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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING REQUEST

SUBJECT: Proposed Responses to Written Questions. Interview with First Monday MAGAZINE

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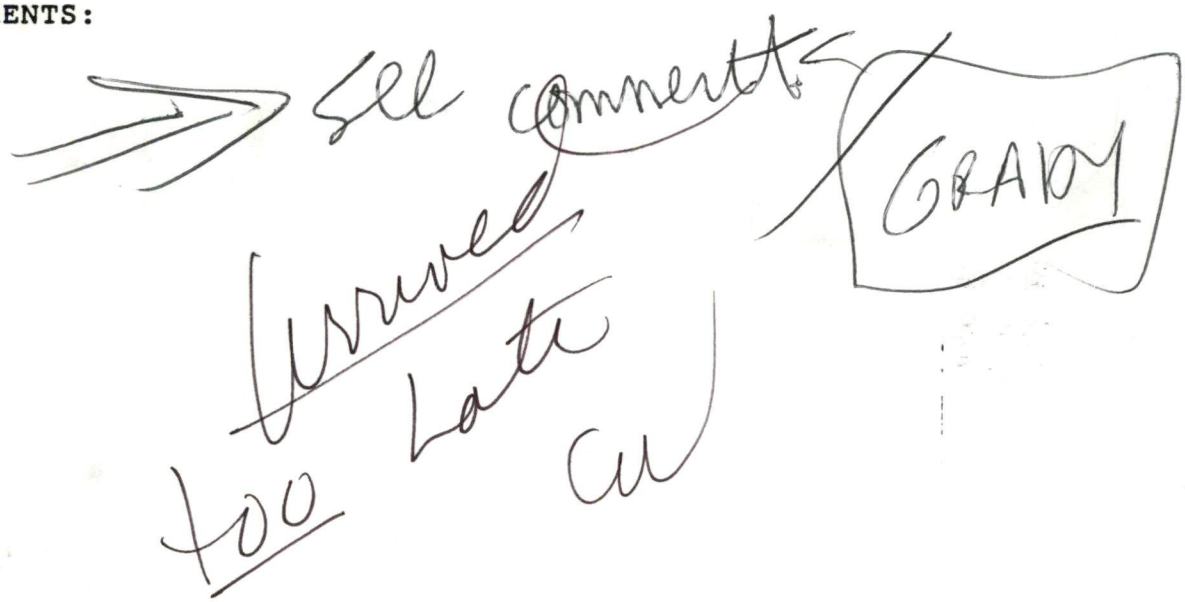
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COMMENTS:



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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/13/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 2/13/89 C.O.B.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS: INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

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SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	STUDDERT	☑	☐
BATES	☑	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	WINSTON	☐	☑
CARD	☐	☑	WRAY	☑	☐
CICCONI	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
DEMAREST	☑	☑	_____	☐	☐
FITZWATER	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
GRAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
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REMARKS: Please forward any comments/recommendations to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, by C.O.B. TODAY, February 13, 1989. First Monday is a publication of the Republican National Committee. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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James W. Cicconi
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and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

One of the best ways I know to give someone dignity and hope is to give them a job. Job creation is the best economic and social policy this country can have.

The power to help people ... making the streets safe, fighting the flow of drugs, making a good education possible for everyone, helping people get themselves off welfare ... these are very important to me. But I said the night I presented my budget priorities to Congress that government must not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better. I think we've got to stick to that.

Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

I think the Democrats realized that the people had spoken. And they've spoken on the issues important to all of us -- peace through strength, economic expansion, the environment, education, stopping the flow of drugs ... so many areas. I honestly believe the Congressional leaders want to work with the new Administration, sit down at the table with me. I'm not unrealistic about it. I know it's going to be rough. But I think the people are tired of talk -- especially on the deficit -- and no action. I think the bipartisan approach is in the best interest of all Americans.

We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

I've said it before, and I'll say it again -- no new taxes. Low tax rates create economic growth. We've got to spread the economic expansion to all sectors of our society, not kill it with taxation and overregulation. Keep it moving. ((I want that capital gains tax cut to pass, and I want Congress to join me in keeping our economic expansion on track through the increased capital investment and job creation that the capital gains tax cut will provide. Just as important, the capital gains tax cut will bring additional revenue into the Treasury.))

I believe we should create urban enterprise zones in order to help spread the recovery to those areas that are still hurting. We must bring hope to our cities and depressed rural areas.

National Democratic leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

Look, without any new taxes, given our current rate of expansion, federal revenues will <u>increase</u> by over $80 billion. Clearly this should be enough to address the most urgent of our national priorities. We can cut the deficit by 40% at the same time, without raising taxes. I think this is realistic, because I think we can keep the economy growing if we keep taxes out of the picture. I think it can work. But we must invest those new resources wisely and carefully.

After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures are needed if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously. We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. So first of all, we've got to open those foreign markets. When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary. We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad. That's why I support tax credits for research and development, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs.
I've met a payroll when I owned my own company back in Texas, and I understand what it's like to try and stay competitive. But we can do it, and we can narrow that gap in the trade deficit.

The December number could be an aberration -- the gap had been narrowing as the lower dollar made our exports more competitive. So I'd like to continue the broader trend.

Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

I don't mind bragging about it ... I've got a great Cabinet. A real team, and all of them seasonsed professionals. Each one brings his or her own strengths to the Cabinet, and I will draw on those strengths every chance I get.

Many believe your appointment of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development presages a different approach to public housing and homelessness issues. What new directions can we anticipate?

Everybody knows the kind of creativity Jack will bring to that job. I like his ideas on tenant ownership of public housing, urban enterprise zones, his innovative solutions to the homeless problem. It all ties into economic empowerment, giving people the opportunity to get ahead by giving them the chance to make a good living, make a better life for themselves. That's important to both Jack and me, and I think he'll be great.

In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs, provide jobs, create hope. If we can keep the economy moving, we can give people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Give them a choice. Help working families make it. Whether it's through more parental choice in child care, improving education and rewarding good schools, or saving our clean water and clean air, we've got to work within our constraints to build a better future. Keep that economy strong. I don't believe, by the way, that environmental protection and economic development are mutually exclusive -- quite the contrary, they reinforce each other.

Throughout your campaign the first few weeks of your presidency, you have set the tone for reaching out to blacks and other minority Americans and you have stated your firm commitment to upholding individuals' rights. What kinds of policy directions or initiatives can minority and ethnic Americans expect from the Bush presidency to help ensure they are full partners in the American Dream?

As I've said before, we've got to leave the tired baggage of bigotry behind. A positive civil rights program is key ... not because it's a matter of social policy, but because it is a fundamental right of every American.

As far as working to spread the American Dream: Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning their own home or owning their own business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I want in my Administration.

Here's the best civil rights program: create jobs through ideas like urban enterprise zones. Fight crime on the streets. ~~Create~~ Build better schools. And knock down barriers which cause discrimination.

Do you expect U.S. - Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We're going to use common sense, and try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. The Secretary of State is going to Europe to discuss East-West relations with our allies, and look at the future of the NATO alliance. In the meantime, I have asked the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies, and so I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete and the policies are formulated.

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am hopeful of it. I think the new mood of cooperation among international leaders has helped. We are going to leave no stone unturned as we search for those who terrorize our citizens. We've got to continue to improve our technology for detecting bombs and other explosive materials on airliners, but more importantly, we've got to go after the terrorists themselves. I want to tell those responsible for killing innocent citizens they'll find no safe haven anywhere. I don't want to discuss any specific cases right now, but I think we're making real progress here.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

I have asked ~~Dan~~ the Vice President to chair the new Task Force on Competitiveness. This is going to be a big job, and I think his expertise on job training will be especially valuable there. He'll be working with the Space Council too, and like I was, he'll be a member of the NSC. I will meet with him often. He has an open door to my office.

The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

Speaking as a former RNC Chairman myself, I think we've got to concentrate on the grass roots, the building blocks of our party. That's what Lee Atwater is focusing on right now. In addition to reaching out to minorities, blue-collar Americans,

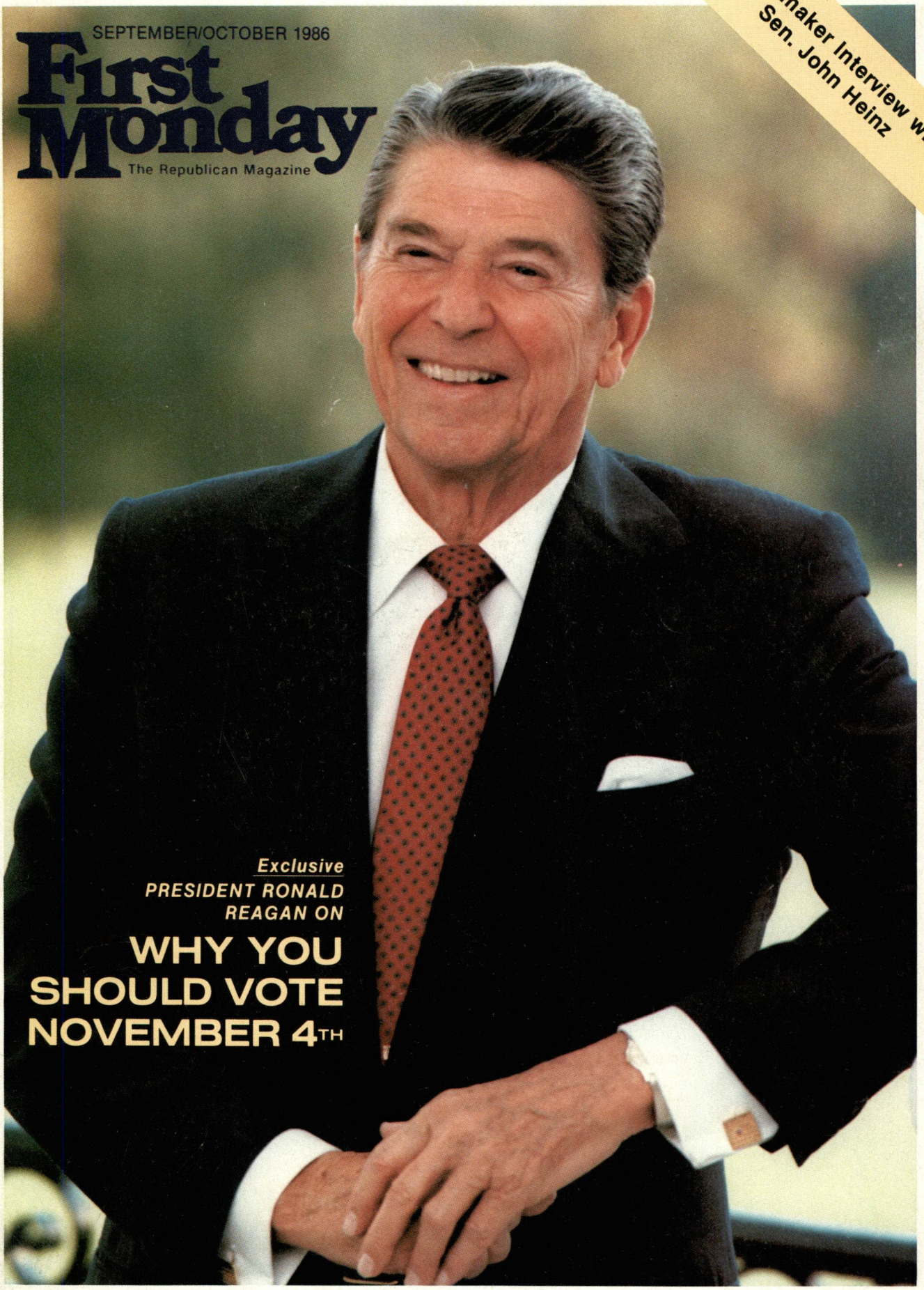
and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at the local level. We've got to build up state and local support for the party if we want to become the majority party across the country.

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1986

First Monday

The Republican Magazine

Newsmaker Interview with Sen. John Heinz



Exclusive

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN ON

WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE NOVEMBER 4TH

CHAIRMAN'S COLUMN



Photo by Robin Hood

Being Right Is Not Enough

Why bother to vote?

You will soon be hearing many reasons. As the next election nears, a lot of people will be telling you to "practice good citizenship" and "do your duty as an American" by voting. And there is a lot to be said for fulfilling our obligations as members of the world's greatest democracy.

But I would like to give you another reason to vote this November—because America desperately needs to continue Republican leadership.

Time heals all wounds, and a lot of time has passed since 1981, when the Democrats last controlled both houses of Congress. This November, we face the ominous possibility that the Democrats could once again have a monopoly control of the most powerful branch of government.

It is important to look back to consider where we were then, and where we are now. When the Democrats last controlled both houses of Congress:

- America had two years of back-to-back double-digit inflation.
- Unemployment rose to 7.5 percent on Inauguration Day 1981.
- The prime interest rate hit a post-Civil War record of 21.5 percent.
- The poverty rate soared as almost 5 million people were pushed into penury between 1978 and 1980.

Since Republicans took control of the Senate, we have had 45 months of continuous expansion; inflation is non-existent; unemployment has been cut to 6.8 percent; and the prime rate is 7.5 percent.

This means more money in your pocket for groceries, clothes and tuition savings. This means the nation is getting richer, not poorer, every year.

It also means, this year more than any other, you should vote your pocketbook. The Democrats call this kind of voting selfishness. I call it good common sense. After all, what is selfish about voting to sustain an economic recovery that lowered the poverty rate and lifted 2.5 million Americans onto the opportunity ladder since 1984?

Republicans occupy the high ground on the issues. But being right is not enough if Republicans do not go to the polls this November.

A brief look at recent American political history shows that several times the Republican Party lost elections because we simply did not vote. We assumed victory was in the bag, and went fishing.

This phenomenon of voter drop-off usually happens in elections in which the presidency is not at stake.

For example, in the 1974 congressional elections there were far fewer Americans who voted than in the presidential election of 1972. In fact, the percentage of Democrats who voted declined by 18.2 percent, a total of almost 7 million voters. But the decline for Republicans was far greater—36 percent, about 12 million fewer voters in 1974 than in 1972.

These 12 million Republicans who failed to vote for their candidates allowed the Democrats to solidify their dominance of the U.S. Senate, the U.S. House, the governors' mansions and the state legislatures for the remainder of the 1970s.

And 1974 wasn't the only election in which Republican apathy was greater than that of the Democrats. If you average the votes from the past six elections, the average drop-off for the Democrats from presidential to non-presidential elections has been 19.2 percent. The average drop-off for Republicans has been 27.2 percent.

These facts and figures prove one point: Republicans can win when we stick together and give our campaigns a strong fourth-quarter, last-play effort.

The best way to galvanize our fellow Republicans for this kind of effort is to remind them just how sharply we differ from the liberal Democrats. And we must remind them just how divorced the Democrats have become from Main Street America.

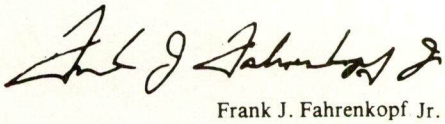
A spirit of cant and hypocrisy permeates the Democrats' approach to politics. When young people turn against the party of big government and big spending, the Democrats accuse them of not being socially committed—as if there were something selfish about wanting a job after college. When more and more minority Americans turn to the Republican Party, the Democrats scream that their party is being betrayed—as if any party had an exclusive hold on particular ethnic groups.

The Democrats once provided America with leaders of stature—Harry S. Truman, Scoop Jackson and John F. Kennedy. The best the Democrats can field today are candidates who meekly echo the great lion's roar of their predecessors with a hyena's laugh.

And yet, if we Republicans are inactive this fall, these same liberal Democrats will once again have a monopoly control of both chambers of the most august deliberative body on earth. And they will use this power to reward their special interest contributors with discredited economic policies that benefit only a favored few.

If Ted Kennedy and his liberal friends lead the Senate, you can count on something else happening as well. The Democrats will use their monopoly control of Congress to deliberately sabotage the president's programs, trying to create an atmosphere for a liberal Democrat to run for the White House in 1988.

Of course, this doesn't have to happen. The American people already support the Republican Party. Now it is simply a matter of convincing them how important that support is—and how crucial it is to translate that support into action by going to the polls this November. It could mean the difference between a continuation of Republican straight-shooting and a return to Democrat double-talk.

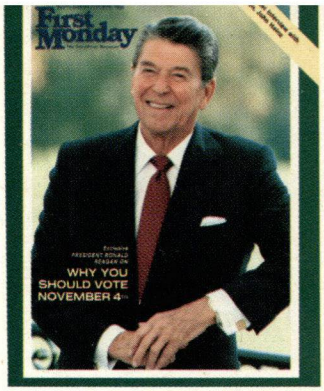


Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr.
Chairman
Republican National Committee

First Monday

The Republican News Magazine

SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1986 VOL. 16/NO. 5 CONTENTS



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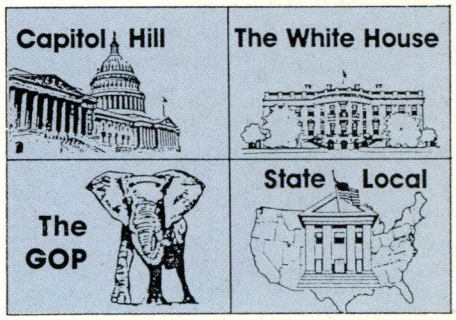
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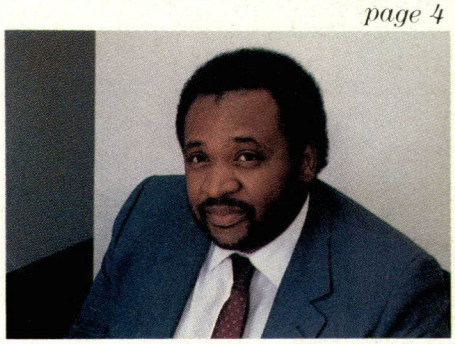
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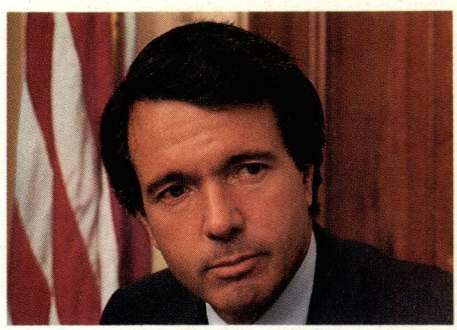
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First Monday

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Volunteers Provide the Winning Edge

The bottom line in any campaign, anywhere in the country is this: Volunteers can, and do, make the difference between winning an election and losing one.

Candidates and party workers know well that "every vote counts." And volunteers—those dedicated, too often unheralded workers—play an important role in getting out that vote.

"Volunteers are the lifeblood of politics in America," says Molly Gaylord, director of political education for the Republican National Committee (RNC).

"In every election, the winning candidate is not necessarily the one with the best position on the issues, the best name recognition going into the campaign or even the best qualifications," says Gaylord. "The winning candidate is always the one who does the best job of getting his or her supporters to the polls to vote on Election Day. That means the winning candidate is usually the one with the best volunteer support."

That volunteer support can take many shapes—and it may be sparked by a variety of factors. Some become involved out of a sense of patriotism and pride, because they care deeply about the future of their city, their county, their state and their nation. Others pitch in because they believe in a candidate, a political party or a cause, or they simply want to experience the excitement of helping on a successful campaign.

For some, being a part of the political process is in their blood.

Anne Hirschel has been volunteering since 1936, when she was 12 years old and her father ran for mayor of the District of Columbia. "I went in and started stuffing envelopes, handing out literature and riding in parades. I was hooked," says Hirschel. That year, Hirschel's father was elected as the first Republican mayor of the city, and she has been working on campaigns ever since.

In addition to countless local campaigns, Hirschel has worked on every presidential campaign since she was 12, and in 1972 she became the national volunteer coordinator for President Richard Nixon's reelection campaign.

Hirschel has left her mark on American politics over an extended period of time. Other volunteers make an impact—sometimes a huge one—through just one project or campaign.

Herbert and Golda Kerl are two such volunteers. If you are an unregistered voter and live near Phoenix, Ariz., chances are quite good that if you haven't already met the Kerls, you will soon.

The couple are the top registrars of voters in Arizona, and possibly the nation, says Margaret Hance, national co-chairman of Reagan-Bush '84 and former mayor of Phoenix. As part of a bipartisan registration effort for the 1984 presidential campaign, the Kerls registered more than 7,000 new voters—4,200 of them as Republicans.

These numbers are impressive by any standard but become even more astonishing in light of the fact that the Kerls, both deputy registrars for Maricopa County, are retired and in their 70s.

Herbert Kerl says he considers himself an excellent judge of character and claims he can tell when he sees people coming down the sidewalk toward the registration booth how they are about to register: as a Republican or as a Democrat.

"The Republicans tend to be jolly, happy people," says Kerl. "The Democrats all have a sour look on their faces."

After 1984's massive registration and get-out-the-vote drives, three of the six legislative districts in Tucson, Ariz., are now Republican for the first time. "If we had 100 more Kerls, we would be unbeatable," says John Munger, former Arizona Republican state committee chairman.

It's not just retired people who volunteer their services to the GOP. Linda Kjer, a 40-year-old mother of three from Lake Tahoe, Nev., has been volunteering for nearly 20 years.

"As soon as we got married my husband, who is very active in politics, made sure I was registered to vote—even before we left for the honeymoon," says Kjer. "And almost immediately I began doing volunteer work for the local Republican women's federation."

"I had children right away, so I started out working on the telephone committee since I could do that from home."

Kjer hopes to see increasing numbers of younger women become active volunteers in local, state or national politics. She believes if more of an effort is made to schedule activities in the evening for working women or to subsidize babysitting costs for young mothers, there would be less of a problem finding good, reliable volunteers among the younger age groups.



Photo by Jackie Read

At the National Federation of Republican Women annual convention, Nevada Federation of Republican Women President Linda Kjer chatted with Republican National Committee Chairman Frank J. Fahrenkopf Jr. about the important role of volunteers in the political process.

Kjer's volunteer activities have advanced from the local to the state level; she is president of the Nevada Federation of Republican Women. "I love organizing things," says Kjer. "It's such a feeling of accomplishment to see all of the hard work and time spent pay off."

Even at the national level, volunteers are essential to the day-to-day workings of a political party. Donna Knecht, director of the volunteer office at the RNC, supervises people who volunteer on a regular basis, for one or two days a week. They answer constituent requests, address envelopes or man the telephones. In the case of an exceptionally large project, Knecht has a stable of willing and enthusiastic volunteers she can call upon on short notice.

Three of the RNC's volunteers—May Aaberg, Molly Mancuso and Mary Wood—were honored recently by RNC Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf for contributing more than 1,000 hours of service to the national committee, Knecht says.

"I went in and started stuffing envelopes, handing out literature and riding in parades," Hirschel says. "I was hooked."

These three women—along with Ann Hirschel, Linda Kjer and the Kerls as well—display the kind of dedication and enthusiasm that drives volunteers as they turn their hands to the countless jobs they perform in campaigns across the nation. From stuffing envelopes, to working at campaign headquarters, to canvassing door-to-door, to registering voters and operating phone banks, volunteers perform these admittedly unglamorous tasks with cheer and skill. They are the cornerstones upon which America's political process is built. Those who sit tirelessly by the telephone on Election Day, calling would-be voters, can generate the handful of votes that decide an election. They truly provide the winning edge.

—Catherine DeLany

Fahrenkopf Will Run Again

Reagan Asks Chairman To Seek Third Term

President Ronald Reagan has asked Republican National Committee (RNC) Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf Jr. to run for a third two-year term. A successful January 1987 bid to retain the leadership of the national Republican Party will make Fahrenkopf only the second chairman in the history of the GOP to serve three consecutive terms.

