

FINAL

CONTACT: Mo Taggart
703/684-7848
Jo-Anne Coe
703/845-1714

SENATOR BOB DOLE SCHEDULE--MAY 1-2, 1994 -- NEW HAMPSHIRE

SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1994

9:25 AM DEPART Sea View for Ft. Lauderdale International Airport
Driver: Provided by the Sea View
Drive time: 30 minutes

9:55 AM ARRIVE Ft. Lauderdale International Airport and proceed
to departing aircraft
FBO: Jet Center
305/359-0066

10:00 AM DEPART Ft. Lauderdale, FL for Boston, MA/Logan Airport
FBO: Signature Flight

Aircraft: Hawker (Torchmark)
Tail number: N6TM

Flight time: 2 hours 45 minutes
Pilots: Chic Preston
205/871-3101 (h)
800/217-9801 PIN # 54016 (pager)
2nd pilot to be determined

Seats: 6
Meal: Lunch

Manifest: Senator Dole

Contact: Barbara Nabors
205/325-4205 (o)
205/870-0325 (h)
205/325-4198 (Fax)

884
5808

547
6475

12:45 PM ARRIVE Boston, MA/Logan Airport
FBO: 617/569-5260

Met by: Jim Murphy
(Jim will accompany you throughout
your trip)

12:50 PM DEPART airport for Joe Malone Re-election
Announcement

Driver: David Railsback, Deputy Treasurer
Drive time: 25 minutes
Location: Copley Plaza
138 St. James
Boston, MA

SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1994 (cont'd)**PAGE two**

1:15 PM DROP BY Hi-Donor Brunch for Joe Malone
 617/267-5300
 617/267-7668 Fax

Location: Ballroom Foyer Room
 Attendance: 50
 Event runs: 12:00 - 1:30 PM
 Press: Closed
 Facility: None
 Format: Mix and Mingle

Contact: Lisa Tashjian
 617/647-3370 (o)
 617/647-1360 Fax
 617/237-3299 (h)

1:45 PM- ATTEND/SPEAK Joe Malone Re-election Announcement
 2:45 PM Reception

Enter through Director Room en route backstage

Location: Grand Ballroom
 Attendance: 700
 Event runs: 1:30 - 3:30 pm
 Facility: Stage, podium and mic
 Format: 2:00 pm VIPS enter stage (Senator Dole, Joe Malone, Senator Smith and Governor Weld remain backstage)
 2:05 pm Linda Malone gives welcome and introduces Senator Smith
 2:10 pm Senator Smith gives remarks and introduces Senator Dole
 2:12 pm Senator Dole gives remarks and introduces Governor Weld
 2:17 pm Governor Weld gives remarks and introduces Joe Malone
 2:25 pm Joe Malone gives remarks
 Mix and mingle as exiting
 Dias: Malone Family, Lt. Governor Paul Cellucci, Cong. Peter Torkildsen, Jim Rappaport, Domenic Bozzotto, Jim Farmer, Senator Smith, Governor Weld, Senator Dole and Joe Malone

Contact: Lisa Tashjian
 617/647-3370 (o)
 617/647-1360 Fax
 617/237-3299 (h)

SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1994 (cont'd)PAGE three

2:50 PM DEPART Boston for Sheraton Tara Wayfarer Inn
 Driver: Jim Courtovich
 Senator Smith will accompany you
 Drive time: 1 hour
 Location: 121 South River Road
 Bedford, NH

3:50 PM ARRIVE Sheraton Tara Wayfarer Inn
 603/622-3766
 603/666-4454
A room will be available for your use.

