, unions and trade groups.
  * Strengthen political parties by increasing the sums that they can spend on behalf of congressional candidates.
  * Fully disclose all "soft money."

- At Republican prodding, Congress has voted to curb congressional newsletters, which are often thinly-disguised vehicles for self-promotion.

- Congress has also forbidden members to convert campaign money to personal use after 1993. Many incumbents with big warchests -- mainly Democrats -- will retire in 1992 so that they can take the money. This will mean more open seats.

RECRUITMENT

- To defeat incumbents or win open seats, Republicans need experienced candidates -- best of all, people who have won office before. In recent decades, Democrats have had a big advantage in state legislative seats and local offices, leaving the GOP with little bench strength. Republican challenges have often been weak or nonexistent.

  * In 1988, 61 House Democrats -- nearly one-fourth of the total -- had no Republican opponent at all.

- According to Stuart Rothenberg, NRCC and RNC "now appear to have had somewhat greater success in attracting potentially strong candidates."

- The party is actively recruiting people to run for state legislative seats, not only to strengthen our redistricting position but to build our bench of future House candidates. The Chairman and Co-Chairman have personally talked with scores of potential candidates. The Vice President has also put a great deal of time into the effort.

- In 1989, over 160 Democratic officials switched to the GOP, simultaneously strengthening our base and eroding the Democrats'.

MINORITY OUTREACH

- In the 1988 House elections, Republican candidates won:

  * 13% of the Black vote
  * 29% of the Latino vote
  * 52% of the Asian vote

- Republican strength among Asians is encouraging, but they now make up only 1-2% of the electorate. (This figure will grow during the 1990s, particularly in California.)

- Latinos make up 3-4% and Blacks 8-10% of the electorate. Dozens of House districts have large concentrations of Black and Latino voters. As long as Republicans do poorly among Blacks and Latinos, we cannot win most of these districts. Thus the Democrats now have an automatic head start in House seats.

- To win more minority votes, RNC has an aggressive outreach program, to bring the Republican message to minority organizations and recruit minority candidates.

- In its outreach effort, the party's greatest asset is President Bush. According to a January ABC poll, 74% of Blacks approve of the job he is doing.

###

This is part of what went to Simpson. He only used a couple of lines from the end.

Yesterday, Congressman Gephardt claimed that President Bush lacked vision and imagination. "America must think creatively and act boldly," he said. "Rather than pouring more and more money into weapon systems, we should be investing in our own self-interest."

But just the day before, he told the Washington Times, and I quote: "We don't have the resources, nor do we have the need, in my view, for a huge activist agenda."

I know that Congressman Gephardt likes to change his mind, but I've never seen him do it quite that fast.

His confusion pretty much sums up the state of his party. Last October, he said that "a new Democratic blueprint" would solve all our problems, from acid rain to acid indigestion. Then, during the questions and answers, he admitted that they didn't even have a blueprint yet. He said, and again I quote, "most of it will come next year."

We hear that kind of talk every day: "Please hold, and the next available operator will take your call."

The fact of the matter is, if he looked in his wastebasket, he'd find lots of Democratic blueprints. Every couple of years, the Democrats have announced that they're going to do some new thinking. The trouble is, they never have any new thoughts.

In 1982, Mr. Gephardt and his colleagues put together a booklet called Rebuilding the Road to Opportunity. Here's how it started: "But the proposals we make represent a break with the policies of the past ... [Our] policies must change -- because our economy and the world have changed."

So far, so good -- especially the mention of opportunity in the title. It's a Republican word.

But two years later, they put out another booklet called Renewing America's Promise. Here's how it started: "Our program, in fact, amounts to a clean break with the recent rhetoric -- but not the traditional values -- of the Democratic Party."

I don't get it. The first booklet was a break with the past. The second booklet was a break with the rhetoric of the recent past. But the first booklet was the rhetoric of the recent past. In other words, they were breaking with their break with the past.

So where were they going? Who's on first? I don't know -- maybe Abbott and Costello were the ghostwriters.

It gets worse. In 1986, they put out yet another booklet called Choices for Change. In the preface, Mr. Gephardt said, "[Our] party must also define itself in terms of its goals." And a few months later, he gave a speech where he posed all sorts of questions and

said: "It is incumbent upon us, the Democratic leaders, to begin answering those questions."

Just a month ago, Congressman Gephardt admitted that his party still hadn't defined itself: "People don't have any sense of what we are or who we are." He must have been the last person in town to figure that out.

While the Democrats have been repackaging their unsold merchandise, President Bush and the Republican Party have been getting the job done.

- Look at economic growth. The 1984 Democratic blueprint -- remember, their second new identity -- said this: "The current recovery will not do the job ... Unless the Reagan policy is changed, we face wither another recession two years down the road or ... another outbreak of high inflation." Instead, Republican policies have sustained the longest peacetime expansion in history -- without high inflation. The Gephardt Democrats were wrong.

- Look at jobs -- more than 20 million new jobs during the expansion. That same 1984 booklet said that "optimistic projections place unemployment at 7.5 percent by 1986." Wrong again: the 1986 figure was down to 6.9 percent. Last year it had fallen to 5.3 percent.

- Look at their world view. Again from the 1984 booklet: "America has made no real progress toward a safer, stabler world. The arms race spirals upward ... Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and oppression in Eastern Europe continue unabated." Well, the START talks are moving ahead. The Soviets have left Afghanistan and removed their INF missiles from Europe. Havel's in, Ortega's out, and the Wall is down.

That's a pretty good record -- especially since the Democrats kept saying that we had to repent because the end was near. But President Bush and the Republicans isn't just resting on their record. They're looking forward:

- Look at tax policy. Just as he promised, he beat back the Democratic demand for a tax increase and he carried on his fight for a capital gains tax cut.

- Look at the savings and loan crisis. A year ago, millions of ordinary Americans -- farmers and factory workers -- worried about losing their life savings. As soon as he took office, President Bush set out a reform package. He took a lot of hits, but he worked hard and got it passed.

- Look at drugs. President Bush proposed the largest dollar increases in the history of the drug war. And while the Democrats can't see any points of light, the private sector is raising a million dollars a day to fight the drug war.

What did the Democrats propose? What was their bold, innovative alternative to President Bush's plan? Senator Biden summed it up nicely: "I'd do everything he did on law enforcement except a little more."

- Look at education. We've made some progress in the past few years. We still have a long way to go. Back in 1986, Mr. Gephardt said that too many people -- quote -- "can't write good enough" -- unquote. He got that right: even his speechwriters don't know the difference between good and well. To correct this kind of problem, President Bush sent Congress a comprehensive bill to foster excellence in education. And he sat down with the governors to set goals for making sure our children get the schooling they deserve.

Tough problems -- real answers. The national Democratic leaders don't have real responses, just smoke. They can't talk straight because their positions are far from mainstream America.

They want more taxes.

They want less defense.

They don't want to let parents choose which public schools their kids will go to.

And they don't want the death penalty for vicious crimes.

In November 1988, we had an election on these issues. The Democrats tried to set up a smokescreen by making a lot of personal attacks against George Bush. You remember: "Where was George?" We all know how the election turned out. Where's George now?

I know why the Democrats are frustrated. The American people are standing behind President Bush. Meanwhile, their own support is going down the drain. Listen to these recent numbers:

- Three-quarters of the American people like the way President Bush is doing his job. And big majorities approve of the way he's handling every major issue: economy, environment, foreign policy and drugs.

- Among Democrats, his approval rating stands at 66 percent.

- Among blacks, the Democratic Party's most loyal constituency, it stands at 74 percent.

- Among all voters, the Republicans have pulled even in party identification. And among young voters -- the ones who will decide the elections of the future -- Republicans have a fourteen-point advantage.

The people support President Bush because he is delivering on his campaign promises. And they're turning to the Republican Party because they agree with our message of free enterprise and peace through strength.

So it's no wonder that the Democrats have turned negative. Now there's nothing wrong with good, tough criticism of your opponents -- so long as you've got something positive to offer. Americans understand the difference between constructive criticism and careless whining. But when the people look at what the Democrats are saying, what they'll see is like an empty stockyard after a rainstorm -- lots of mud, but where's the beef?

A couple of clear-headed Democratic analysts have explained this problem. Here's what they say in a report called "The Politics of Evasion":

"What is to be done? The Democratic Party must choose between two basic strategies. The first is to hunker down, change nothing, and wait for some catastrophe -- deep recession, failed war, or a breach of the Constitution -- to deliver victory ... The other strategy, active rather than passive, is to address the party's weaknesses directly."

In the 1988 primaries, Mr. Gephardt thought he'd ride to victory on the Hyundai automobile. He had a fast start, but he ran out of gas. He ended up with six percent of the primary vote.

He put together farm legislation -- the Harkin-Gephardt bill -- with all sorts of collectivist controls on agriculture. Round about the same time, the Russians finally decided that that kind of policy doesn't work. It took them seventy years to learn that. But don't worry about Mr. Gephardt: he changes his mind a lot quicker.

Last year, he tried to turn the capital gains tax cut into an episode of class warfare. But then the Democrats started talking to working people about the idea. This is what one of them said: "I think it's a good idea because, in the future, I may be able to buy and sell stocks." That's the sunlight of the American dream -- but all that Mr. Gephardt can see is midnight in America.

Pessimism is just about the only constant in his record.

In 1981, he said: "I would get rid of government in health care. I would get rid of government in education to a much greater extent than we have. I would discharge those responsibilities either to the private sector or to the states."

Now he wants all sorts of regulations on health care and massive new federal spending on education.

In 1981, he voted for the Reagan tax cut. Now he denounces it.

In 1981, he talked about consolidating Social Security with welfare programs. Now he wants to make it untouchable.

In recent years, he's criticized trickle-down economics. Now he wants to practice his own version: give to Moscow, USSR, and eventually it will trickle down to Moscow, Idaho.

Not a model of consistency. I have an idea of what his next campaign slogan should be:

"Read My Flips."

The worst inconsistency of all is that he's cultivated an image of courtesy and fair play. But in 1988, he said of the Bush campaign, and I quote, "Hitler would have loved those people." During the capital gains debate, he said that the President's proposal was -- and again I quote -- "to take care of those who didn't get named ambassadors."

Mr. Gephardt says that he's laid aside his White House ambitions to be a a legislative leader, a true man of Congress. If that's so, he's not measuring up to other great men of the Hill.

Can you picture Sam Rayburn talking about a president the way Mr. Gephardt has?

Can you picture Richard Russell abandoning the bipartisan consensus on foreign policy?

Can you picture Tip O'Neill playing pinball with his principles? That was one thing about Tip -- you always knew where he stood.

So let me offer some friendly advice to Mr. Gephardt. Make up your mind whether you want to be a weathervane or a statesman. Your party desperately needs statesmen. And our country would be better off if the Democrats had them. President Bush has a strong record, and he enjoys strong support from the people. He has extended the hand of bipartisanship. If statesmen on the other side accepted his hand -- well, there's a lot of good we could do for America.

But if you slap away his hand, you diminish yourself and your party. What's more, you'll lose at the polls. The hour is late and the choice is yours.

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Presidential approval: The Polling Report, January 1990.

Democratic and black approval: Washington Post, January 18, 1990, p. A9.

Party identification: Helmut Norpoth and Michael R. Kagay, "Another Eight Years of Republican Rule and Still No Partisan Realignment?" paper presented at the 1989 annual conference of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, August 31-September 3, 1989.

"What is to be done?" William Galston and Elaine Ciulla Kamarck, "The Politics of Evasion: Democrats and the Presidency" (Washington: Progressive Policy Institute, September 1989), p. 27.

"I think it's a good idea ..." Washington Post, October 4, 1989, p. A4.

"I would get rid of government..." Randall Rothenberg, The Neoliberals (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), p. 126.

Consolidating Social Security: Neoliberals, p. 125.

"Hitler would have loved ..." Washington Times, October 25, 1988.

"to take care of those ..." Story by Bud Newman, United Press International, September 19, 1989.

###

Rebuttal to a Ron Brown op-ed.
Never used.

Ron Brown V. Reality

BROWN: **"1989 was a year of triumph for the Democratic Party."**

REALITY: "The Republican Party enjoyed virtual parity in 1989 with the Democrats in the loyalty of Americans for the first time since just after World War II ended" (NY Times, 1-21-90).

More than 160 Democratic officials switched to the GOP.

BROWN: **"We won because our candidates shared a vision ..."**

REALITY: "People don't have any sense of what we are or who we are." (House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, quoted in Washington Post, 2-3-90).

BROWN: **" ... and a commitment to America's working men and women."**

REALITY: "There is a fairly persuasive perception that the Democrats over-commit to social spending, inevitably creating situations that require middle-class taxpayers to pay more money" (Polling report to House Democrats, quoted in: Washington Times, 2-5-90).

BROWN: **"The challenge is to recapture American economic leadership by the year 2000."**

REALITY: We never lost it. Since 1982, the United States has created more jobs than Western Europe, Canada and Japan put together (Economic Report of the President 1990, p. 144).

BROWN: **"For ten years, the United States built its military while others built their economy."**

REALITY: The United States is enjoying the longest peacetime expansion in history. And between 1986 and 1990, military spending fell from 6.5% of GNP to 5.4%. President Bush's budget plan would reduce it to 4.2% by 1995 (FY91 Budget, p. A-303).

BROWN: **"During 10 years of Republican government the average income of families with children fell."**

REALITY: Between 1978 and 1982, when the economy suffered from Democratic policies or their lingering effects, median family income (1988 dollars) fell from $32,006 to $28,727. Between 1983 and 1988, with Republican policies in place, real median family income rose from $29,307 to $32,191 (Census, Money Income and Poverty Status in the United States: 1988, p. 11).

BROWN: **"And in those 10 years of Republican government, we certainly didn't win the war on drugs."**

REALITY: The war is not over, but we are making progress. Citing federal statistics, the LA Times (2-14-90) reports: "The proportion of high school seniors who said they had used drugs within the last year dropped to 35.4%, the lowest figure since the closely watched surveys began in 1975."

BROWN: **"Democrats are making the hard choices** [on drug policy] **and backing tough measures that work."**

REALITY: On "MacNeil/Lehrer" (9-6-89), Senator Joseph Biden summed up the Democrats' bold, dramatic and original alternative to President Bush's drug plan: "I'd do everything he did on law enforcement except a little more."

BROWN: **"In the 1990s, we will bring the traditions of the Democratic Party -- of middle-class values and American know-how -- to bear on the new and unique challenges we face."**

REALITY: According to Stuart Eizenstat, President Carter's domestic adviser and leading Democratic strategist: "We have lost a sense of middle class values and seem to blush or look condescendingly on patriotism [and] family values" (Washington Post, 9-12-89).

###

A rebuttal to the argument that House turnover is so high that we need not worry about incumbency protection Never used

- The article said turnover has remained steady in recent years. This is true but irrelevant. As David Broder said: "[T]urnover is not the same thing as competition. Clearly, House membership changes result mainly from members retiring and seeking other offices. But the number of marginal seats, where races are vigorously contested by both parties, continues to decline ... That sense of immunity from challenge is exactly what makes some members of the House, swimming in a sea of campaign cash, dip in for themselves" (Washington Post National Weekly, June 26, 1989)

- Statistics support Broder's argument.

  -- Of the 1,305 House general elections between 1984 and 1988, only 4% resulted in a change in party control.

  -- The number of House elections won with less than 55% of the vote dropped from 17.5% in 1982 to 8.7% in 1988.

  -- Between 1982 and 1988, the number of members elected without major-party opposition rose from 56 to 81.

- The article said that the 98% re-election rate is just slightly higher than the historical average. This is misleading. Just as a tiny increase in compound interest can mean a big increase in yield, a few points' rise in the re-election rate means vastly greater incumbent safety in the long run.

  * With a 90% chance of winning each time, your chance of winning two consecutive races is 90% times 90%, or 81%. Your chance of winning three races is 90% to the third power, or 73%. And so on. But if you slightly increase the chance each time, your long-term odds improve greatly. With a 98% re-election rate, your chance of winning two consecutive races is 98% times 98% or 96% -- 15 points higher than with a 90% rate.

- Over five elections, compare an incumbent's chance of survival with a 90% re-election rate versus a 98% rate:

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
90%	81%	73%	66%	59%
98%	96%	94%	92%	90%

- To confirm this analysis, look at similar classes of House incumbents. The elections of 1964, 1972 and 1982 brought large, heavily Democratic freshman classes. But these classes met different fates. Compare the percentage of each who lost a re-election bid within the next three campaigns:

1964	33%
1974	21%
1982	7%

This is a piece I worked on with the House GOP Conference. It went out under their letterhead.

"THE LOST DECADE," THE LOST DATA AND THE LOST DEMOCRATS

February 1990

Staff Contact: Flint Lewis

"The Lost Decade" is the Democratic National Committee's "analysis" of the 1980s. It starts from a preposterous premise -- that America was better off under Jimmy Carter -- and goes downhill from there. Its "facts" are poorly-documented, misleading, and often just plain false. It offers no agenda or vision of its own. It is a preview of what our friends on the other side of the aisle will be saying in the months ahead.

Lost Data

Deficit and Debt

"Presidents Reagan and Bush never submitted a budget to Congress with a deficit under $100 billion" (first chart). Under Article I of the Constitution, Congress has the power of the purse. Under the 1974 Budget Act, passed by a Democratic Congress, the President can neither sign nor veto the budget resolution. The President cannot veto line items of appropriation bills, nor can he veto report language earmarking funds. Therefore, the truer statement would be: "The House -- now controlled by the Democrats for more than 35 years -- never produced a deficit under $100 billion at any time during the Reagan and Bush Administrations."

"We could have bought every man, woman and child a Chevy 2x4 pick-up truck and come out ahead -- our debt went up $8,000 per person during the 1980s" (second chart). DNC cites the 1989 Statistical Abstract as its source, but the researchers got their data elsewhere, since the Abstract's debt figures only go to 1988. In any case, the debt is definitely a problem -- caused by Democratic overspending -- but it belongs in context. Between fiscal years 1980 and 1989, gross national product increased by $2.5 trillion, or nearly $10,000 per

person (FY91 Budget, A-282; 1989 Abstract, 15). So the more accurate statement would be: "Our GNP went up enough to buy everyone that Chevy 2x4 and have money left over for insurance."