Fahrenkopf accepted the president's endorsement, saying, "President Reagan has requested that I seek reelection to a third term as national chairman of our party. Having the opportunity to serve the Republican Party during Ronald Reagan's tenure has been an honor and a privilege for me, and the president's continued confidence in me is deeply appreciated."

Traditionally, when a Republican president is in office, he makes known his choices for RNC chairman and co-chairman. The 162 voting members of the committee make the formal selection at a meeting held at the beginning of each odd-numbered year. The next such meeting will take place January 21-24, 1987, in Washington, D.C.

A third term will allow Fahrenkopf to continue the innovative and highly successful programs he has implemented since 1983, including the 1991 Plan, which is a grassroots effort to secure majority status for the GOP by winning control of state legislatures before redistricting begins following the 1990 census.

Fahrenkopf said, "The president firmly believes, and I strongly concur, that we need to continue uninterrupted the grassroots party building programs that are significantly contributing to the Republican Party becoming the majority party in our nation."

Maureen Reagan Receives Endorsement of President, Chairman

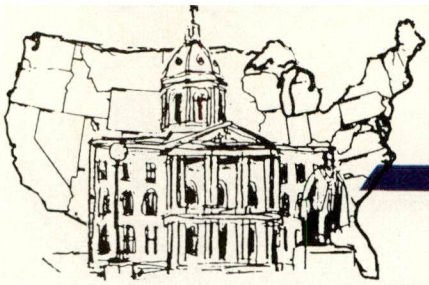
President Ronald Reagan has endorsed Maureen Reagan's bid to succeed Republican National Committee (RNC) Co-Chairman Betty Heitman, who is retiring in January after her third term.

"It is with great pleasure that I join with President Reagan in endorsing the candidacy of Maureen Reagan," said RNC Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf Jr. "She has served the president and the Republican Party with distinction for a great many years. Her contribution has been a key element to the GOP reaching its objectives, both in the area of elections and party building."

Ms. Reagan is a special consultant to the chairman of the RNC for Women's Campaign Activities, acting as liaison between the RNC and women legislators and women's organizations across the country. She also chaired the United States delegation to the 1985 World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women and was recently appointed by Secretary of State George Shultz as a U.S. Representative to the United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women.

"Obviously, I am honored by the confidence shown in me by the president and the chairman," Ms. Reagan said. "It is my sincere hope to work closely with the entire membership of the RNC to ensure the future success of the Republican Party. Their support is crucial."

Heitman said: "Knowing that Maureen Reagan will be my successor fills me with pride and confidence. The members of the RNC appreciate the tireless efforts she has undertaken in past years."



West May Prove Too Wild for Democrat Candidates

Republicans have almost always been able to count on the West for favorable political tidings, and this year is no exception. When it comes to gubernatorial races in particular, the West could well be regarded as the most promising region in the country for GOP candidates.

"Of all the regions, the West is where we see our best opportunities for Republican gubernatorial gains," Republican Governors' Association (RGA) Executive Director Michele Davis explains.

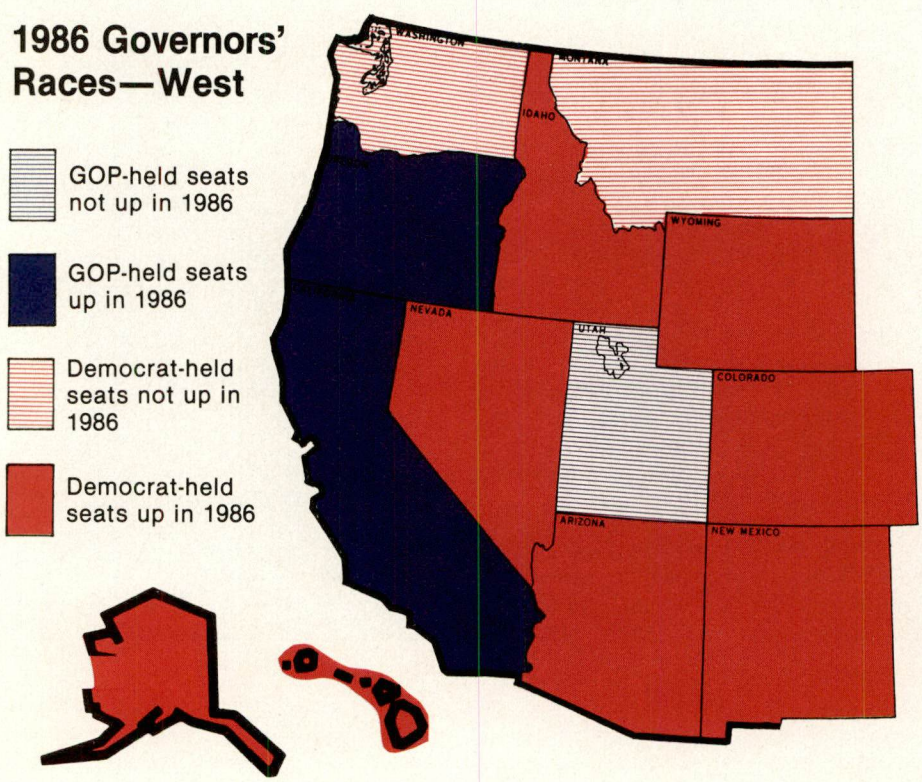
One bright spot is in the "Beaver State," where former Oregon Secretary of State Norma Paulus is running ahead of her Democrat opponent, Neil Goldschmidt. Described by Davis as assertive, dynamic and exciting, Paulus won national attention for her fight to oust the cult of the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh from the tiny town of Antelope, Ore., when it was discovered the group had been trying to manipulate elections there.

In California, Republican Gov. George Deukmejian is campaigning on a strong record of service to his diverse constituency. His success in taking a $1.5 billion deficit, which he inherited from his Democrat predecessor, and turning it into a $1 billion surplus has made him a heavy favorite against Los Angeles Democrat Mayor Tom Bradley.

In a come-from-behind primary victory, businessman Evan Mecham won the right to run for governor of Arizona. Mecham is particularly effective in identifying voters and getting them to the polls.

Right next door, the sorry state of the New Mexico Democrat Party provides a prime opportunity for a GOP victory. As Davis explains, "The Democrats are in a complete state of shambles."

All this is fuel for fire for Republican candidate Garrey Carruthers, Davis says. Carruthers is a former assistant secretary of the interior in the Reagan administration and once served as head of the New Mexico GOP.



If New Mexico looks promising for the GOP, Alaska looks even better. There, Democrat Gov. Bill Sheffield lost a renomination bid to a relatively unknown candidate, former State Rep. Steve Cowper, who lost a gubernatorial bid in 1982. Sheffield's impeachment trial last year contributed to his loss of voter confidence.

Republican candidate state Sen. Arliss Sturgulewski will become Alaska's first woman governor if elected in November. Sturgulewski's plans to bolster the state's economy include eliminating unnecessary regulations; investing in capital projects; providing incentives for industry to develop Alaskan resources; opening the Arctic Slope Coastal Plain to oil and gas development; and exporting more oil to foreign nations. Such development, she maintains, must be carried out with care so as not to endanger Alaska's precious environment.

In Idaho, Democrat Gov. John Evans is stepping down to run for the U.S. Senate, and Republican Lt. Gov. David Leroy is primed to step into the top seat. Described by Davis as a young, aggressive man of vision, Leroy is proposing several plans to alleviate Idaho's severe economic and educational problems, which have multiplied during the past several years of Democrat government.

Democrat Gov. Richard Lamm is stepping down in Colorado, boosting the electoral chances of the Republican candidate, state Senate President Ted Strickland. A former oil industry executive who has served as lieutenant governor, Strickland is regarded as a well-respected, able legislator and, Davis says, will be a strong opponent against Democrat state Treasurer Roy Romer, who was once Lamm's chief of staff.

The Democrat governor is also stepping down in Wyoming, priming this traditionally Republican state for a return to the GOP column. The Republican candidate is no stranger to politics: He is Peter Simpson, son of former governor and U.S. Sen. Milward Simpson and brother of Wyoming's junior senator and majority whip Alan Simpson.

Hawaii's state constitution prohibits Democrat Gov. George Ariyoshi from seeking another term, creating an opportunity for Republican candidate Andy Anderson.

Nevada State Treasurer Patty Cafferata, daughter of Nevada Rep. Barbara Vucanovich, is taking on Democrat Gov. Richard Bryan. Described by Davis as enthusiastic and hard working, Cafferata is traveling throughout the state, meeting voters and reminding them that Bryan has increased taxes three times in his term in office.

—Fred Stokeld

Reagan Hits the Campaign Trail

Nothing injects a little more excitement, a little more media coverage, a little more credibility and a lot more money into a campaign than the participation of the most popular president of this century.

When President Ronald Reagan hits the campaign trail, big things happen. In October 1985, the president visited New Jersey to participate in a fund-raising event; it generated more than $250,000 for the state GOP. As Executive Director John Indyk recalls:

"I think the president's visit to New Jersey had a tremendous impact on our success in the 1985 Assembly elections. It raised a lot of money without which we may not have achieved all that we did." And the New Jersey GOP did achieve great things in 1985, as Republican Gov. Thomas Kean's successful reelection bid swept Republicans to majority status in the New Jersey State Assembly.

In addition to fund-raising appearances such as his trip to New Jersey, the president can help campaigns in a number of ways by:

- lending his signature to fund-raising letters;
- making campaign as well as fund-raising appearances;
- being photographed with candidates;
- appearing in television advertisements endorsing candidates; and more.

The president is committed to providing as much assistance to his fellow Republicans as he can during this election cycle. By the end of September, the president will have campaigned for seven gubernatorial candidates, 25 candidates for the House of Representatives and 21 U.S. Senate candidates. During 1985 and through September 1986, Reagan will have traveled to 22 states to campaign for Republican candidates in races crucial to the continued success of the Reagan revolution.

To date in the 1985-1986 election cycle, the president has raised nearly $29 million for Republican Party organizations and candidates. At some functions, the presence of the president has inspired local contributors to turn the event into the largest single political fund-raiser in the state's history.

States where President Reagan has already helped make campaign finance history are: Florida (Sen. Paula Hawkins); Oklahoma (Sen. Don Nickles); Georgia (Sen. Mack Mattingly); Alabama (Sen. Jeremiah Denton); Idaho (Sen. Steve Symms); Wisconsin (Sen. Bob Kasten); Washington (Sen. Slade Gorton); Missouri (U.S. Senate candidate/former governor Kit Bond); Louisiana (U.S. Senate candidate/Rep. Henson Moore); New York (Sen. Alfonse D'Amato); North Carolina (U.S. Senate candidate/Sen. Jim Broyhill); Nevada (U.S. Senate candidate/former Rep. Jim Santini); Colorado (U.S. Senate candidate/Rep. Ken Kramer); California (U.S. Senate candidate/Rep. Ed Zschau); and South Carolina (gubernatorial candidate/Rep. Carroll Campbell).



White House photo

President Ronald Reagan has campaigned for many candidates, including North Carolina's U.S. Senate candidate, James Broyhill.

The president's popularity, which stems from his ability to sense and understand the needs and aspirations of the American people, makes identification with him an invaluable asset in the campaign of a candidate with similar policies and goals. Rep. Carroll Campbell, Republican candidate for governor in South Carolina, understands just how important the president's July 24, 1986, fund-raiser for his campaign could prove to be.

"In addition to providing my campaign with much needed financial help," Campbell explains, "the president's visit to South Carolina demonstrated the close ties I have had with this administration."

Republican candidates appreciate the president's assistance on the campaign trail in much the same way all Americans have come to admire the president during the past six years. As Sen. Alfonse D'Amato said during a recent presidential fund-raiser on his behalf:

"With you leading our team, Mr. President, there is no way we can lose."

—Barbara Sido

American Dreams: Alive and Thriving



Photo by Rick McFarland

Clarence McGill has businesses in Houston and in Dayton, Ohio, and he has set his sights on St. Louis. He sees the creation of new businesses, especially by black Americans, as a potential solution to many problems, including high unemployment among black youth.

Remember waiting in line to buy gas? Remember shaking your head in dismay over the impossibility of ever affording a new house—or even a new car? How about the shock when you heard that more than 13 percent of the nation's 17-year-olds were functionally illiterate? Seems like eons ago, doesn't it?

When President Ronald Reagan was elected to office nearly six years ago, our country was in bad shape: Unemployment was rising, interest rates were climbing, the poverty level was spiraling, inflation was out-of-control. In all, the picture for Americans was bleak.

The president knew something had to be done. In his first inaugural address, Reagan said, "We must act today to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding—we are going to begin to act beginning today."

And he did. He immediately set to work, implementing an agenda for economic recovery that removed many of the roadblocks that had been slowing our economy and hampering personal growth. People from all walks of life have benefitted from the president's concern and dedication to creating an America that is once again alive and thriving.

Deregulation Opens Doors for Small Businesses

Six years ago, federal regulations were costing Americans more than $100 billion a year. A typical family of four paid $1,800 more for goods and services each year because excessive federal regulations added to their costs. President Reagan recognized these excessive costs and launched a long-overdue drive to trim needless regulations and reduce red tape.

Thanks to the president's efforts, for example, Clarence McGill was able to open his own business—Westgate Telecommunications. He started with an office in Houston, expanded to Dayton, Ohio, and has plans to open a third branch next month in St. Louis.

"Thanks to deregulation, I've been able to get into a business that was highly regulated and a total monopoly in the past," says McGill. "This administration has created an environment that a black businessperson such as myself can feel comfortable and secure about."

McGill strongly recommends that entrepreneurial Americans—especially blacks—go into business for themselves. "To be in business for yourself you have to have courage and go into it without fear of failing," McGill explains. "If you fail, you have to view it as a learning experience."

McGill sees the creation of new businesses, especially by black Americans, as a potential solution to another of his concerns—high unemployment among black youth. New businesses, McGill asserts, create desperately needed new jobs that young blacks can fill.

"Black businesses need to be in black neighborhoods," stresses McGill. "Many black neighborhoods don't have a lot of businesses that are existing and strong. Providing employment is going to take black people who have a business idea, who get out here and create jobs and employment to help the economy. It's not a magic formula, but it's a step in helping to solve the unemployment problem we have with black teen-agers."

Teaching: Satisfaction Money Can't Buy

The future of America's youth is also a concern of Charles Marks, a seventh grade social studies teacher at the Emerson J. Dillon Middle School in Phoenix, N.Y., near Syracuse. Marks shares the president's dedication to revitalizing and renewing America's educational system and believes the 1983 report, "A Nation At Risk," released by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, was a long-needed shot-in-the-arm for education.

"When President Reagan came out with the report on excellence in education, it made public, finally, what many of us in education had known for a long time—we were falling behind. The things we did in the past to meet the need did not necessarily work. If they worked, they worked for the short-term," says Marks. "But because of the report, and because some states have had the foresight to get serious about education, I think we've turned the corner, and we're on our way. We still have a distance to go, but we're on our way."

Marks believes some problems stemmed from people not viewing teaching as a full-time profession. Becoming a teacher no longer commanded the respect it once did, Marks says, and there were few incentives for young people to enter the profession, or for good teachers to remain.

As a result of the study's findings, Marks says, school districts are increasing incentives and benefits for teachers. Salaries, retirement benefits and medical coverage are improving. "Teaching is still not competitive enough with other professions," says Marks. "But the public is now more aware, and knows they're going to have to pay for high-quality teachers."

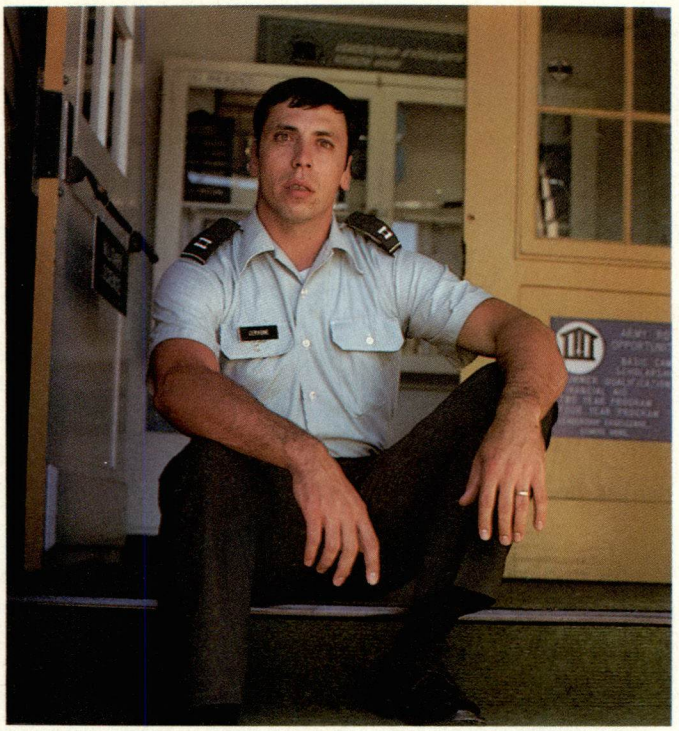


Photo by Richard O'Rourke

Capt. Michael Cervone, an ROTC instructor at the University of California, Santa Barbara, has noticed an increase in enthusiasm among students. "The pride is back," he says.

The American Dream Restored

Under the Carter-Mondale administration, Americans despaired of ever achieving the American dream—owning their own home. When Carter and Mondale took office, nearly one-third of U.S. families could afford to buy homes; when they left office, fewer than 5 percent could afford what had in four short years become a luxury.

New home sales are up for the third year in a row as a result of a stabilized economy and plummeting interest rates. Conventional 30-year mortgage rates have dropped from more than 17 percent to around 10 percent.

"People who had put off buying a home for five or six years because of high interest rates are now causing a buying boom," according to Fred Lovegrove, a realtor with his own agency in Fairfield, Conn. "Homeownership had come to a standstill—builders stopped building, companies put off relocating employees and families who had outgrown their homes put off moving to bigger places. Now with the success of President Reagan's policies, the real estate market has taken off phenomenally."

The Pride in America Is Back

When Reagan took office, patriotism had gone out of style. People felt the nation's freedom was being challenged, the economy wasn't sound—there was not much to be proud of. As a result, the armed services were having a tough time finding high-quality recruits.

President Reagan has made it clear through his actions, both here and abroad, that the safety of Americans is his number-one concern. Americans are safer and more secure about what the future holds for them and their children.

As a result of this renewed sense of pride, military enlistments have increased, the quality of these recruits has gone up and more young people are considering the military as a career.

In 1985, the number of recruits who held high school diplomas hit its highest percentage ever—91 percent, compared with less than 70 percent in 1980. And more of them are re-enlisting. The current re-enlistment rate for enlisted personnel is now 84 percent—up from 68 percent in 1979.

At the college level, Capt. Michael Cervone, an ROTC instructor at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), has noticed an increase in ROTC enrollment along with increased enthusiasm. There are more than 100 students in the program at UCSB, and Cervone predicts their stay in the military will be 5-to-8 years with as many as half deciding to make the military their career, as opposed to the previous average stay of only 3-to-4 years.

"I was stationed in Germany during the failed rescue attempt of the Iranian hostages," says Cervone. "People looked at us—Americans and the military—with disgust. But now the pride is back.

"The students today are more aware and more sophisticated than in the past and tend to research things they don't understand," he adds. "In the classes I teach, the president's actions have stimulated discussions and debates, and the kids have more of an understanding of the complexity of his role."

An American Priority: Higher Education for Our Children

One of the most important issues American families face today is providing higher education opportunities for their children. All parents hope that, armed with a good education, their children will enjoy financial security and professional fulfillment while carrying on the basic values and traditions Americans have come to cherish.

But the price tag on such a dream is staggering. According to the Department of Education, the average cost of college tuition today is $5,700 per year for a public college or university and nearly double that, $10,500, for a private school. And this money buys only tuition, room and board—no books, no clothes, no spending money or trips home for the holidays.

While all parents want the best for their children, the prospect of financing two, four or even more years of higher education can be terrifying. But contrary to what the Democrats would have Americans believe, financial aid for students remains readily available. Nearly 50 percent of the nation's 12.5 million full-time students are receiving aid under the Reagan administration—up from only 14 percent in 1970.

For some families, though, such government support is not the answer. These families, while far from wealthy, earn too much to qualify for financial aid. For them, the Reagan economic recovery, with its lowered taxes, lowered unemployment and lowered inflation, has been the key to fulfilling their dreams of providing their children a college education.

Such is the case with Mr. and Mrs. James Mosiman from Rockville, Md., who have eight children—three of whom are in college this year. In their pursuit of this American dream, the Mosimans have relied on Reagan policies that make their savings secure against inflation, and their children have depended on employment opportunities that were once scarce for young Americans.

"We've lived very frugally over the years in order to send the kids to school," says Mrs. Mosiman. "All of the kids have worked to help finance their educations as well."

The Republican Renaissance

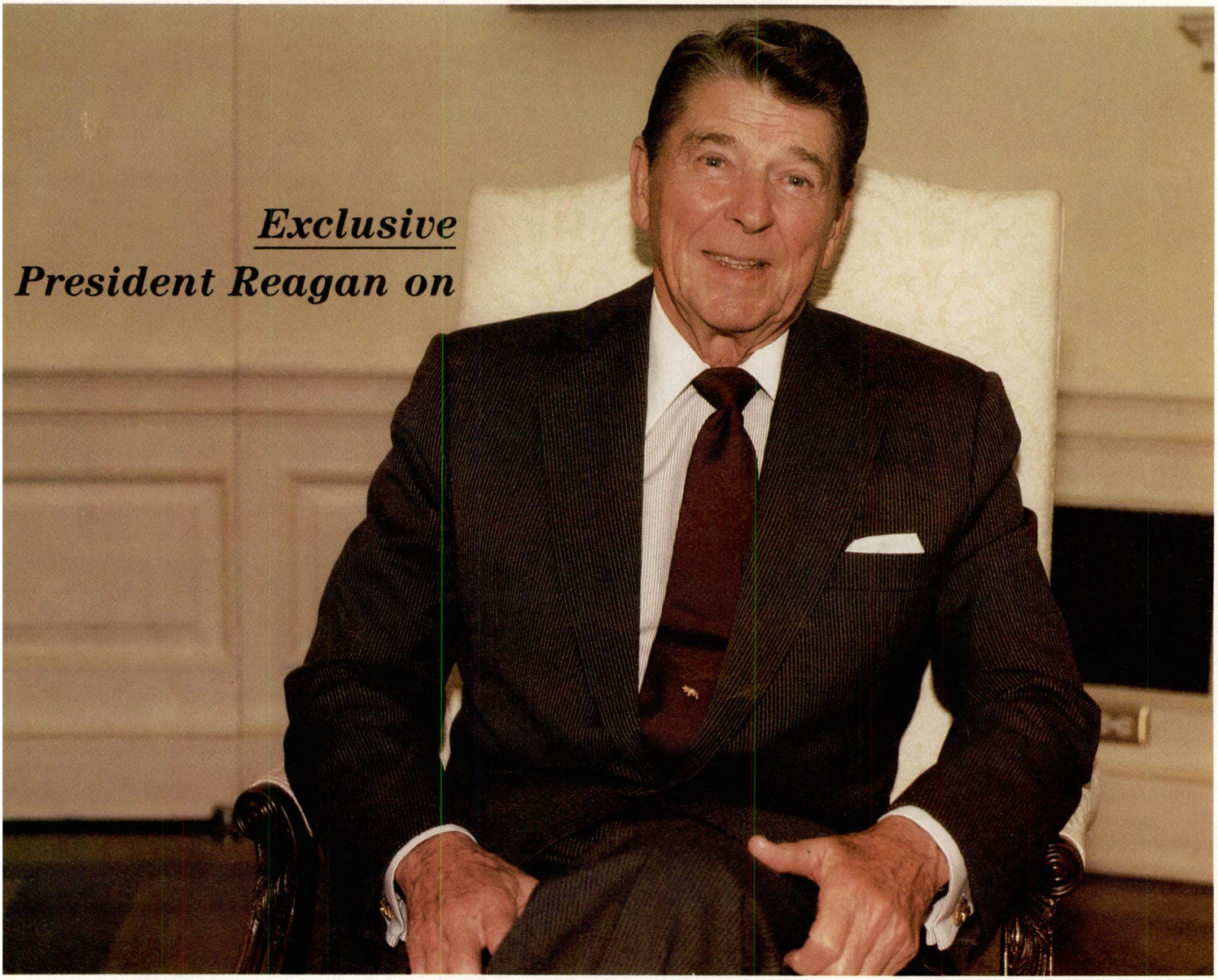
Since taking office nearly six years ago, President Reagan has gone forward, rebuilding America, and not looking back. Incentives have been restored, the entrepreneurial spirit is thriving, people now fly their flags with pride—and not just on holidays.