4:45 PM PRESS AVAIL with Senator Bob Smith
 Location: Manchester Room

5:00 PM- ATTEND Cocktail Reception for Senator Bob Smith
 6:00 PM Location: Derryfield Room
 Attendance: 200
 Event runs: 5:00 - 7:00 pm
 Press: Closed
 Facility: Riser, podium and mic
 Format: Mix and mingle
 5:30 pm Program begins
 Karl Norwood, 250 Club Chairman gives
 welcome remarks
 Senator Bob Smith gives remarks and
 introduces Senator Dole
 Senator Dole gives remarks
 Q & A
 Karl Norwood concludes program
 Contact: Jim Courtovich
 603/228-0453 (0)
 603/228-3165 Fax
 603/229-1996 (h)

6:00 PM DEPART Sheraton for Bedford Village Inn
 Driver: Jim Courtovich
 Drive time: 5 minutes
 Location: 2 Old Bedford Road
 Bedford, NH

6:05 PM ARRIVE Bedford Village Inn
 603/472-2001
 603/472-2379 Fax

SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1994 (cont'd)PAGE four

6:30 PM ATTEND Dinner
 Location: Porch Room
 Attendees: 22 (names coming)
 None of the attendees attended the
 Smith Reception

RON---- Bedford Village Inn
 603/472-2001
 603/472-2379 Fax

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1994

8:00 AM- MEDIA CALLS
 9:00 AM

9:15 AM DEPART Bedford Inn for Union Leader
 Driver: Joel Maiola, Gregg staff
 Accompanied by Senator Gregg
 Drive time: 10 minutes
 Location: William Loeb Drive
 Manchester, NH

9:30 AM MEET with Joe McQuaid, Union Leader, John Distaso, Chief
 Political and Jim Finnigan, Editorial writer
 603/668-4321

Format: Meet privately with Joe McQuaid for
 10 minutes
 Joined by John Distaso and Jim
 Finnigan for interview

10:20 AM DEPART Union Leader for Channel 9
 Driver: Joel Maiola
 Accompanied by Senator Gregg
 Drive time: 10 minutes
 Location: 50 Phillippe Cote Street
 Manchester, NH

10:30 AM Taped Talk Show Interview on Channel 9, ABC affiliate
 with Jack Heath, News Director
 603/641-9090

Met by: Larry Gilpin, Station Manager

11:15 AM DEPART Manchester, MA for New Hampshire Federation of
 Republican Women Lilac Luncheon
 Drive time: 30 minutes
 Driver: Joel Maiola
 Accompanied by Senator Gregg
 Location: Castleton Hall
 Route 111
 Windham, NH

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1994 (cont'd)PAGE five

11:45 AM ARRIVE Castleton Hall
603/595-5612

11:45 AM- ATTEND Meeting with Board Members of New Hampshire
12:00 N Federation of Republican Women

Location: Hampshire Room
Attendance: 15 Board Members
Press: Closed
Facility: None
Format: Mix and mingle
Photo-op
Contact: Kathy Schneiderat, VP & Program Chair
603/669-6330

12:00 N ATTEND/SPEAK Lilac Lunch with New Hampshire Federation
1:45 PM of Republican Women

Location: Main room
Attendance: 400
Press: Open
Event runs: Noon - 1:45 pm
Facility: Stage, headtable, podium & mic
Headtable: Carol Holden, Pres. NHFRW
Jane Lane, 3rd VP NHFRW
Marilyn Forest, 2nd VP NHFRW
Kathy Schneiderat, 1st VP NHFRW
Senator Bob Smith
Senator Judd Gregg
Governor Stephen Merrill
Senator Dole
Linda Henderson, Corres. Sec. NHFRW
Jo-Anne Petersen, Pres. Nashua FRW
Format: Carol Holden, President NHFRW, gives
welcome
Jane Lane, 3rd VP NHFRW, gives
Invocation
Marilyn Forest, 2nd VP NHFRW, gives
Pledge of Allegiance
Lunch served
Kathy Schneiderat, 1st VP NHFRW,
gives introductions
Senator Bob Smith gives remarks
Senator Judd Gregg gives remarks
Governor Stephen Merrill gives
remarks and introduces Senator
Dole
Senator Dole gives remarks
Raffle drawing
Joanne Peterson, Pres. Nashua FRW,
gives Benediction
Contact: Kathy Schneiderat, VP & Program Chair
603/669-6330