Dropouts

"4.2 million kids drop out of high school each year" (p. 11). This makes no sense: if the figure were valid, then America would have accumulated 42 million dropouts during the 1980s -- more than the entire population aged 16-24. Apparently the DNC researchers carelessly misread the data. The Abstract (p. 146) says that the 4.2 million figure refers to the total number of people aged 16-24 who have dropped out of school, not the yearly number of new dropouts. And most embarrassing for the Democrats: in 1980, when they last had the White House, the dropout total stood at 5.3 million.

Education Spending

The DNC Chart "Federal Contribution to Education" purports to show a decline in federal aid from 1980 to 1988. But the nation's spending on education -- by the federal government, states and localities -- is about $353 billion in 1990, a real increase of 29 percent for elementary and secondary education and 36 percent for higher education (FY91 Budget, 94).

Housing

"As the number of homeless grew, the Reagan-Bush Administration responded by slashing federally assisted housing programs from over $30 billion in 1981 to less than $10 billion in 1988 (CRS)" (p. 16). DNC cites a Congressional Research Service report titled "Homelessness: Issues and Legislation in the 101st Congress." But the CRS report contains no such figures. For real data on housing assistance, check OMB's Historical Tables FY90 (pp. 70-71). Outlays for housing assistance (budget function # 604) went from $7.8 billion in fiscal 1981 to $13.9 billion in fiscal 1988. In constant 1982 dollars, that's an increase of 38 percent: from $8.3 billion to $11.5 billion (using OMB composite deflator, p. 20 of Historical Tables).

Defense Spending

"Only 23 percent of the total defense budget during the 1980s was spent on critical readiness functions and needs while 75% was spent on hardware" (p. 22). Not even close. In fiscal 1989, procurement only amounted to 28 percent of Defense Department military outlays (FY91 Budget, A-295). Here's where the rest went:

Operation & Maintenance	30%
Military Personnel	27%
Research & Development	12%
Other	3%

Poverty

"7 million more Americans are poor in 1987 [sic] than in 1978" (p. 24). Between 1978 and 1981 -- when Democratic policies were in place -- the number of people below the poverty level rose from 24.5 million to 31.8 million -- an increase of 7.3 million (Abstract, p. 452). The 1987 figure is less than one million greater than the 1981 figure. The poverty rate, which rose each year between 1978 and 1981, has been declining since 1983.

Research

"US civilian R&D expenditures remained 50% lower as a percentage of GNP than our serious rivals (SA)" (p. 24). In 1980, non-defense R&D amounted to 1.7% of GNP. In 1987, it was up to 1.9 percent, the same as France and slightly higher than Britain. It was lower than West Germany and Japan, but not by 50 percent:

USA	1.9%
France	1.9%
Britain	1.8%*
W. Germ.	2.6%
Japan	2.8%*

(Abstract, p. 578. Asterisks indicate 1986 data where 1987 data are unavailable). More important, these data omit defense R&D, which often yields civilian applications, such as radar. Compared with these other countries, the US spends roughly the same percentage of GNP on total R&D (including defense):

USA	2.6%
France	2.3%
Britain	2.4%
W. Germ.	2.8%
Japan	2.8%

Food Prices

"[C]onsumer food prices have increased since 1980" (p. 27). In 1980, consumer food prices rose 10.2 percent. In 1988, they rose 5.2 percent (Economic Indicators, October 1989, p. 24).

Rural America

"Per capita income growth in rural areas was 1.9 percent in rural areas [sic] between 1979 -- compared to [sic, should read compared with] 8.5 percent in urban areas" (p. 27). Under the DNC's figures (source: the Democratic Policy Commission), rural per capita growth was 22 percent of urban per capita growth. Figures from the Bureau of Economic Analysis show that in metropolitan areas, per capita income grew at a yearly rate of 1.7 percent between 1979 and 1986,

while in nonmetropolitan (rural) areas, the rate was 0.7%. Therefore, rural per capita growth was 41 percent, not 22 percent, of urban rates.

"400,000 people are leaving rural America each year -- twice the level sustained in the early 1980s" (p. 27). Statistics from the County Estimates Series, US Census Bureau, show that between 1986 and 1988, nonmetropolitan areas lost 134,000 people, for an average annual migration of only 67,000.

Income

The Democrats' report says that most Americans are worse off now than in the good old Carter days. More recently, the Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee released another report that purports to show downward trends between 1979 and 1988. But the Democrats' arguments rest on a statistical trick: using 1979 as a base year. Between 1979 and 1982, when America was either living under Democratic rule or suffering its lingering effects, median household income plunged (in constant 1988 dollars):

1979	26,050
1980	25,204
1981	24,791
1982	24,711

Republican policies reversed this trend: median household income increased from $24,943 in 1983 to $27,225 in 1988. The decade was a Republican recovery from Democratic disaster. In other words, the Democrats are like a hit-and-run driver who returns to the accident scene and carps at the paramedics.

Democrats also claim that income distribution became more unequal during the 1980s, that a few got rich while the vast majority fell farther back. But in fact most households moved up the ladder. Between 1980 and 1988, the share of families in the low income group (under $15,000 in 1988 dollars) fell from 20.8 percent to 19.6 percent. Meanwhile, the share of middle-income families ($15,000-50,000) dropped from 60.1 percent to 54.7 percent, as their upward movement increased the upper income share from 19.1 percent to 25.7 percent.

For the Democrats, here is the most embarrassing statistic of all: The 1980 plunge in median family income -- $1,673 (in 1987 dollars) -- was the largest one-year drop in decades. Like Pogo, the Democrats should admit: "We have met the enemy and he is us."

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A GOP HOUSE AND SENATE BY 1992

January 1990

The data here are old, so let me know if you'd like an update.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

* The Republican Party can take control of both the House and the Senate by 1992.

* In the House, we need 43 seats. This is a reachable goal. Over the 1978 and 1980 cycles, we won 46.

* We can win those 43 seats through:

  -- Open-seat victories. Up to 72 Democratic seats may open during the next two cycles. Of these, 27 went strongly for Bush and thus constitute potential pickups. And others may also be winnable.

  -- New seats. The shift of House seats from Democratic to Republican areas could mean a gain of at least six.

  -- Fair districting. Curbs on gerrymandering could reduce unfair Democratic advantages and supply the GOP with another six seats, or more.

  -- Challenger victories. Even with the incumbent advantage, it will be possible to topple at least seven Democratic incumbents.

* In the Senate, GOP prospects are even brighter. In 1992, the Democrats will be defending nine seats that they won in 1986 with 52% or less. Only two Republican seats are that marginal. Even if we lose a couple of seats, we can still win control by taking seven of the nine extremely marginal Democratic seats.

* Trends in party identification -- especially among young voters -- point to growing GOP strength. This trend makes the victory scenario all the more likely.

SCENARIO FOR VICTORY

Summary

Although it will take luck and hard work, the Republican Party can gain control of both the House and Senate by 1992. This memorandum explains how we can make this case to our audience: reporters, contributors and PAC managers.

The Democrats have ruled the House for more than 35 years -- the longest stretch of one-party control in the two centuries of House history. But during the next two election cycles, three conditions will give Republicans a chance to gain a majority:

* Many Democratic seats will soon become open.
* Redistricting will create GOP opportunities.
* Several Democratic incumbents are vulnerable.

The GOP has an even better chance to regain the Senate. We need only five seats -- and more than five Democrats are marginal.

The House

The Republican Party now has 175 seats in the House. To gain a majority, we need 43 more. This is a reachable goal. The Democrats gained 43 seats in 1974, and we won 46 over the 1978 and 1980 cycles. Here is how we can match that feat during the 1990 and 1992 cycles:

o Open Seats. Because of the advantages of incumbency, our best chance is among open seats. And 72 Democratic seats either are open now or could open by 1992:

  * Forty-nine Democratic incumbents will be 65 or older by 1992, and will thus be prime candidates for retirement.

  * Another fifteen will be 60 or older and have more than $150,000 in "grandfathered" campaign money. The House closed the loophole allowing members elected before 1980 to keep surplus campaign funds, so these sixteen will have a great incentive to take early retirement before repeal takes effect in 1993 (Data on "grandfathered" money from: Roll Call, October 2-8, 1989, p. 30).

  * Six (Leath, Flippo, Nelson, Morrison, Brennan, Tom Luken) are giving up seats in 1990.

  * Two others (Florio and Garcia) have resigned.

  Of these 72 seats, 27 went for George Bush by a larger percentage than the country as a whole (i.e., 54% or more). These 27 seats are potential GOP pickups.

o New Seats. Of the nine districts that have gained the most population in the 1980s, eight went for Bush. Of the nine districts losing the most, seven went for Dukakis (CQ Weekly Report, August 12, 1989, 2144):

	Bush	Dukakis
Population Gainers	8	1
- Population Losers	2	7
	+6	-6

With fair districts, the shift of seats from shrinking to growing areas should mean six additional Republican seats.

o Fair Districts. Democrats got six extra seats just as a result of the 1981 California gerrymander. With fair districts, we could get those seats back (in addition to the new seats mentioned above).

o Defeating Incumbents. Seven Democrats won with less than 51% of the vote in 1988 (CQ Weekly Report, May 6, 1989, 1064). With favorable national tides, we should be able to take these seats by 1992.

Open seats, new seats, fairly redistricted seats and challenger gains should put us just over the top:

Current Total	175
Plus Gains From:	
Open Seats	27
New Seats	6
Fair Districts	6
Challenger Gains	7
New Total	221

And once we reach this level, a number of Southern Democrats are likely to switch, thereby strengthening our hold.

The outline above depicts opportunity, not certainty. To achieve the goal, we have to make sure that a number of things go right:

o Protecting our own seats. We must hold the 175 seats that we have (and hold onto Molinari's open seat in NY). This will take work, but it is practical. While 52% (135) of House Democrats represent districts carried by Bush, only 7% (13) of the Republicans represent Dukakis districts (CQ Weekly Report, July 8, 1989, 1710).

o Candidate recruitment. We cannot take advantage of a Republican-leaning open seat without good contenders in the district. In the past few elections, we have gained state legislative seats in the South. And in the past year, over 160 Democratic officials have switched to the Republicans. We are

getting ready to seize the opportunity.

o Fair districts. The Democrats may try a replay of the 1981 gerrymander. If they succeed, we may fall short. We have to fight for fair districts.

The Senate

o Even though the GOP lost seats in 1986 and 1988, recent Senate elections actually display a promising trend. To see why, keep two things in mind:

* Whereas House members represent districts of equal population, senators represent states ranging from a few hundred thousand to thirty million. In Senate elections, trends in the parties' overall vote totals may not correspond with their seat totals. In 1986, for instance, Republicans won by healthy margins in California and New York, while Democrats squeaked by in the Dakotas. Taken together, these four states gave GOP candidates a big majority of their votes, but Republicans got the same number of seats as Democrats.

* Because of the six-year term, only one-third of the Senate seats are up in any election. Thus there are three "classes" in the Senate, those elected in: 1978 and 1984; 1980 and 1986; 1982 and 1988.

Within each of these classes, the GOP increased its nationwide popular vote during the 1980s (1987 Republican Almanac, 7; CQ Weekly Report, May 6, 1989, 1063).

1978	47.7%	1980	46.1%	1982	44.0%
1984	50.3%	1986	48.7%	1988	46.5%

o These figures show that the GOP base vote is steadily rising: within each of the three classes, Republicans gained about 2.5% of the national vote over six years. Now our challenge is to target specific seats.

o The GOP will have a tough time taking control in 1990, as it has more seats at stake (18) than the Democrats (16). But in 1992, Democrats will have nine senators who won with 52 percent or less in 1986. Only two of the Republicans won with equally narrow margins. Even if we lose a couple of seats, we can still take control by taking seven of the nine extremely marginal Democratic seats. (In a 50-50 Senate, Vice President Quayle breaks ties.)

Prospects

o The scenario of a GOP Congress is optimistic -- but it is not

far-fetched.

o The best way to predict how people will vote is to find which party they identify with. On this score, the GOP has pulled even with the Democrats (CBS data in: Helmut Norpoth and Michael Kagay, "Another Eight Years of Republican Rule and Still No Partisan Realignment?" paper presented at the 1989 annual conference of the American Political Science Association):

Percentage Identifying With Or Leaning Toward:

	Republican	Democratic
1980	34%	53%
1989	44%	46%

o And the best way to predict future voting patterns is to look at the partisanship of young voters. Here the GOP trend is even more dramatic:

Percentage of Voters Age 18-29

	Republican	Democratic
1980	33%	54%
1989	52%	38%

o Even analysts who are unsympathetic to the GOP think that these numbers may spell doom for Democratic control of Congress.

* "Democratic party identification and turnout rates may erode to a point beyond which there is a sudden seat loss sufficient to give the Republicans control of the House -- the proverbial straw that breaks the camel's back" (Jerrold Schneider, "The Democratic-Republican Balance, Congressional Party Coalitions, and Economic Policies and Messages," paper presented at the 1989 annual conference of the American Political Science Association, 53).

* "We are witnessing instead a slow-motion, trickle-down realignment in which, over time, Republican presidential strength is inexorably eroding Democratic congressional, state and local strength ... [U]nless Democrats can regain credibility with entry-level voters, the passage of time and the movement of young people who now lean Republican into the electorate will assure completion of this trickle-down realignment" (William Galston and Elaine Kamarck, "The Politics of Evasion," Progressive Policy Institute, September 1989, 16, 20-21).

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Appendix: Seats That May Open By 1992

Key:

1. Incumbent born before 1928 (i.e., will be 65 or older in 1992);

2. Incumbent born before 1933 and has more than $150,000 in "grandfathered" campaign money;

3. Incumbent has already announced retirement or candidacy for office in 1990;

4. Incumbent confronts personal problems.

Boldface indicates districts that may switch parties: Republican districts where Bush got less than 54% and Democratic districts where Bush got 54% or more.

Democrats	Republicans
Bevill (AL) 1,2	Dickinson (AL) 2
Flippo (AL) 3	Hammerschmidt (AR) 1,2
Udall (AZ) 1,4	Robinson (AR) 3
Edwards (CA) 1	Lagomarsino (CA) 1
Mineta (CA) 2	Moorhead (CA) 1,2
Roybal (CA) 1	McCandless (CA) 1
Hawkins (CA) 1,2	Brown (CO) 3
Dymally (CA) 1	Rowland (CT) 3
Anderson (CA) 1,2	Young (FL) 2
Brown (CA) 1	Lewis (FL) 1
Bates (CA) 4	
Morrison (CT) 3	Hyde (IL) 2
Young (FL) 2	Martin (IL) 3
Hutto (FL) 1,2	Michel (IL) 1
Bennett (FL) 1,2	**Tauke (IA) 3**
Gibbons (FL) 1,2	Whittaker (KS) 3
Nelson (FL) 3	Bentley (MD) 1
Lehman (FL) 1,2	**Conte (MA) 1,2**
Fascell (FL) 1,2	Schuette (MI) 3
Ray (GA) 1	Broomfield (MI) 1,2
Rowland (GA) 1	Frenzel (MN) 2
Barnard (GA) 1,2	Smith (NE) 1,3
Akaka (HI) 1	Vucanovich (NV) 1
Hayes (IL) 1	Smith (NH) 3
Savage (IL) 1,4	Skeen (NM) 1
Collins (IL) 2	Lent (NY) 2
Rostenkowski (IL) 2	**Green (NY) 2**
Yates (IL) 1,2	Fish (NY) 1,2
Annunzio (IL) 1	Gilman (NY) 1,2
Smith (IA) 1,2	**Horton (NY) 1**
Natcher (KY) 1	Houghton (NY) 1
Boggs (LA) 1	Molinari (NY) 3 (resigned)

Brennan (ME) 3
Frank (MA) 4
Moakley (MA) 1,2
Traxler (MI) 2
Crockett (MI) 1
Ford (MI) 1,2
Dingell (MI) 1,2
Whitten (MS) 1,2
Montgomery (MS) 1
Skelton (MO) 2
Hughes (NJ) 2
Dwyer (NJ) 1
Roe (NJ) 2
Guarini (NJ) 2
Scheuer (NY) 1
Rangel (NY) 2
Weiss (NY) 1
Garcia (NY) 4
Jones (NC) 1,2
Valentine (NC) 1
Hefner (NC) 2
Clarke (NC) 1
Luken (OH) 3
Pease (OH) 2
Applegate (OH) 2
Stokes (OH) 1,2
Kolter (PA) 1
Murtha (PA) 2
Yatron (PA) 1,2
Gaydos (PA) 1
Murphy (PA) 1,4
Hall (TX) 1
Brooks (TX) 1,2
Pickle (TX) 1
Leath (TX) 3
de la Garza (TX) 1,2
Gonzales (TX) 1
Olin (VA) 1
Sisisky (VA) 1
Foley (WA) 2
Kastenemeier (WI) 1
Ballenger (NC) 1
Gradison (OH) 2
DeWine (OH) 3
Lukens (OH) 4
Miller (OH) 1
Wylie (OH) 1
Regula (OH) 1
McDade (PA) 2,4
Schulze (PA) 2
Coughlin (PA) 2
Goodling (PA) 1
Schneider (RI) 3
Ravenel (SC) 1
Quillen (TN) 1,2
Archer (TX) 2
Nielson (UT) 3
Slaughter (VA) 1

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST
CHRISS WINSTON
THE SPEECHWRITERS
BARRIE TRON

FROM: DEB AMEND DA

RE: RECENT RNC FOCUS GROUP STUDY

The RNC conducted a focus group study of young adults living in the Chicago area the day after the State of the Union. Attached is a summary of the findings.

I watched part of the video taped sessions today and took notes on their comments on the speech. Among those who saw or heard about the speech (half) the comments were generally positive.

One woman was touched by the ending and was going to encourage the various generations of her family to share their experiences with one another. A man thought it was a "breath of fresh air." When one guy criticized the speech for a lack of specifics, saying "it was just lots of dreaming" another shot back "everything in America starts with a dream."

The issues they remembered favorably included the education goals, no new taxes, the troop withdrawal and health care.