Such a renaissance across the land can be traced to many things, but the cornerstone is the man who has led this rebirth. President Ronald Reagan came into office committed to returning this nation to the glory of its traditions, while preparing for a future no less bright.

Indeed, the legacy of these six years of Republican leadership is a future proud and strong. America's children sense that, too, from a president who leads with determination, skill and an evident enjoyment for what he does.

Even nine-year-old Angela Abbatiello, from Liverpool, N.Y., understands why the president has achieved so much in such a short period of time: "He's a really nice man who really likes his job and wants to help people."

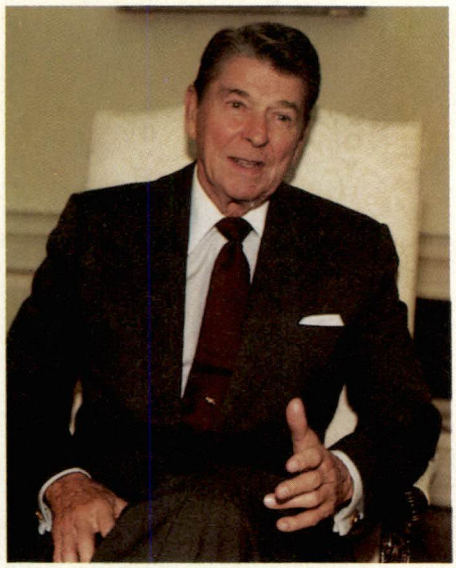
—Catherine DeLany

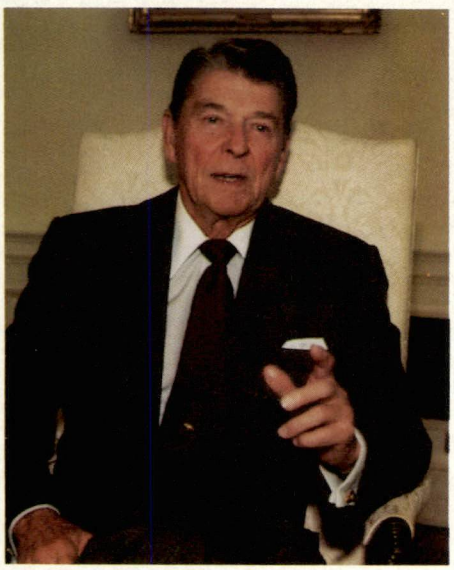


Exclusive
President Reagan on

Reagan photographs by Robert Sherbow

WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE NOVEMBER 4TH





FM: *Why is it so important for all Americans to vote this November? Why is it especially important that Republicans turn out on Election Day?*

President Reagan: This November, the voters will decide who controls the United States Senate. It's a make or break election. The Democrats control the House of Representatives; if we permit them to control the Senate, too, then the Republicans will be virtually frozen out of much of the business on Capitol Hill.

We Republicans stand on the verge of becoming the majority party. The question is, do we have the will to see it through? I think we can answer that question affirmatively by turning out in record numbers to support our candidates for House and Senate races, as well as for governorships and other state and local offices.

FM: *What effect will the 1986 elections have on the remaining years of your presidency?*

"It is clear that the Democrats do have an agenda—including more taxes, more federal spending and sharp cuts in defense—and they would attempt to carry it out were they to seize control of the Senate."

Why are the Senate races, in particular, so important?

President Reagan: America has a choice: two more years of moving forward, or two years of paralysis and backsliding. I didn't come to Washington to be a six-year president. And I didn't seek reelection just to protect the gains of our first term against those who seek to undermine everything we've achieved. There is still more to be done.

That is why it is so important to the future of this country that Maryland voters send Linda Chavez to the Senate and Nevadans send Jim Santini; and that incumbent Republican Senators Paula Hawkins, Jim Abdnor, Steve Symms and others each be reelected. If we can keep the Senate in Republican hands, then we can keep the country moving ahead.

FM: *What will happen if the Democrats win back control of the Senate?*

President Reagan: The other side is keeping a low profile, not letting on what surprises they have in store. But it is clear that the Democrats do have an agenda—including more taxes, more federal spending and sharp cuts in defense—and they would attempt to carry it out were they to seize control of the Senate. Just look at some of the Democrats who would take control of certain key committees. It's chilling.

The Democrats, I believe, want majority status in the Senate in part so they could stop my nominees to the federal bench. During the confirmation of William Rehnquist to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Daniel Manion to be a member of the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals, the conduct of the other side was shameful. If the Democrats took over the Senate, it would become an enormous task to achieve confirmation of judges who'll be tough on drug pushers and other hardened criminals.

FM: *What are some of the key programs you would like to pursue before you leave office?*

President Reagan: After five and one-half years in Washington, I'm still frustrated at our inability to get spending under control. Before I leave office, I want in place a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget and a line-item veto that gives the president the power to strip wasteful spending from bloated appropriations bills. This is absolutely essential if we are to continue keeping the economy going and expanding opportunities for all Americans.

I'm also working to ensure a lasting peace. I want to rebuild a national consensus on defense and foreign policy, putting our defense program on a sound and stable footing for the future and establishing open and business-like relations with the Soviet leadership. One way to work toward both ends is by proceeding with the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a safer and more moral alternative to the strategy of Mutual Assured Destruction. SDI would employ technology to protect people instead of to threaten their annihilation.

Nancy has been in the forefront of the national crusade against drug abuse. Great progress has been made since 1981, but much more needs to be done. We've recently escalated our campaign against illegal drugs, and Nancy and I intend to see this battle won.

FM: *Do you believe the 1986 elections will be, in effect, a referendum on the Reagan administration?*

President Reagan: This election will be an opportunity for the people to reaffirm their support for the policies of my administration, or to choose to go back to the failed policies of the late 1970s. We've been able to do so many things that I believe the American people overwhelmingly support. For example, our policies have created more than 11 and one-half million new jobs since November 1982, interest rates have been slashed, and real per-capita income is at an all-time high. Adjusted for inflation, gasoline today costs less than at any time since before World War II. And the so-called "Misery Index"—which combines the inflation and the unemployment rates—is now less than half the level when we took office.

FM: *As president, what do you plan to do to help Republican candidates between now and November 4?*

President Reagan: This is the last national election in which I have a personal stake. I

"This is the last national election in which I have a personal stake. I intend to make the most of it."



intend to make the most of it.

I have already been involved in a number of fund-raising efforts and campaign speeches, and there will be many more between now and Election Day. I will take our case to the American people because this is one of the most important elections in this century.

But I have to tell you there is one thing I will not do. I told my Cabinet and my White House staff I do not want to hear any advice on how a given decision might affect future elections. There are no exceptions to that rule. The people elect their leaders to make decisions they believe are right and in the best interests of our country. If you do that, then the elections will take care of themselves.

FM: *Almost every recent poll indicates that you receive your strongest support from young Americans. What will you be doing this fall to encourage young people to register and vote?*

President Reagan: It is really true that "bad officials are elected by good citizens who don't vote." That is why I have been helping a bipartisan effort known as "Vote America," sponsored by Americans for Responsible Government. This program is directing a major part of its effort toward the 18-to-24 age group. It seems to me that if our young people take seriously their right to vote when they turn 18, they will continue to be careful and thoughtful participants in the electoral process for the rest of their lives.

FM: *If you were a candidate running for office in the farm belt today, what message would you bring to your constituents?*

President Reagan: First, I would make it clear that throwing more money at the problem is no answer. You can't blame the farm situation on a lack of federal payments. In fact, in my administration, we've spent more on farm programs than the last five presidents combined.

The biggest problem facing farmers has always been inconsistent government policies—with on-again, off-again trade policies, as well as high inflation and interest rates. We're turning this around and are now in a period of transition to a farm economy based on the marketplace. Until that market economy is in place, we have been helping farmers by supporting farm income, cutting farm costs and expanding farm exports.

In the Southeast, for example, I directed Agriculture Secretary Lyng to create a Federal Drought Assistance task force to provide support to farmers affected by the drought. On August 12, I announced that for the first time ever, grain stored on the ground as well as in approved storage facilities will be eligible for price support loans. This will allow more farms to participate in the price support loan program as well as alleviate tight storage problems and help farmers avoid high storage rates. We've worked with our trading partners to remove barriers to U.S. exports and permit stable monetary growth. This increases the ability of other nations to buy America's farm products. In addition, we recently agreed to begin a new multilateral trade negotiation, of which one of the major goals is the reduction of agricultural subsidies. This, too, will help make American farmers more competitive internationally.

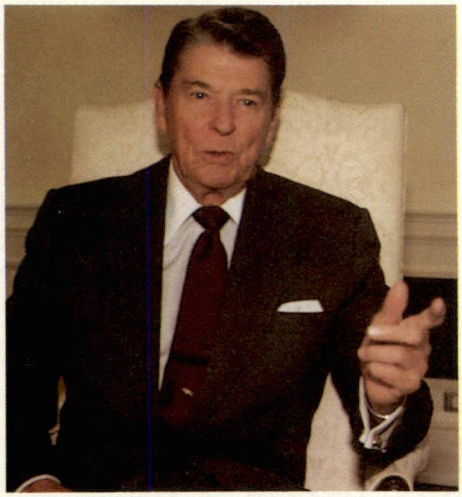
FM: *The nation's drug abuse and drug trafficking problem has generated considerable concern across the country. In response, you have launched a "national crusade" against drugs. What sets this initiative apart from past efforts? What do you hope to achieve?*

President Reagan: When we took office, drug abuse was a serious national problem, but the focus was primarily on heroin. We changed that and launched a broad-based program to stop drug abuse and drug trafficking. Our strategy included international cooperation, drug law enforcement, drug abuse prevention, treatment and research. Since the beginning of this administration, the federal budget for drug law enforcement has tripled.

I believe that there is broad public support for taking strong action to stop the use of illegal drugs and to hold the users accountable. That is why last August I set out six new goals for the nation: a drug-free workplace for all Americans; drug-free schools; expanded drug abuse treatment and research; improved cooperation among nations to defeat international drug traffickers; strengthened law enforcement; and increased public awareness so every citizen will understand the stakes and get involved—personally involved. If this battle is to be won, each and everyone of us must take a stand.

I couldn't have a better partner in this effort than Nancy. In 1981, she began a personal crusade to increase public awareness of the dangers of drug abuse and get people involved in helping young people "Just Say No" to drugs. Nancy has traveled over 100,000 miles across 28 states and to six foreign countries bringing her message. I am so proud of what she has done and the fact that she is not only a national leader in the fight against drug abuse, but an international leader as well.

FM: *What has been your proudest accomplishment during the six years of your presi-*





The president discusses the 1986 elections with RNC Communications Director Terry Wade, left, and Barb Sido, editor, ***First Monday.***

dency? How did other elected Republicans help you achieve it?

President Reagan: There's one change that makes me particularly proud: We have restored pride in the uniform of the United States of America.

Applications to the major service academies are at record or near-record levels. Our military academies are more competitive in their admissions rates than the most prestigious private universities in the country. More Army recruits have high school diplomas today than ever before. Our armed forces today contain some of the finest men and women who've ever served their country—and we couldn't have done it without the leadership of Republicans in Congress, especially Senator Jeremiah Denton and Representative Ken Kramer.

FM: *There has been quite a lot of talk recently about repealing the 22nd Amendment limiting presidents to two full terms in office. What is your opinion of the move to repeal the amendment?*

President Reagan: After much thought and reflection, I believe that if the people want to vote for someone for president, they should have the right to do so. Senators and representatives have no such restrictions on their terms of office.

I must emphasize, however, that while I favor repeal of the 22nd Amendment, I don't want it for myself. I want it for the American people and for the presidents who will follow me.

Reagan Warns of Senate Democrats' "Chilling" Hidden Agenda

If the Democrats regain control of the U.S. Senate, the loss will be felt long after the November elections. Along with their majority status, the Democrats will also capture key leadership positions and the chairmanships of Senate committees. As the president says, " . . . it is clear that the Democrats do have an agenda—including more taxes, more federal spending and sharp cuts in defense—and they would attempt to carry it out were they to seize control of the Senate.

"Just look at some of the Democrats who would take control of certain key committees. It's chilling."

Such control would almost certainly result in tax increases, more spending on social programs, increased regulation, huge cuts in defense spending and guaranteed opposition to judicial and executive branch nominees.

Congressional Republicans would not be in a strategic position to stop such action since the Democrats would control both houses of Congress. In other words, President Ronald Reagan would face the final two years of his administration without a legislative partner. The success of his teamwork with the Republican-controlled Senate would be no more. Reagan would face a partisan fight at every turn.

The president's concerns are justified by the voting records and position statements of the Democrat senators who would probably assume the chairmanships of key Senate committees. As their annual ratings from Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) show (with 100 being a "perfect" liberal score), these senators would be in a position to inflict considerable damage to the Reagan administration's foreign and domestic policies. Below are examples of some of the most liberal senators in line to assume key chairmanships.

Committee	Probable Democrat	ADA Rating
Banking	Proxmire (Wisc.)	70
Budget	Chiles (Fla.)	70
Environment	Burdick (N.D.)	**100**
Foreign Relations	Pell (R.I.)	**100**
Judiciary	Biden (Del.)	85
	or Kennedy (Mass.)	85
Labor	Kennedy (Mass.)	85
	or Metzenbaum (Ohio)	**100**
Rules	Ford (Ky.)	80
Small Business	Bumpers (Ark.)	75
Veterans	Cranston (Calif.)	95

Senator John Heinz



Newsmaker photographs by Dennis Brack

*Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee Sen. John Heinz (R-Pa.), second from left, discusses the 1986 U.S. Senate races with, from left, Leslie Phillips, **USA Today;** Laurence Barrett, **Time;** and Clay Richards, United Press International.*

Sen. John Heinz of Pennsylvania serves as the chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee—a post he also held during the 1979-1980 election cycle, when the GOP won control of the U.S. Senate for the first time in nearly a quarter-century. In the U.S. Senate, Heinz serves as chairman of the Special Committee on Aging; is a member of the Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, where he chairs the International Finance and Monetary Policy Subcommittee; and is a member of the Finance Committee, where he chairs the Savings, Pension and Investment Subcommittee.

Phillips: *The election talk for the last several months has focused on the fact that there are no national issues guiding this campaign. I want to know if you agree with that assessment, or whether you see some issues developing.*

Heinz: What is remarkable is that, with the Republican Senate and a Republican president having provided six years of leadership, the Democrats have no comprehensive criticism of that Republican record.

In 1980, the Republicans succeeded in capturing both the presidency and the Senate because there was a theme—vote Republican for a change.

The inability of the Democrat Party to articulate even criticism suggests a political bankruptcy of their party that should deeply trouble them.

The Democrat Party appears to be the alternative party without any alternative.

Barrett: *So you are saying that the six-year itch is sort of a myth, (that) at least this time out it is a myth?*

Heinz: The six-year itch has been a fact until this year, but this year I don't think there are going to be any scratches.

Barrett: *What has made the difference?*

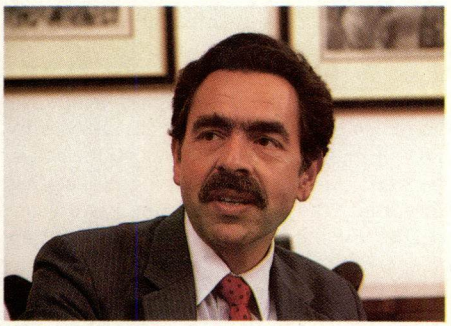
Heinz: The principal difference is that the economy has continued to perform beyond anybody's expectations. With 55 days to go, as we sit here (*Editor's note: This "Newsmaker" was conducted Sept. 10.),* inflation is still low, interest rates are low, unemployment for the month of August is down—some 450,000 jobs have been created just in the last two months, August and July—and those are the kinds of statistics that people feel in their pocketbooks.

It means that their money is worth more, they can buy or finance more with it, and there are more people employed able to do that. That is the single most important reason for the continued support of Republican policies by the American people, and the single strongest insurance policy for retaining Republican control of the Senate.

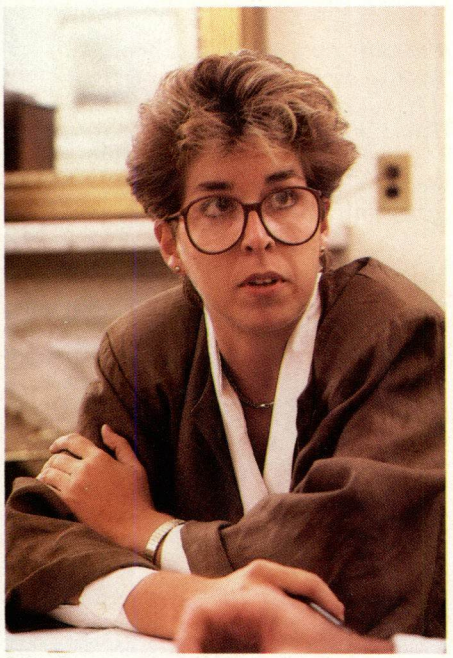
Richards: *In some of the states where the economy is bad, (such as) Louisiana and some of the farm states, there is an impact of the economy that is obvious on the Senate race, but can you give us examples of where the economy is strong, (and) it is impacting on the Senate race?*

Heinz: Regional pockets of economic distress appear to impact more on governors and less, certainly, on Republican incumbent senators or challengers. I think that's because the American people don't attribute regional economic problems to national economic policies that are working for the nation as a whole. Certainly, the nearly four years of economic prosperity is good reason for people to be optimistic, not just about their own personal situation, but for the country as a whole.

Interview



Laurence Barrett
Time



Leslie Phillips
USA Today



Clay Richards
United Press International

Richards: *But what states can you point to and say, "because the economy is strong, our candidates are doing well here?"*

Heinz: I think the reason that all our candidates are doing extremely well, and much better today than they were two months ago, is because the economy remains strong.

Phillips: *What is the possibility of something developing between now and November—for example, this bi-coastal economy, leaving the farm and industrial center in the dust?*

Heinz: Well, if your question is, are there any efforts being made by Republicans, either in the Senate or by the president, to address the regional economic problems of the Rust Belt, of the farm states, of the oil and gas states, the answer is yes.

Now, the Democrats are out to criticize anything that Republicans do. I don't find them coming forward with much in the way of meaningful alternatives, but the farm program which largely was a Republican program, while some Democrats have criticized it, has been, on the whole, fairly well received at least as a very credible effort at attacking this nation's very difficult farm policies.

Barrett: *Of course, that farm program is turning out to be much more expensive than the administration had hoped; it has gone far beyond that, and yet the foreclosures continue in a number of states.*

Aren't Republicans trying to have it both ways here? You're saying that a good economy is favoring Republicans but, in places where there is (a) bad economy, the Republicans don't feel the impact politically.

Heinz: I think the American people are smart enough to know that there is not an immediate fix from Washington for every problem. The difficulties our farmers are facing, and they are considerable, are not created, by and large, by policies cast in Washington, D.C. They are the result of world overproduction, unfair trade practices, foreign government subsidies of agriculture, and the people in the farm states seem quite aware of the big picture.

What they do look to Washington and Republicans for is a sensible, long-range policy to ease out of what has been a very difficult world agricultural situation.

I believe that the administration's agricultural policies are working and are going to work better than any of the alternatives that have been advanced.

Richards: *What three seats are you most concerned about losing and what three seats or more, on the Democrat side, are you most confident of picking up?*

Heinz: I think we could retain every single Republican-held seat. And I think that in those few states where the polls have us behind—and Florida would be one of them, South Dakota was one of them and, until recently, North Carolina was one of them—I am extremely optimistic that we will win all of those races.

The Democrats have a good deal less in the way of optimism for their open seats—Missouri, Louisiana and Colorado—where Republicans are substantially ahead in the first two and at least even in Colorado.

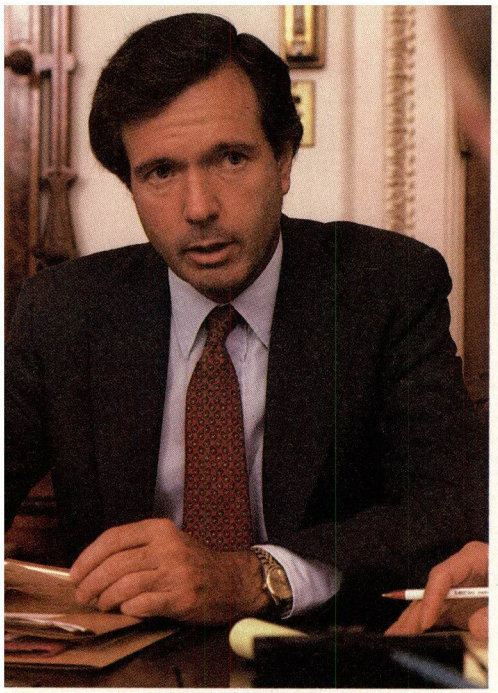
Ken Kramer has surprised everybody consistently over the past two months, with his organizational and now fund-raising and political capability, and I would predict that (in) Colorado, as we go into the last three weeks of the campaign, (Kramer) will have a substantial lead in that race.

Phillips: *Let me just jump back for a minute to trade, which I think is really significant considering your home state (of Pennsylvania). Do the president's free trade policies put a burden on some Republican candidates—for example, your colleague Arlen Specter?*

Heinz: There are always, in the trade area, plenty of disagreements, more than enough to go around, even between members of the president's own party and the president.

I think that's because presidents have a larger picture that they are more concerned with. They are principally concerned with trying to achieve foreign policy successes. In the process, some American economic

The Newsmaker interview is a regular feature of ***First Monday.*** *Reporters may ask the Newsmaker guest any question on any topic. There are no embargoes placed on material received during the interview, allowing coverage as soon as the Newsmaker is completed. The entire interview is on the record and published in its entirety in* ***First Monday,*** *subject only to grammatical and space editing requirements.*



"The Democrat Party appears to be the alternative party without any alternative," Heinz says.

interests sometimes get second priority, and this is why there will be differences on trade issues, whether it is on textiles or on steel, two issues important to Arlen Specter as well as me, in my home state of Pennsylvania.

The best response is for the Senate to pass a trade bill. I'm convinced we can pass one that will be a responsible and strong trade bill and one which the president can sign.