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1994 (cont'd)PAGE six

1:45 PM DEPART Windham, NH for Health Care Forum
 Driver: Joel Maiola
 Drive time: 20 minutes
 Location: Accompanied by Senator Gregg
 Manchester Institute of Arts and
 Sciences
 148 Concord Street
 Manchester, NH

2:05 PM ARRIVE Manchester Institute of Arts and
 Sciences
 603/623-0313

2:30 PM- ATTEND/SPEAK Health Care Forum
 4:30 PM Location: 2nd Floor - Meeting Hall
 Attendance: 200
 Event runs: 2:30 - 4:30 pm
 Press: Open
 Facility: Stage, panel, table top podium &
 mic
 Format: 2:30 pm Senator Gregg gives welcome,
 remarks
 2:45 pm Introduction of
 Consumer/Provider Panel:
 Irene Peters, NH Chapter
 AARP, state coordinator
 of Health Affairs
 Lynn Rossman, AM. Academy
 of Physician Assistants
 Harry Bird, MD,
 Commissioner, Dept. Health
 and Human Services
 3:05 pm Introduction of
 Biotech/Business Panel:
 Carl Lindblade, Gen. Mgr.
 & VP Red Jacket Inn
 John Brooks, NH Veteran &
 owner of Poly-Vac
 Dr. Richard Dean, Pres. &
 CEO Diatech, Inc
 3:20 pm Senator Dole gives remarks
 3:40 pm Q & A
 4:15 pm Senator Gregg gives closing
 remarks

4:45 PM DEPART Manchester for Sheraton Tara
 Driver: Joel Maiola
 Accompanied by Senator Gregg and
 Sheila Burke
 Drive time: 25 minutes
 Location: Tara Boulevard
 Nashua, NH

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1994 (cont'd)

PAGE seven

5:10 PM ARRIVE Sheraton Tara
603/888-9970
603/888-4112

(They have secured a room at the hotel for your use.)

Met by: Mike Valuk, Executive Director of the Chamber

5:45 PM- ATTEND Greater Nashua Chamber of Commerce VIP

6:00 PM Reception

Location: Camelot Room
Attendance: 40-50
Event runs: 5:30 - 6:30 pm
Press: Closed
Facility: None
Format: Mix and mingle
Photo-op

No Remarks

Contact: Mike Valuk, Executive Director of Chamber
603/881-8333
603/881-7323 Fax

6:00 PM LIVE on Channel 9 News, ABC affiliate

Location: Hall outside Camelot Room

6:15 PM- RETURN to VIP Reception

6:25 PM Location: Camelot Room

6:30 PM- ATTEND General Reception

6:50 PM Location: Tara Court
Attendance: 600
Event runs: 5:30 - 6:50 pm
Format: Mix and mingle

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1994 (cont'd)PAGE eight

6:55 PM ATTEND Nashua Chamber of Commerce Dinner

Location: Ballroom
 Attendees: 600
 Event runs: 6:45 - 9:25 pm
 Press: Open
 Facility: Event filmed for C-span
 Two tiered dais
 Headtable on dais
 Table top podium and mic

Headtable: Senator Dole
 Darlene Stromstad, Chamber Program
 Chair, VP Marketing & Planning,
 St. Joseph Hospital
 David Chabot, Ms. Stromstad's escort
 Morgan Hollis, Past Chair of
 Chamber, member of Gottesman &
 Hollis law firm
 Tracy Hollis
 James Herzog, Jr., Chamber Treasurer
 Cheryl Herzog
 David Gottesman, Chamber Local
 Affairs Chair, member Gottesman
 & Hollis law firm
 Jean Gotesman
 Congressman Dick Swett
 Katrina Swett
 Bob Boisvert, Jr., Chamber Membership
 Chair, Pres. Masi Plumbing and
 Heating
 Geri Boisvert
 Senator Bob Smith
 Kathy Veracco, Chamber Public Affairs
 Chair, NYNEX Public Affairs
 Director
 Jim Veracco
 Peter McArdle, Chamber Chair elect,
 Acadia Insurance Gov. Relations
 Director
 Terry McArdle
 Reverend James Chaloner, Minister
 First Church of Nashua
 Michael Valuk, Chamber Exec. Director
 Janet Valuk
 Harold Acres, Chamber Dinner
 Chairman, VP Bank of New
 Hampshire
 Shirley Acres
 Senator Judd Gregg
 Kathy Gregg