The RNC plans to do focus group studies every month or so. The next one is scheduled for California, where they will test for issues, presidential perception, and impressions of the changes going on in Eastern Europe and Latin America, among other things. I'd be glad to pass along your recommendations for any other subjects you think should be addressed.

Finally, if you are really interested in this sort of stuff, they have four hours of unedited video tape of these sessions which you are welcome to review. Let me know.

Chicago Focus Groups
February 1, 1990
Summary of Findings

Participants

Twenty-three registered adults, age 21 to 39, were interviewed in two focus groups on the evening of February 1, 1990, in Des Plaines, Illinois (west suburban Chicago).

In general, the participants reflected through their lifestyles and concerns some of the more significant trends in the American political economy. In terms of employment, not one worked for a major American industrial concern, instead they were more likely to work in either the government and health care sectors (firefighter, teacher, occupational therapist, federal government claims examiner), or else in industries characterized by small business involvement such as construction or advertizing.

Of the women, all but two were either working or looking for employment. Altogether about half of the participants were married or had been once. A third of the twenty-three participants reported that they had children.

Unlike younger people in other parts of the country, the participants did not appear to be relatively mobile: most had either lived in the Chicago area all their lives or else moved into the area from surrounding outstate regions.

None of the participants could have been considered a professional in a strict sense, though one was an architectural student. Perhaps four were on mid-level managerial career tracks.

Issues and National Problems

Education: Many viewed the education system and its failures as a fundamental problem leading to other problems such as drugs, losing of America's edge in foreign competition and even failures in the judicial system.

Money was not seen as the overall answer to education, rather it was its relatively low position among American values which was thought to be an impediment to improving the country's education system.

The participants did not reject an assertion that the federal government should be involved at the local level in public education, even to the point of assisting with in-service teacher training.

The corporate booster image of GOP political leadership, is seen by some as working to the favor of the Republicans with this issue. The participants reasoned that is the business interests in our party who most see the need for an educated work force and can take steps to accomplish this end.

At the same time the decline of American education was traced to the sixties and seventies, which one group saw as when the Democrats were on watch. Their lack of attention to education fundamentals was blamed for the current state the system is in, and was seen as an indication of how little this party can be trusted to solve the problems of education.

The Democrats could still win points on handling education with their 'caring for education; caring for everyone' image since education was seen almost as a welfare function by some. The Republican party was scored for the perception of GOP-led cuts for education spending, grants and loans.

Health Care Costs and Insurance: Health care costs were cited by many as a pressing personal problem. Anxiety over costs was not diminished by having health insurance through the workplace -- one participant pointed out that she did not take it as a given that this work benefit would be available from her next employer.

The cost of insurance itself was considered to be a problem. One woman without employment-benefit insurance reported the cost of hers and her husbands' insurance to be $1,500 a year, with $1,000 deductible. Another participant mentioned that his small business employer was clearly having trouble with managing the costs of the company's premiums and he expected his coverage to change for the worse.

A national health care delivery system, at least as its benefits and costs are understood based on reports of other countries' experiences, was generally accepted as an alternative to the current American health care delivery system. In one group, participants firmly rejected equating a national health care system with socialism.

No party was given the clear advantage with handling this issue. One participant described how the Democratic party's historical association with Social Security and other transfer payment and welfare programs meant that they could in theory do the most about health care. The same participant, when pushed on which party did she 'expect or entrust' to handle the job, respondent that the Republicans, due to their status as the party in power, would be the most likely source of solutions to the problem.

Drugs: In one of the more important findings, many participants expressed the view that some progress was being made with the issue of drugs. Two participants credited the 'Just Say No' campaign, despite its simplicity and the derision it earned initially, as a turning point. One reflected on how when Carter was president, there were discussions of legalization of marijuana and other drugs. He complemented the Republicans for rejecting the hypocrisy that some drugs were bad, while others were 'ok' and that the party was the first to seriously address the problem.

There was agreement in one group that the Republicans were clearly making an effort to fight drugs, despite that some of the programs cited by participants were almost certainly managed by local Democratic officials.

Education efforts were credited both for correct targeting, which participants saw as grade school aged children, and that the anti-drug message of educators and police was more sophisticated and effective than the scare tactics the respondents remembered from their youth.

Environment: For many of the participants, the environment was viewed as a fundamental problem. More than one characterized damage to the environment as threatening Americans' employment or lifestyles. One woman, speaking metaphorically of the country, said that 'there will be nothing to build on' without a clean, safe environment.

The federal government is seen to be letting 'Big Business' slide with environmental protection. The government is seen to be spending too much time studying and not enough to contain the problem. The cost for environmental clean-up, in the form of a dedicated tax was accepted, though one group seemed to reject internalized private costs of industrial cost . The industrial polluters were seen to be making huge profits which should pay for clean-up costs. This was only fair, one group concluded, since they themselves have to pay for personal auto emission clean-up costs.

Tougher regulation of industry, and the resultant increased costs were accepted if the money was actually going to cleaning up. Still there was the concern that the industrial interests would only take windfall profits from increased prices falsely justified on higher environmental clean-up costs.

Another participant said that the environment was the one area where the federal government actually had a right to involve itself, due to the global nature of the problem.

The image of Watt and the Reagan Administration selling off federal lands and Republican complicity with this program, as well as associations of the GOP with the perceived polluters, big business, were mentioned as reasons for not selecting the GOP as the most able to solve this problem. On the other hand, there were few positive reasons mentioned for favoring the Democrats with solving the problems of the environment.

The Deficit: In one group, the three participants who named the deficit as the most important national or personal problems, all rejected a tax increase to fix the deficit. They seemed to perceive little or no benefit from government's expenditures and set a requirement for '[the government] to balance their budget first' before a tax increase would be accepted.

State of the Union

No more than half saw either part of the State of the Union message live or read or heard of it in the media by supper-time the following day. The others seemed taken up with work, housework, shopping, or other everyday activities. While the question was not asked, only one person indicated that the speech came up as a topic of conversation with someone else during that day.

Those who saw or heard what the President spoke about formed their impressions of his message most readily around goals: a balanced budget, the standards for national educational attainment, the troop reductions, the trees to be planted. 'No new taxes' was remembered as being said -- there was no apparent 'fatigue' with this promise on the part of these participants.

The President's message about each citizen's part in keeping the American 'spirit of democracy' was mentioned by one group as a non-policy topic he touched on.

More generally, attitudes towards the speech were positive, but not necessarily enthusiastic. One called it a 'breath of fresh air', while other participants found it to be just another political speech.

One participant complained about lack of clear comment on what would happen with what he saw as savings from the cut back in military commitments in Europe and Panama. Still there was little else which participants could point at as lacking in the President's speech.

Bush Job Performance

One group concluded that it was too early to tell with certainty about Bush's job, but most participants expressed a positive impression of him and his job performance. There was agreement that he hadn't let people down, and many seemed satisfied with what they saw as Bush's understanding of a limited agenda for the U.S. presidency with a opposition-controlled Congress and changing world political structure.

Congress

Congress was not held in particularly high esteem by the groups: it was described by one as 'just holding its own: not moving ahead, not falling behind.' The view that it was able only to solve the unimportant issues and unable to solve the important ones was undisputed in one group.

The advantages the Democrats occasionally won on handling individual issues did not prevail when the issue is framed as trusting either Bush or Congress to solve it. While the question was not asked directly, it is difficult to see any of these participants confirming the recent well-publicized poll finding that Congress was given the edge to handle the problem of the deficit over the President.

Only the two or three participants most aware of current affairs had heard anything of the Democratic response to the President's speech, and those who did, saw nothing more than few seconds 'on the morning TV while getting dressed.'

Beyond a lack of penetration, the Democratic response also failed to win any receptivity from the participants. One called term the response as just the Democrats getting their 'two-bits' in.

Local politics prevailed in peoples' minds over the national response: Paul Simon's comments after the President's speech seemed to reach relatively many of the participants, but several agreed that Simon's statements were 'just politics.' Two participants could identify that 'the Speaker of the House' as giving the Democratic response, but all participants were essentially unaware of Foley or George Mitchell.

Democratic Leadership

Unprompted, these voters could name only a few Democrats such as Jackson, Bentsen, Kennedy and perhaps Cuomo as leaders of the Democratic party. Other leaders including Foley and Mitchell were virtually unknown to the groups. Jackson had clearly wore out his welcome with these voters. They had little patience for his activities as leader of a political movement which took him across the country and overseas, and wondered out loud what it was he did for living and speculated on a fortune he may have amassed.

Abortion

Even a strongly religious, devout ethnic Catholic could not see the government banning all abortions, and said that whether we like it or not, abortion was here to stay. No one countered this assessment.

Education was mentioned several times independently as a solution to limiting the number of abortions, a point which came up in both Northern Virginia sessions. Participants were in agreement that government involvement in terms of education should go beyond a short 'birds and the bees' course as one participant called it.

The groups overall tended to favor some government involvement in the abortion issue. They were deeply divided over the abstract question of whether a woman should have reasons for having an abortion, but few accepted that abortion should be available simply on demand when pushed on instances of gender selection or parental consent.

Beyond this and perhaps a 24-hour waiting period, there was no consensus on the workability and general acceptance of other specific rules or laws against abortion.

Unlike the Northern Virginia focus groups, these voters were less generous with the public purse when it came to abortions. One participant thought that at the least, public funding for abortion should require something approaching the level of the information intrusion involved with adopting a child as a requirement to receive aid.

Bush and Abortion

No one in one group would say that they would use the President's position on abortion as a major reason to vote for him or against him. One participant pointed out that Congress was a foil to having to vote for or against Bush on the basis of this issue.

Tape Digest
Chicago Focus Groups
First Session -- 6 P.M.
February 1, 1990

Meter	Subject (approximate duration)
	Introductions (5:00)
300	**Two Issues Most Important to You** (23:00)
1675	**Issue Follow-ups:** 1675 Taxes (:50)
1725	**Issues Important to Country** (1:15)
1800	**Issue Follow-ups:** (11:00) Foreign Affairs Budget Deficit Education Foreign Competition
2460	**Solutions for Health Care** (5:55)
2815	**Party Handling of Issues** (8:55) 2940 Health Care (4:00) 3186 Drugs (2:45)
3350	**BREAK** (:40)
3389	**What Do You Remember of State of the Union Speech?** (4:55)
3685	**Was There Anything Not Addressed by President Which Should Have Been?** (2:45)
3850	**What Do You Remember of the Democrats' Response?** (2:20)
3990	**Who is the Leading Democrat in the Country?** (3:15) Jackson, Foley, Mitchell, Kennedy, Cuomo, Bentsen, R. Brown
4184	**Rate Congress' Job** (1:10)
4254	**Job Handling: Congress *versus* Bush** (2:30)
4405	**Should Government Reduce Number of Abortions?** (1:40)
4505	**Should Some Abortions Be Illegal?** (1:55)
4620	**Should There be Rules for Abortion?** (2:25) 4650 Parental Consent 4672 Spousal Consent/Notification
4766	Abortion Prohibitions and Rules (6:20)
5146	END OF DISCUSSION

Tape Digest
Chicago Focus Groups
Second Session -- 8 P.M.
February 1, 1990

Meter	Subject (approximate duration)
	Introductions
310	**Two Issues Most Important to You** (5:10)
1125	**Issues Important to Country** (13:35)
1942	**Issue Follow-ups:** (7:10) Environment (5:00) 2252 Budget Deficit (5:10) 2291 Education (1:20)
2370	**Which Issues Should Federal Government Have a Major Responsibility:** (10:30)
3002	**Party Handling of Issues** (11:00) 3070 Environment (3:00) 3249 Foreign Affairs (4:30) 3517 Education (2:30)
3665	**BREAK** (:30)
3694	**Impressions of State of the Union** (5:35)
4029	**Democratic Response** (:10)
4036	**Leading Democrats** (4:45) Jackson, Kennedy, Cuomo, Bentsen, Mitchell, R. Brown
4323	**Atwater** (:30)
4354	**Job Evaluation of Congress** (3:25)
4560	**Bush *versus* Congress** (:55) 4560 Education (:20) 4580 Europe (:35)
4614	**Economic Expectations; Fear of Recession** (3:25)
4819	**Should Government Reduce Number of Abortions?** (2:00)
4935	**Should There Be Rules and Regulations on Abortion?** (2:00) 4976 Parental Consent (:40) 4991 Public Funding (1:10)
5061	Where Do You Stand: Abortion Rules and Regulations (4:50)
5348	Bush and Abortion Issue (1:00)
5405	END OF DISCUSSION

Let the great gerrymander war begin

At stake is the reapportionment of all the political real estate in the land

With all eyes focused on a just elected President and a new, if embattled, Congress, it hardly seems possible that yet another dizzying national campaign cycle is already off and spinning. But it is. This one has no "Air Force Two" and no Willie Horton television ads. There is no nosy national press corps and not a single national candidate. Yet measured by its potential influence on the American agenda until the end of the century, the coming 1989 and 1990 races for nearly 7,500 state legislative seats and 38 governors' chairs may be as decisive as George Bush's presidential victory. The reason is simple: The winners will redraw the nation's political map.

The 1990 census, followed a year later by reapportionment of virtually all the political real estate in the land, will affect most legislative seats and, more important, the shape of the U.S. House of Representatives until 2002. Races in 1991 will be especially crucial because of historic population shifts from rural and inner-city areas to burgeoning suburbs and from the Northern rust belt to the Southern and Southwestern sun belt.

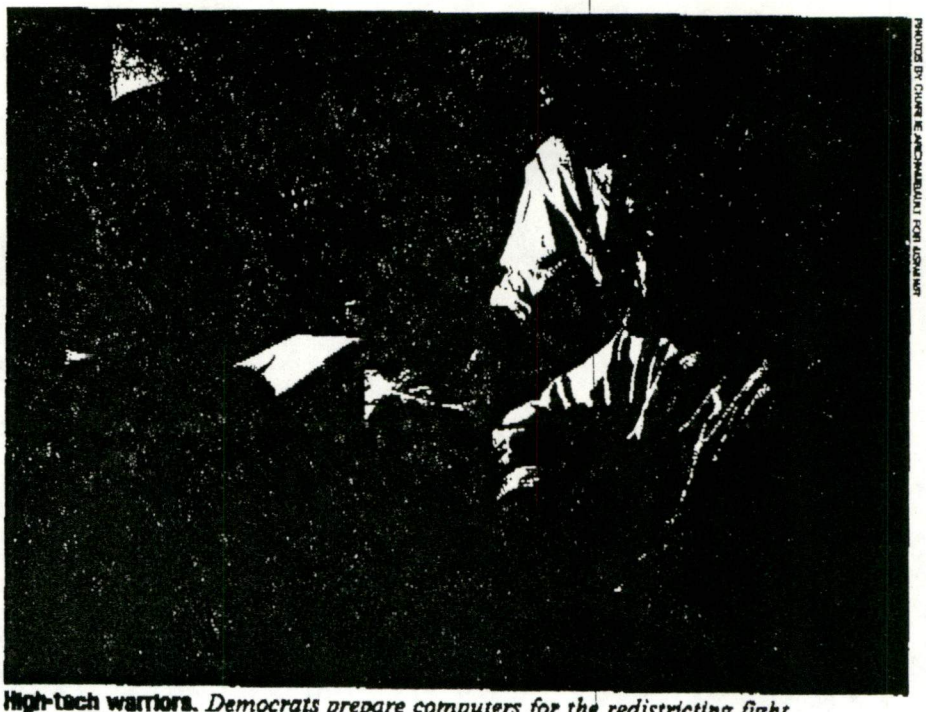
What is at stake. For both parties, the stakes go beyond raw political control and have long-range implications for their national ambitions. The Democrats have been frozen out of the White House for the better part of a generation, and the party is hemorrhaging white voters in growth areas. But Democrats must protect their 34-year lock on the House of Representatives to have any chance of advancing an activist national agenda and again becoming a presidential party. For Republicans, despite success at the peak of the political pyramid, the challenge is to narrow the gaping 260-to-175 Democratic margin in the House and to present themselves as a broad-based, national governing party.

At best, Republicans are hoping to create enough new GOP seats to get back to the status they enjoyed at the dawn of the Reagan era when they combined with several score conservative Democrats to construct a working majority in the House. But, first, they will have to make breakthroughs in state and local elections and gain more control of the redistricting machinery. Next year's races represent this century's last chance to influence the process. "It's already late in the day," insists Representative William Thomas (R-Calif.), who heads a Republican redistricting task force. "The battleground for the 1990s will be over by '92."

This decennial reslicing of the American political pie is controlled by those who control the states, especially states in which one party captures both legislative houses and the governor's mansion. At that point, the game becomes an old American tradition called gerrymandering. After the 1988 elections, Democrats controlled all three legs of power (governor's seat and both legislative houses) in 15 states. But in 22 more, they held two legs—both legislative chambers or one chamber and the governor's mansion. Republicans controlled all three branches of power in only four states and two branches in seven others. In 12 states, legislative control was split between the parties, which augurs bipartisan redistricting that protects incumbents' seats.

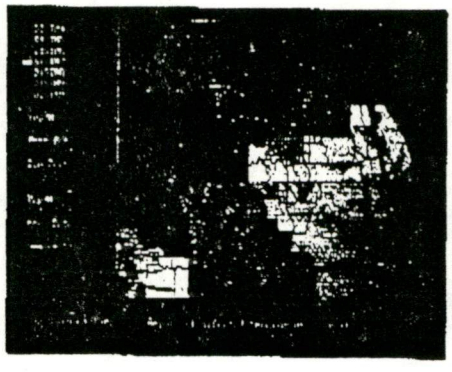
Those arcane equations focus every political strategist's attention on marginal states where one or more of the three power legs is vulnerable. For the Democrats, the juiciest targets in 1990 are gubernatorial races in California, Texas and Florida. Democrats already control both legislative houses in all three states, and Republican governors in all three are retiring or in political trouble. In any of the three states, this scenario could be upset by a strong Republican gubernatorial showing, and in Florida, the Democrats' six-vote margin in the State Senate is vulnerable to a Republican takeover by a switch of only four seats.