Barrett: *Which of the various options that have been considered do you think would be one that is both sound policy and good politics?*

Heinz: (Senate Bill) 1860. That's the Senate Finance Committee trade bill that Senator (John) Danforth (R-Mo.), Senator (Robert) Dole (R-Kan.), Senator (Daniel) Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Senator (Bill) Bradley (D-N.J.), myself and others have co-sponsored. There are 33 Senate co-sponsors, (as well as) 14 members of the Finance Committee evenly split between Republicans and Democrats. (*Editor's note: S.B. 1860 would transfer some of the president's trade authority to the U.S. Trade Representative and would require U.S. retaliation against countries that engage in unfair trade practices.)*

Richards: *But, again, how many states can you really point to and say "trade is going to make a big difference in this race?"*

Heinz: At this point, with the economy in pretty healthy shape, it's difficult for me to see any race turning on a single issue like trade.

Phillips: *What about a single issue like drugs? Do you think with all this national attention, that's going to become an issue in this campaign?*

Heinz: The president has gone out of his way to make his initiative on drugs a bipartisan effort. In the Senate, Senator Dole and my colleagues are determined to follow the president's lead and continue to make an across-the-board bipartisan approach to an issue that has not only captured the attention of many politicians, but which is really striking profound fear in the hearts of people and parents.

It is an issue that has risen to alarming emotional proportions, and for good reason. The president's initiative is a strong starting point, around which a good deal more attention and action will coalesce.

Phillips: *Is it an issue on which a campaign might be decided or votes might be gained?*



Heinz: Only if a candidate was insensitive to the issue.

Richards: *Let's get back to some of the races again. What's happened in Vermont? You had high hopes there, and so far it has not materialized.*

Heinz: What has materialized is that the voters of Vermont, after a summer of thinking over whether they really want to have a race between Dick Snelling (former governor of Vermont and Republican candidate for the Senate) and (Sen.) Pat Leahy (D-Vt.), the two most popular politicians in the state, have decided that it is a race that they want, and they are beginning to listen to Dick Snelling and compare Pat Leahy's record with the facts.

As a result, in the last two of the three months, Dick Snelling has begun to significantly close the gap between himself and Pat Leahy, and he is now down to about a 12-point gap.

Richards: *How badly was he hurt by his negative campaigning?*

Heinz: Who, Leahy?

Richards: *No, Snelling, with his negative ads against Leahy.*

Heinz: I think that Dick Snelling's efforts to contrast what he stands for with what Leahy has done are going to be a plus. It is possible that Vermonters were surprised at what to them was such a direct approach to outlining those differences, but I believe, on the basis of what I've seen, that whatever shock there was has worn off, and that the voters in Vermont are now paying attention to the substance as opposed to the form.

Barrett: *I've been visiting in several states the last few weeks, and I've been also reviewing campaign commercials that are available here. It seems to me that this year, on both sides, Republican and Democrat, we're seeing much more attack advertising at a relatively early stage, prior to Labor Day, not being saved for the crucial (last) few weeks. Why do you think that is?*

Heinz: Unfortunately, it works.

Barrett: *Is everybody trying to do a (Sen. Mitch) McConnell (R-Ky.) version, a current year version of the McConnell bloodhound spots?*

Heinz: Well, I think it's fair to say that every campaign, Republican or Democrat,

"The Democrat Party has a serious problem that affects not just their fund-raising, but their political future," Heinz asserts, "and that is their lack of a theme or a message. Their emphasis is largely criticism, and they remain a party in search of a policy."

is looking to the next bloodhound ad. It's a worrisome trend, but I suspect that's what it is, a passage that we will traverse, and the voters will eventually, as with any advertisement, commercial or political, become more discriminating.

My best guess is that not all negative advertising will be equally effective this year, and that two years from now the voters will be much more discriminatory and the negative advertising will have to be much more carefully researched and well-executed if it is to be effective.

There is nothing inherently wrong about drawing contrasts and portraying factual differences. Nonetheless, there are numerous styles of doing so, some of which are quite shocking, some of which can even be dishonest because the facts are misportrayed.

Barrett: *The current fashion, for this cycle at least, seems to be aimed much more at the other candidate's personality, rather than a checklist of where the other party stands on six important issues.*

Absenteeism, for instance, seems to be a big item this year, and veracity and consistency. Could it be that because of a lack of a really cutting national issue that goes across-the-board, and (with) this being an off-year, that a lot of campaign organizations feel they have nothing else to trade on?

Heinz: First, there are 22 Republican-held seats at risk. We have 18 Republican incumbents running for reelection. The Democrats only have 9 incumbents running for reelection. There are, therefore, a preponderance of Democrat challengers.

To me, it is significant that this vast volume of Democrat challengers running against the core group that created the Republican majority in 1980, are unable to find anything other than personal attacks or individual votes on which to base their challenges.

One would think that Republicans would be vulnerable on some basis of performance after six years, and while so far the facts of the campaigns suggest that Democrats are unable to isolate a particular theme that damages Republicans for the job they've done, a logical conclusion is that Republican senators have done a pretty good job.

Phillips: *Do you see any kind of opposition in the Senate to these kinds of TV ads? Do you see any support at all for Danforth's bill?*

Heinz: No.

Phillips: *You don't think that will move anywhere?*

Heinz: Danforth's bill (intended to restrain negative advertising) was, in part, incorporated into the Boren amendment (which puts a cap on the total amount an individual PAC can give a candidate). An amendment offered by Senator (Rudy) Boschwitz (R-Minn.) and myself struck the so-called broadcast provisions from the Boren bill. It also required the reporting of soft money by political committees. That's very unpopular with the Democratic National Committee and the House and Senate Democratic Committees because they don't want to reveal their major sources of funds.



The president's argument, Heinz explains, "is that Democrat control of both the Senate and the House would substantially undermine what he and we, in the Republican Senate, have been trying to accomplish for these last six years."

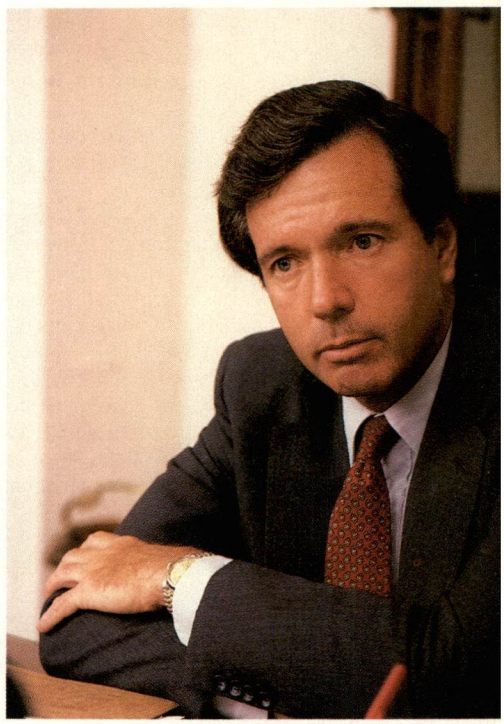
Richards: *Outside of his very considerable effort for fund raising for your candidates, what role do you see President Reagan playing in the campaign? How much is he going to be out there on the stump?*

Heinz: The president has made a commitment to campaigning that is unprecedented. He will be in as many as a dozen and a half states, maybe up to two dozen, between now and Election Day.

I can't think of a single president in our history who has done as much for his party as a sitting president. The president helps two ways. As you mentioned, he is an extraordinary fund-raiser. He is a great draw. He can articulate better than anybody else why it is essential to retain Republican control of the Senate.

His argument, which is correct, is that Democrat control of both the Senate and the House would substantially undermine what he and we, in the Republican Senate, have been trying to accomplish for these last six years.

The first casualty of the Democrats taking control of the Senate would be the president's efforts to maintain a strong defense budget, and the first program that would be gutted would be the Strategic Defense Initiative. That would render the president's ability to negotiate the kind of far-reaching strategic arms reduction agreement, which he wants, nearly impossible.



"The Democratic House," Heinz says, "has closed the door to any prospect of campaign reform."

There would be no reason for the Soviets to negotiate with the president what they could get through the legislative process in the United States.

Phillips: *Every year a hue and cry is raised over the influence of political action committees on campaigns, and this year is certainly no different. You referred to the Boren amendment before.*

Do you see any chance at all of Congress moving on this legislation so that it will affect the 1988 races?

Heinz: Time is running out for any effort at campaign reform, including further limits on PACs, in 1986. (In) the House of Representatives Tip O'Neill has said that they just are not going to consider anything the Senate sends, whether it is the Boren amendment or the Boren amendment as amended by Boschwitz. The Democratic House has closed the door to any prospect of campaign reform.

Barrett: *You were rather skeptical, to put it mildly, of the Boren amendment, as I recall.*

Heinz: I voted against it.

Barrett: *So, it is not just the Democratic House that is not for it. Do you favor the idea—I guess you are a co-sponsor, as I recall, of the idea that Senator Boschwitz was talking up, about a large commission to look at the whole (campaign reform) question comprehensively.*

Heinz: There are several important issues that have not been addressed by the Boren bill or its amendments. To my mind, the most important one is the role that political parties should be permitted to play in the electoral process.

Our current campaign (law) substantially restricts the parties from financing the candidates of their choice. In a state like New Hampshire where you have to buy Boston television at great cost, a campaign can cost $500,000, $700,000 (or) $900,000.

The Republican Party—the Senate Campaign Committee, the Republican National Committee—together are prohibited by law from putting in anymore than $85,000—and I'll have to correct that number later.

Barrett: *It's $107,000. I think that's the minimum for small states.*

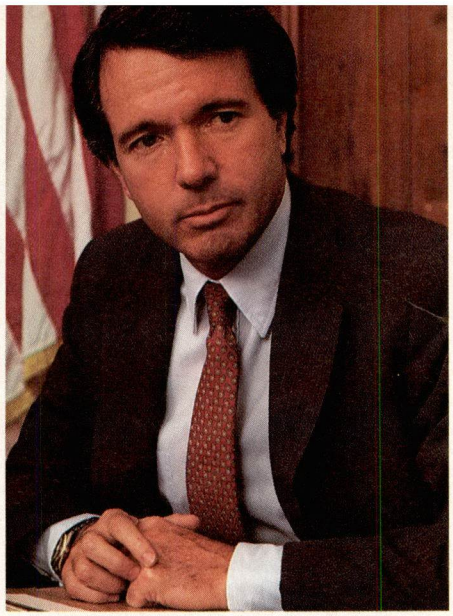
Heinz: On the whole, parties, as a practical matter, have been limited, by law, to supporting no more than 10 percent of the cost of a candidate's campaign.

For those people who would like to see candidates less dependent on other sources of funding, it is extremely short-sighted for us to maintain those kinds of limits on political parties.

Richards: *But as long as there is an imbalance on the fund-raising ability of the two parties, is that going to change?*

Heinz: The Democrats are very fearful that the ability of the Republican committees to raise money will work to partisan advantage.

The irony is that the Democrat Party is far more dependent on large contributors than we Republicans. Our average contribution is less than $35, theirs is over $100. And their plight seems to reflect the fact that they are unable to develop a message that has appeal to the rank and file of their party.



"I think the American people are smart enough to know that there is not an immediate fix from Washington for every problem," says Heinz.

The Democrat Party has a serious problem that affects not just their fund raising, but their political future, and that is their lack of a theme or a message. Their emphasis is largely criticism, and they remain a party in search of a policy.

Richards: *There are always a couple of "sleeper" races that catch us by surprise, and I guess sometimes your experts by surprise, too.*

Heinz: Oh, sure.

Richards: *Would you like to gaze into your crystal ball and tell us where they will be this time?*

Heinz: Yes. I think there are two races that are going to surprise people in a big way, ones we haven't talked about—namely, (former U.S. Attorney) Asa Hutchinson in Arkansas and (former U.S. Attorney) Henry McMaster in South Carolina.

Asa Hutchinson had a debate with his opponent, (Sen.) Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.), in which the largest television channel in the state, Channel 11-KTHV in Little Rock, was quoted as saying, "Bumpers had everything to lose; Asa Hutchinson, everything to win. Asa Hutchinson won it all." I think that's going to be a surprise race, and I would put the Henry McMaster race in South Carolina in the same category. Those are two excellent candidates. They will be the Mitch McConnells of 1986.

Richards: *No place you're going to be surprised?*

Heinz: The kind of November surprise that I'm hoping for is to hold every single Republican-held seat. I think we can do that.

Barrett: *Let's end this on a somber note, in a manner of speaking but, from the Republican viewpoint, on an upbeat note.*

From central sources in the cycle, the Republican Party is going to be able to give several candidates something like three times, maybe even four times, the amount of money that the Democrat Senate Committee and the other central sources can give Democrat candidates. So why are you dismayed about a lack of financing from central party sources?

Heinz: As a matter of principle, it makes no sense that a party should be deeply and heavily restricted from supporting its candidates.



"I would argue that until the Democratic Party stops protecting itself from the free market of American political ideas," Heinz says, "they will continue to see their franchise with the voters erode."

The Senate: Maintaining a Majority

It has been called the most important election since the end of World War II. It is the 1986 senatorial election and its outcome could well foreshadow the fate of the final years of the Reagan administration and the future of the Republican Party.

The goal in 1986 is to maintain majority status in the U.S. Senate by protecting currently held seats and wooing away seats previously held by Democrats. The prize of 1986 is not merely bragging rights—it is control of key Senate committees, influence in key Senate votes, a fair and equal voice for the Reagan administration and its initiatives through 1988.

The damage that could be caused by a hemorrhage in the Republican Senate majority may well be averted, though, by the strategic implementation of the political skills and campaign savvy of the candidates profiled below. They include the brightest stars of the Senate class of 1980, as well as up-and-comers who earned their government stripes at the state and local level.

Their success in the 1986 senatorial elections—and that of their fellow GOP candidates—may well determine the tone of American politics and government for the rest of the century.



Henson Moore
Louisiana

Henson Moore has represented Louisiana's 6th District since 1975, when he won a special election. An enthusiastic supporter of free enterprise, Moore sits on the House Ways and Means Committee, where he backs President Reagan's economic program and espouses the virtues of free trade. He believes Louisiana's struggling economy needs to diversify.

"If you like the direction Louisiana is taking now, then don't vote for me, because I don't," Moore says. "I think Louisiana needs to change, and I can help change it."

Moore has displayed a strong interest in health care matters, especially Medicare and Medicaid, and has introduced legislation to protect recipients from fraudulent practices and to encourage settlement of malpractice claims out of court. In 1979, he led the opposition to a proposed 10 cent per gallon gasoline tax and also introduced a compromise windfall profits tax acceptable to oil producers and consumers alike.



Mack Mattingly
Georgia

Sen. Mack Mattingly, too, is stressing his many accomplishments in his bid to sustain the rejuvenation of the GOP in the South.

One of those accomplishments is his role in securing funds for the Atlanta subway system. Mattingly is also known as the Senate's leading advocate of giving line item veto authority to the president.

The senator is an expert on trade issues, working closely with Georgia farmers and businessmen who want to sell their products overseas. An ardent fiscal conservative, he has received numerous honors for his battle against wasteful spending, including the "Taxpayers' Best Friend Award" from the National Taxpayers' Union. He was also named "Conservationist of the Year" by the Georgia Wildlife Federation.

Mattingly served as chairman of the Georgia Republican Party in the mid-1970s before his election to the Senate in 1980. He

is a member of the Senate Appropriations and Banking committees and chairman of the Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee.

Mattingly is upbeat about the fall campaign.

"I am ready and so are my supporters," he says. "I believe the strength and depth of my support is very substantial."



Jim Santini
Nevada

Former Rep. Jim Santini is seeking to maintain the legacy of retiring Republican Sen. Paul Laxalt.

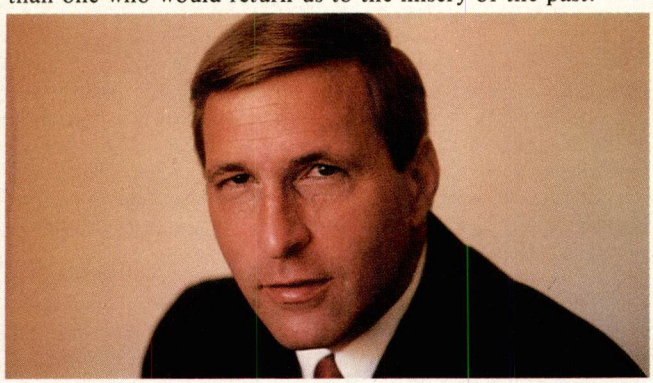
A congressman-at-large for eight years, Santini enjoys widespread name recognition in Nevada. His election bid will be boosted by Nevada's Republican tradition—Reagan won 66 percent of the vote there in 1984.

While in the House, Santini was particularly attentive to environmental matters. He led the fight against dumping nuclear waste in Nevada and was instrumental in passing the National Historic Preservation Act of 1980. He kept a weather eye out for the mineral concerns of both his state and the nation, since minerals play a key role in Nevada's economy.

Santini helped create and became the second chairman of the Travel and Tourism Caucus. During his tenure as chairman he helped write and enact the National Tourism Policy Act, which was designed to attract international travelers to the United States in general and Nevada in particular. Early in President Reagan's first term, Santini voted for the president's tax and spending cut proposals.

Santini makes it clear that support would continue in the Senate:

"I think Nevadans would rather vote for a candidate who supports President Reagan's economic and defense agendas than one who would return us to the misery of the past."



Ed Zschau
California

A successful young businessman from California's Silicon Valley, Rep. Ed Zschau is the GOP candidate attempting to unseat Sen. Alan Cranston.

In 1978, Zschau went before Congress as a concerned businessman and lobbied against the capital gains tax, successfully getting it cut nearly in half. This achievement is believed by many analysts to have played a major role in the Silicon Valley boom, since in the first 18 months after the cutting of the capital gains tax the venture capital pool increased by $1 billion. The experience helped him win election to the House of Representatives by a wide margin in 1982.

In Congress Zschau is regarded as the foremost expert on high-tech issues and is also well-versed on trade and economics. He strongly supports President Reagan's free trade policies and was a cosponsor of the balanced budget amendment. A survey of high-tech associations named Zschau as one of the five most influential legislators, and in 1984 *Washington Monthly* named him "Rookie of the Year."

Zschau sums up this year's Senate race this way: "The old politics is based on the concept that a lawmaker demonstrates his or her deep commitment to a cause by showing how much of somebody else's money they're willing to spend on it. Alan Cranston has received notoriety and tremendous recognition for his practice of the old politics.

"In sharp contrast, I follow the new principle. The new principle is that we can't afford the old politics."



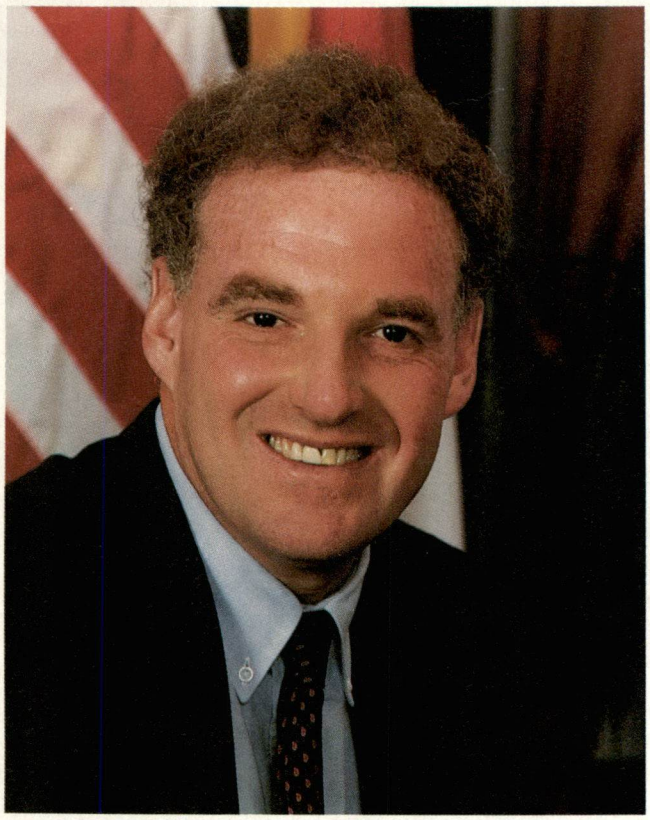
Jeremiah Denton
Alabama

"I feel I've served Alabama to the best of my ability and have helped the state make many important advances," says Alabama Sen. Jeremiah Denton.

In the Senate, Denton has been an outspoken advocate of conservative causes and is a member of the Senate Caucus on the Family.

In 1983, *National Journal* rated Denton the most conservative member of the U.S. Senate and *Conservative Digest* has listed him as one of the 10 most admired conservative senators.

Denton's courage as a Vietnam-era prisoner of war for seven years won him fame and admiration, helping him win his Senate seat six years ago. He wrote "When Hell was in Session," an account of his Vietnam experience that was made into a television movie.



Ken Kramer
Colorado

A congressman from Colorado's 5th District since 1979, Ken Kramer is setting his sights on the U.S. Senate, and it's clear he has a full slate of issues to pursue.

"I think I can serve Colorado well because I will work long, hard hours to bring thousands of jobs to the state; make Colorado the space capital of the world; work to provide opportunity for all Coloradans; fight for a balanced budget amendment; protect Colorado's precious water resources; and clean up hazardous waste sites in the state," Kramer says.

"These are the issues that are important to Colorado, and these are the issues that are important to me."

A Harvard law school graduate and former U.S. Army captain, Kramer served in the Colorado state House of Representatives for five years. In the U.S. House of Representatives, he sits on the Armed Services Committee and is a major proponent of an aerospace command.

He has also been attentive to the needs of his party, serving as vice-chairman of the House Republican Study Committee and joining the House Republican Policy Committee.

In addition to his congressional duties, Kramer is a member of the U.S. Air Force Academy Board of Visitors and the National Republican Congressional Committee and is director of his local March of Dimes chapter.

The congressman has received many honors, including Who's Who in America and Outstanding Young Men of America.



Paula Hawkins
Florida

"As a freshman senator," says Florida's Paula Hawkins, "I feel I have made family issues, war on illicit drugs and support for President Reagan the hallmark of the last six years."

Hawkins has won widespread acclaim for her concerted efforts on behalf of missing and abused children; her commitment to this cause led her to sponsor the Missing Child Assistance Act, a law that established the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and created a toll-free hotline for victims and their loved ones.

She was also a principal sponsor of 1982 legislation allowing FBI records to be used to search for missing children and the Higher Education Act Amendment to provide funds for clinical training for college students preparing for careers concerning child abuse and exploitation.

Hawkins' efforts against illegal drugs include the Hawkins Amendment, a 1983 act that ties foreign aid to drug crop eradication.

Hawkins' other committee assignments have included Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, Labor and Human Resources and the Special Committee on Aging.



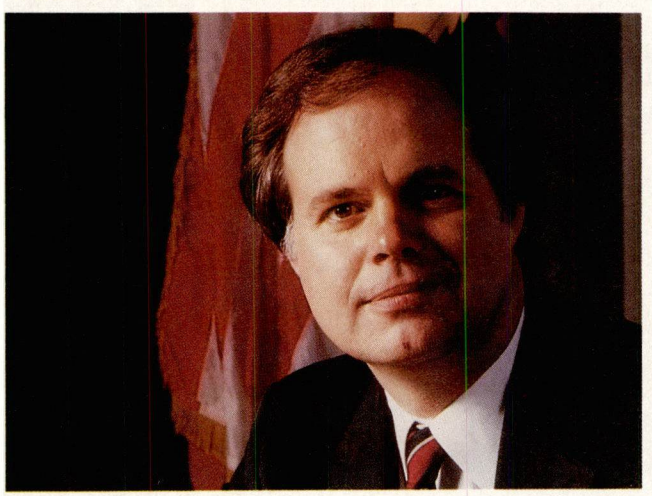
Kit Bond
Missouri

If Kit Bond is elected senator, he wants to bring some of the wisdom of the "Show-Me State" to Washington.