MONDAY, MAY 2, 1994 (cont'd)PAGE nine

Format: 6:55 pm Headtable introduced off stage with spotlight introductions

7:06 pm Anthem and Prayer
DINNER SERVED

8:00 pm Senator Gregg introduces Senator Dole

8:05 pm Senator Dole gives remarks

8:35 pm Program continues

8:40 pm DEPART Sheraton Tara for Manchester airport/Jet Services
Driver: Joel Maiola
Accompanied by Sheila Burke and Jim Murphy
Drive time: 25 minutes

9:05 PM ARRIVE Manchester Airport and proceed to departing aircraft
FBO: Jet Services
603/668-0317

9:10 PM DEPART Nashua for Washington, DC/National Airport
FBO: Signature Flight
Aircraft: Westwind 1 (MBNA)
Tail number: N317M
Flight time: 1 hour
Pilots: Jim Koonce
Doug Gibbs
Seats: 6
Manifest: Senator Dole
Senator Smith
Contact: Robert DeSantis
302/453-6150 (h)
302/652-1223 (o)
302/457-1444 (fax)

10:10 PM ARRIVE Washington/National Airport
FBO: Signature Flight
703/419-8440

10:20 PM DEPART airport for Watergate
Driver: Colin

10:35 PM ARRIVE Watergate

April 28, 1994

MEMORANDUM TO SENATOR DOLE

FROM: SUZANNE HELLMANN *SM*

RE: MASSACHUSETTS POLITICAL BRIEFING

STATE TREASURER JOE MALONE

Joe Malone became the 56th Treasurer and Receiver General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on January 16, 1991. Malone was the first Republican to win this seat since 1949. He won by about 400,000 votes or 58%.

The event you are attending is the kick-off/announcement for his re-election campaign. Joe has been fairly successful in fundraising -- about \$1 million in the bank. It is common knowledge that Malone will someday run for Governor. (See enclosed for additional talking points and article from the Boston Globe Magazine).

GUBERNATORIAL RACE

Filing deadline: June 7
Primary: September 20

In a poll conducted 4/19-22, Gov. Weld is holding on to his lead:

| | FAV/UNFAV |
|-----------|-----------|
| Weld | 57%/23% |
| Flynn | 27%/42% |
| Bachrach | 13%/19% |
| Barrett | 8%/15% |
| Roosevelt | 11%/24% |

Part of the Weld strategy is to storm urban areas in case a liberal Democrat threatens to cut into his suburban base. Gov. Weld filed legislation requiring kids as young as 14 to be tried as adults for crimes ranging from murder to armed burglary.

Former Senator Paul Tsongas has been praising Gov. Weld to the angst of the Democrats running for Weld's seat.

Ambassador to the Vatican Ray Flynn (D) finally bowed out of the race on 4/26.

U.S. SENATE RACE

A poll conducted 4/19-22 showed the following results:

| | FAV/UNFAV |
|-----------|-----------|
| Kennedy | 38%/36% |
| Jeghelian | 14%/15% |
| Lakian | 7%/23% |
| Romney | 11%/12% |
| Todd | 5%/10% |

The latest FEC reports show that Sen. Kennedy has \$2.8 million on hand having raised \$939,000 this quarter. Republican candidate, Mitt Romney, follows with \$330,000 cash on hand having raised \$460,000 this quarter. The other two main Republican candidates, Lakian and Jeghelian, have raised only \$88,000 and \$55,000 respectively this quarter, with a good deal less on hand. Romney, by the way, has assets in the range of \$16-25 million.