These three states are the biggest prize of 1990 because the frost-belt-to-sun-belt

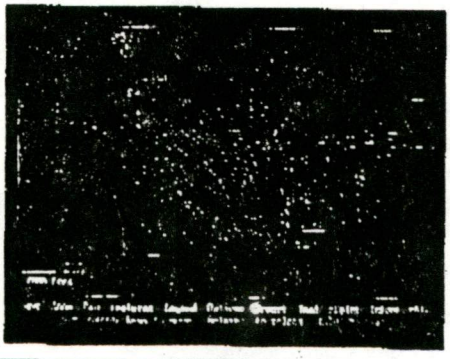


PHOTOS BY CHARLIE ARCHAMBEAU FOR U.S.NEWS

High-tech warriors. *Democrats prepare computers for the redistricting fight*

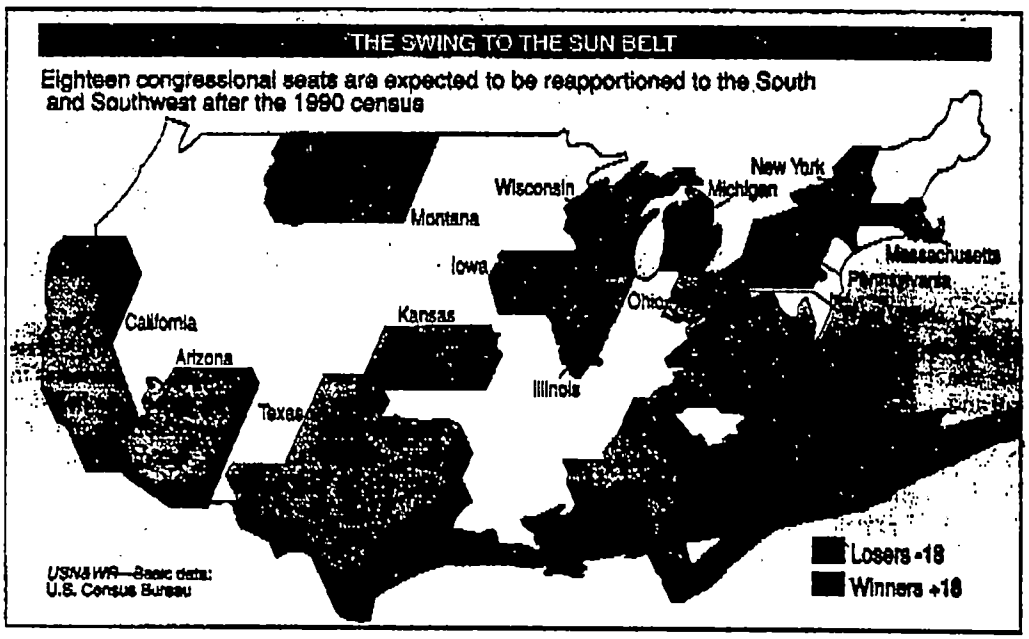


Battle scene. *On their computer screens, a yellow line redraws part of Florida's sixth congressional district, above, instantly revealing population (85,966), ticket splitters (27 percent), Democratic voters (46 percent). An electronic map, below, discloses similar details about every block in Central Falls, R.I.*



shift will give them a combined boost of 12 new seats in Congress. Together, they will represent 109 congressional districts, or one fourth of the House of Representatives. And the trend of population growth in sun-belt suburbs is usually followed by a habit of voting Republican. By the 1992 elections, a projected 18 congressional seats will magically vanish from the farm belt and traditionally Democratic urban strongholds in the North only to reappear in increasingly Republican city sprawls in the South and Southwest. Big losers are rust-belt states such as New York; Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois.

Besides those in the Big Three sun-belt states, gubernatorial races will be hotly contested in Virginia, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, New Mexico and Missouri. There will be ragple to run for state offices; we're building a farm team of people who can run for Congress when the time comes," says Callaway. Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater has assembled a star-studded kitchen cabinet of experienced campaigners to help channel resources to key states. One inside player, Ed Rollins, mastermind of Ronald Reagan's 1984 landslide and later White House political director, was hired last week in a million-dollar deal to head GOP congressional re-election efforts. The RNC recently started seminars on redistricting and last year ran training sessions for state legislative staffs. "We've got to make some gut-wrenching targeting decisions," says a ranking RNC staffer. "We're not going to be spreading money around just to make people happy."



ing battles to control state senates in Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. House races are targeted in Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana (where the House is now tied, 50 to 50), Michigan, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin. This complex political checkerboard is the daily playing field of Washington trench soldiers seeking to shape the national agenda into the 21st century.

Political farm team. In their most ambitious grass-roots drives ever, both parties are mounting fund-raising and training programs that target critical legislative and gubernatorial races. GOPAC, a Republican group chaired by conservative Representative Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and run by former Army Secretary Howard "Bo" Callaway, has sent out inspirational campaign tapes—audio and video—to potential GOP candidates around the country. "We're not just getting peo-

Democrats focus on targeting, too. Representative Vic Fazio (D-Calif.), head of the party's Impac 2000 funding arm, says, "The governorships are where it's at." To halt Democratic state losses, another organization, Project 500, was formed in 1985 after the party had given up more than 600 legislative seats during Reagan's two landslide elections. With the help of sophisticated computer technology at the liberal-oriented National Committee for an Effective Congress, Project 500 is carefully selecting winnable governor's races and legislative chambers where a shift of a few seats could swing (or keep) those bodies in the Democratic column. Project 500 Executive Director Timothy Dickson says targeted states are chosen for "extreme marginality"—a political euphemism for a real-time chance to win or lose. Funds are earmarked for campaign services such as polling, telephone banks, voter contact and printing. Newly elected Democratic National Committee Chair Ron Brown last week fired an early shot across Atwater's bow: "I intend to explode that Republican myth of a rigged realignment through reapportionment and redistricting."

California squiggles. Once the 1990 elections are settled, the gerrymandering begins—a process that former President Reagan last week characterized in his first post-White House speech as "pure dynamite because it deals with political greed." Where Democrats have the upper hand, they will no doubt follow the precepts of the late California Representative Phillip Burton, who in 1981 and 1982 created a state-of-the-art gerrymander that not only captured all five of the state's newly allotted seats but widened a one-seat margin over Republicans to nine seats. A six-year Republican-led lawsuit to overturn Burton's artful map making—a squiggle of boundaries that included a long-tailed district created for his brother—finally failed last month in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Republicans, working from a position of greater weakness in both Congress and state legislatures, will try to maximize their strength by paring down districts where their candidates usually win by luxurious margins, thus shifting some Republican voters into other winnable districts. "We've got to convince some guys to go from a 60 percent Republican district to one with 55 percent," says Charlie Black, an Atwater adviser.

Another possible Republican tactic would be to stir the multihued Democratic pot by making deals with black politicians to create new black-majority districts through consolidation of inner-city voters. This ploy would leave surrounding districts whiter and more receptive to the Republican message. California Republicans such as Representative Thomas hope to thwart the gerrymandering tradition with ballot initiatives that would shift redistricting to bipartisan commissions or even randomly selected citizens' panels that would function like grand juries. These groups would hear proposals from all interest groups and make supposedly apolitical decisions.

For now, the action remains firmly in the hands of political professionals, to whom this stuff is mother's milk, and committed statehouse pols, who always live for the next election. But by next year, the game will be played by both parties' heavy hitters, as they scramble for power in the first great battle of the 1990s. ■

by Peter Ross Range

II. LEGISLATIVE LOCK

The 1951 redistricting cycle was the last time Republicans were at parity with Democrats at the state legislative level. The last time Republicans held a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives was in the 1950s. Since then, we have lost strength at both the state legislative and congressional levels, and there is obviously a direct relationship between the two. Without dramatic Republican legislative gains in 1990, we face the possibility of being in the worst redistricting posture since we lost the U.S. House in the 1950s.

Considerable press and political attention has been devoted in recent years to the Republican electoral college lock on the Presidency. This discussion is premised on a corresponding Democratic "legislative lock" on Congress.

Since congressional district lines are drawn, in most cases, by state legislatures, competitiveness in congressional races depends on influencing the state legislatures which draw congressional lines. However, since, in most states, state legislatures draw their own legislative district lines, once gerrymandered lines are in place, it becomes extremely difficult to dislodge the legislative majority. Given the geometric growth of redistricting technology and available data, if one party controls the entire redistricting process in a state, it can, barring a political or legal disaster, draw legislative lines to ensure that it will be in the majority for the next redistricting and beyond. That party is thus "locked" into the legislative majority.

The Democratic Party is on the verge of creating a legislative lock on redistricting, similar to our electoral college lock, except that their hold on the process is potentially much stronger. Democrats now have a redistricting advantage in states that compose about 90 percent of the total seats in Congress. If they are able to move from simple advantage to complete control of the process in these states, they will have created a lock on redistricting. Avoiding this lock is the challenge for the Republican Party in preparing for the next redistricting.

The Current Playing Field

Since the 1981 redistricting effort, the Republican Party has fallen behind the Democrats, both politically and technically, in its ability to affect the redistricting process. This will obviously hamper efforts to achieve majority status in the U.S. House of Representatives in the 1990s.

In those states where the Democrats completely controlled the process in 1980, they have not lost a single legislative body. Republicans, in contrast, have lost five legislative bodies in states we controlled in 1980. The Democrats were obviously more technically skillful and politically cunning than were Republicans in the 1980s redistricting.

In 1981, the Republican Party held 23 Governorships and 35 state legislative houses. This gave Republicans either complete control of or the advantage in the redistricting process in states comprising 123 congressional districts. If redistricting took place today, Republicans would have control or the advantage in states comprising a mere ~~45~~ 45 congressional districts.

Republicans now hold 22 Governorships and only ~~24~~ 29 state legislative houses. Since 1981, we have lost the Republican redistricting advantage in six states, comprising 82 congressional districts:

State	CDs (1991 Projections)
Illinois	20
Pennsylvania	20
Ohio	19
Indiana	10
Washington	8
Iowa	5

In contrast, we have gained the advantage in only one state -- New Jersey -- accounting for 14 congressional districts.

Because of our situation in the legislatures, the population shifts expected to be reflected in the 1990 census could be of little direct benefit to us. Arizona might pick up two new congressional districts, while Kansas may lose a district. Consequently, by virtue of population shifts alone, we can probably expect one more congressional district subject to Republican redistricting control.

Republicans can find consolation in the fact that we are not completely shut out of the process in as many states as in 1981. In 1981, Democrats completely controlled the process in states comprising 210 congressional districts. If redistricting were to conducted today, the Democrats would be in complete control in states comprising 119 congressional districts.

The 1990 legislative and gubernatorial elections are clearly crucial to redistricting success in the 1990s and beyond. Critical gubernatorial or legislative races in the eight largest states will determine whether Republicans will be an effective part of the redistricting process:

State (Race)	CDs (1991 Projections)
California (Governor)	50
New York (Senate)	31
Texas (Governor)	31
Florida (Governor)	22
Illinois (Governor)	20
Pennsylvania (Senate)	20
Ohio (Senate)	19
Michigan (Senate)	16
Total CDs Affected	209

If the Republicans lose in all eight states, the Democrats would completely control states comprising 328 congressional districts. However, even if we were to win all eight of these races, Republicans would still be in a weaker position nationally than in 1981. That is somewhat sobering since even if the states where Republicans controlled the process in 1981 elected all-Republican congressional delegations, we would still be in the minority.

What everyone 'knows' about Atwater isn't true

9/22/89
Milwaukee Sentinel



By KENNETH R. LAMKE
Sentinel staff writer

Obviously, Republican National Committee Chairman Lee Atwater was being hypocritical in encouraging blacks to join the Republican Party during his appearance in Milwaukee last week, because everybody knows that Atwater was the mastermind of the racist Willie Horton ads in George Bush's presidential campaign.

The problem is, what everybody "knows" is wrong.

The Horton ads and the prison furlough issue it highlighted were not racist.

The following account of the Horton issue comes from the new 1990 edition of the non-partisan Almanac of American Politics, considered the "bible" of state and national political reporters.

The text is written by Michael Barone, who also writes opinion pieces for the Washington Post, not your average bigot newspaper.

The Almanac is endorsed in jacket blurbs by such other non-bigots as political columnist David Broder, Common Cause President Fred Wertheimer, Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York.

"On this (the furlough issue) it is confidently alleged that the Bush campaign lied and that Dukakis should have responded.

"But in fact the Bush campaign was careful to tell the truth (the more they told it, the more damaging the issue was), and the arguments on the subject that were misleading to the point of falsehood were those made in Dukakis' ads and statements and articles by journalistic shills for the Dukakis campaign.

"It is alleged that the Bush campaign appealed to racism, although the Bush campaign ads were careful not to use the picture of Willie Horton but simply to mention that he had been sentenced to jail for life without parole for committing a brutal murder, and that he had been granted weekend furloughs numerous times under a policy Dukakis supported and defended for 11 years, and that from one such furlough he did not return but instead went to Maryland where he raped and brutalized a young woman."

The Horton issue was raised first in the presidential campaign not by Bush but by a Democrat, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee, during a New York presidential primary campaign debate.

According to the Almanac, Dukakis refused to say at the debate that, by this time, he agreed with a change in the Massachusetts furlough law — even though he did agree with it — "grudgingly saying only that the people of Massachusetts and the legislature wanted it."

In the debate, "his response to Gore was, 'The trouble with you, Al, is you've never run a criminal justice system.'"

The Almanac continues, "With that bit of arrogance, Dukakis missed his chance to dissociate himself from a position that was morally and politically indefensible.

"The Horton case and the Dukakis campaign's efforts to hide its record were the subject of a Pulitzer Prize-winning series by the Lawrence (Mass.) Eagle-Tribune" and also the subject of a Reader's Digest article in July 1988.

According to the Almanac, Atwater, who already knew of the Horton case through campaign research, heard some people talking favorably about the Reader's Digest article in a Virginia bar and authorized the Bush campaign's Horton ads.

"Some charged the ads were racist (because Horton is black). But Bush's ads never showed Horton (though an independent committee's ads did), and the prisoners going through the revolving door were mostly white.

"The episode showed how Dukakis took a sensible and defensible policy (granting furloughs to prisoners scheduled to be released) and carried it to ridiculous extremes (granting furloughs to prisoners sentenced never to be released)."

The Almanac says the issue provided voters a basis on which to make a valid inference that liberal Dukakis appointees would take sensible liberal policies and carry them to ridiculous extremes, with Dukakis' approval.

"The furlough issue, far from being an appeal to racism or a mindless distraction, instead pointed to central defects in Dukakis' candidacy and style of governance."

The Almanac's account squares with this reporter's memory of seeing the Horton ads and wondering for weeks whether Horton and / or the victims were white or black.

The ads gave absolutely no hint. And careful attention to the national news media provided no clue either for weeks, until the handful of independent committees supporting Bush ran ads with Horton's picture in a handful of states (not in Wisconsin).

That gave the Democrats their opportunity to cry racism.

By that time, everyone knew who Willie Horton was, what he had done and what Dukakis' position was, even though they did not know Horton's race.

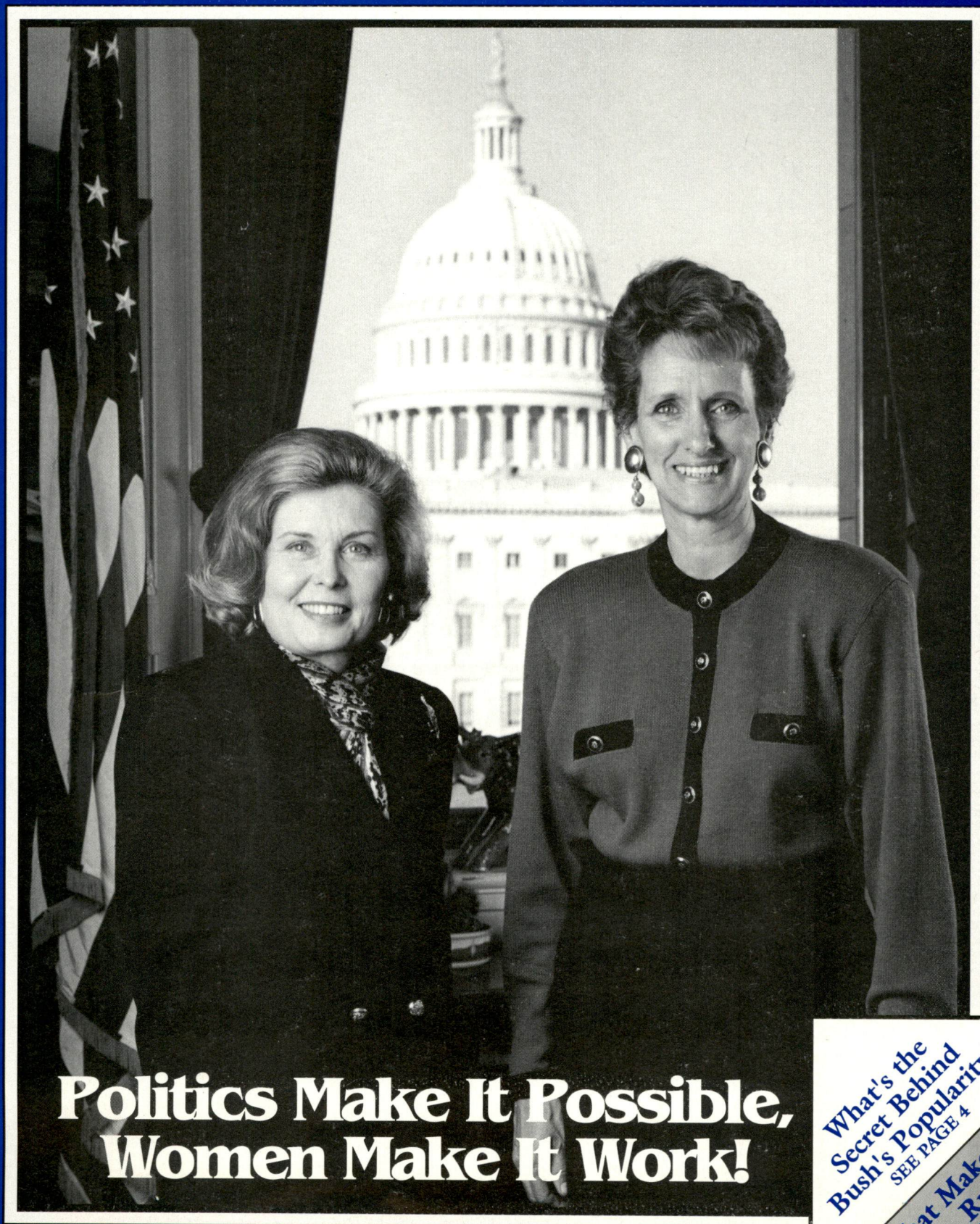
Now everyone "knows" that Lee Atwater masterminded a racist campaign.