"I want to represent Missouri's common sense in the United States Senate," Bond explains.

Bond has been active in Republican politics in Missouri since the late 1960s and was elected governor in 1972 at age 33. He won the same post again in 1980 and received widespread support for his policies of cutting government spending rather than raising taxes. All this puts him in position to make a strong run for the seat of retiring Democrat Sen. Thomas Eagleton.

Bond is a strong supporter of Reagan administration policies, including a balanced budget amendment and research of the Strategic Defense Initiative. To help American farmers, he favors stopping international agricultural loans that subsidize competitors and says he believes the United States should work to phase out export subsidies and lower barriers.



Bob Kasten
Wisconsin

As a member of the Senate Budget and Appropriations committees Sen. Bob Kasten frequently advocates the free market and fights over-regulation and excessive taxation. For his efforts at saving taxpayers' money he has consistently been given the "Watchdog of the Treasury" award.

Kasten is a leading authority on economic issues, serving as head of the economic platform subcommittee at the 1984 Republican National Convention. His record in the Senate has won praise from Milwaukee's Democrat Mayor Henry Maier, who lauds the senator's efforts on behalf of urban development and revenue sharing.

"We have made a difference fighting for Wisconsin and securing funds for every corner of the state," Kasten says. "That translates into thousands of dollars and jobs."

The senator also offers experience in the foreign policy arena; he served as a delegate to the 1982 United Nations General Assembly.

In 1986 Kasten was named by *National Journal* as one of the two "Best Legislators" among freshmen Senate Republicans.



James Abdnor
South Dakota

Before going into politics, James Abdnor had a long and varied career as a farmer, school teacher and coach. He started his career in government with his election to the South Dakota state Senate in 1956; from there, he moved on to the lieutenant governor's office and the U.S. House of Representatives before winning election to the U.S. Senate in 1980.

Abdnor wants to finish the work he started in his first term.

"We've made substantial progress in recent years in trying to ease the economic doldrums and despair plaguing rural America," Abdnor says. "I want to use my next term in office to continue working toward assuring that our nation's rural citizens have the same opportunities for economic prosperity and rejuvenation that the rest of the nation has enjoyed."

Abdnor sits on the Senate Appropriations and Environment and Public Works committees and chairs the Water Resources Committee, where he played a large role in passing a major water authorization bill, the first such piece of legislation passed since the 1970s. In 1985, he became vice chairman of the Senate Joint Economic Committee.

The Governorships: Sweeping Success at the State Level

The following 11 profiles represent a cross-section of the highly qualified and dynamic candidates who aspire to the highest executive offices at the state level. These candidates seek to implement the Republican agenda in the federalist forums of education, health, environmental protection, business development and more. For each, the governorship of his or her home state will be the proud culmination of decades of devoted and skilled service at the local and state levels of government.

Kay Orr
Nebraska

Nebraska State Treasurer Kay Orr made history this year when she became the first woman Republican candidate for governor in Nebraska. If elected she will be that state's first female chief executive.

Orr has been a member of many civic and political groups, including hospitals, colleges and agricultural organizations. In 1984 she was co-chairman of the Republican National Platform Committee.

If elected, Orr says her priorities will include job development, reform of the state tax system and fostering agricultural prosperity through free enterprise.

Arliss Sturgulewski
Alaska

Arliss Sturgulewski has been an Alaska state senator since 1978.

If elected governor, Sturgulewski says she will promote tourism, develop mines and market Alaskan products to create more jobs for the state. She realizes a balance must be struck between the desire to preserve Alaska's beauty and natural resources and the need for development. She firmly opposes a tax increase.

Sturgulewski has offered voters a detailed educational program, which includes fortifying Alaska's university system in such curricula as fisheries, mining and arctic engineering, industries vital to the state.

Sturgulewski has voted to support programs to combat drug and alcohol abuse and favors strict enforcement of anti-drug laws.

Norma Paulus
Oregon

Norma Paulus won the first of her two terms as Oregon secretary of state in 1976. Prior to her election, Paulus had been a state representative and lawyer. Her tenure on the state's land board provided a strong base of support among environmentalists.

Paulus has a string of impressive accomplishments, including reform of Oregon's criminal justice system, passing a returnable container law to discourage littering and fighting discrimination. She received widespread acclaim when she took on the Rajneeshees when it appeared the cult was trying to manipulate elections in Wasco County, Oregon.

Paulus was recognized nationally when President Reagan appointed her to the team observing this year's Philippine elections.

Paulus has identified key issues in this year's campaign as prison overcrowding, crime and drugs, wasteful government spending, economic development and school finance.

John McKernan
Maine

Rep. John McKernan won election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1982. Prior to his election he was a member of the Maine House of Representatives from 1973 to 1977, serving as assistant minority leader in 1975 and 1976.

One of his major achievements in the state House of Representatives was his sponsorship and passage of the returnable container law, more commonly known as the "bottle bill," which was a conservation measure that encouraged customers to return their empty containers in exchange for a nickel.

In the U.S. House, he sits on the Education and Labor Committee as well as the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. Through those assignments, McKernan works to protect Maine's vital industries, including fishing, potatoes and lumber, from unfair trade practices. He has traveled to Japan and Canada to urge those governments to reduce barriers against U.S. products.

An ardent environmentalist, McKernan has pushed for funding of the "Superfund" hazardous waste cleanup program and is a vocal opponent of acid rain.

McKernan has also demonstrated a strong interest in education, holding hearings on the subject in his state and pushing for federal support of student aid programs.

In his 1984 congressional reelection race, McKernan won 64 percent of the vote.

Bill Clements
Texas

Former Gov. Bill Clements is seeking to return to the office he held from 1979-1983. His first term was distinguished by its success in achieving a balanced state budget.

Before entering politics Clements was in the oil business and founded an offshore drilling company.

Clements has filled several roles on the federal level and on the international scene, one of which was membership in 1969 and 1970 on a blue ribbon defense panel. He also served on President Ronald Reagan's Commission on Central America in 1983, as well as the president's Commission on Strategic Forces that same year.

A devoted Republican, Clements headed the Republican Governors' Association (RGA) in 1981 and was chairman of the Southern Governors' Association in 1982.

Carroll Campbell
South Carolina

In his four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, Rep. Carroll Campbell, now the Republican candidate for governor, has focused on economic issues. He has led efforts to cut federal spending, increase business development, cut taxes and reduce the federal deficit. He has served on the Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee, the Appropriations Committee and the Ways and Means Committee.

Active in Republican politics for many years, Campbell served in the South Carolina state House of Representatives and state Senate before his election to Congress. He has been a delegate to every Republican National Convention since 1972. In 1980 and 1984 he chaired Ronald Reagan's South Carolina campaigns.

Winfield Dunn
Tennessee

Winfield Dunn is seeking the office he held from 1971 to 1975, when he was the first Republican governor of Tennessee in 50 years.

As governor, Dunn created the Department of Economic and Community Development, which spawned 61,000 new jobs during his term. Dunn was also instrumental in developing new and improved highways, increasing kindergarten attendance from 19 percent to 98 percent, improving mental health facilities and increasing new home loans to low- and moderate-income Tennesseans.

In the past 10 years Dunn has served as senior vice president of the Hospital Corporation of America, headquartered in Nashville, Tenn.

Garrey Carruthers
New Mexico

Garrey Carruthers, a former assistant secretary of the interior under President Reagan, has been active in Republican politics for the past 10 years. He served as New Mexico GOP state chairman from 1977 to 1979.

In this year's campaign for governor, Carruthers is stressing the need for business development to create jobs. He says a strong public education system is necessary to attract high-tech industry to the state. He favors a "back to basics" approach to elementary education and says school systems must remain under local control.

Carruthers also favors a statewide strategy to store and conserve water, a precious commodity in the "Land of Enchantment."

David Leroy
Idaho

Education is the key issue in this gubernatorial race. In a state where students use 20-year-old textbooks and school buildings are being condemned, Idaho's public education system is badly in need of revitalization, says Republican candidate for governor David Leroy.

Leroy, Idaho's lieutenant governor, has presented a 13-point plan to deal with the problem. He has also proposed solutions to bolster Idaho's ailing economy and revitalize the state's natural resource industries.

Leroy was elected lieutenant governor in 1982. Previously, he was the prosecuting attorney for Ada County, Idaho, for two terms.

Ted Strickland
Colorado

State Senate President Ted Strickland is aiming to succeed retiring Democrat Gov. Richard Lamm. Strickland was an oil company executive before winning election to the state House of Representatives, state Senate and the lieutenant governor's office.

In this year's campaign, Strickland has proposed an extensive economic revitalization plan that includes the establishment of small business assistance bureaus; marketing of Colorado's products overseas; the promotion of tourism; and enterprise zones to lure businesses into economically depressed areas. He also favors a comprehensive study of the state's tax system and says he supports changes in the ways school districts are funded.

Henry Bellmon
Oklahoma

Henry Bellmon is seeking the post he first won in 1962, when he became Oklahoma's first Republican governor. During that gubernatorial term and in his subsequent two terms as a U.S. Senator, Bellmon earned a reputation for honesty and independence.

This year Bellmon is calling for a review of the state tax code and is also concentrating on issues such as job creation, agriculture and education.

Bellmon's years of public service have earned him many honors, including the Distinguished Service Award by the NAACP and the Outstanding Leadership Award by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

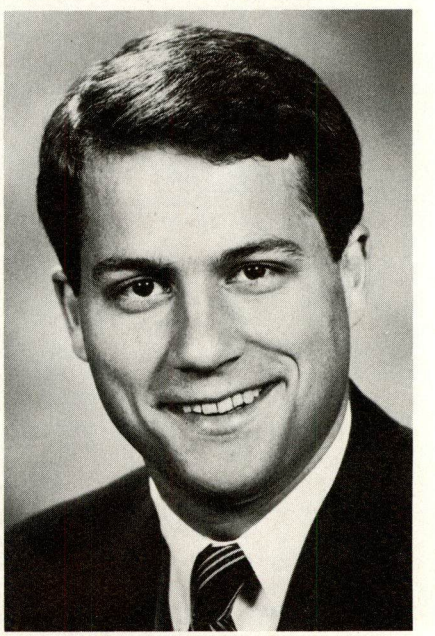
The House: Strengthening the GOP Voice

Experienced incumbents, fresh new faces and exciting rematches of previous contests mark this November's races for the U.S. House of Representatives. In each of the match-ups, Republican hopefuls promise to make their voices—and those of their constituents—heard over the din in the Democrat-controlled chamber. Below are profiles of five incumbent congressmen and eight challengers running on GOP tickets from across the nation.

THE REMATCH OF 1986
Richard McIntyre
Indiana - 8

This southwestern Indiana district has switched party control three times in the past decade, leaving Republicans hoping that the tide will turn in their favor once again this year. Those hopes were thwarted in the hotly contested 1984 congressional election, in which two-term state Rep. Richard McIntyre challenged Democrat incumbent Francis McCloskey. In 1986, those two candidates will face each other again for the right to represent the volatile 8th District.

A re-examination of the 1984 contest provides worthwhile clues to the nature of voters in the 8th District. The night of the election two years ago, both McCloskey and McIntyre claimed victory. Returns originally reported McCloskey as the winner by a 72-vote margin. How-



ever, those results were called into question when officials discovered one precinct had been tabulated twice. When corrected, McIntyre came out on top by 34 votes. Both candidates called for a recount.

The debate was still raging in January 1985, when the 99th Congress was convened in Washington with Indiana's 8th District seat left vacant. A late January recount showed McIntyre to be the winner by 415 votes; the Republican candidate was issued a certificate of election. On McCloskey's request, however, a special House task force was sent to Indiana to re-examine the recount.

The Democrat-controlled task force split along party lines regarding which ballots should be counted. The decision of the task force was to count unnotarized absentee ballots until McCloskey was ahead by four votes. The remaining 34 unnotarized, previously uncounted absentee ballots—which happened to come from strong Republican districts—were ruled invalid.

An *Evansville Courier* poll of those absentee voters whose ballots were not counted by the task force showed that McIntyre would have been the victor if all the ballots had been counted. Nonetheless, McCloskey was declared the winner and seated by the Democrat majority in the House despite a call by Republican House members for a special election to resolve the dispute.

This year, McIntyre won the GOP nomination without opposition, thereby securing the right to take on McCloskey once again in what promises to be one of 1986's most hotly contested match-ups.

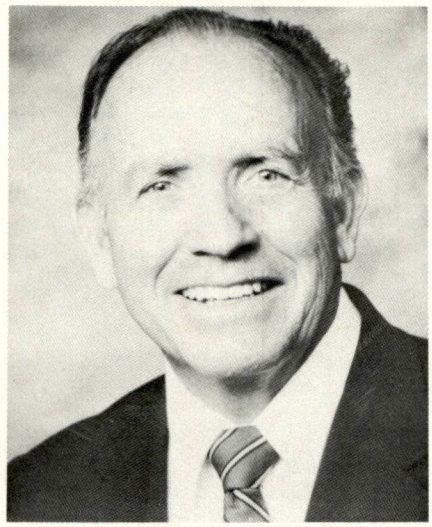
McIntyre has not made the 1984 controversy an election issue this year, however. Rather, the key issues he is stressing in his campaign are economic development and jobs, improved markets for the district's agricultural products and the fight against drug abuse and trafficking. Once elected, McIntyre says, he would seek a seat on the House Agriculture Committee, which would make him the only Indiana congressman with such an appointment.

McIntyre enjoys his strongest support among voters under 45 years old and among political independents. He has won the endorsement of the Indiana Farm Bureau.

THE CHALLENGERS

Mel Richardson
Idaho - 2

Republican Mel Richardson, a former broadcaster from Idaho Falls, is pitted against Democrat incumbent Richard Stallings for the privilege of representing Idaho's 2nd District in the U.S. House of Representatives. Richardson, who had served previously as mayor of Ammon,



Idaho, for four years, was also director of the Association of Idaho Cities.

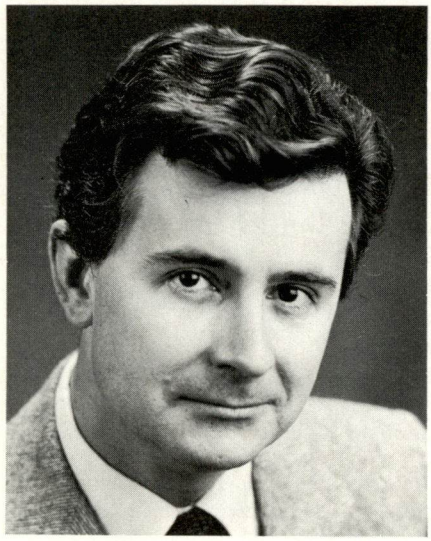
In 1984, Stallings won by only 170 votes the seat that had been held by Republican George Hansen for seven terms. Republicans plan to use that close margin to their advantage and bring Idaho's 2nd District back into the GOP column.

Richardson's campaign is stressing agricultural, defense and economic issues. The candidate's positions are based on his conviction that the district needs a congressman who truly represents its constituents' conservative views.

Richardson's strongest support comes from eastern Idaho, whose residents remember his 28 years as a radio and television broadcaster.

Fred Grandy
Iowa - 6

Republicans are working to take full advantage of the strong Republican identity of Iowa's 6th District by supporting former actor and speechwriter Fred Grandy. Grandy is running hard in his bid to win back the seat that Democrat Rep. Berkley Bedell has held for the past 12 years.



Despite Bedell's grip on the district, its voting record for the past few elections demonstrates that the northwestern Iowa area has developed into the most Republican district in the state. With the incumbent's announcement that he will not seek reelection, Democrat party members are backing former Bedell staffer Clayton Hodgson as their candidate.

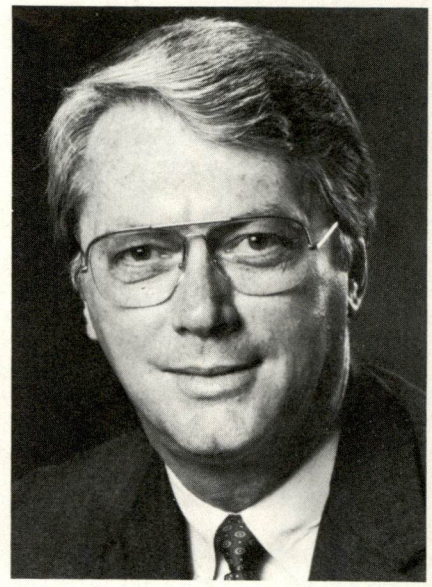
Grandy is devoting much of his campaign to addressing agricultural problems; his district is one in which farmers are faced with a grain surplus, partly resulting in low prices for their products. Iowa's 6th District is also plagued by rural health care problems, with many hospitals losing money and in danger of closing. Grandy has pledged to work to solve both the state's agricultural and health care problems when voters send him to the House.

Grandy's campaign points to an upsurge of support. They say that as of early September, 20 percent of the district's Democrats were crossing over to support Grandy; Republicans, who have been supporting Bedell in recent elections, are returning to the GOP fold.

Grandy has earned the endorsement of his primary opponent, George Moriarty, as well as the Iowa Home Builders Association.

Jim Bunning
Kentucky - 4

Republican Gene Snyder's retirement



from the House creates an open seat in Kentucky's 4th District. GOP candidate Jim Bunning, a former state senator and retired professional baseball player, will face Democrat State Rep. Terry Mann in this fall's election.

During his career as a state senator, Bunning served as minority leader; presently he is a national committeeman for the Republican National Committee and a member of the President's National

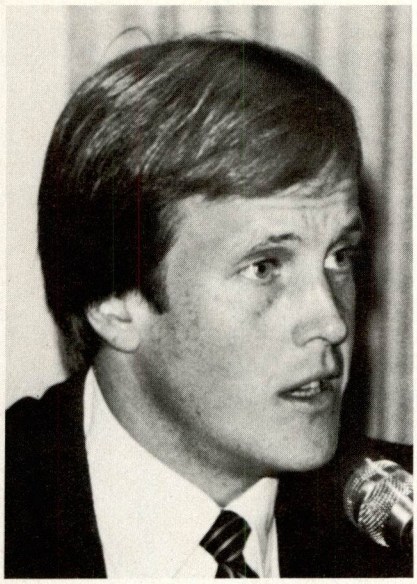
Advisory Board on International Education Programs.

Crucial issues in the district this year are the federal budget deficit, agriculture and the status of Social Security. Job creation and the strengthening of Social Security are Bunning's primary goals if he is elected in November.

Bunning is currently enjoying strong support, with an early September *Kentucky Post* poll showing him 24 points ahead of his Democrat challenger.

Gregory Blass
New York - 1

Gregory Blass, presiding officer of the Suffolk County Legislature, is seeking to fill an opening in the 1st District created by the retirement of Republican Rep. William Carney. The district includes Suffolk County, whose local GOP organization is among the strongest in the



country. The 1st District is better than 2-to-1 Republican, with registered Democrats ranking behind Independents.

This Republican tradition should prove a strong base of support for Blass' congressional bid against former Democrat Assemblyman George Hochbrueckner, who ran unsuccessfully in 1984.

Blass' key campaign issue is his opposition to the construction of the Shoreham nuclear power plant, which he believes is dangerous. He is also concerned about taxes and the quality of ground water in his district.

Jim Inhofe
Oklahoma - 1

Former three-term mayor of Tulsa Jim Inhofe is challenging Democrat Gary Allison for the seat left vacant when Democrat Rep. James Jones opted to run for the U.S. Senate. Inhofe is an eight-year veteran of the Oklahoma State Senate and served as Republican leader of that chamber. Previously, he served as an



Oklahoma state representative.

Inhofe was appointed to the Reagan administration's Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and the Urban Advisory Task Force and served as a representative on a fact-finding mission to explore with Jordan's King Hussein possible resolutions to the ongoing turmoil in the Middle East.

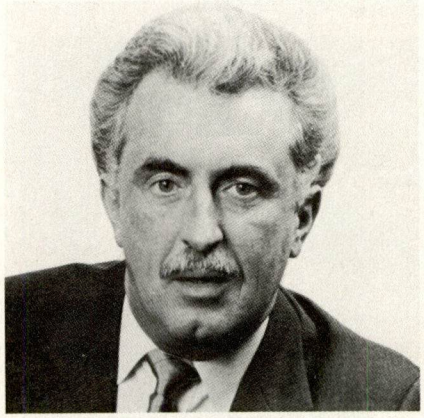
In the 1986 race, Inhofe is stressing the need to bring new industries into Oklahoma's 1st District so the Tulsa area can become more independent of the state's struggling gas and oil industries.

Once in office, Inhofe would like to help small business compete for federal contracts and earn a larger share of the economic pie.

He is getting strong support from Tulsa's southeast side, which recalls the success of his term as mayor.

John Holmes
Rhode Island - 1

For the first time in 26 years, 13-term Democrat Fernand St Germain is considered vulnerable in Rhode Island's 1st District. Much of his political weakness



this year stems from an investigation of him by the House Ethics Committee.

Republican challenger and former GOP State Chairman John Holmes has made integrity in government a campaign issue by questioning St Germain's refusal to release his income tax information. Holmes is stressing other issues as well, including women's rights, youth employment and education and St Germain's liberal voting record.

Holmes' campaign received a boost when it gained the endorsements of the Business and Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC) and the National Federation of Independent Business.

Curt Weldon
Pennsylvania - 7

Republican Curt Weldon, who lost by less than 450 votes to five-term Democrat Rep. Robert Edgar in 1984, is running again this year for the seat left open when Edgar announced he would not seek re-election. The narrow margin of victory in 1984 bodes well for Weldon in his contest against former Delaware County Councilman Bill Spingler.



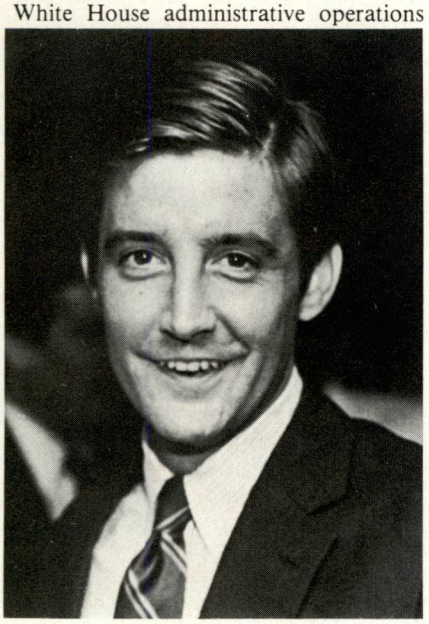
Weldon, chairman of the Delaware County Council, is stressing the need for more jobs and economic development in Pennsylvania's 7th District, which incorporates much of suburban Philadelphia as well as one ward in the city itself.

Weldon has earned support from many different types of constituents and is especially proud of his appeal to both business and labor. He has been endorsed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, as well as local chapters of several unions, including the Teamsters Joint Council and the Philadelphia and Delaware County chapters of the Fraternal Order of Police.