(See additional information from National Republican Senatorial Committee enclosed)

MEMORANDUM

April 28, 1994

TO: Senator Dole
FR: Bill Thorne, NRSC
RE: Trip to Massachusetts

The following is background for your trip to Massachusetts:

| File Date | Convention | Primary Date | Coord. Limit |
|-----------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| June 7 | May 13-14 | Sept 20 | \$561,192 |

Announced

Janet Jeghelian, talk show host Gary Todd, businessman
John Lakian, businessman Mitt Romney, businessman Darwin Carter

REPUBLICAN RACE UPDATE:

With a very crowded primary field, businessman Mitt Romney, radio talk show host Janet Jeghelian, and former GOP gubernatorial primary candidate and businessman John Lakian, have distinguished themselves as the top three contenders. And if the first four months of the year are any indication of the intensity with which these candidates are approaching the September 20 primary, Massachusetts voters will see a very hotly contested and potentially contentious campaign season.

Because of his fundraising potential, Mitt Romney has clearly taken the front-runner status, reporting \$329,920 in cash-on-hand from the \$458,916 he raised through the first quarter of the year. Janet Jeghelian -- who has been campaigning full time for several months -- has raised only \$50,000 after loaning the campaign \$30,000, but reported only \$1,447 in cash-on-hand at the end of 1993. John Lakian raised \$88,592, has loaned his campaign \$544,256, spent \$524,853 and reports \$21,153 on-hand.

The *Boston Herald* reported an April 22 poll that showed Kennedy's favorable/unfavorable dropping to 38% / 36%, as compared to his 67% / 26% in a poll taken February 3. The poll also showed that the Republican candidates still have a very low name I.D. (PLEASE SEE THE RESULTS IN LATEST POLLING INFORMATION AT THE END OF THIS BRIEF)

A recent controversy erupted when it was reported that Lakian used a home in New York as his address when contributing to the campaign of Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, thereby qualifying his contribution for matching funds. He now says that a vacation home in Woods Hole, Mass. is his permanent address, and his family recently moved there full time.

Another controversy in late January involved Gene Hartigan, campaign manager for Jeghelian and former executive director for the Massachusetts GOP, when he was widely criticized for making Romney's Mormon Church ties a reason why he probably could not be elected statewide. This followed a concerted effort by both Hartigan and the Lakian campaign to play-up the fact that Romney has donated money to several Democrats in the past, although Romney countered that they were friends and that he had donated more to Republicans.

There is some speculation that the primary field will narrow as one or two of the top contenders clearly edges out the other candidates in the fundraising race. Romney has made a commitment to use personal money to meet the \$7 million dollar anticipated campaign budget, a challenge only Lakian could match. Recently, Romney began running a 60 second ad that will air through the State Party Convention on May 13.

NOTE: Darwin Carter, who moved to Massachusetts from Southeast Georgia late last summer, has been actively fundraising nationally through direct mail, with a large measure of success. He has made his living and personally profited through his "campaign" against Kennedy. The state party and the NRSC have denounced Carter as a fraud. If asked about Mr. Carter, we recommend that you encourage people to contribute to and get involved in a legitimate candidate's campaign.

KENNEDY: Kennedy won the '88 election with 65% of the vote, ^{against} Joe Malone. Malone was greatly outspent by Kennedy (\$587,323 against Kennedy's \$2,702,865), but his '88 Senate race set the stage for his '90 victory in the Treasurer's race.