There is a word for the willfully ignorant or malicious stereotyping of people (in this case, not Willie Horton and blacks, but Lee Atwater and Republicans) and the word is bigotry.



Lee Atwater

THE REPUBLICAN Woman



Politics Make It Possible, Women Make It Work!

What's the Secret Behind Bush's Popularity? SEE PAGE 4

What Makes Lynn Run? SEE COVER STORY PAGE 6

March/April, 1990

A Clean Slate, A Fresh Start

NFRW New for the '90s

On January 2, 1990 I assumed office as your national president. One of my first acts was to compile my New Year's resolutions–resolutions which I feel will be kept! By January 1, 1991 it is my hope that NFRW will:

- Increase membership by 25,000;
- Recruit 500 GOP women to run for state and local office;
- Achieve 75 percent participation in the building fund drive;
- Gain a reputation as a driving force in state Party politics.

Looking back, the 1980s were certainly prosperous for NFRW. After gaining our financial independence from the RNC in 1979, we developed our major donor program which enabled us to create our Party's only form of volunteer polling, and we established the GOP's most respected Campaign Management School. We also gained a vote on the RNC's Executive Council, a first for any Party affiliate.

I credit my predecessors with the foresight and perseverance to achieve these goals. However, this is not a time to congratulate ourselves for past successes; rather it is a time to dedicate ourselves to future achievement.

The initial step toward a strong future is to honestly assess our position today. Such an assessment indicates that our organization while strong, faces substantial challenges in the years ahead. Consider these facts:

Fact–In 1973, NFRW adopted the slogan "A million or more by '74." Today our membership is hanging on at 128,000. No one can deny that we're witnessing a decline that threatens our very existence.

Fact–Currently, there 497 Republican women elected to state and local office, a number that has remained steady since 1980, and has dropped slightly since 1989.

Fact–In 1989, immediate past president Judy Hughes established the Marion Martin building fund with $120,000. Less than a year later, the fund contains $200,000. The fund stands $1.3 million short of our $1.5 million goal.



Huda Jones, NFRW President

Fact–For years NFRW has been known as the volunteer army of the Republican Party, it is a reputation we earned through our collective hard work. While nothing can replace our grass roots knowledge, we must rechannel our efforts toward other Party directed endeavors.

Fact–Politics is becoming slicker and more advanced each day. Mail houses perform the work our members once did voluntarily. And one-on-one morning coffees and afternoon teas are being pushed aside for big dollar fund-raisers and maximum visibility events. If we want to keep up, we must change. If we want respect, we must change. If we want to survive, we must change.

With these areas of possible improvement in mind, take time at your next club meeting to evaluate your past year. Draw up a list of goals and objectives you think can be accomplished by January 1, 1991. As you evaluate the previous year ask your club these questions:

- ❑ Did we increase membership last year?
- ❑ Did we reach out to "non-traditional" Republicans?
- ❑ Were we willing to change our meeting time to accommodate working women?
- ❑ Would young working women feel welcome in our club?
- ❑ Did we make an effort to support women candidates?
- ❑ Did we encourage club members to run for office?
- ❑ Did we support NFRW's building fund drive?
- ❑ Are we involved in local Party activities?
- ❑ Did we approach a candidate with a "plan of action" for her/his campaign?

If you answered yes to each of these questions your club's contribution to our future is indeed great. If your club answered no, to any of these questions, you are now aware of areas of deficiency and should begin to refine your program. The importance of achieving these goals is permanent and each of us should begin working immediately.

To help you reach your goals for 1991, and strengthen past programs, NFRW will be conducting new membership training seminars in nine regions across the country, ready to assist you with membership, fund-raising, public relations, and candidate recruitment/campaign activities.

By working together we can make the 1990s the decade of Republican women. Commitment is key, change is essential, but the benefits will be long lasting.

Let each of us have a list of accomplished resolutions on January 1, 1991; no regrets and no excuses.

Editor's note: *For more information on 1990 regional membership seminars,* *see pages 10-11.*

THE REPUBLICAN Woman

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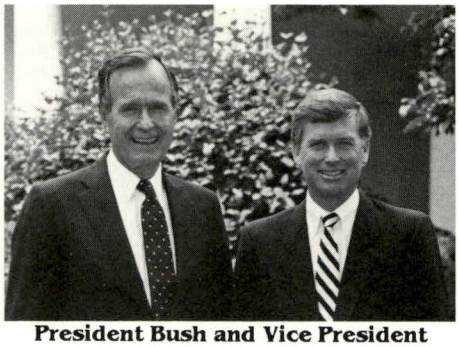
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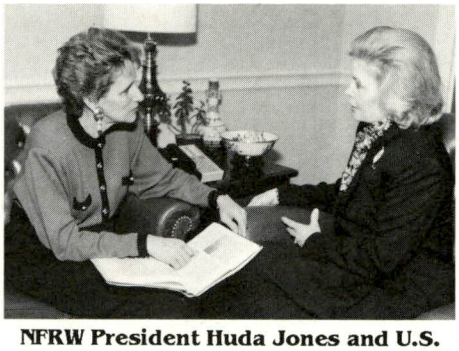
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President Bush and Vice President Quayle leading the Nation



NFRW President Huda Jones and U.S. Rep. Lynn Martin



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Cover: NFRW President Huda Jones (left) and U.S. Rep. Lynn Martin • Photo by: Rebecca Hammel

NFRW Executive Committee

The National Federation of Republican Women's Executive Committee is elected by the delegates to NFRW's biennial convention. The Members at Large are elected immediately following the convention by the NRFW Board of Directors.

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Immediate Past President Judy Hughes, Colorado
First Vice President Charlotte Mousel, California
Second Vice President Mary Jo Arndt, Illinois
Third Vice President Lou Brown, Texas
Fourth Vice President Pat Barton, Florida
Secretary Joyce Glass, North Carolina
Treasurer Dodie Londen, Arizona
Member at Large Ellie Holt, Indiana
Member at Large Jane Jepsen, Connecticut
Member at Large Marilyn Thayer, Louisiana

The Republican Woman

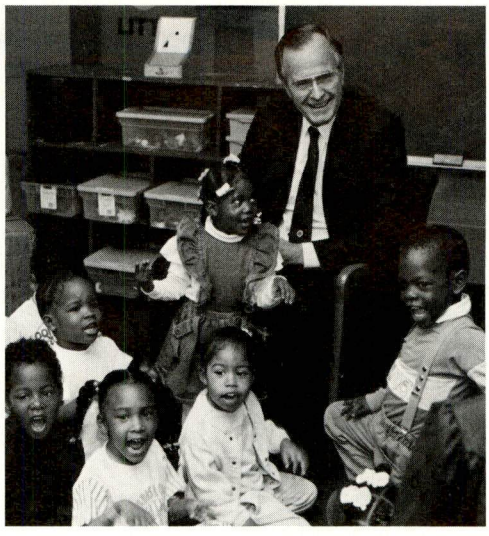
The Republican Woman is an official publication of the National Federation of Republican Women. It is mailed bimonthly to every dues paying NFRW member. It is designed to provide NFRW members with current information about Federation goals and programs (national, state, and local), Republican Party efforts, administrative policies, legislative activities in Congress, and other issues relevant to women in politics and leadership positions.

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Design Ink, Inc. Design and Production

ISSUES SPOTLIGHT

What's the Secret Behind Bush's Popularity?



Many political pundits, and a great number of Democrats are astounded at President Bush's record-breaking popularity. To date the President has an 81 percent approval rating.

But there is no secret, no magic. Upon examination of the President's first year in office one realizes that much has been accomplished. Behind the record-breaking approval rating lies history making policy and innovative programs.

And if one is looking for a clear explanation of this Administration's success it stems from the true sense of caring and commitment from a President and his Administration which clearly has its finger on the pulse of our nation and the world.

From international trade to affordable housing, the Bush Administration's accomplishments are far-reaching. The following is a brief outline of domestic and international policies and programs which have lead to the American public's resounding approval of President Bush and his Administration.

Record Expansion

During the current economic expansion–in its 84th month as of November, 1989–over 20.7 million jobs have been created and the unemployment rate has fallen to levels not seen in 16 years. Income levels have risen sharply and growth in industrial output is over one-and-a-half times that of Western Europe. Real per capita income, output, and business fixed investments, are at record levels. Yet, consumer price inflation has remained under five percent for the past seven years.

International Trade

Leading efforts to promote free and fair trade, the Bush Administration successfully advanced the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. It proposed to correct and prevent trade distortions in agriculture and also proposed to create rules for international trade in services. Currently, the Administration is engaged in bilateral trade talks with Japan to discuss impediments to expanding trade and encourage it to open its markets to U.S. exports.

A Resurgence of Democracy

In April of last year, the President spoke in Hamtramck, Michigan, and called for self determination in Eastern Europe and an end to the division of the continent. Later in May, President Bush called for the Berlin Wall to come down, and set forth his vision of a Europe "whole and free" during his visit to Mainz, Germany. Though the pace of change was even faster than anticipated, the United States remains on the course set by the President last spring.



Malta

As European and other events accelerated, the President conceived the idea of informally meeting with Mr. Gorbachev for an in-depth, wide ranging exchange. This took place on board ships off Malta in early December. The President offered a number of initiatives on economic relations, cultural exchanges, human rights, and arms reduction. Europe and regional issues, particularly Central America, were also subjects of discussion. It was agreed to hold a formal US-Soviet Summit in the summer of 1990, in the United States.

Education Summit

The President called the nation's Governors together for an historic Education Summit. The Administration and the Governors committed to encourage education reform in America by: establishing national education goals; working for greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds in exchange for increased accountability; implementing state-by-state restructuring of the education system; and adopting improved ways of measuring performances.

continued on page 16

Charging Up the Hill

Claudine Schneider Makes a Bid for the U.S. Senate

Ten years ago, when Claudine Schneider ran for the U.S. Congress, she was told by her Democratic opponent to, "go back home and scrub floors and wash dishes." There had never been a woman elected to federal office in Rhode Island. Democrats outnumbered Republicans 15-1 in an era when straight Party voting was the norm. The odds were against her. So Schneider challenged the second Congressional District of Rhode Island to make a choice and look at the person, not the Party. They did, Schneider beat the odds and was elected as their U.S. Representative.

Today, Schneider is running for the U.S. Senate. As a U.S. Senator, Schneider says she will continue to actively work to protect the environment, provide a drug-free society, and promote economic growth and competitiveness.

Schneider has proven herself an effective leader in Congress. As a member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the ranking Republican on the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee, Schneider is the author and primary sponsor of the Global Warming Prevention Act of 1989. She has also promoted a wide range of legislation to protect the environment, to preserve endangered species, and to promote a balanced use of natural resources.

As a member of the Select Committee on Aging, Schneider has responded to the needs of her elderly constituents. Concerned about widows being cheated out of their pensions through loopholes in the law, Schneider actively worked with the Reagan White House to legislate the Pension Reform Act.

She is also the lead sponsor of the Ocean Dumping Ban Act of 1989 as well as the Wolpe-Schneider Hazardous Waste Reduction Act.

Schneider's dedication to the national war on drugs has her working closely with local, state, and federal



officials in the Ocean State. She has cosponsored anti-drug and anti-crime legislation to protect children and senior citizens, and to punish drug traffickers. She is a strong advocate of treatment-on-demand and the national Drug-Free School Zone program.

Schneider is a proven coalition builder. She is the co-founder and co-chair of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus, a bi-partisan group of over 200 U.S. Representatives and Senators. The caucus functions as a forum to build consensus for legislation in the areas of trade policy, human resources, capital formation, and science and technology.

NFRW president Huda Jones said, "Claudine Schneider has proven herself to be an effective leader. As a U.S. Senator, I know she will continue to dedicate herself on behalf of women and the nation. The National Federation of Republican Women is behind her 100 percent."

Susan Molinari Wins U.S. House Seat

Republican Susan Molinari crushed her Democratic opponent by nearly 2-1 in the March 20, special election, to win New York's 14th Congressional District seat.

The seat was vacated by her father, who assumed office as Staten Island borough president on January 1, 1990.

Molinari is no stranger to politics or winning campaigns. This congressional victory makes her a three-time winner. She was first elected to the New York City Council in 1985, the youngest person ever elected to the Council, and as its only Republican, became the Minority Leader.

As Minority Leader, Molinari was a voting member on the Council's most influential committees including Finance, Rules, and Environmental Protection. She says she hopes to continue her work on environmental issues in Washington.

As the newest and youngest member of the 101st U.S. Congress, Molinari is only the second woman in United States history to succeed her father in the House.



Susan Molinari

Born–March 27, 1958

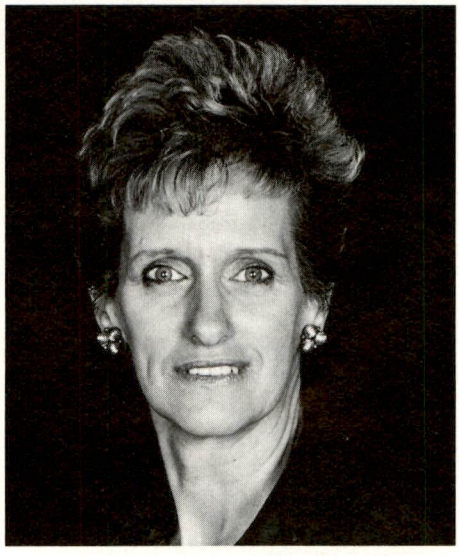
Education–graduated cum laude from State University Center at Albany, 1980

Professional background–Finance Assistant for the National Republican Governor's Association and Ethnic Community Liaison for the Republican National Committee's Political division

Lynn Martin: Vision for the Future

"The very foundation of this race is based on the future versus the past."

U.S. Rep. Lynn Martin



In what is expected to be a tightly fought battle between the old and the new U.S. Representative Lynn Martin (the future) is challenging Democrat incumbent Paul Simon (the past)–the prize is the U.S. Senate.

Just to refresh your memory, Paul Simon was the 1988 Presidential candidate who thought bow-ties were hip and tax reform was not.

Recall also that it was Paul Simon who viewed Michael Dukakis as too conservative for America. Fortunately, the idea of "President Simon" was never brought before the national electorate as his own Party overwhelmingly rejected his candidacy, regarding the freshman Senator from Illinois as too wet behind the ears, and too far out of step with their "mainstream" thinking.

But enough of the past. Let's turn our attention to the future and Lynn Martin of Illinois's 16th Congressional District.

The 16th district occupies the northwest corner of Illinois and contains Rockford, the state's second largest city. Rockford, it is said, most typifies America, a place where sociologists can study how middle-America thinks, and as one writer put it, "a city where the American Dream is alive and living."

Although born in Chicago, Martin cut her political teeth in Rockford and continues to uphold the ideals and standards of the American Dream.

Martin graduated from the University of Illinois and married in 1960. She had two daughters and later became a high school English, government, and economics teacher. But that is where the typical American life ends and the American Dream kicks in.

Vote for My Mom!

It was out of frustration with an unresponsive County Board that Martin launched her first campaign in 1972. Declaring that the Winnebago County Board was dominated by too many "out of touch Democrats," she chalked up her first victory and became the Board's Republican spokesperson.

From there it was a short climb to the top.

In 1976, after she had completed one term on the Board, she decided to run for the Illinois State House, a race she ran in true grass roots fashion.

Accompanied by several of her neighbors, Martin and her ad hoc "campaign committee" grabbed their kids, loaded up their station wagons, and went door-to-door handing out pamphlets and asking for support. "We weren't even sophisticated enough to call it canvassing," Martin recalls. "I just knew that somehow I had to get out and meet the voters."

Throughout the campaign Martin continued a pattern of door-to-door canvassing in the morning followed by an afternoon feast of "hot dogs and soda pop" at her house. "It wasn't quite volunteer, but I knew if I didn't feed the kids, I'd never keep them on the road," she laughed. "I don't know if people felt sorry for me, or if they were entranced, but I won by over 17,000 votes." Martin served one term in the House and quickly moved to the Illinois Senate in 1979.

In the Illinois Legislature, Martin was regarded as an excellent lawmaker and orator, with a sharp mind, and an even sharper wit. She captured the attention and admiration of her constituents, and in 1980 when Congressman John Anderson tossed his hat into the presidential ring, she seemed his natural successor. And she was.

While always regarded as somewhat of a political legend in Illinois, it wasn't until 1984 that she began to make a name for herself in Washington and across the U.S.

That year marked her entrance in the history books as the first woman ever elected to House leadership. She was elected by her GOP colleagues to the vice chairmanship of the Republican conference.

Martin may be best remembered, however, as then-Vice President Bush's sparring partner in the vice presidential debate practice sessions. Even today, President Bush quips that debating against Lynn Martin was much more difficult than his actual opponent, Geraldine Ferarro.

The Future Takes Shape

Martin's plain-spoken fiscal conservatism, which helped her rise through the ranks of state government, has gained her a great deal of attention in Washington as well. Combined with her good-natured political style and the ability to cross Party lines, she is regarded as a top legislator.

In addition to the respect of her colleagues, Martin has been applauded by numerous groups such as the National Taxpayer's Union, the Watchdogs of the Treasury, and the National Federation of Independent Businesses (NFIB).

"For small businesses, Lynn Martin is a clear choice," stated David K. Rehr, assistant director of Federal Governmental Relations for NFIB. "She wants lower taxes, less regulations, and more opportunity for men and women business owners."

Opportunity for women is a cause Martin has long advocated. According to House GOP colleague Jan Meyers (KS) she was aware of Martin's work on behalf of women even before Meyers came to Washington in 1984.