THE INCUMBENTS

Mac Sweeney
Texas - 14

In what is expected to be a fiercely competitive race, Republican incumbent Rep. Mac Sweeney is running against former U.S. Attorney Greg Laughlin. Sweeney is a businessman and former White House administrative operations

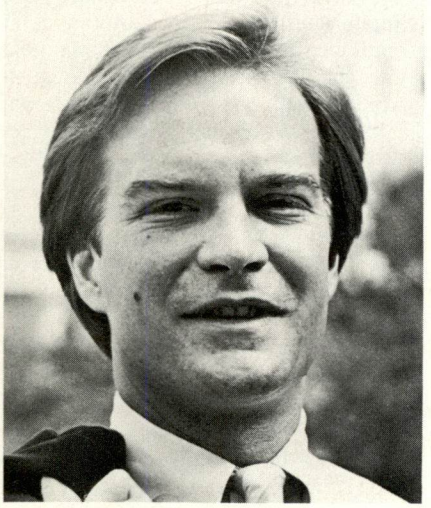


director who pulled out a surprise victory over incumbent Democrat Bill Patman with 51 percent of the vote in 1984.

The University of Texas alumnus has successfully worked to meet the needs of his constituents through his work on rural issues such as toxic waste and his appointment to the influential House Armed Services Committee.

Bill Schuette
Michigan - 10

The 10th District will also witness a rematch of its 1984 congressional race. Republican incumbent Bill Schuette will again face former Democrat Rep. Don



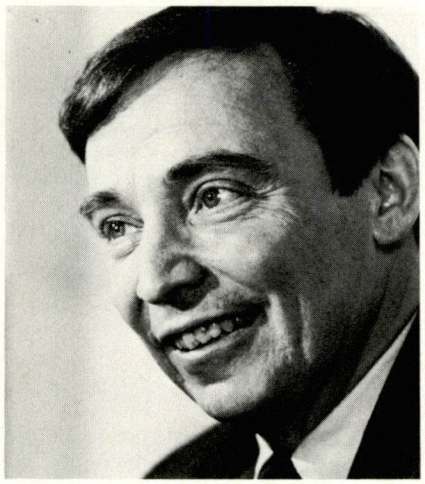
Albosta. Schuette defeated the three-term Democrat by a 50-to-49 percent margin in their last political confrontation.

The advantages of incumbency, including his first-term tenure on the House Agriculture Committee, should earn Schuette strong support in central Michigan's sprawling 10th District.

George Wortley
New York - 27

Republican incumbent Rep. George Wortley is running for a fourth term from his Syracuse-based 27th District. In this year's race, his opponent is Democrat Rosemary Pooler.

Wortley is a member of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and the Select Committee on Aging. He also holds a seat on the highly respected House Ethics Committee. The former publisher has won the National Federation of Independent Business' "Guardian of Small Business Award"

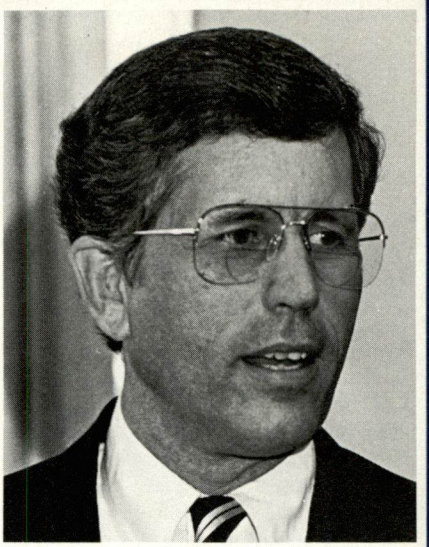


and several "Golden Bulldog Awards," which are presented by the Watchdogs of the Treasury Group. A World War II veteran, Wortley has also received the American Security Council's "Leadership Award."

William Cobey Jr.
North Carolina - 4

Republican incumbent and former University of North Carolina athletic director William Cobey Jr. will do battle with University of North Carolina professor and former Democrat State Party Chairman David Price. Cobey has established a reputation as one of the most active freshman members of Congress, boasting an attendance record of more than 98 percent, the highest in the North Carolina delegation.

A recipient of the coveted "Watchdog of the Treasury" award, Cobey has rallied fellow House Republicans to bring about lower taxes for citizens as well as reduced federal spending. As a member of the House Rural Caucus, Cobey has



looked out for the interests of the North Carolina farm community.

Bill Hendon
North Carolina - 11

North Carolina's 11th District Rep. Bill Hendon takes on ex-incumbent James Clarke in this year's election. In 1982, Hendon lost to Clarke by a 50-49 percent margin; then Hendon defeated Clarke with 51 percent of the vote in 1984.

In the House of Representatives, Hendon's membership on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and the



Veterans' Affairs Committee has earned him recognition among his western North Carolina constituents.

The State Legislatures: Moving toward Majority Status

In 1980 and 1984, the landslide presidential victories of Ronald Reagan were considered landmark achievements for the Republican Party. Not only did Republicans easily capture the White House, but they took and maintained control of the U.S. Senate and swept numerous congressmen into office as well as winning many gubernatorial races.

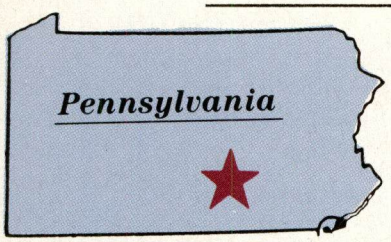
But another Republican victory was taking shape at the polls those years, one much less noticed and discussed but no less vital to the GOP. It was the remarkable Republican gains in state legislatures across the nation.

Republicans picked up 220 state legislative seats in 1980 and gained control of five state legislative chambers, putting Republicans in control of 34 chambers. Four years later, the GOP won 320 new seats and took the majority from the Democrats in seven state legislative chambers. And in 1985, Republicans picked up 14 seats and the majority in the New Jersey state assembly.

What has made these gains so crucial is that, in many cases, state legislators, through redistricting, determine the makeup of congressional districts, which directly affects the number of seats a party may hold in Congress. Republican hopes of attaining a majority in both houses of the U.S. Congress by the 1990s rest on victories in the state legislative races.

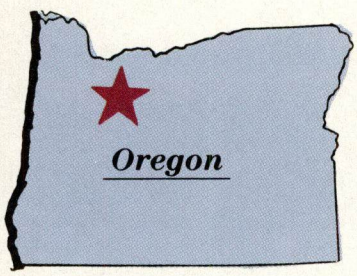
Gains in state legislative races are also vital to grassroots growth of parties and to the long-term realignment of voters to the GOP. A string of victories at the state legislative level would provide further proof that realignment is a political reality.

The following is a breakdown of the current status of legislative races in several key states and the prospects for Republican gains there.



The state legislature in Pennsylvania is split, with Republicans in control of the state Senate by a 26-to-23 margin, with one independent, and Democrats the majority in the Assembly by a razor-thin ratio of 101-to-100, with two vacancies. The GOP enjoyed a sign of things to come last year, when Republican judge Charles Lemmond won a special election for the state Senate with 64 percent of the vote. All 203 Assembly seats are up this year, as are 25 Senate seats.

Outlook: Pennsylvania Republicans should have something to cheer about this year.



Opportunities for Republican gains are possible, as half the Oregon Senate and all of the state House of Representatives are up for reelection this year. The GOP did well in 1984, netting three seats in the state Senate and one in the House. The chambers' makeup now stands at 18 Democrats to 12 Republicans in the Senate and 34 Democrats to 26 Republicans in the House.

Outlook: State GOP is strong. Look for good showings on election night in the "Beaver State."



The Ohio state legislature is divided, with Republicans controlling the state Senate 18 seats to 15, while the Democrats are ahead in the House of Representatives 59 seats to 40. The GOP took control of the Senate in 1984, when it picked up two seats. That same year, the Republicans gained three seats in the House. Seventeen Senate seats and all 99 House seats will be up for reelection this November.

Outlook: Ohio Republicans are on a roll that started with their 1984 success. Look for more good tidings this year.



Democrats took control of both houses of the Illinois legislature in 1982, but Republicans began to make a comeback in 1984 by gaining two seats in the state Senate and three in the state House of Representatives. All 118 state House members and two-thirds of the 59-member Senate face the voters this year. The figures now stand at 31 Democrats to 28 Republicans in the state Senate, while in the House there are 67 Democrats and 51 Republicans.

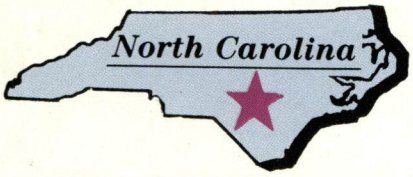
Outlook: Illinois Republicans are in super shape for November.



In this traditionally Democrat state, Republicans have made substantial inroads in state legislative races. In 1984, they picked up six seats in the House. In April, Republican Ander Crenshaw won a special election with 64 percent of the vote in a district previously held by a Democrat.

Republicans have opportunities to make further Senate gains this November since 18 Democrat state senators are up for reelection compared to only four for the Republicans. All 120 House seats are up. Presently there are 30 Democrat state senators and 10 Republicans, while Democrats have 76 state House members to the Republicans' 44.

Outlook: Election night should be a happy time for Florida Republicans this year.



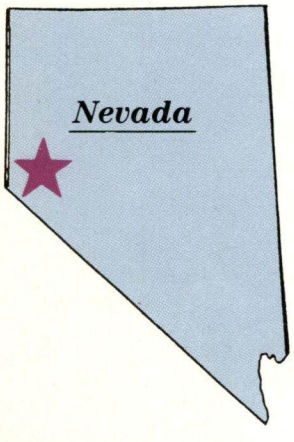
While the Democrats are still the majority party in North Carolina's state House of Representatives, Republicans have made impressive gains in recent years, more than doubling their numbers in 1984 from 18 seats to 38. In that election they also picked up six Senate seats. All state legislative seats will be up for reelection in 1986, with the GOP fronting a record-high 127 candidates.

Outlook: Upbeat. North Carolina's GOP is enjoying a surge of support.



While Democrats control the state House of Representatives by a four-seat margin, Republicans control the state Senate with 20 members to the Democrats' 18. This year, all House seats are up as well as all the Senate seats. The GOP got off to a good start for this fall's elections by winning all three special state House elections in 1985, bringing the total number of Republican seats to 53 as opposed to the Democrats' 57.

Outlook: Michigan's GOP renaissance should spark exciting results in November.



Republicans picked up six state Assembly seats in 1984, taking control of that body for the first time since 1971. The numbers in that body now stand at 27 Republicans vs. 15 Democrats, while in the state Senate there are 10 senators from each party, with one seat vacant. Last year, two Democrat assemblymen and two Democrat state senators switched parties.

Outlook: Look for the GOP tradition to thrive in Nevada.



Democrats still rule the roost in the Texas legislature, but Republicans have been making gains. In 1984, the GOP gained 16 seats in the state House of Representatives and one in the state Senate, for a total of six Republican state senators out of a total of 31 possible and 54 Republican state representatives out of a total of 150 possible. This is the largest Republican House delegation in Texas history. One noteworthy election was that of Republican Cyndi Taylor-Krier, a former aide to former Sen. John Tower, who defeated incumbent Democrat State Sen. Bob Bale in 1984 to become Texas' only woman state senator.

Outlook: Lone star state Republicans are in tip-top shape this year.



This year, 24 Washington state Senate seats are up for reelection, as are all the House seats. In the Senate races, Republicans have a bit of an advantage because there are 15 Democrat senators up for reelection as opposed to only nine Republicans. Republicans gained one seat in the state House of Representatives and lost one seat in the state Senate in the last election. The tally now stands at 27 Democrats to 22 Republicans in the state Senate and 53 Democrats to 45 Republicans in the state House of Representatives.

Outlook: Washington Republicans will do their part to contribute to the GOP's drive for majority status.



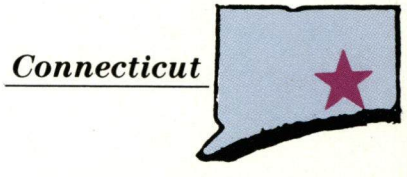
After 1984, Republicans took the majority in the Minnesota state House of Representatives with a net gain of 12 seats. The standings in that body are 69 Republicans to 65 Democrats and the whole House is up for reelection this year. In the Minnesota state Senate, Democrats outnumber Republicans with 43 seats to 24. But the entire body is up for reelection this year, and the Democrats have more seats to defend, strengthening the opportunity for the GOP.

Outlook: Minnesota Republicans have reason to be optimistic after their good showing in 1984.



Nebraska's one-house state legislature is split, with Republicans and Democrats each holding 24 seats with one independent. Twenty-four seats are up for election this year, 11 held by Republicans and 13 controlled by Democrats. State party leaders are optimistic about picking up extra seats this fall.

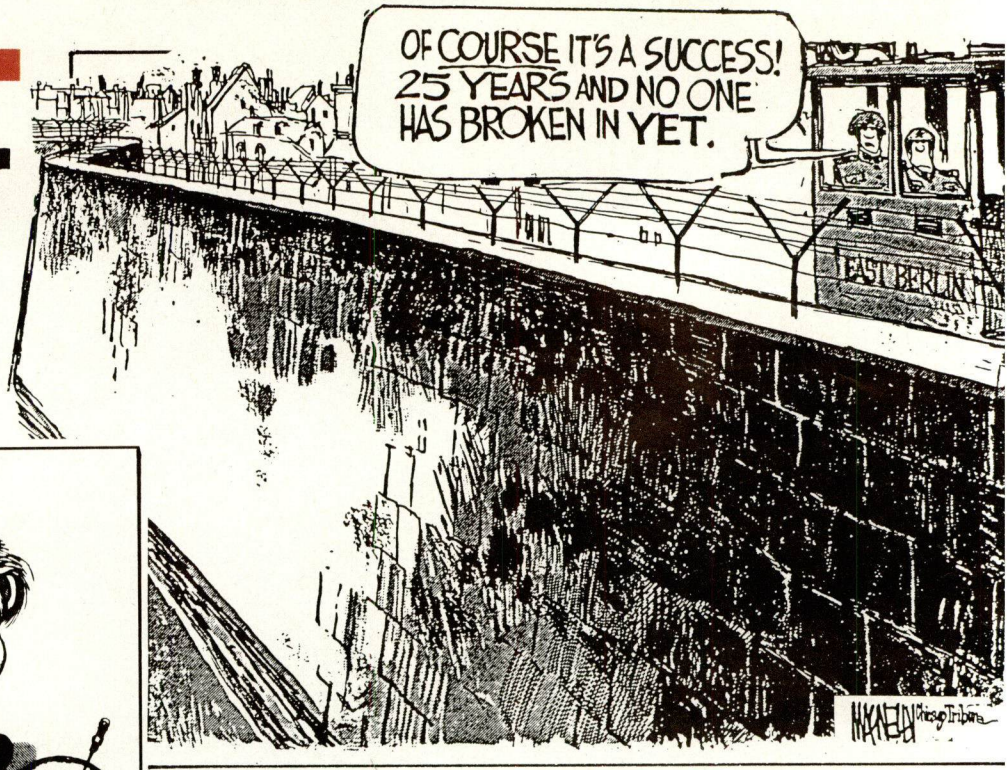
Outlook: The sky's the limit for the GOP in this Republican state.



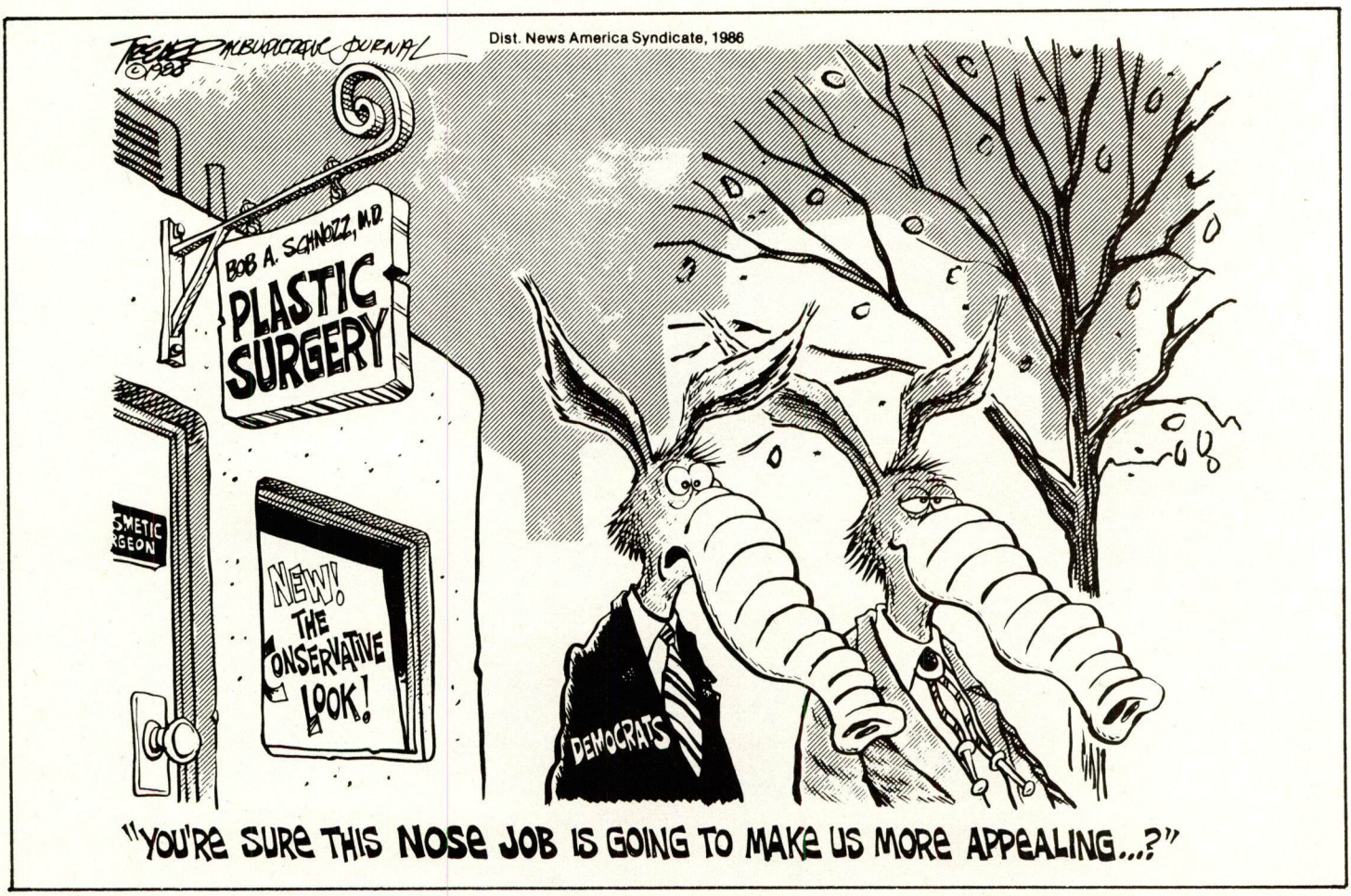
For the first time since 1973, Republicans captured control of both houses of the Connecticut state legislature in 1984. Republicans picked up 24 state House seats and 11 in the state Senate. They outnumber Democrats in the state Senate by a 2-to-1 margin. In the House, the numbers are 85 seats for the GOP to 66 for the Democrats. All 151 state House seats and all 36 state Senate seats are up for reelection this year.

Outlook: Coming on the heels of its 1984 success, the GOP's fortunes for 1986 look rosy.

The Lighter Side







At A Glance...



Easy Choices: A biting joke is making the rounds about Democrat Rep. Bill Alexander of Arkansas, who stirred up a storm of controversy last year when he, his daughter and several aides flew to Rio de Janeiro on a military DC-9 jet—at a cost to the taxpayers of $56,000.
Question: Do you know why California has earthquakes and Arkansas has Bill Alexander?
Answer: California had first pick.

Look Who's Talking: The next time Democrat Sen. Alan Dixon of Illinois starts moaning about Republican "indifference" to farmers, consider this: Between 1983 and 1984, the Senate Agriculture Committee, of which Dixon is a member, convened 24 times. Dixon attended none of those meetings.

So, who really doesn't care about America's farmers?

Oh Boy, Danny!: Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega was at United Nations headquarters in New York City recently to indulge in one of his favorite pursuits: America bashing. Ortega displayed the typical Marxist sympathy with the poor and oppressed by resting on his laurels in a $330-a-night room at the sumptuous Helmsley Hotel. Proving once again that Ortega is truly a hero of the common man.

Honorable Intentions: Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) explained the meaning of the title "eminent" from the "Eminent Persons Group" of the British Commonwealth by comparing it to the courtly way in which senators address each other as "honorable." Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) responded: "I see, it is exactly like referring to the 'able' senator from Connecticut—and not meaning a word of it."

That GOP Spirit: Michigan Republicans understand the importance of party unity—and they put that principle into practice following their early August gubernatorial primary. Winning nominee William Lucas, the Republican Party's first black nominee in a gubernatorial race, heartily accepted the enthusiastic support of all his fellow GOP contenders at a unity breakfast. But his closest contender for the nomination, Richard Chrysler, provided Lucas with more than a gesture of support. Chrysler presented three checks for $1,700 each—the legal contribution limit—to Lucas on behalf of Chrysler, his wife and his son.

Thanks but No Thanks: Rep. John Myers, Republican of Indiana, has proved himself a man of true integrity—and no small political savvy. *USA Today* reports that Myers protested a plant closing in his Terre Haute district by returning $2,000 the Tenneco-J.I. Case political action committee contributed to his campaign a week before Case announced the plant closing. Now that's putting your money where your mouth is.

Imitation—The Sincerest Form of Flattery: Mario Cuomo is raising eyebrows with his current reelection campaign slogan: "Leadership That Works." The only problem with the New York governor's slogan regards deja vu—Ronald Reagan used the same slogan two years ago. What will Mario do next? Chop wood? Ride horseback? Get a dog named "Lucky?"

Democrats Experience Technical Difficulty: Maryland Democrats can run, but they can't hide—especially from the unblinking eye of a television camera. When a Baltimore television station staged a "pop quiz" for the pre-primary contestants in Maryland's senatorial election, real news was made when viewers learned just how much the Democrat candidates didn't know about the important issues of this electoral season.

GOP candidate Linda Chavez made headlines by missing only one-half point out of the five questions asked. On the other end of the scale, Democrat candidate Rep. Barbara Mikulski provided the biggest scoop of the day with her new method for sidestepping an obvious lack of preparation and information. When Mikulski realized she could not recall the name of the Israeli prime minister designate, the five-term congresswoman from Baltimore simply glowered at her microphone and barked, "Can we turn this thing off?"

Our view is that someone should "pull the plug" on the political careers of underqualified candidates like Mikulski. Perhaps voters will agree. As they say in the television business, "Please stand by."