Ultimately, voters seem to have grown weary of Kennedy, with concerns over his personal life as well as his extended stay in the Senate. In the *Globe* poll, 31% of those polled said that they would be less likely to vote for Kennedy because of his past personal behavior; 42% who identified themselves as independents shared that view.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT:

It would be simplistic, at best, to narrowly define the political environment in Massachusetts as unpredictable, but it would be a fair assessment. Politics in Massachusetts for years has been a kind of cultural war, between Yankee Republicans and Irish Democrats, an argument not over the distribution of income or the provision of services, as over whose vision of Massachusetts should be honored and whose mores regarded as the norm.

Over the years, the percentage of Irish and Catholics has risen. While many old line Massachusetts families have left the state or intermarried, the Irish mostly stayed put, raised large families, and slowly moved Massachusetts from being one of the most Republican states to one of the most Democratic. Historically, local Irish Democrats

were conservative on cultural issues, hostile to liberal internationalism, and receptive to anti-communism. However, the expanding high-skill population, attracted initially by Massachusetts's many universities and colleges, was very liberal and combined their Democratic vote to ensure large majorities for candidates like the Kennedys, George McGovern, and Michael Dukakis.

1989 and 1990 marked the rapid decline in support for Massachusetts liberalism when Governor William Weld, a tax cutting, moderate Republican was elected along with State Treasurer Joe Malone, the first Republican wins for state office since 1970. Republicans won a majority of votes in contested races for the Governor's Council, and gained eight seats in the state Senate and eight in the House, even though many seats were left uncontested. Furthermore, Republicans picked up two congressional seats and seriously contested three others in 1992.

LATEST POLLING INFORMATION:

Boston Globe, 4/94

| Name ID | Kennedy | Jeghelian | Lakian | Romney | Todd |
|-------------|---------|-----------|--------|--------|------|
| Favorable | 38% | 14% | 7% | 11% | 5% |
| Unfavorable | 36% | 15% | 23% | 12% | 10% |

Boston Globe, 2/94

| Name ID | Re-Elect | Job Approval |
|-------------|----------|----------------------------------|
| Favorable | 67% | Re-elect 47% Approve 68% |
| Unfavorable | 26% | New Person 44% Disapprove 28% |

Ballot

| | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Kennedy 58% | Kennedy 63% | Kennedy 61% | Kennedy 63% |
| Jeghelian 27% | Romney 19% | Lakian 21% | Todd 18% |

GOP Primary

| | Favorable/Unfavorable | I.D. | |
|-----------|-----------------------|----------|-----|
| Jeghelian | 19% | 20% / 5% | 41% |
| Romney | 11% | 4% / 5% | 22% |
| Lakian | 10% | 4% / 12% | 33% |
| Todd | 8% | 8% / 4% | 26% |
| Undec. | 46% | | |

ELECTION INFORMATION:

| Candidate | Raised 3/94 | Spent 3/94 | COH 3/94 | Debt |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| Kennedy | \$939,071 | \$686,990 | \$2,793,837 | |
| Jeghelian 12/93 | \$46,333 | \$44,886 | \$1,447 | \$30,000 |
| Romney | \$458,916 | \$376,208 | \$329,920 | \$14,956 |
| Lakian | \$88,592 | \$564,853 | \$21,153 | \$544,256 |

HOTLINE 3/21/94

*9 MASSACHUSETTS: KENNEDY DYNASTY'S "IMPERIAL CANDIDACY"
BOSTON GLOBE's Farrell and Phillips write Sen. Ted Kennedy (D) "is running a carefully choreographed race ... in which he and his staff seem bent on shielding him from the risks of unscripted performances, or from spontaneous comments on touchy issues." Kennedy's appearances "are tailored to cast him as a Washington heavyweight and Clinton ally who is bringing universal health care and jobs to the commonwealth. His strategists say they hope to keep Kennedy out of the political debate" until after the 9/20 primary. Analyst Lou DiNatale said Kennedy runs an "imperial candidacy" that "traditionally has escaped the accountability expected of other candidates, and instead exploited the rich mythology of his family's past": "His is a symbolic candidacy, and it has been for 20 years. The question is, is the symbolic nature of his candidacy passe?" (3/18). GOPers: Businessmen John Lakian, Gary Todd and Mitt Romney, radio personality Janet Jechelian and James Darwin Carter. Filing 6/7; primary 9/20.