But it was Martin's persistence and insistence that women be treated fairly within the hallowed halls of Congress that most remember.

Meyers recalls, "Lynn championed the cause of job protection for all congressional employees. She introduced legislation that guarantees fair employment practices for workers and succeeded in getting it passed by the House. It was a major achievement for all congressional workers, and particularly women."

Prior to Martin's bill, any member of Congress could discriminate against employees on the basis of sex, color, or marital status and the employee had no recourse.

"I think you have to keep in mind that all Hill employees are paid with the taxpayer's money," Martin added. "Holding the Members' feet to the fire has made a real difference."

The People of Illinois Deserve a Senator

When the 1988 presidential race began to take shape, Martin was named a vice chairman to the Bush campaign. As she divided her time between Washington, Illinois, and the stump for Bush, she noticed that another well-known Illinoisan was also on the campaign trail, but never really in Washington.

Martin began to ask herself, as did many voters. "Is the incumbent doing a good enough job for Illinois?"

Thus began months of soul-searching, with the persistent question being, "Can I better serve my state as a Senator?" After seeking the advice of the President, and her friends, family, and colleagues," Martin believed the answer to be a most definite "yes."

"It's not easy giving up a House seat and leaving a job you love and people you respect. But you have to take risks. If you don't, who will?"

Now, two years later, Martin is back on the campaign trail, this time it's for Lynn Martin, and the President is on the stump for her. Having made one swing through Illinois, he is expected to return. Additionally, Mrs. Bush has hit the campaign trail on behalf of Martin. "We joke that when the going gets tough we bring out the secret weapon, The First Lady," Martin grins.



Martin says she knows she can call upon the President when she needs his help and if he can do something he will. But she says that more important than a fundraiser or a fly-through is what the President is doing for America.

"He's making America strong, keeping prosperity in the forefront. And making life better for the people of Illinois makes it easier for me to win an election. And if that's all he did for me, it would be enough."

Everyone agrees that Martin has a tough race ahead of her. But, as U.S. House Republican Leader Bob Michel put it, "More than anyone Lynn has the skills, the knowledge, and the savvy to beat the incumbent. She's a creative and tireless campaigner."

And Now the Future

As Martin's opponent for the U.S. Senate continues to grasp antiquated policies, Martin, by contrast, brings a message of opportunity. But, as Martin says, "to have opportunity, you must have change."

"I hope to take advantage of the wave of freedom that is spreading throughout the world," she said. "I want to ensure that America can compete in the next century. And I want to ensure that my children and grandchildren have the same opportunities that I have had, but with an even greater chance to succeed."

No one says that the race will be an easy one. In fact, it is one of the hottest and most closely watched races in the nation.

Lynn Martin has demonstrated the vision necessary to succeed in a race that pits the future against the past and opportunity against stagnation. It is now up to voters in the Land of Lincoln to determine which candidate can keep their American Dream alive.

LYNN MARTIN
Born: December 26, 1939, Chicago, Ill.
Education: U. of Illinois, B.A., 1960, Phi Beta Kappa
Profession: U.S. Congress, 1981-present, Illinois Senate, 1979-80, Illinois House, 1977-78, Winnebago Cnty Board, 1972-76, High School Teacher 1960-69
Married to: U.S. District Judge Harry Leinenweber
Children: two children, five step-children
Religion: Roman Catholic
Office: 1214 Longworth House Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515
Campaign Office: 9575 West Higgins Rd,. Rosement, IL 60018

CMS Faculty At The Top of Their Class

The success of NFRW's Campaign Management School (CMS) is directly attributable to its outstanding faculty. It is important to note that the faculty members volunteer their time and talent to NFRW.

From organizing volunteers to defining the role of the candidate, each member of the CMS faculty brings a different area of expertise to the program, providing the CMS student with a complete and concise overview of a successful campaign.

This year, the faculty, along with NFRW president Huda Jones and program director Angie Bedard, has revamped the CMS agenda to include more training for the candidate.

"We are witnessing a metamorphosis of our membership," stated Jones. "We began as volunteers, moved to campaign managers, and finally candidates. NFRW is responsive to the growing needs of our members, and will continue to update our schools to ensure Republican victories."

In addition to the added emphasis on candidate training, each CMS will be geared toward the needs of the state, or region where it's being held. "If the Idaho federation thinks we need to pay special attention to the role of the campaign manager, then we [the faculty] can adapt our format to meet their needs," said faculty member Melinda Farris. With many new faculty members and a revised agenda, NFRW's CMS is ready to take on the challenges of the '90s.

1990 CMS FACULTY

Nancy Bocskor



Press relations, with an emphasis on earned and paid media, is the foundation of Nancy Bocskor's presentation. She is formerly the administrative assistant to U.S. Rep. Jon Kyl (AZ). Bocskor began her political career in the office of U.S. Rep. Newt Gingrich (GA) and has served as deputy director of communications for the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) and director of opposition research for the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC).

Ruth Ann Compton



The Missouri Federation of Republican Women (MFRW) served as a perfect method of research for Ruth Ann Compton's segment on volunteers and Get-Out-The-Vote. A Party activist for 30 years, she is frequently called upon by campaigns to set up headquarters and coordinate volunteers. Compton has served as president of MFRW since 1988 and as a member of NFRW's national board since 1982.

Steve Dunkle



As district director for U.S. Senator Arlen Specter (PA), Steve Dunkle understands the importance of his topics – fund-raising and opposition research. He is the former executive director of both the Pennsylvania House Republican Campaign Committee and the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania.

Melinda Farris



Consistently ranked as one of NFRW's most outstanding faculty members, Melinda Farris is an expert in the areas of personal image and public speaking. A former NFRW staffer, she is currently president of Capitol Resources, a Washington, D.C. consulting firm. Farris has developed programs and coordinated events for NFRW, the Republican National Committee (RNC), the 1989 Presidential Inaugural, and the White House.

Lisa Friel



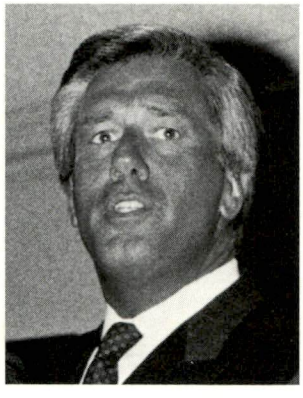
A believer in the phrase "money talks," Lisa Friel brings to the CMS nearly a decade of experience in fund-raising. She currently serves as a deputy director of the RNC's Legislative Task Force, advising candidates in targeted legislative races on the latest fund raising techniques. In addition to fund-raising, Friel is well versed in direct mail for legislative candidates and effective phone banking.

Steve M. Kinney



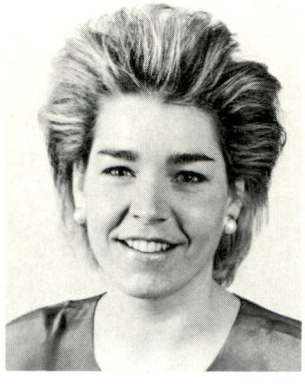
Fund raising and opposition research are the cornerstones of Steve Kinney's presentation. Active in GOP politics for over two decades, Kinney has served as an advisor and event coordinator for President Richard Nixon, President Ronald Reagan, and President George Bush. He currently serves as the RNC's regional political director for the nine Western states, developing voter programs and campaign organizations.

Joe Gaylord



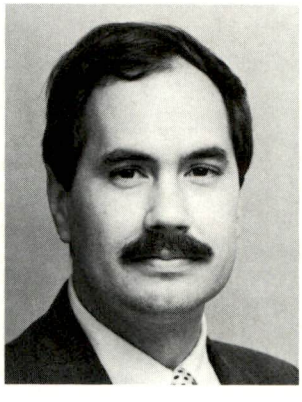
The role of the candidate is often taken for granted or poorly defined, but never by Joe Gaylord. Gaylord, is currently president of Joseph R. Gaylord Company in Washington, D.C. He is the former executive director of the NRCC, and continues to serve as counselor to U.S. Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (MI), chairman of the NRCC. His other clients include GOP Whip, U.S. Rep. Newt Gingrich (GA).

Carol Vernon



The former director of outreach communications for the RNC, Carol Vernon brings a special style and undisputed knowledge of press relations and political advertising to the CMS. Add to her list of credits video coaching, paid and earned media, and voter outreach. Vernon is currently the director of program publicity for the National Cable TV Association.

Carlyle Gregory



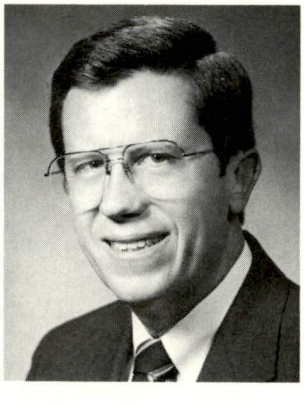
The key elements of a winning campaign, as well as effective scheduling are covered by campaign veteran Carlyle Gregory. Currently working as a political consultant, Gregory served as President Reagan's special assistant and deputy director for Political Affairs, where he acted as the political liaison between the White House and Party organizations. Gregory is also the creator and a past president of the American Campaign Academy.

Jayne Victor



In 1983, Jayne Victor developed the State and Local department for the RNC. Today under her direction, State and Local is one of the most crucial departments within the Committee, acting as the liaison between the RNC and grass roots officials. After seven years experience with state and local politics, Victor reveals the secrets of victory during her CMS presentation. From volunteer management to opposition research, her overview is informative and invaluable.

Dr. Verne Kennedy



Polling is the map to victory according to Dr. Verne Kennedy, president of Marketing Research Institute. Dr. Kennedy has served on NFRW's faculty for over 12 years. In fact, his segment on polling proved so valuable and popular that he and NFRW expanded it into the Volunteer Polling School in 1980.

Editor's note: *For more information on NFRW's CMS please contact Angie Bedard at 800-424-9342*

Federation I
with Aggressive N
Progressive N

"New for the '90s" is much more than a catchy phrase or program title developed by NFRW President Huda Jones.

It is, instead an innovative grass roots plan of action designed to make the National Federation of Republican Women a major force in national politics.

By concentrating NFRW's efforts on four areas of action; ***membership, campaign activities, public relations,*** and ***fund raising***, Jones believes NFRW can become the premier organization in the American political arena.

To help achieve this goal Jones, along with NFRW's executive committee, has selected a core of political experts to serve as regional directors and committee chairmen. She has relied heavily upon their input and advice to create each area's major goals.

Perhaps one of the most exciting aspects of this plan is the attention it gives to the grass roots. In order to cultivate a closer relationship between national and the clubs, a new "chain of command" has been formed–

NFRW President
NFRW Executive Committee Member
State President
Program Chairman
Regional Program Director
State Program Chairman
Club President and Club Program Chairman

This new system allows federation club members to work closer with a greater number of members in their state and region.

Equally exciting are the nine regional membership seminars planned for this year, they are–

Date	Region	Location
May 11-12	VII	Phoenix, AZ
May 25-26	VIII	New Orleans, LA
June 1-2	IX	Los Angeles, CA
June 8-9	VI	Oklahoma City, OK
August 19-20	II	Alexandria, VA
August 24-25	V	Oakbrook, IL
Sept 14-15	IV	Columbus, OH
Sept 28-29	I	Boston, MA
Oct 19-20	III	Columbia, SC

The regional seminars will give local club members necessary training in NFRW's four areas of action, as well as relative information to help strengthen their club and their role in the political process.

The seminars are open to all members of NFRW.

Here now is an introductory outline of each area's program, along with its chairmen and directors. A more indepth review of each program will appear in the next issue of *TRW.*

Membership–The Big Picture

Increasing NFRW's membership will not only strengthen the Federation, but will solidify the Republican Party. The larger our organization, the larger the pool of talent and resources we can provide to the GOP. The goals are simple, the results are critical.

Goals–Increase NFRW membership by 50,000 by January 1, 1992
–Increase the number of young and professional women in NFRW

Chairman–Norma Steinbrenner, Scottsdale, AZ

Co-Chairman–Jill Shockley-Siggins, Cody, WY

Regional Directors	
Region I	Edna Bogosian, Watertown, MA
Region II	Joanne Sharpe, Greensboro, NC
Region III	Jean Pipes, Boynton Beach, FL
Region IV	Sandra Barber, Wauseon, OH
Region V	Chloanne Greathouse, Springfield, IL
Region VI	Louise Foster, Austin, TX
Region VII	Vivian Petura, Rio Rancho, NM
Region VIII	Ann Hein, Arabi, LA
Region IX	Marcella Whitmore, Arcadia, CA

Staff contact–*Nina Henson, Membership Director*

By using the same methodology as the Constitution when determining Congressional districts, NFRW has derived the following membership goals for each individual state. If each state reaches its goal, NFRW will gain 50,000 new members by 1992.

Specifically, 435 (total U.S. Representatives) was divided into 50,000 (membership goal). The resulting quotient, 115, was then multiplied by the number of Representatives apportioned currently to each state (e.g. Delaware: 1 Rep X 115 = 115 new members. California: 45 Reps X 115 = 5,175 new members; etc.).

State	Current Membership	Proj. Increase	State	Current Membership	Proj. Increase
ALABAMA	1022	805	NEBRASKA	913	345
ALASKA	273	115	NEVADA	1135	230
ARIZONA	2820	575	NEW HAMPSHIRE	459	230
ARKANSAS	1124	460	NEW JERSEY	396	1610
CALIFORNIA	29,256	5175	NEW MEXICO	1169	345
COLORADO	2427	690	NEW YORK	2029	3910
CONNECTICUT	1379	690	N. CAROLINA	2707	1265
DELAWARE	559	115	N. DAKOTA	1361	115
DIST. OF COL.	122	115	OHIO	6109	2415
FLORIDA	5945	2185	OKLAHOMA	1358	690
GEORGIA	1109	1150	OREGON	1628	575
HAWAII	374	230	PENNSYLVANIA	1407	2645
IDAHO	542	230	PUERTO RICO	30	115
ILLINOIS	6201	2530	RHODE ISLAND	301	230
INDIANA	5805	1150	S. CAROLINA	1359	690
IOWA	4985	690	S. DAKOTA	956	115
KANSAS	2533	575	TENNESSEE	2635	1035
KENTUCKY	1734	805	TEXAS	10,453	3105
LOUISIANA	2196	920	UTAH	617	345
MAINE	365	230	VERMONT	194	115
MARYLAND	2380	920	VIRGINIA	3096	1150
MASSACHUSETTS	1488	1265	VIRGIN ISLANDS	19	115
MICHIGAN	1625	2070	WASHINGTON	2033	920
MINNESOTA	383	920	WEST VIRGINIA	516	460
MISSISSIPPI	1046	575	WISCONSIN	1745	1035
MISSOURI	2572	1035	WYOMING	1105	115
MONTANA	1530	230	**TOTAL**	**127,525**	**50,270**

Enters 1990
lew Programs and
ew Leadership

Campaign Activities–
GOP Politics for the '90s

Politically, NFRW has been regarded as the "volunteer army" of the Republican Party.

While no one disputes the fact that it is an admirable reputation, NFRW must expand its political involvement and educate the Party rank and file on outstanding Federation programs. Added emphasis is put on women candidates.

Goals–Increase Party awareness and attendance to Campaign Management and Polling Schools
–Recruit and train 500 NFRW members for state and local office through Project '90s
–Expand NFRW's role in Party activities through innovative programs such as primary debates
–Encourage state federations and clubs to take a more active role in campaigns

Chairman–Ruth Fox, Austin, TX
Co-Chairman–Helen Purcell, Phoenix, AZ

Regional Directors	
Region I	Jan Fenger, Old Saybrook, CT
Region II	Nellie Long, Edinburg, VA
Region III	Iris Dlugos, Sebring, FL
Region IV	Leatha Rhea, Indianapolis, IN
Region V	Mary Buestrin, Mequon, WI
Region VI	Clare Rattan, Oklahoma City, OK
Region VII	Sandy Madsen, Tempe, AZ
Region VIII	Mellene Schudy, Mt. Grove, MO
Region IX	Heidi Smith, Reno, NV

***Staff contacts**–Angie Bedard, Director of Programs for Campaign Management and Polling Schools*
Karen Johnson, Director of Communications & Political Affairs for Project '90s, primary debates, and campaigns

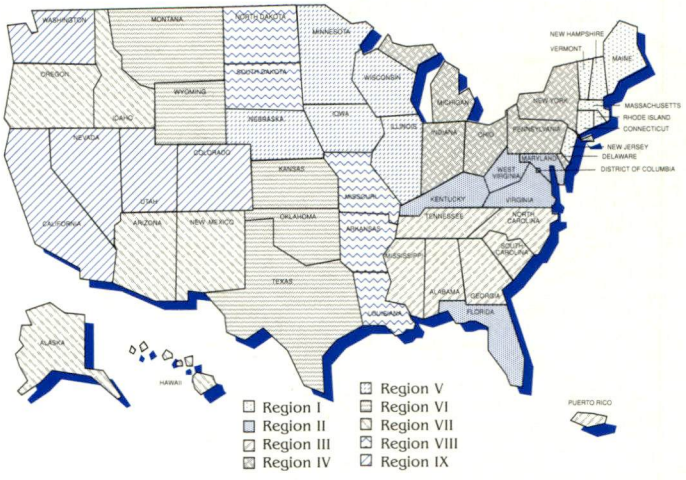
Public Relations–
Getting the Message Out

Public relations is a crucial area of action because it encompasses all facets of NFRW. From our image within the Federation to the way others in our community and Party view us, good public relations is the job of each NFRW member.

Goals–Increase membership awareness of NFRW sponsored programs
–Develop a national advertising campaign which adequately depicts NFRW
–Increase NFRW visibility within the community and GOP

Chairman–The Honorable Theresa Esposito, Winston-Salem, NC

NFRW Regions



Co-Chairman–Carol Josephson, Grand Rapids, MI

Regional Directors	
Region I	Jane Mendicino, Essex Junction, VT
Region II	Phoebe Trost, Charleston, WV
Region III	Estelle Johnson, Charleston, SC
Region IV	Lois McKenna, North Massepequa, NY
Region V	Linda Westrom, Elbow Lake, MN
Region IV	Ella Mae Cromer, Butte, MT
Region VII	Eleanor Boese, Salem, OR
Region VIII	Betty Rinde, St. Thomas, ND
Region IX	R.J. Doria, Colorado Springs, CO

***Staff contact**–Karen Johnson*

Fund Raising–
Increasing NFRW's Assets

Fund raising is the backbone of NFRW. With annual membership dues to national set at $3.00, NFRW could not support its wide range of successful political and educational programs without additional funds.