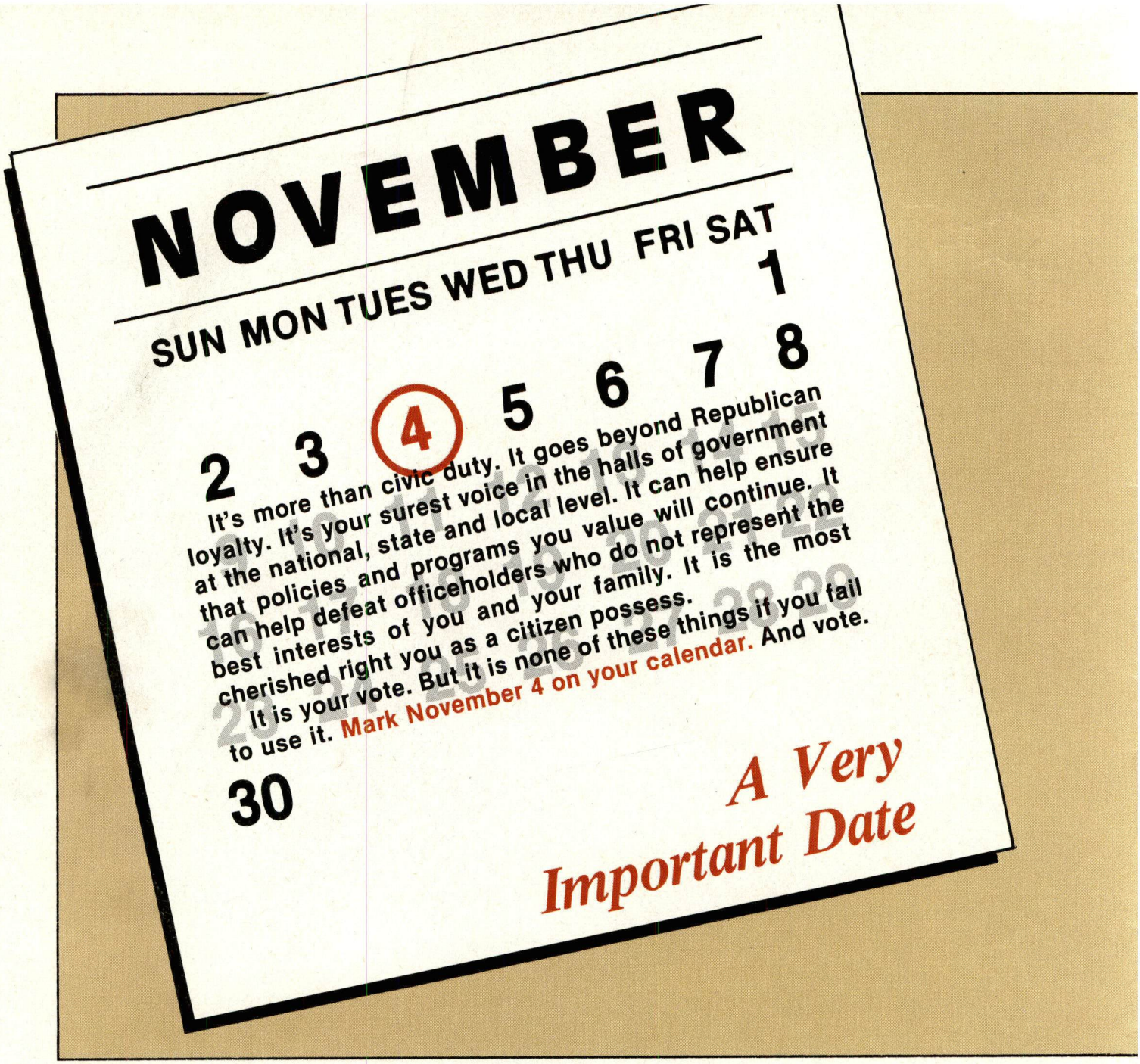
Political Extremities: Howard Samuel, president of the industrial half of the AFL-CIO, issued a Labor Day statement exhorting workers to vote for Democrats running for the U.S. Senate "regardless of the state or the candidate." According to the *New York Times,* Samuel also explained to his membership that control of the Senate is "worth electing a couple of Democrats to whom our support normally would not be given." Perhaps Samuel should check in with national AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland, who had claimed earlier that organized labor is not an arm of the Democrat Party. The AFL-CIO may not be an "arm" of the Democrats, but Samuel obviously intends to lend the party a hand.

Meatball Hero: A Republican candidate for the Rhode Island House of Representatives may have recently picked up a vote in a way no speech, slogan or television spot ever could.

According to an Associated Press report, GOP candidate Jack Pitts was canvassing a district neighborhood when the husband of the woman he was talking to began to choke on a meatball.

Pitts immediately rushed into the house and administered the Heimlich maneuver on John Fabiano, dislodging the trapped food after repeated attempts. Pitts' bipartisan bear hug may well have saved Fabiano's life.

A lifelong Democrat, Fabiano says that in appreciation for the candidate's heroism he will likely break tradition and vote for Pitts this November.



First Monday
The Republican News Magazine
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center
310 First Street Southeast
Washington, D.C. 20003

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Republican
National
Committee

Austin Taylor
117 OEOB
456-7150.
7750

January 24, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: DAVE DEMAREST
Assistant to the President for Communications

FROM: LEE ATWATER
Chairman

MARK GOODIN
Director of Communications

RE: First Monday interview with President George Bush

The January/February issue of First Monday magazine will be our first issue under the Bush presidency. As such, we thought it would be an excellent time for the President to address the membership of the Republican Party through an interview in the magazine.

Under separate cover is a letter to the President stating our request.

Also, our First Monday staff has drafted a series of questions for the President's response; both the letter to the President and the proposed questions are attached.

Should the President agree to our interview request, we would like to arrange for a photo opportunity with him so that we may have photographs to accompany the article.

This issue is tentatively scheduled to print on February 14. We will be contacting you soon regarding logistics and deadlines.

Sara — 1st person
— Policy

pls handle
these questions
— talk to me

CW

1-2/89 fm
4226e
jenkins

o In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

1

o The "First 100 Days" seems to have become a popular gauge for assessing the progress and prospects of a new administration. On May 1, how do you think that assessment will read?

2

o Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular president would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

3

o We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

4

o National Democrat leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

5

o After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures are needed if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

o Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

o Many believe your appointment of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development presages a different approach to public housing and homelessness issues. What new directions can we anticipate?

o In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

o Throughout your campaign and the first few weeks of your presidency, you have set the tone for reaching out to blacks and other minority Americans, and you have stated your firm commitment to upholding individuals' rights. What kinds of policy directions or initiatives can minority and ethnic Americans expect from the Bush presidency to help ensure they are full partners in the American Dream?

- Do you expect U.S.-Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

- The Middle East is a perennial hot spot for American foreign policy, and new questions have arisen over Yasser Arafat's overtures of peace. Can we trust the PLO to play an important role in the peace process?

- Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

- Over the past few years we have seen remarkable progress in world peace: Vietnam is withdrawing from Cambodia, the Soviets are leaving Afghanistan, and a peace accord has been signed calling for the removal of Cuban soldiers from Angola. Yet there is still much to be done, particularly in Nicaragua where support for the Contras has dried up in the face of congressional opposition. What hope do you offer them and others who continue the fight for freedom?

- What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your administration?

- The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

1989 FEB 13 PM 6:45

February 13, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CICCONI

FROM; DENISE SCHWARZ
OFFICE OF CABINET AFFAIRS DS

SUBJECT; PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS;
INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE.
LOG # 006319

Attached are the comments that we received from various agencies on the questions for the First Monday interview.

Attachment

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

One of the best ways I know to give someone dignity and hope is to ~~give~~ provide them with a job. Job creation is the best economic and social policy this country can have.

The power to help people ... making the streets safe, fighting the flow of drugs, making a good education possible for everyone, helping people get themselves off welfare ... these are very important to me. But I said the night I presented my budget priorities to Congress that government must not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can ~~produce~~ provide better. ~~I think~~ we've got to stick to that.

Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

I think the Democrats realized that the people had spoken. And they've spoken on the issues important to all of us -- peace through strength, economic expansion, the environment, education, stopping the flow of drugs ... so many areas. I honestly believe the Congressional leaders want to work with the new Administration, sit down at the table with me. I'm not unrealistic about it. I know it's going to be rough. But I think the people are tired of talk -- especially on the deficit -- and no action. I think the bipartisan approach is in the best interest of all Americans.

We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

If Congress will does this, it will help keep our economic expansion on track and increase capital investment and job creation.

I've said it before, and I'll say it again -- no new taxes. Low tax rates create economic growth. We've got to spread the economic expansion to all sectors of our society, not kill it with taxation and overregulation. Keep it moving. I want that capital gains tax cut ~~to pass, and I want Congress to join me in keeping our economic expansion on track through the increased capital investment and job creation that the capital gains tax cut will provide.~~ Just as important, the capital gains tax cut will bring additional revenue into the Treasury.

enacted.

National Democratic leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

Look, without any new taxes, given our current rate of expansion, federal revenues will increase by over $80 billion next year. Clearly this should be enough to address the most urgent of our national priorities. We can cut the deficit by 40% at the same time, without raising taxes. I think this is realistic, because ~~I think~~ we can keep the economy growing if we keep taxes out of the picture. ~~I think~~ it can work. Also, we think a sensible program of reform and restructuring will help hold down expenditure growth and reduce deficit

After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures are needed if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously.* We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. ~~So one first of all, we've got~~ to open those foreign markets. When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary. We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad.* That's why I support tax credits for research and development, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs. I've met a payroll when I owned my own company back in Texas, and I understand what it's like to try and stay competitive. But we can do it, and we can narrow that gap in the trade deficit.

But let's not forget that the deficit partly reflects the fact that the U.S. Economy has been growing strongly for 7 straight years

partial solution to the deficit is

So that once the market is open, American Business is prepared to compete. Robert Mosbacher, Secretary of Commerce, will use his extensive business experience to promote exports, particularly in conjunction with Europe's 1992 single market goals. Commerce will also encourage U.S. Business to use new technology through product innovation and commercial application of basic research.

Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

I don't mind bragging about it ... I've got a great Cabinet. A real team, and all of them seasonsed professionals. Each one brings his or her own strengths to the Cabinet, and I will draw on those strengths every chance I get.

Many believe your appointment of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development presages a different approach to public housing and homelessness issues. What new directions can we anticipate?

commitment to making real progress on

Everybody knows the kind of creativity Jack will bring to that job. I like his ideas on tenant ownership of public housing, ~~urban~~ enterprise zones, his ~~innovative solutions to~~ the homeless problem. It all ties into economic empowerment, giving people the opportunity to get ahead by giving them the chance to make a good living, make a better life for themselves. That's important to both Jack and me, and I think he'll be great.

In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs, provide jobs, create hope. If we can keep the economy moving, we can give people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Give them a choice. Help working families make it. Whether it's through more parental choice in child care, improving education and rewarding good schools, or saving our clean water and clean air, we've got to work within our constraints to build a better future. Keep that economy strong.

Throughout your campaign the first few weeks of your presidency, you have set the tone for reaching out to blacks and other minority Americans and you have stated your firm commitment to upholding individuals' rights. What kinds of policy directions or initiatives can minority and ethnic Americans expect from the Bush presidency to help ensure they are full partners in the American Dream?

As I've said before, we've got to leave the tired baggage of bigotry behind. A positive civil rights program is key ~~...~~ not because it's a matter of social policy, but because it is a fundamental right of every American.

~~As far as working to spread the American Dream:~~ Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning ~~their own~~ home or owning ~~their own~~ business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I want in my Administration.

NB this repeats 1st Q. We should acknowledge that this repeats his earlier answer.

Do you expect U.S. - Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We're going to use common sense, and try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. The Secretary of State ~~is going~~ to Europe to discuss East-West relations with our allies, and look at the future of the NATO alliance. In the meantime, I have asked the National Security Council to review our national security ~~and defense~~ policies, and so I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete and the policies are formulated.

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am hopeful of it. I think the new mood of cooperation among international leaders has helped. We are going to leave no stone unturned as we search for those who terrorize our citizens. We've got to continue to improve our technology for detecting bombs and other explosive materials on airliners, but more importantly, we've got to go after the terrorists themselves. I want ~~to tell~~ those responsible for killing innocent citizens they'll find no safe haven anywhere. *I don't want to discuss any specific cases right now, but I think we're making real progress here.

*→ Insert attached.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

For starters, I have asked Dan to chair the new Task Force on Competitiveness. This is going to be a big job, and I think his expertise on job training will be especially valuable there. He'll be working with the Space Council ~~too~~, and like I was, he'll be a member of the NSC.

The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

Speaking as a former RNC Chairman myself, I think we've got to concentrate on the grass roots, the building blocks of our party. That's what Lee Atwater is focusing on right now. In addition to reaching out to minorities, blue-collar Americans,

and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at the local level. We've got to build up state and local support for the party if we want to become the majority party across the country.

0000-P02

INSERT AT END OF ANSWER TO TERRORISM QUESTION.

February 13, 1989

TO: DENISE SCHWARZ

FROM: JOHN GAUGHAN

RE: FIRST MONDAY COPY

Below is a suggested insert for the First Monday interview with President Bush.

The recommendation is an addition to the response for the question:

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am pleased with the progress made by Secretary of Transportation Sam Skinner, who headed a U.S. delegation to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) meeting in Montreal on February 15-16. He will continue to work with transportation ministers from around the world, developing a global plan to fight terrorism in the skies.

February 13, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CICCONI

FROM; DENISE SCHWARZ
OFFICE OF CABINET AFFAIRS

SUBJECT; PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS;
INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE.
LOG # 006319

Attached are the comments that we received from various agencies on the questions for the First Monday interview.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

Date: 2/13/89 **Number:** 006319 **Due By:** Today 4:00 P.M. 2/13/89

Subject: Proposed Responses to Written Questions: Interview with First Monday Magazine

	Action	FYI
ALL CABINET MEMBERS	☐	☐
Vice President	☐	☐
✓ State	☒	☐
ok Treasury	☒	☐
ltr Defense	☒	☐
Justice	☐	☐
Interior	☐	☐
Agriculture	☐	☐
comp Commerce	☒	☐
ok Labor	☒	☐
ok HHS	☒	☐
HUD	☒	☐
Comp Transportation	☒	☐
Energy	☐	☐
ok Education	☒	☐
Veterans	☐	☐
OMB	☐	☐
USTR	☒	☐
Chief of Staff	☐	☐
UN	☐	☐
CIA	☐	☐
National Drug Policy	☐	☐
EPA	☐	☐
GSA	☐	☐
NASA	☐	☐
OPM	☐	☐
SBA	☐	☐

	Action	FYI
CEA	☐	☐
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Scowcroft	☐	☐
Porter	☐	☐
Breeden	☐	☐
Cicconi *(For WH Staffing)*	☐	☐
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Executive Secretary for:		
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REMARKS:

RETURN TO:

☐ David Q. Bates
Cabinet Secretary
456-2174
(1st Floor, West Wing)

☐ Associate Director
Office of Cabinet Affairs
456–2800
(Room 235, OEOB)

Document No. 006319

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/13/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 2/13/89 C.O.B.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS: INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☑	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	STUDDERT	☑	☐
BATES	☑	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	WINSTON	☐	☑
CARD	☐	☑	WRAY	☑	☐
CICCONI	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
DEMAREST	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
FITZWATER	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
GRAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments/recommendations to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, by C.O.B. TODAY, February 13, 1989. First Monday is a publication of the Republican National Committee. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

— OCA
— Commerce
— Treasury

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

CABINET AFFAIRS STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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HUD	☒	☐
Transportation	☒	☐
Energy	☐	☐
ok Education	☒	☐
Veterans	☐	☐
OMB	☐	☐
USTR	☒	☐
Chief of Staff	☐	☐
UN	☐	☐
CIA	☐	☐
National Drug Policy	☐	☐
EPA	☐	☐
GSA	☐	☐
NASA	☐	☐
OPM	☐	☐
SBA	☐	☐

	Action	FYI
CEA	☐	☐
CEQ	☐	☐
OSTP	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
Scowcroft	☐	☐
Porter	☐	☐
Breeden	☐	☐
Cicconi *(For WH Staffing)*	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
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_____	☐	☐
Executive Secretary for:		
DPC	☐	☐
EPC	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐
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REMARKS:

RETURN TO:

☐ David Q. Bates
Cabinet Secretary
456-2174
(1st Floor, West Wing)

☐ Associate Director
Office of Cabinet Affairs
456-2800
(Room 235, OEOB)

Document No. 006319

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/13/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 2/13/89 C.O.B.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS: INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☑	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	STUDDERT	☑	☐
BATES	☑	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	WINSTON	☐	☑
CARD	☐	☑	WRAY	☑	☐
CICCONI	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
DEMAREST	☑	☑	_____	☐	☐
FITZWATER	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
GRAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments/recommendations to Chriss Winston Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, by C.O.B. TODAY February 13, 1989. First Monday is a publication of the Republican National Committee. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

— OGA
— Commerce
— Treasury

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

One of the best ways I know to give someone dignity and hope is to ~~give~~ provide them with a job. Job creation is the best economic and social policy this country can have.

The power to help people -- making the streets safe, fighting the flow of drugs, making a good education possible for everyone, helping people get themselves off welfare -- these are very important to me. But I said the night I presented my budget priorities to Congress that government must not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can ~~produce~~ provide better. ~~I think~~ we've got to stick to that.

Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

I think the Democrats realized that the people had spoken. And they've spoken on the issues important to all of us -- peace through strength, economic expansion, the environment, education, stopping the flow of drugs -- so many areas. I honestly believe the Congressional leaders want to work with the new Administration, sit down at the table with us. I'm not unrealistic about it. I know it's going to be rough. But I think the people are tired of talk -- especially on the deficit -- and no action. I think the bipartisan approach is in the best interest of all Americans.

We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

If Congress will does this, it will help keep our economic expansion on track and increase capital investment and job creation.

I've said it before, and I'll say it again — no new taxes. Low tax rates create economic growth. We've got to spread the economic expansion to all sectors of our society, not kill it with taxation and overregulation. Keep it moving. I want that capital gains tax cut ~~to pass, and I want Congress to join me in keeping our economic expansion on track through the increased capital investment and job creation that the capital gains tax cut will provide.~~ Just as important, the capital gains tax cut will bring additional revenue into the Treasury.

National Democratic leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

Look, without any new taxes, given our current rate of expansion, federal revenues will increase by over $80 billion next year. Clearly this should be enough to address the most urgent of our national priorities. We can cut the deficit by 40% at the same time, without raising taxes. I think this is realistic, because ~~I think~~ we can keep the economy growing if we keep taxes out of the picture. ~~I think~~ it can work. Also, we think a sensible program of reform and restructuring will help hold down expenditure growth and reduce deficit.

After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures are needed if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously.* We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. ~~So one first of all, we've got~~ to open those foreign markets. When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary. We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad.* That's why I support tax credits for research and development, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs. I've met a payroll when I owned my own company back in Texas, and I understand what it's like to try and stay competitive. But we can do it, and we can narrow that gap in the trade deficit.

But let's not forget the the deficit partly reflects the fact that the U.S. Economy has been growing strongly for 7 straight years

Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

I don't mind bragging about it ... I've got a great Cabinet. A real team, and all of them seasonsed professionals. Each one brings his or her own strengths to the Cabinet, and I will draw on those strengths every chance I get.

ial solution the deficit

that once market open, rican iness is pared to pete.

ert bacher, retary Commerce, l use his ensive business erience to promote exports, particularly in conjunction with Europe's 1992 gle market goals. Commerce will also encourage U.S. Business to use technology through product innovation and commercial application of basic earch.

Many believe your appointment of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development presages a different approach to public housing and homelessness issues. What new directions can we anticipate?

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Everybody knows the kind of creativity Jack will bring to that job. I like his ideas on tenant ownership of public housing, ~~urban~~ enterprise zones, his ~~innovative solutions to~~ the homeless problem. It all ties into economic empowerment, giving people the opportunity to get ahead by giving them the chance to make a good living, make a better life for themselves. That's important to both Jack and me, and I think he'll be great.

In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs, provide jobs, create hope. If we can keep the economy moving, we can give people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Give them a choice. Help working families make it. Whether it's through more parental choice in child care, improving education and rewarding good schools, or saving our clean water and clean air, we've got to work within our constraints to build a better future. Keep that economy strong.

#

Throughout your campaign the first few weeks of your presidency, you have set the tone for reaching out to blacks and other minority Americans and you have stated your firm commitment to upholding individuals' rights. What kinds of policy directions or initiatives can minority and ethnic Americans expect from the Bush presidency to help ensure they are full partners in the American Dream?

?

As I've said before, we've got to leave the tired baggage of bigotry behind. A positive civil rights program is key not because it's a matter of social policy but because it is a fundamental right of every American.

I've already said,

~~As far as working to spread the American Dream~~ Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning ~~their own~~ home or owning ~~their~~ a business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I want in my Administration.

NB this repeats 1st Q. We should acknowledge that this repeats his earlier answer.

Do you expect U.S. - Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We're going to use common sense, and try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. The Secretary of State ~~is going~~ to Europe to discuss East-West relations with our allies, and look at the future of the NATO alliance. In the meantime, I have asked the National Security Council to review our national security ~~and defense~~ policies, so I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete and the policies are formulated.

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am hopeful of it. I think the new mood of cooperation among international leaders has helped. We are going to leave no stone unturned as we search for those who terrorize our citizens. We've got to continue to improve our technology for detecting bombs and other explosive materials on airliners, but more importantly, we've got to go after the terrorists themselves. I want ~~to tell~~ those responsible for killing innocent citizens they'll find no safe haven anywhere. I don't want to discuss specific cases right now, but I think we're making real progress here.

Insert attached.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

For starters, I have asked Dan to chair the new Task Force on Competitiveness. This is going to be a big job, and I think his expertise on job training will be especially valuable there. He'll be working with the Space Council and like I was, he'll be a member of the NSC.

The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

Speaking as a former RNC Chairman myself, I think we've got to concentrate on the grass roots, the building blocks of our party. That's what Lee Atwater is focusing on right now. In addition to reaching out to minorities, blue-collar Americans,

I'll be giving Dan other tasks and relying on his regular advice!

1

and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at the local level. We've got to build up state and local support for the party if we want to become the majority party across the country.

INSERT AT END OF ANSWER TO TERRORISM QUESTION.

February 13, 1989

TO: DENISE SCHWARZ

FROM: JOHN GAUGHAN

RE: FIRST MONDAY COPY

Below is a suggested insert for the First Monday interview with President Bush.

The recommendation is an addition to the response for the question:

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am pleased with the progress made by Secretary of Transportation Sam Skinner, who headed a U.S. delegation to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) meeting in Montreal on February 15-16. He will continue to work with transportation ministers from around the world, developing a global plan to fight terrorism in the skies.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 13, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Roger B. Porter RBP

Re: First Monday interview

Overall, I think the attached draft is excellent. It moves along in a very natural style, while hitting the key points. I do have some specific comments, which appear below.

Answer #1 I would delete the last line and replace it with "I also believe that volunteers can make a big difference. They are a national treasure -- the so-called Thousand Points of Light that do more than any government program to make America a ~~kinder and gentler nation.~~" so much for America. no life is a sacred right

Answer #2 In first line: replace "the people had spoken" with "I have a mandate." Then rework next sentence to delineate what that mandate is. And include "no new taxes."

Answer #3 Line 4: rework capital gains sentence to read as follows: "I believe that our proposal to reduce the capital gains tax rate -- and to eliminate it entirely for small investors -- would provide a tremendous boost in opportunity, especially in our inner cities and in other depressed areas."

Answer #4 Line 5: Insert new sentence on Line Item Veto. "One key to controlling spending and reducing the deficit is the line item veto. Forty three governors use this powerful tool to control spending and eliminate waste; I think the President needs the same power. Line 7: Change "think" to "know."

Answer #7 I'd add a sentence about Kemp's "positive vision of America's future -- a vision that reaches out to minorities and others who have been bypassed. I am confident that the policies we have proposed will, if enacted, make a better life for all Americans."

Answer #11 The first sentence is weak. I'd replace it with something stronger, e.g. "Fighting terrorism is one of Secretary Baker's top priorities."

As I said, I think the responses are very good as is. But I do hope these comments prove helpful.

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Document No. 006319

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CARD	☐	☑	WRAY	☑	☐
CICCONI	☐	☑		☐	☐
DEMAREST	☑	☑		☐	☐
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RESPONSE:

Jim Pinkerton

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

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I've met a payroll when I owned my own company back in Texas, and I understand what it's like to try and stay competitive. But we can do it, and we can narrow that gap in the trade deficit.

Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

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In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

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As far as working to spread the American Dream: Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning their own home or owning their own business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I want in my Administration.

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Document No. 006319

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/13/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 2/13/89 C.O.B.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS: INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
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REMARKS: Please forward any comments/recommendations to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, by C.O.B. TODAY, February 13, 1989. First Monday is a publication of the Republican National Committee. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

SMS

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

One of the best ways I know to give someone dignity and hope is to give them a job. Job creation is the best economic and social policy this country can have.

The power to help people ... making the streets safe, fighting the flow of drugs, making a good education possible for everyone, helping people get themselves off welfare ... these are very important to me. But I said the night I presented my budget priorities to Congress that government must not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better. I think we've got to stick to that.

Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

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We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

IMPORTANT *

We must also name people understand that service to others is a necessary part of any definition of a successful life.

* Also needs a sentence about Soviet Union

I've said it before, and I'll say it again -- no new taxes. Low tax rates create economic growth. We've got to spread the economic expansion to all sectors of our society, not kill it with taxation and overregulation. Keep it moving. I want that capital gains tax cut to pass, and I want Congress to join me in keeping our economic expansion on track through the increased capital investment and job creation that the capital gains tax cut will provide. Just as important, the capital gains tax cut will bring additional revenue into the Treasury.

Also — by cutting the Federal deficit by $76 billion.

National Democratic leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

Look, without any new taxes, given our current rate of expansion, federal revenues will increase by over $80 billion. Clearly this should be enough to address the most urgent of our national priorities. We can cut the deficit by 40% at the same time, without raising taxes. I think this is realistic, because I think we can keep the economy growing if we keep taxes out of the picture. I think it can work.

After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures are needed if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

to American goods and services.

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously. We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. So first of all, we've got to open those foreign markets. ~~When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary~~. We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad. That's why I support tax credits for research and development, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs.
I've met a payroll when I owned my own company back in Texas, and I understand what it's like to try and stay competitive. But we can do it, and we can narrow that gap in the trade deficit.

* what about competitiveness, improved educational achievement to be competitive, etc

Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

I don't mind bragging about it ... I've got a great Cabinet. A real team, and all of them seasonsed professionals. Each one brings his or her own strengths to the Cabinet, and I will draw on those strengths every chance I get.

Many believe your appointment of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development presages a different approach to public housing and homelessness issues. What new directions can we anticipate?

Everybody knows the kind of creativity Jack will bring to that job. I like his ideas on tenant ownership of public housing, urban enterprise zones, his innovative solutions to the homeless problem. It all ties into economic empowerment, giving people the opportunity to get ahead by giving them the chance to make a good living, make a better life for themselves. That's important to both Jack and me, and I think he'll be great.

In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs, provide jobs, create hope. If we can keep the economy moving, we can give people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Give them a choice. Help working families make it. Whether it's through more parental choice in child care, improving education and rewarding good schools, or saving our clean water and clean air, we've got to work within our constraints to build a better future. Keep that economy strong.

Throughout your campaign the first few weeks of your presidency, you have set the tone for reaching out to blacks and other minority Americans and you have stated your firm commitment to upholding individuals' rights. What kinds of policy directions or initiatives can minority and ethnic Americans expect from the Bush presidency to help ensure they are full partners in the American Dream?

As I've said before, we've got to leave the tired baggage of bigotry behind. A positive civil rights program is key ... not because it's a matter of social policy, but because it is a fundamental right of every American.

As far as working to spread the American Dream: Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning their own home or owning their own business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I ~~want~~ demand expect will in my Administration.

will expect

etc.

Do you expect U.S. - Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We're going to use common sense, and try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. ~~The~~ I have sent the Secretary of State ~~is going~~ to Europe to discuss East-West relations with our allies, and look at the future of the NATO alliance. In the meantime, I have ~~asked~~ directed the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies, and so I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete and the policies are formulated.

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am hopeful of it. I think the new mood of cooperation among international leaders has helped. We are going to leave no stone unturned as we search for those who terrorize our citizens. ~~We've got to continue to improve our technology for detecting bombs and other explosive materials on airliners~~, but more importantly, we've got to go after the terrorists themselves. ~~I want to tell~~ those responsible for killing innocent citizens ~~they'll~~ will find no safe haven anywhere. I don't want to discuss any specific cases right now, but ~~I think~~ we're making real progress ~~here~~.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

I have asked ~~Dan~~ the Vice President to chair the new Task Force on Competitiveness. This is going to be a big job, and I think his expertise on job training will be especially valuable there. He'll be working with the Space Council too, and like I was, he'll be a member of the NSC. National Security Council. But most importantly, ~~he's a dear friend~~ is my trusted advisor and friend.

The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

Speaking as a former RNC Chairman myself, I think we've got to concentrate on the grass roots, the building blocks of our party. That's what Lee Atwater is focusing on right now. In addition to reaching out to minorities, blue-collar Americans,

and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at the local level. We've got to build up state and local support for the party if we want to become the majority party across the country.

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We must maintain the policies of strength that have brought us to this hopeful point, but

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It is time for a new effort.

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Well: States should cease to support terrorism, and when terrorists are apprehended they should be extradited to the country of jurisdiction promptly. However, I'm not satisfied that the indictments of those crimes are being swiftly brought to justice. It's absolutely imperative that state sponsors of terrorism understand the limits of our patience, and that friendly countries work aggressively with us. In the meantime, the U.S. Government has no choice but to review its options.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

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Master

Document No. 006319

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/13/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 2/13/89 C.O.B.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS: INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

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RESPONSE:

Gottman – change name of council
Council on Competitiveness

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

FEB 15 AM 10:39

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

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The power to help people ... making the streets safe, fighting the flow of drugs, making a good education possible for everyone, helping people get themselves off welfare ... these are very important to me. But I said the night I presented my budget priorities to Congress that government must not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better. I think we've got to stick to that.

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insert A

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insert B

After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures ~~are needed~~ if we are to continue to narrow the gap? will you and Ambassador Hills be taking

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously. We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. So first of all, we've got to open those foreign markets. When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary. We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad. That's why I support tax credits for research and development, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs.
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0751

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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RESPONSE: To: Chriss Winston February 13, 1989

The NSC concurs noting several changes in text.

88 FEB 13 A11:53

for Robert M Perito
G. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary

.cc James Cicconi

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

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Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

I don't mind bragging about it ... I've got a great Cabinet. A real team, and all of them seasonsed professionals. Each one brings his or her own strengths to the Cabinet, and I will draw on those strengths every chance I get.

Document No. 006319

recieved 3:15 2/14
went to President
2:45 pm

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/13/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 2/13/89 C.O.B.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS: INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☑	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☑	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	PORTER	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	STUDDERT	☑	☐
BATES	☑	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	WINSTON	☐	☑
CARD	☐	☑	WRAY	☑	☐
CICCONI	☐	☑		☐	☐
DEMAREST	☐	☑		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☑	☐		☐	☐
GRAY	☑	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments/recommendations to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, by C.O.B. TODAY, February 13, 1989. First Monday is a publication of the Republican National Committee. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

2/13 VP Quayle answer needs work.
Role needs expansion, substance.

—JWC

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

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Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

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We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

I've said it before, and I'll say it again -- no new taxes. Low tax rates create economic growth. We've got to spread the economic expansion to all sectors of our society, not kill it with taxation and overregulation. Keep it moving. I want that capital gains tax cut to pass, and I want Congress to join me in keeping our economic expansion on track through the increased capital investment and job creation that the capital gains tax cut will provide. Just as important, the capital gains tax cut will bring additional revenue into the Treasury.

National Democratic leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

Look, without any new taxes, given our current rate of expansion, federal revenues will increase by over $80 billion. Clearly this should be enough to address the most urgent of our national priorities. We can cut the deficit by 40% at the same time, without raising taxes. I think this is realistic, because I think we can keep the economy growing if we keep taxes out of the picture. I think it can work.

After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures are needed if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously. We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. So first of all, we've got to open those foreign markets. When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary. We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad. That's why I support tax credits for research and development, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs.
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Many believe your appointment of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development presages a different approach to public housing and homelessness issues. What new directions can we anticipate?

Everybody knows the kind of creativity Jack will bring to that job. I like his ideas on tenant ownership of public housing, urban enterprise zones, his innovative solutions to the homeless problem. It all ties into economic empowerment, giving people the opportunity to get ahead by giving them the chance to make a good living, make a better life for themselves. That's important to both Jack and me, and I think he'll be great.

In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs, provide jobs, create hope. If we can keep the economy moving, we can give people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Give them a choice. Help working families make it. Whether it's through more parental choice in child care, improving education and rewarding good schools, or saving our clean water and clean air, we've got to work within our constraints to build a better future. Keep that economy strong.

Throughout your campaign the first few weeks of your presidency, you have set the tone for reaching out to blacks and other minority Americans and you have stated your firm commitment to upholding individuals' rights. What kinds of policy directions or initiatives can minority and ethnic Americans expect from the Bush presidency to help ensure they are full partners in the American Dream?

As I've said before, we've got to leave the tired baggage of bigotry behind. A positive civil rights program is key ... not because it's a matter of social policy, but because it is a fundamental right of every American.

As far as working to spread the American Dream: Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning their own home or owning their own business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I want in my Administration.

Do you expect U.S. - Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We're going to use common sense, and try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. The Secretary of State is going to Europe to discuss East-West relations with our allies, and look at the future of the NATO alliance. In the meantime, I have asked the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies, and so I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete and the policies are formulated.

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am hopeful of it. I think the new mood of cooperation among international leaders has helped. We are going to leave no stone unturned as we search for those who terrorize our citizens. We've got to continue to improve our technology for detecting bombs and other explosive materials on airliners, but more importantly, we've got to go after the terrorists themselves. I want to tell those responsible for killing innocent citizens they'll find no safe haven anywhere. I don't want to discuss any specific cases right now, but I think we're making real progress here.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

I have asked Dan to chair the new Task Force on Competitiveness. This is going to be a big job, and I think his expertise on job training will be especially valuable there. He'll be working with the Space Council too, and like I was, he'll be a member of the NSC.

The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

Speaking as a former RNC Chairman myself, I think we've got to concentrate on the grass roots, the building blocks of our party. That's what Lee Atwater is focusing on right now. In addition to reaching out to minorities, blue-collar Americans,

and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at the local level. We've got to build up state and local support for the party if we want to become the majority party across the country.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 13, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: PATRICIA MACK BRYAN PMB
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Proposed Responses to Written Questions:
Interview with First Monday Magazine

Pursuant to James W. Cicconi's staffing memorandum of February 13, 1989, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced responses. Subject to the comments noted below and the minor edits noted directly on the draft, Counsel's Office has no objection to those proposed responses.

Page 4; First Response (U.S.-Soviet relations); Sentence 5: Because the Secretary of State is currently in Europe and will likely have returned to the United States before these responses are published, we recommend rewording that sentence to read "The Secretary of State has been in Europe discussing East-West relations with our allies and the future of the NATO alliance."

Page 4; Second Response (International Terrorism); Sentence 1: Because the President, as Vice-President, served as the head of the Task Force on terrorism, we recommend replacing the first sentence with the following "I believe the approach I advised several years ago is correct." We also recommend making the other related minor changes to that paragraph noted directly on the draft.

cc: James W. Cicconi

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

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Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

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We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

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In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

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As far as working to spread the American Dream: Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning their own home or owning their own business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I want in my Administration.

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There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We're going to use common sense, and try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. The Secretary of State ~~is going to~~ Europe ~~to~~ discuss East-West relations with our allies, and ~~look at~~ the future of the NATO alliance. ~~In the meantime, I have asked the National Security Council to~~ review our national security and defense policies, ~~and so~~ I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete and ~~the~~ our policies are formulated.

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and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at the local level. We've got to build up state and local support for the party if we want to become the majority party across the country.

FINAL COPY
TO R.N.C.

PROPOSED RESPONSES

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT

FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

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Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

I think the Democrats realized that the people have spoken, that they have given us a new mandate. They've spoken on the issues important to all of us -- peace through strength, economic expansion, the environment, education, stopping the flow of drugs, and no new taxes ... so many areas. I honestly believe the Congressional leaders want to work with the new Administration, sit down at the table with me. I'm not unrealistic about it. I know it's going to be rough. But I think the people are tired of talk -- especially on the deficit -- and no action. I think the bipartisan approach is in the best interest of all Americans.

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economic expansion to all sectors of our society, not kill it with taxation and overregulation. Keep it moving. I want that capital gains tax cut to pass, and I believe that our proposal to reduce the capital gains tax rate -- and to eliminate it entirely for small investors -- would provide a tremendous boost in opportunity and job creation, especially in our inner cities and other depressed areas. Just as important, the capital gains tax cut will bring additional revenue into the Treasury, increase capital investment and help keep our economic expansion on track.

National Democratic leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

Yes some have; but in fairness, some have not but given our current rate of expansion, federal revenues will <u>increase</u> by over $80 billion without any new taxes. Clearly this should be enough to address the most urgent of our national priorities. We can cut the deficit by 40% at the same time, without raising taxes. One key to controlling spending and reducing the deficit is the line item veto. Forty three governors use this powerful tool to control spending and eliminate waste; the President needs the same power. I think this is realistic, because we can keep the economy growing if we keep taxes out of the picture. I know it can work.

Despite significant improvement in the trade deficit throughout 1988 -- including a 27% increase in total exports for the year -- the trade deficit levelled off in the fourth quarter. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures will you and Ambassador Hills be taking if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously. We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. One partial solution to the trade deficit is to open those foreign markets to American goods and services. When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary.

We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad. That's where Commerce Secretary Bob Mosbacher's savvy international business experience will make a real difference ... helping to promote exports, and encouraging business to use new technologies to guarantee that the U.S. maintains its leadership role on the world marketplace. And it's why I support tax credits for research and development, improved education, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs. When I owned my own company back in Texas, I met a payroll and I understand what it's like to try and stay competitive. But we can do it, and we can narrow that gap in the trade deficit.

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With Secretaries Dole and Cavazos and Administrator Reilly confirmed and on board, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment in the face of severe budget restraints?

Economic growth enables us to pay for social programs, provide jobs, create hope. If we can keep the economy moving, we can give people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Give them a choice. Help working families make it. Whether it's through more parental choice in child care, improving education and rewarding good schools, or saving our clean water and clean air, we've got to work within our constraints to build a better future. Keep that economy strong.

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As far as working to share the American Dream: As I said earlier, everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of

ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning their own home or owning their own business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I will expect in my Administration. On the political side, I am pleased Chairman Atwater is reaching out so vigorously to minorities.

Do you expect U.S. - Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We need to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured President Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We must maintain the policies of strength that have brought us to this hopeful point, but we will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. The Secretary of State was in Europe to meet with our allies, to look at the future of the NATO alliance, and to discuss East-West relations. I have also asked the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies, and so I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete, our allied consultations have been done, and the policies are formulated.

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I believe the approach I advised several years ago is correct. We are going to leave no stone unturned as we search for those who terrorize our citizens. We've got to continue to improve our technology for detecting bombs and other explosive materials on airliners, but more importantly, we've got to go after the terrorists themselves.

We would prefer to see the existing international system work well; states should cease to support terrorism, and when terrorists are apprehended they should be extradited to the country of jurisdiction promptly.

However, I'm not satisfied now that the individuals who commit these crimes are being swiftly brought to justice. It's absolutely imperative that the state sponsors of terrorism understand the limits of our patience, and that friendly countries work aggressively with us. In the meantime, the U.S. Government has no choice but to review its options.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

I have asked Dan to chair the new Council on Competitiveness. This is going to be a big job, and I think his expertise on job training will be especially valuable there.

He'll be working with the Space Council too, and like I was, he'll be a member of the National Security Council.

Incidentally, his recent visit to Venezuela, where he met with many of the Presidents from friendly countries, was highly sucessful, substantive and important.

The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

Speaking as a former RNC Chairman myself, I think we've got to concentrate on the grass roots, the building blocks of our party. That's what Lee Atwater is focusing on right now. In addition to reaching out to minorities, blue-collar Americans, and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at all levels. We've got to build up state and local support for the party and involve good men and women from all walks of life if we want to become the majority party across the country.

Document No. 006319

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 2/13/89 **ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:** 2/13/89 C.O.B.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED RESPONSES TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS: INTERVIEW WITH FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE

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GRAY	☑	☐	_____	☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please forward any comments/recommendations to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, with an info copy to my office, by C.O.B. TODAY, February 13, 1989. First Monday is a publication of the Republican National Committee. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

09 FEB 13 AM : 34

RECEIVED IN CMB

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

((Grant))
February 13, 1989
7:30 a.m.

PROPOSED RESPONSES
INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
FIRST MONDAY MAGAZINE
JANUARY/FEBRUARY ISSUE

In your inaugural address, you stated, "There is but one just use of power and it is to help people." How will you use the powers of the presidency to serve those who in many ways seem powerless?

One of the best ways I know to give someone dignity and hope is to give them a job. Job creation is the best economic and social policy this country can have.

The power to help people ... making the streets safe, fighting the flow of drugs, making a good education possible for everyone, helping people get themselves off welfare ... these are very important to me. But I said the night I presented my budget priorities to Congress that government must not be the provider of first resort for things that the private sector can produce better. I think we've got to stick to that.

Shortly after your election, Democrats in Congress were predicting a short honeymoon for the Bush presidency. Since then, however, they seem to have become less openly defiant, realizing, some say, that open opposition to a strong and popular President would be politically unwise. How do you explain their turnaround, and what is your strategy for working with the Congress?

I think the Democrats realized that the people had spoken. And they've spoken on the issues important to all of us -- peace through strength, economic expansion, the environment, education, stopping the flow of drugs ... so many areas. I honestly believe the Congressional leaders want to work with the new Administration, sit down at the table with me. I'm not unrealistic about it. I know it's going to be rough. But I think the people are tired of talk -- especially on the deficit -- and no action. I think the bipartisan approach is in the best interest of all Americans.

We are now in our 75th consecutive month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. What should the government do -- or, perhaps as important, not do -- to ensure that this expansion continues?

I've said it before, and I'll say it again -- no new taxes. Low tax rates create economic growth. We've got to spread the economic expansion to all sectors of our society, not kill it with taxation and overregulation. Keep it moving. I want that capital gains tax cut to pass, and I want Congress to join me in keeping our economic expansion on track through the increased capital investment and job creation that the capital gains tax cut will provide. Just as important, the capital gains tax cut will bring additional revenue into the Treasury.

National Democratic leaders have been widely successful in creating the perception that new taxes are the only realistic means of reducing the federal deficit. How do you respond to this mindset, and what is your plan of attack on the deficit?

Look, without any new taxes, given our current rate of expansion, federal revenues will increase by over $80 billion. Clearly this should be enough to address the most urgent of our national priorities. We can cut the deficit by 40% at the same time, without raising taxes. I think this is realistic, because I think we can keep the economy growing if we keep taxes out of the picture. I think it can work.

After several months of decline, the nation's trade deficit jumped dramatically in December. How damaging to the economy is the trade deficit and what measures are needed if we are to continue to narrow the gap?

We have to take the trade deficit very seriously. We must be strong economically to keep peace in the world -- because when America is stronger, the world is safer and more secure. So first of all, we've got to open those foreign markets. When Carla Hills spoke at her confirmation hearings, she said we'd open markets with a handshake where possible and a crowbar where necessary. We also want to maintain our competitive edge abroad. That's why I support tax credits for research and development, job training, and keeping government and the IRS off the backs of small businessmen and entrepreneurs.
I've met a payroll when I owned my own company back in Texas, and I understand what it's like to try and stay competitive. But we can do it, and we can narrow that gap in the trade deficit.

Your Cabinet selections have been widely praised by members of both parties. Will you describe the kind of leadership and expertise they bring to this administration?

I don't mind bragging about it ... I've got a great Cabinet. A real team, and all of them seasonsed professionals. Each one brings his or her own strengths to the Cabinet, and I will draw on those strengths every chance I get.

Many believe your appointment of Jack Kemp as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development presages a different approach to public housing and homelessness issues. What new directions can we anticipate?

Everybody knows the kind of creativity Jack will bring to that job. I like his ideas on tenant ownership of public housing, urban enterprise zones, his innovative solutions to the homeless problem. It all ties into economic empowerment, giving people the opportunity to get ahead by giving them the chance to make a good living, make a better life for themselves. That's important to both Jack and me, and I think he'll be great.

In the face of severe budget restraints, how do you plan to pursue your proposals in the areas of child care, education, and the environment?

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Economic growth enables us to and to pay for social programs, provide jobs, create hope. If we can keep the economy moving, we can give people the power to make their own lives better through growth and opportunity. Give them a choice. Help working families make it. Whether it's through more parental choice in child care, improving education and rewarding good schools, or saving our clean water and clean air, we've got to work within our constraints to build a better future. Keep that economy strong.

Throughout your campaign the first few weeks of your presidency, you have set the tone for reaching out to blacks and other minority Americans and you have stated your firm commitment to upholding individuals' rights. What kinds of policy directions or initiatives can minority and ethnic Americans expect from the Bush presidency to help ensure they are full partners in the American Dream?

As I've said before, we've got to leave the tired baggage of bigotry behind. A positive civil rights program is key ... not because it's a matter of social policy, but because it is a fundamental right of every American.

As far as working to spread the American Dream: Everybody knows the best antipoverty program is a job. Give every American opportunity and hope for the future. We've got to bring those left out of the mainstream into the free enterprise system, and give them the pride and dignity of ownership in the private sector. Whether it means owning their own home or owning their own business, every American should have the chance to live the American Dream. That's what a positive civil rights program does, and that's what I want in my Administration.

Do you expect U.S. - Soviet relations to continue to improve, and will there be an early summit with Mikhail Gorbachev?

There is a lot of change in the world right now -- especially in the Soviet Union. We're going to use common sense, and try to understand the full meaning of the change going on there, review our policies carefully, and proceed with caution. I have personally assured General Secretary Gorbachev that, after such a review has taken place, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss any opportunity to work for peace. The Secretary of State is going to Europe to discuss East-West relations with our allies, and look at the future of the NATO alliance. In the meantime, I have asked the National Security Council to review our national security and defense policies, and so I think it would be a little premature to discuss plans for a summit until that is complete and the policies are formulated.

Is it time for a new approach to combat international terrorism?

I am hopeful of it. I think the new mood of cooperation among international leaders has helped. We are going to leave no stone unturned as we search for those who terrorize our citizens. We've got to continue to improve our technology for detecting bombs and other explosive materials on airliners, but more importantly, we've got to go after the terrorists themselves. I want to tell those responsible for killing innocent citizens they'll find no safe haven anywhere. I don't want to discuss any specific cases right now, but I think we're making real progress here.

What roles do you foresee for Vice President Dan Quayle in your Administration?

I have asked Dan to chair the new Task Force on Competitiveness. This is going to be a big job, and I think his expertise on job training will be especially valuable there. He'll be working with the Space Council too, and like I was, he'll be a member of the NSC.

The GOP has now won five of the past six presidential elections, but continues to struggle to make broad gains at the congressional and state levels. What must the party do to increase its power at the grass roots and truly become the majority party?

Speaking as a former RNC Chairman myself, I think we've got to concentrate on the grass roots, the building blocks of our party. That's what Lee Atwater is focusing on right now. In addition to reaching out to minorities, blue-collar Americans,

and other traditional Democratic voter groups, he's going to work to attract quality candidates at the local level. We've got to build up state and local support for the party if we want to become the majority party across the country.