HOTLINE 4/13/94

*5 GAMBLING IN AMERICA: COMING SOON NEAR YOU? IT'S A SAFE BET
MASSACHUSETTS: The Roman Catholic Church was expected to "officially come out against gambling" in MA. In their statement, the MA Catholic Conference acknowledged the church's own use of bingo. Conference Dir. Gerald D'Avolio: "From their own experience, the bishops urge the state not to fall into a similar plight of dependence." In addition to Dem legislative leaders' opposition, the church's action "makes even longer the odds the [GOP Gov. Bill] Weld administration will succeed in its call for three new riverboat casinos and expanded race-track gambling" (BOSTON HERALD, 4/12).

MASSACHUSETTS

James W. Rappaport Chairman



Present

Chairman, Massachusetts Republican State Committee,
elected - December 1, 1992
Board of Jewish Vocational Services
Board of Jewish Community Relations Council
Co-Chairman of Alternative House Fundraising - Battered
Women's Shelter
Co-Chairman of Citizens for Limited Taxation Annual Dinners
Member, NFIB, 1987 -
Holstein - Freisian Association of America, 1981 -
Member, Massachusetts Bar Association, 1980 -
Member, Concord Town Committee, 1984 - 1987, 1992 -

Previous

Chairman, Ward 3 Committee, Boston, 1981 - 1984
Board of Directors, Mass Taxpayers Committee, 1983 - 1984
Chairman, Massachusetts GOP Finance Committee, 1986 -
1989
Member, American Bar Association, 1981 - 1991

Personal

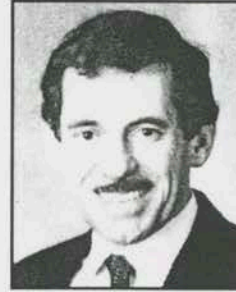
Spouse: Cecelia
Children: Three
Education: B.S., The Wharton School; J.D., Boston University

Charles River Properties
1 Longfellow Place
Suite 3611
Boston, MA 02114

(617) 723-7760 (o)
(617) 227-4727 (f)

MASSACHUSETTS

Ron Kaufman National Committeeman



Present

National Committeeman, Massachusetts, elected -
August 16, 1988

Previous

Massachusetts Field Director, George Bush for President, 1979
Senior Field Director, George Bush for President, 1980
Director for the Vice President's Campaign, Reagan - Bush,
1984
Executive Director, Fund for America's Future, 1985
Regional Political Director for the Northeast, George Bush for
President, 1988
Special Advisor, American Bicentennial Presidential Inaugural
Committee, 1989
Deputy Director of Presidential Personnel, The White House,
1989 - 1991
Deputy Assistant to the President for Political Affairs, The White
House, 1991 - 1992

RNC Activity

National Political Director, Republican National Committee,
1981 - 1983
Member, Committee on Call, Republican National Convention,
1992

Personal

Spouse: Alison
Children: Carly and Katie
Education: Quincy Junior College; Bridgewater State College

(cont.)

MASSACHUSETTS

Augusta Hornblower National Committeewoman



Present

National Committeewoman, Massachusetts, elected -
August 16, 1988
Trustee, Nashoba Community Hospital, Plimoth Plantation,
Schwamb Mill Preservation Trust
Director, Republicans for Middlesex County
Member, Lowell District Women's Republican Club
Member, Massachusetts Federation of Republican Women
Member, 5th District Republican Council
Member, Groton Republican Town Committee
Member, Massachusetts Republican State Committee
State Representative, 1st Middlesex District, Massachusetts
General Court, 1984 -
Director, American Legislative Exchange Council, 1988 -