The majority of these funds are generated through NFRW's major donor program–the Regents and Capitol Regents.

Additionally, with the purchase of a permanent NFRW headquarters as a number one goal, each member of NFRW must actively support the building fund.

Goals–Increase the number of Regents and Capitol Regents in each state
–Promote NFRW's building fund drive to achieve 75 percent individual member participation

Chairman–Anne Batchelder, Omaha, NE
Co-Chairman–Rebecca Bancroft, Pewaukee, WI

Regional Directors	
Region I	Open
Region II	Velma Childers, Pikeville, KY
Region III	Barbara McAndrew, Dandridge, TN
Region IV	Ann Davis, Coldwater, MI
Region V	Ann Clay, Newton, IA
Region VI	Joanne Wayne, Oklahoma City, OK
Region VII	Paula Newkirk, Edgewood, NM
Region VIII	Joyce Sherlock, River Ridge, LA
Region IX	Grace Jones, Alta Loma, CA

***Staff contact**–Joan Perrin, Finance Director*

Off and Running– Women Candidates Take the Field

When Huda Jones accepted the nomination of NFRW president last October, she pledged her support of GOP women candidates saying she would work toward recruiting at least 500 Republican women to run for state and local office.

The vehicle for her goal is Project '90s, a grass roots identification/recruitment program within NFRW's political network. Once candidates have been identified through Project '90s, Federation commitment continues through financial and volunteer support.

While the emphasis of Project '90s is placed on candidates recruited through the Federation, NFRW encourages the individual support of all women candidates running for all levels of office.

Women recruited through Project '90s are recruited for open seats (those without a primary).

NFRW applauds the women who have accepted the challenge to run for public office. Here now is a sampling of the talented women who will be carrying the Republican banner to victory in 1990.

***Editor's note**: Women candidates with primaries were not recruited through Project '90s. As an organization, NFRW cannot support one Republican candidate over the others in a primary. Therefore, we have listed primary opponents when necessary.*



KATHY BAILEY HUTCHISON

State–Texas

Candidate for–State Treasurer

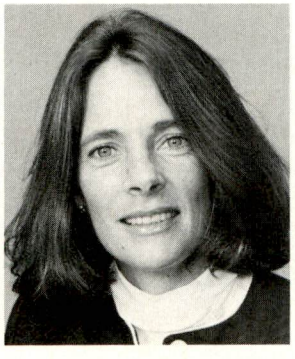
Previous elected office–Texas House of Representatives, 1972-76

Primary opposition–none

GOP resume–member, Northwood Republican Women's Club; Texas Women for Bush/Quayle; Texas Women for Reagan/Bush

Professional background–Attorney; former director of Fidelity National Bank of Dallas; former Senior V.P. and general counsel of RepublicBank Corp.; instructor of law and public policy at the University of Texas at Dallas; and first woman television news reporter in Houston

Professional and civic affiliations–Board of Visitors, the University of Texas Law School, S.M.U. School of Business, and Texas A & M School of Business; board member, Dallas Women's Foundation, the Boy's Club of Dallas, the Greater Dallas Chamber of Commerce, and the YWCA



V. LOUISE MCCARREN

State–Vermont

Candidate for–Lt. Governor

Previous elected office–none

Primary opposition–Michael Bernhardt

GOP resume–Fund raiser for U.S. Rep. Jim Jeffords's Senate Campaign, 1988

Professional background–Attorney; member of Vermont Legal Aid, Deputy Public Defender; director of the Vermont Public Service Board; and instructor of business law at Trinity College and the University of Vermont

Professional and civic affiliations–Active in the Burlington, VT Emergency Food Shelf program, and area battered women's programs



SALLY PROUTY

State–Ohio

Candidate for–Ohio House of Representatives

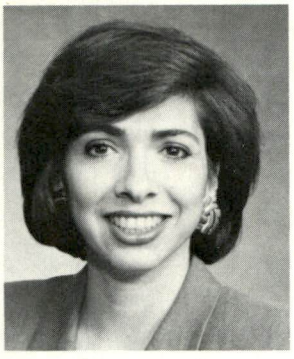
Previous elected office–President, Newark City School Board 1988-present; Vice President, Newark City School Board, 1986-88

Primary opposition–none

GOP resume–member, Licking County Republican Women; volunteer, William Moore for Mayor; volunteer, Bush/Quayle '88; phone bank volunteer for GOP candidates 1984-present

Professional background–Registered nurse and nursing instructor

Professional and civic affiliations–Past president Newark PTA; founding member Licking Cnty Prevention Network; member, Kiwanis International and Women's Aglow Fellowship International; and board member, Friends of the Shelter for Battered Women/Children



GLORIA GONZALES ROEMER

State–Colorado

Candidate for–United States Congress

Previous elected office–none

Primary opposition–none

GOP resume–member, Lucy A. Harris Republican Women's Club, Finance Director and Outreach Director, Denver Cnty GOP; National committeewoman, Colorado Republican National Hispanic Assembly; Coalitions Director, Colorado Bush/Quayle; member, Women for Bush/Quayle

Professional background–Vice president and co-owner of Roemer Oil Company

Professional and civic affiliations–Board member, Girl's Club of Denver; Kiwanis Club of Denver; the Children's Hospital Foundation; Independent Petroleum Association of America; and Colorado Energy Resources PAC



ARLISS STURGULEWSKI

State–Alaska

Candidate for–Governor

Previous elected office–Alaska State Senate 1978-present

Primary opposition–Jim Campbell, Jack Coghill, Rick Halford, Walter Hickel, John Lindauer and Don Wright

GOP resume–Candidate for Governor 1986; member, Anchorage Republican Women's Club

Professional background–Serves on the Board of Directors for Alaska Pacific Bancorporation and Denali Drilling, Inc.

Professional and civic affiliations–Anchorage Library Foundation, Food Bank of Alaska, Alaska Center for the Environment, and the National Organization of Women Legislators



SUE SUTER

State–Illinois

Candidate for–State Comptroller

Previous elected office–none

Primary opposition–none

GOP resume–member, Capitol City Republican Women's Club; board member, Illinois Federation of Republican Women

Professional background–Director of the Illinois Department of Public Aid (appointed by Governor James Thompson), Commissioner of the Rehabilitation Services Administration (appointed by President Ronald Reagan), and Director of the Illinois Department of Rehabilitation Services

Professional and civic affiliations–Illinois Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, and National Organization of Women in State Governments



CANDICE TREES

State–Illinois

Candidate for–Illinois House of Representatives

Previous elected office–Clerk of Circuit Court, Sangamon County 1986-present

Primary opposition–defeated opponent in March 20 primary

GOP resume–member, Capitol City Republican Women's Club; State Co-chairman Blacks for Bush/Quayle; alternate at large, 1988 Republican National Convention; member, Illinois Blacks for Reagan/Bush; and Republican precinct committeewoman

Professional background–Springfield City Clerk, and executive correspondent to Governor James Thompson

Professional and civic affiliations–Gubernatorial appointment, Minority and Female Business Enterprise Council; Illinois State Lottery Control Board; Springfield Area Arts Council; and Springfield Disabilities Committee



SUE WAGNER

State–Nevada

Candidate for–Lt.Governor

Previous elected office–Nevada State Senate, 1981-present; Nevada State Assembly 1975-1980

Primary opposition–Andy Anderson

GOP resume–member, Reno Republican Women's Club; Outstanding National Republican Legislator of 1988 (one of ten); National Republican Legislators' Association, Western Regional Vice President

Professional background–Assistant to the Dean of Women, Ohio State University; reporter, *Tuscon Daily Citizen*; government and history teacher

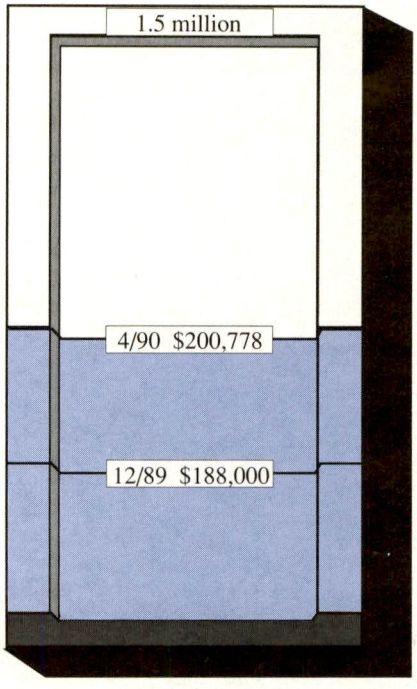
Professional and civic affiliations–Board member, YMCA; Retired Senior Volunteer Program; Reno Business and Professional Women; and Jr. League of Reno

"FUND" for the '90s

As we enter the new decade, filled with new challenges, one challenge from the last decade remains–the purchase of a permanent headquarters for NFRW.

For over half a century NFRW, the nation's oldest and largest women's political organization, has been a tenant.

While significant "housing" gains have been made, especially in the 1980s, the fact remains that NFRW needs a home of its own.



From an economic standpoint the purchase of a building makes sense (and cents). Money used each month for rent will be converted into payment for a long-term asset. But let's look at the purchase of a home from a purely "social" viewpoint. How many established 50 year olds do you know who don't own their own home?

In the well-to-do neighborhood of Capitol Hill, which boasts the residences of the Republican National Committee, the U.S. Capitol, and countless trade associations, think-tanks, and political watering holes, everyone is a home owner. Why even the Democrats own their building!

With real estate at a premium in our nation's capital, it is estimated that we must raise at least $1.5 million to purchase a building which will accommodate our organization's growing needs. As you can see by the graph, we have quite a way to go.

National Fund Raising Chairmen Named
Fund is #1 Priority

NFRW's 1990 building fund drive will be spearheaded by national Fund Raising Chairman Anne Batchelder of Nebraska and Co-Chairman Rebecca Bancroft of Wisconsin. They will be working with nine qualified regional directors, all of whom have a proven fund raising track record and promise great things for the building fund.

As in the past, each federation club member is encouraged to donate $10 ***Just for the Fund of It***. Copies of Alexandra Costa's exciting book, *Stepping Down From the Star,* are still available to members donating $25. It's a great book, and ***fund*** to read!

In an effort to expedite the purchase of a building, the fund raising directors, along with Polly Bloedorn, chairman of NFRW's Headquarters and Gifts Committee and NFRW president Huda Jones, encourage individuals and clubs to donate to the building fund rather than present NFRW with lavish gifts.

"The gifts we receive here at national are truly beautiful," stated Jones. "We have received numerous pieces of art and invaluable mementos, all of which add so much to our headquarters. But until we have a permanent building to adequately showcase our collection, we are asking that clubs make monetary donations instead."

As the fund continues into the new decade, federation members will be actively involved in the purchase of their national headquarters. "We want each federation member to feel a sense of accomplishment when we open the doors of our new building," stated Jones. "And by working together we will."

Buy a Brick Just for the FUND of it!

YES! I want to help NFRW purchase a home of its own.

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

City: _____ State: ____ Zip: _____

Club Name: _____

Here's my contribution for:

❑ $10 ❑ $25 ❑ $50 ❑ $100

Please clip this form and mail it along with your contribution to:

Huda Jones
The National Federation
of Republican Women
P.O. Box 15409
Washington, DC 20003-9997 4/90

A Public Thank You to VFRW

I'd like to take this opportunity to thank the Virginia Federation of Republican Women and its president, Mary Vaughan Gibson for their unyielding support throughout my gubernatorial campaign.

Republicans across the Commonwealth of Virginia fought a strong battle to take the governorship, but no one group was more active than VFRW.

I want to especially thank Mary Vaughan Gibson for her outstanding dedication. She played an enormous role in my campaign, one that many volunteers no matter how devoted, would not have undertaken. Rarely does a candidate find an individual of Mary Vaughan's caliber.

For years I have been one of VFRW's most ardent supporters, it is reassuring to know that Republican candidates can count on their solid commitment.

J. Marshall Coleman
1989 GOP Candidate
for Governor (VA)

A Worthy Tribute to Judy Hughes

I was so pleased to read your tribute to former NFRW president Judy Hughes. I first met Judy in April, 1989, when she moderated VFRW's gubernatorial debate. And I do believe that the phrase "grace under pressure" was coined especially for her.

During her four year term she brought strong leadership and a sense of accomplishment to NFRW. I feel those virtues will be with our organization for many years to come.

Thank you Judy for all you have done for NFRW.

Jane Smith, Acting Program
Chairman, VFRW,
Newport News, Virginia

I would like to express my appreciation to NFRW for the outstanding tribute to Judy Hughes in the last issue of *TRW*. I happen to be a biased reader, seeing that I am the subject's daughter, but I feel it is an accurate portrayal of my mother's history with NFRW.

Much of what the article mentions rang true to home. She taught me moral principles and ethics, the importance of being independent as a woman, and that I had the ability to be whatever I wanted to in life. I now have a wonderful career in Washington, D.C. and I credit her for my success. She is a terrific role model.

It was a special treat having her here in Washington for four years. Although I'm sorry to see my mother leave, I am delighted that Huda Jones is our new president. I have known Huda for a number of years, and have the greatest admiration and respect for her. I'd like to extend my best wishes to her for continued success.

Thank you again for the article, I will treasure it for a long time, and look forward to sharing it with my children (hopefully girls and future NFRW members, not to mention Members of Congress).

Leigh S. LaMora
McLean, Virginia

A Congressional Reaction to Breast Cancer Awareness

Congratulations to NFRW for an excellent article on breast cancer and the Women's Leadership Summit on Mammography. In 1983, a mammogram and surgery saved my life. As a result, I am committed to raising awareness of the need for routine mammography screening and to making mammograms available and affordable.

Few families have not been touched by breast cancer, even among those of us who are Members of Congress. Until there is a cure, prioritizing the means for early detection and communicating its importance is a vital first step.

The Honorable
Barbara F. Vucanovich
U.S. Representative, Nevada

Editor: *Representative Vucanovich has introduced legislation to help make mammograms more available for all women. The Omnibus Breast Cancer Control Act includes provisions to help women, particularly minorities, the poor, and the medically underserved to have mammography screening. For more information on this bill, please contact NFRW political affairs at 202-547-9341.*

An Innovative Approach to Building Fund Donations

The Marion Martin Republican Women's Club, of Washington, D.C. was honored to have NFRW president Huda Jones address our biennial convention in February. Knowing her dedication to NFRW's building fund drive, we made a $75 donation to the fund in her name, rather than present her with a gift. We thought this would be a more permanent way of showing our appreciation for her devotion to NFRW and at the same time help the building fund.

Polly Bloedorn, Public Relations
Chairman, Marion Martin
Republican Women's Club,
Washington, D.C.

Kudos for CMS

I want to express my appreciation to NFRW for allowing the Campaign Management School (CMS) to be held in Arkansas. The information received by our participants will reach all parts of the state. The program was well developed and every one who attended benefited tremendously.

I have always had a high regard for NFRW and the work it does. After participating in the CMS, and seeing first hand the quality of your material and your staff, my admiration has grown even stronger.

Alan McVey, Political Director,
Republican Party of Arkansas,
North Little Rock, Arkansas

Our Readers Write.. **is a regular feature in TRW. We welcome your letters, questions, ideas, and comments. Only written commentaries will be considered for publication. Please address all correspondence to:**

Editor, The Republican Woman
NFRW, 310 First Street, SE,
Washington, D.C. 20003

Publication of letters for this feature is made at the discretion of TRW's editor-in-chief, NFRW president Huda Jones.

Launching a Citizens Opportunities Movement

An Exclusive Opportunity for NFRW Members

By Congressman Newt Gingrich

There is a much better America that is possible in the 1990s. We see evidence of it every day, in new technology, in the emerging urban reform movement, in new products and in the increasing identification of young people with basic American values like honest hard work and the family.

Our ability to achieve that better America is being blocked by a combination of the bureaucratic welfare state and by a set of permissive attitudes that reject personal accountability.

We see evidence of both every day as we read the newspapers and live our lives–in the government bureaucracy that makes us fill out dozens of forms for no obvious reason, or the permissive attitudes that say we should release criminals from prison or promote students even if they can't do the work.

On Saturday May 19, GOPAC is sponsoring the first American Opportunities Workshop, a 60-minute, live teleconference designed to inform and arouse citizen activists across the country to become part of a new citizens opportunities movement.

The movement is founded on the simple–but, in today's world, radical–idea of common sense focused on opportunity and success. President Bush, Vice President Quayle, and more than a dozen other local and national leaders will be participating to help us get this message out across the country. And, because our aim is broader than simply promoting Republican candidates, the teleconference will be non-partisan in content and will include several Democrats who agree with our broad principles.

I am personally very excited that the National Federation of Republican Women has elected to participate in the American Opportunities Workshop as part of its national program for 1990. Your help will be crucial to our ability to get the message out to the largest possible audience, by organizing individual workshops across the country.

GOPAC is prepared to provide all the needed support materials for anyone who is interested in hosting or attending a workshop.

Editor's note: *The author is a Republican Congressman from Georgia, U.S. House Republican Whip, and General Chairman of GOPAC, a Republican political action committee designed to assist state legislative candidates. As Mr. Gingrich mentioned in his article, the American Opportunities Workshop has been adopted by NFRW as a national program. For further information please contact Susie Lewis, NFRW's communications assistant at 800-424-9342 or contact GOPAC directly at 800-872-2798.*

The President's Programs

continued from page 4

Global Climate and Ozone Depletion

The President has accelerated the Administration's activities on global change. He has enhanced the nation's international leadership in this field by developing an integrated scientific approach, endorsing NASA's Mission to Planet Earth, and increasing the global change research budget, already the largest of any nation.
In order to prevent further damage to the earth's protective ozone layer, the President has called for a total worldwide phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000, provided safe substitutes are available.

Affordable Housing

The President unveiled HOPE, a comprehensive agenda of Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere. Major elements include provisions to help first-time home buyers, low-income housing residents, and the homeless, and to create up to 50 enterprise zones over the next four years.

The Homeless

The President requested full funding of the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act in FY 1990 and proposed an additional $50 million to encourage public-private partnerships to reduce homelessness. The President recently signed legislation that substantially increases funding for the McKinney Act.

AFRW WINS VOTE ON STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Arizona Federation of Republican Women has won a vote on the Arizona State Party's executive committee.
The victory came in January at the end of a year long lobbying effort by AFRW president Joan Heskett, immediate past president Norma Steinbrenner, and NFRW treasurer Dodie Londen.
With 2,800 members and 43 unit clubs, AFRW is the state GOP's largest auxiliary, and the only affiliate with voting power on the state Party's executive council.

ALABAMA

Martha Foy, President



The Cullman County Republican Women's Club *(CCRWC) presented Deana England, a student at Wallace State Community College, with its first annual Helen Hunt Honorary Scholarship in November 1989. The $500 scholarship, established to help single mothers further their education, was presented by Alabama's First Lady,* ***Helen Hunt****, a former president of* ***CCRWC.***

ALASKA

Hope Nelson, President

The Midnight Sun Republican Women's Club sponsored its fourth annual International Food Festival and donated $4,000 to Covenant House, a shelter for runaway children and teenagers in Anchorage. The money will go to help buy a home for teen-agers called, "The Rights of Passage Covenant House."

ARIZONA

Joan Heskett, President

AFRW received the 1989 Senator Barry Goldwater award for its continuing dedication and devotion to the Arizona Republican Party (ARP). It was the first time the award was presented to ***AFRW.***

Additionally, NFRW treasurer **Dodie Londen** received the Chairman's Trophy for outstanding service and dedication to ARP.

Elsa Mulhern, who has been an NFRW Regent since 1982 and a Capitol Regent since 1988, received the Art Wales Award from the Pima County Republican Party in Tucson. The achievement award is presented each year to the individual who has done the most for the Party. Mulhern a retired attorney, is a past president of ***AFRW*** and former NFRW Protocol chairman. Currently, she is NFRW's Americanism vice chairman.

CALIFORNIA

Ella Mae Butterfield, President

RNC co-chairman **Jeanie Austin** was the featured speaker during ***CFRW's*** February board meeting in Los Angeles. "The Challenges of the '90s," was the theme of Austin's speech. And ***CFRW*** honored one of its own during the meeting. **June Wallin**, immediate past president of ***CFRW***, received ***CFRW's*** "Woman of Achievement" award for her outstanding contributions to the community and the federation.

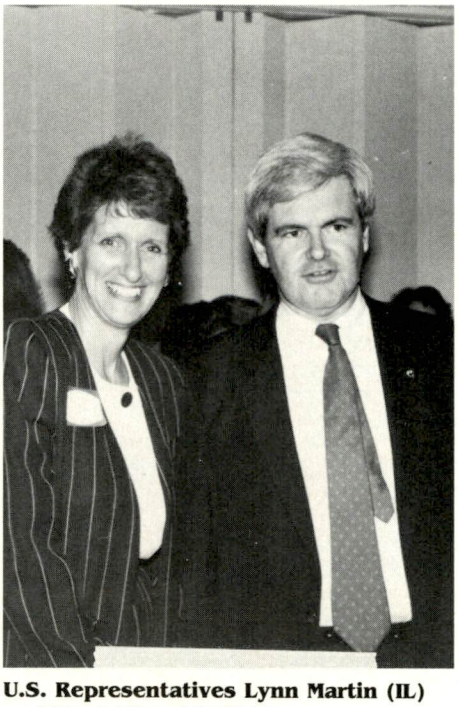
COLORADO

Maxine Shroyer, President

The ***CFRW*** recently donated $10,000 to the Colorado Republican Party to support 1990 Republican candidates. ***CFRW*** members raised the funds by conferences, board of directors meetings, and projects; including a raffle to win a trip to Cancun, Mexico, donated by a local travel agency.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Cornelia Slavoff, President



U.S. Representatives Lynn Martin (IL) and Newt Gingrich (GA)

The Federal City Republican Women's Club, (FCRWC) a club of 85 young business and professional women, hosted a fund raiser which raised over $10,000 for **U.S. Representative Lynn Martin's** (IL) U.S. Senate race.

Joining Rep. Martin for the event were U.S. House Republican Leader, **Bob Michel** (IL); Republican Whip **Newt Gingrich** (GA); RNC co-chairman **Jeanie Austin**; and NFRW president **Huda Jones**.

The Lynn Martin event was the second fund raiser hosted by ***FCRWC***. Last summer, the club raised over $6,000 for Virginia's candidate for lt. governor, **Eddy Dalton**.

FLORIDA

Alis Freeland, President



Shirlee Bowne

Sherry Plymale, ***FFRW's*** state legislative chairman, and member of the ***Republican Women of Martin Federated***, was elected vice chairman of the Florida GOP. And **Shirlee Bowne**, member of ***Tallahassee Republican Women's Club*** was elected State Party treasurer during the state GOP committee meeting in January.

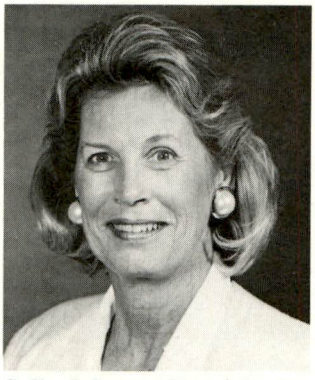
ILLINOIS

Maralee Lindley, President

Mary Jo Arndt, NFRW second vice president and RNC committeewoman for Illinois, was recognized by *Today's Chicago Woman* magazine (January 1990), as one of 100 women making a difference in Chicago.

IOWA

Jane Ecklund, President



Sally Johnson Novetzke

Sally Johnson Novetzke, member of the ***Linn County Republican Women's Club,*** was appointed Ambassador to the Republic of Malta by **President Bush** and confirmed by the U.S. Senate in October 1989. Novetzke is a former NFRW campaign vice chairman 1987-89; state co-chairman of Bush/Quayle '88; member of the ***IFRW*** advisory board, 1987-1989; and Iowa State Party Chairman, 1985-1987.

Governor Terry E. Branstad has appointed a number of ***IFRW*** members to state boards and commissions. They include **Ruth Baggett**, ***Adams County Republican Women's Club***, appointed to the Cosmetology Examining Board; **Gwen Boeke**, RNC committeewoman and member of the ***Howard County Republican Women's Club***, appointed to the Architectural Engineering Board; **Jane Ecklund**, ***IFRW*** state president, appointed to the Certificate of Need Counsel; **Rozanne King**, ***Harrison County Republican Women's Club***, appointed to the Environment Protection Commission; and **Virginia Ruark**, ***Fayette County Republican Women's Club***, appointed to the Engineering and Land Surveys Commission.

LOUISIANA

Marilyn Thayer, President

Doris Anne Wart, a Louisiana State University graduate student and 1989 NFRW Kabis intern, won the AT&T Collegiate Investment Challenge and the **USA TODAY/FNN** Investment Challenge including $75,000 in prize money. Wart said she plans to use some of her winnings to finance a law school education.

MARYLAND

Janet Greenip, President



Lori Simmons

Lori D. Simmons, member of the ***Chevy Chase Women's Republican Club*** is the first woman to be inducted into the Kiwanis Club of Bethesda. Simmons, an American Indian, became a member of the Kiwanis club in November 1989. Founded in 1915, the once all-male club, is an international service organization.

MISSISSIPPI

Carolyn Pugh, President

MFRW has established the annual **Ruby Life** scholarship fund for deserving Republican students in memory of ***MFRW*** past president Ruby Life. Life was also state federation president of Louisiana and Missouri. The fund was established for Life's extensive involvement in NFRW.

MISSOURI

Ruth Ann Compton, President

Colorado Secretary of State Natalie Meyer invited ***MFRW*** members to "come join me at the head table" during ***MFRW's*** annual "March to the Majority" luncheon held in conjunction with Missouri's Lincoln Day festivities. Meyer encouraged women to consider themselves for public office. ***MFRW*** also kicked off its 60th anniversary and 1990 campaign activities during the event.

NEVADA

Doris Steiner, President

Pahrump Valley Republican Women (PVRW) is continuing an ongoing project to make mammograms readily available to all women in Nevada. Working in conjunction with Holy Cross Hospital in Salt Lake City, Utah, ***PVRW*** members help sponsor and provide a biannual mobile mammogram unit in rural Pahrump Valley for screening at a moderate price. The hospital provides the mobile unit and members of ***PVRW*** provide clerical assistance and publicity. Following ***PVRW's*** example, the ***Nevada Federation of Republican Women*** will be initiating a similar statewide effort.

NEW YORK

Joan T. Hudson, President

NYFRW has kicked off a campaign to elect a Republican governor with bumper stickers saying, "Happiness is a Republican Governor." Members of ***NYFRW*** say the idea's popularity is spreading.

PENNSYLVANIA

Peggy Madigan, President

Alma R. Jacobs of the ***Eastern Montgomery Council of Republican Women*** was appointed regional III director for the Department of Health and Human Services in Philadelphia by **HHS Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, M.D.** in December 1989.

As an HHS regional director, Jacobs will act as a liaison with the public, interest groups, and state and local officials.

Anne Anstein of ***Juniata Republican Women's Club*** was elected chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican Party during the state GOP committee meeting in February.

RHODE ISLAND

Karen Carroll, President



Norma Willis

Norma Willis of the ***Newport Republican Women's Club*** was elected state chairman of the Rhode Island State Republican Central Committee. Willis, a former Rhode Island state representative, will be responsible for recruiting and training Republican legislative candidates. Willis will also work with

the communities to encourage stronger Party participation at the grass roots level.

TENNESSEE

Ellida Fri, President

Cline Patterson and **Ruth Mitchell** of ***Shelby County Republican Women*** (SCRW) were appointed as director and assistant director to the "Front Line Against Drugs" task force by the Shelby County sheriff. Patterson and Mitchell, both nurses, chose to take a different approach to the war on drugs. They have produced a video illustrating the internal effects of drugs on the body. The video will be distributed by ***SCRW*** to schools, community groups, and businesses in their respective communities.



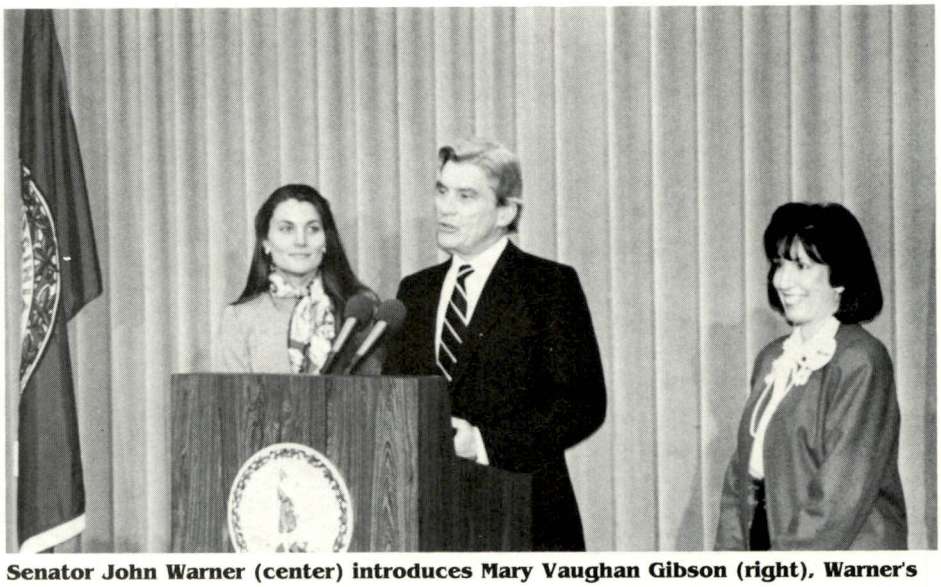
Cine Patterson and Ruth Mitchell

TEXAS

Jan Patterson, President

Members of the ***Magic Circle Women's Republican Club*** attended a naturalization ceremony in December, welcoming and congratulating 1,500 new American citizens. Brochures outlining the Republican philosophy and voter registration cards are passed out to encourage voter participation.

Members of the ***Dallas County Council of Republican Women's Clubs*** made a contribution to the Women in Military Service Memorial and registered **Ziggy M. W. Hunter's** name to be placed on the memorial. Hunter is an active member of ***Oak Cliff Republican Women's Club*** and has served in the U.S. Navy and U.S. WASP (Women Air Service Pilot). The memorial will commemorate the contributions and achievements of women who have served in the military.



Senator John Warner (center) introduces Mary Vaughan Gibson (right), Warner's daughter looks on

VIRGINIA

Mary Vaughan W. Gibson, President

Mary Vaughan Gibson has been named chairman to **U.S. Senator John Warner's** re-election campaign. Warner, the senior Republican on the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee is running for his third term. Gibson has worked with Warner through the ***VFRW*** and Virginia Republican Party. Gibson will work with the campaign organization to appoint chairmen in each of the 10 congressional districts, city, or county units. ***VFRW*** members will be among the volunteers serving at all levels. Warner has credited ***VFRW*** for his success in past elections and stated that ***VFRW*** will help carry him to victory again in 1990.

WASHINGTON

Frances Pettit, President

Frances Pettit was named to the citizens advisory board of two local daily newspapers, the ***Pullman Daily News*** and the ***Moscow Idahonian***. The advisory board helps determine citizen's views and opinions of the newspapers. Approximately 20 citizens serve on the board.

Lyn Firkins of the ***Evergreen Republican Women's Club*** was elected to the Snohomish County Prosecutor's Advisory Board and **Nora Mae Keifer** of the ***Whitman County Women's Republican Club*** was elected as Whitman county commissioner.

WISCONSIN

Ruth G. Johnson, President

State Rep. Susan B. Vergeront, member of ***Ozukee Republican Women's Club***, was asked to chair **Governor Tommy Thompson's** Task Force on Family and Children's Issues. The task force will examine the ramifications of state policy on Wisconsin's families.

Ruth G. Johnson *WFRW* President was appointed by the Wisconsin GOP to its Minority Task Force.

Johnson is also helping to promote the Governor's "Alliance for a Drug-Free Wisconsin." "We are hoping to have every ***WFRW*** club involved with the alliance or form an alliance," Johnson said. The purpose of the alliance is to form coalitions across the state and work towards drug prevention through local prevention programs.

Editor's note: **The Federation Across the Nation** *is a sampling of activities from NFRW's 2,253 unit clubs and 51 state federations nationwide. Material for this feature is selected by TRW's publisher and editor-in-chief, NFRW president Huda Jones. We regret that lack of space prevents total coverage.*

Reserve the Date, Regents Day is Set for May 10

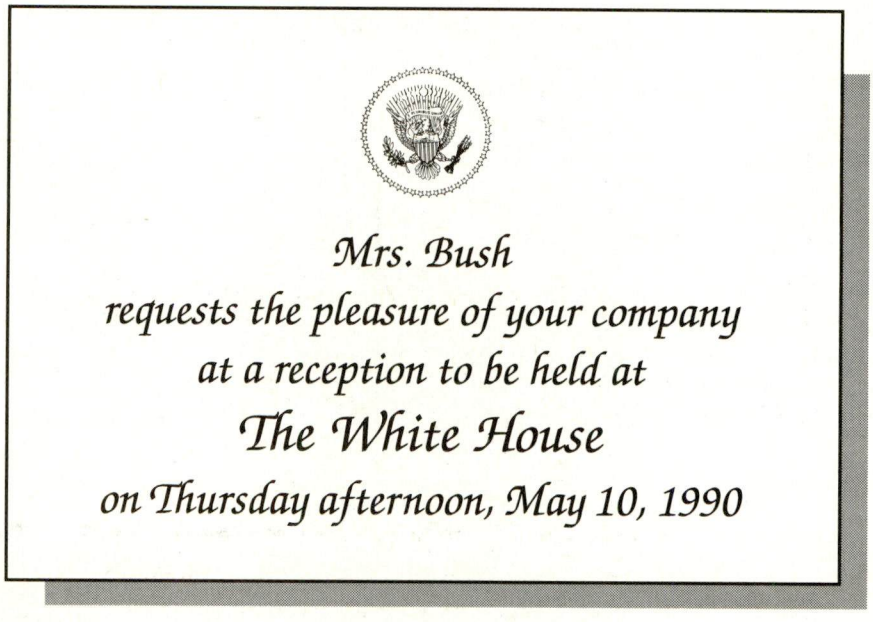
On May 10, a tradition which was established a decade ago will take place–NFRW's annual Regents Day and White House Tea with the First Lady.

With the date set, additional plans are being made for the Regents visit to the White House. Of course, the White House visit is only a portion of the two-day Regents event.

NFRW makes sure that the two days are filled with banquets, tours, and political briefings, along with the opportunity to meet the President and Mrs. Bush. Anyone who has attended past Regents Days will agree, it is an exciting, informative, and spectacular way to see our nation's capital.

Because of the Regents and Capital Regents' invaluable support of NFRW and its programs, Regents Day is an opportunity for NFRW to express its gratitude to those few who do so much.

If you are interested in becoming a Regent and attending Regents Day, please contact NFRW's finance director, Joan Perrin at 202-547-9341.



WELCOME NEW REGENTS

NFRW's Regents and Capitol Regents support Federation programs through their invaluable financial contributions. Monies raised through our major donors are earmarked for candidate recruitment, candidate training, and membership training.

Special thanks to the women who have pledged their support of NFRW as of January 1, 1990. Carole Jean Jordan–**Florida**; Mary Compton–**Kansas**; Abbie Ann Adam–**Louisiana**; Frances Gwin–**Maryland**; Marge McGinnis–**Mississippi**; Josephine Jones, Margaret King–**North Carolina**; Norene Bunker–**North Dakota**; Heidi Smith–**Nevada**; Ginny Lee–**Tennessee**; Jan Patterson– **Texas.**

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Republican National Committee
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