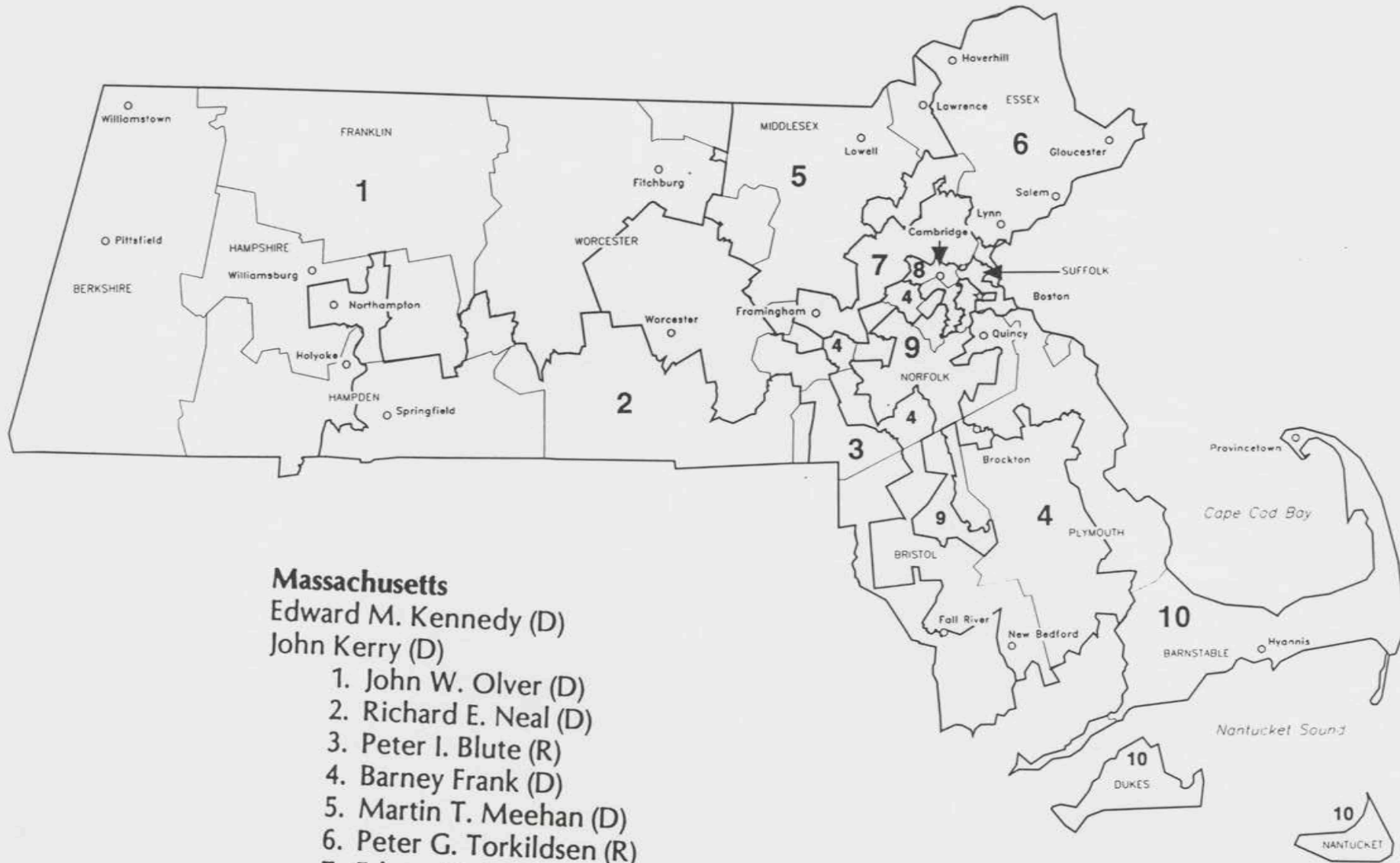
Previous

State Chairman, American Legislative Exchange Council,
1985 - 1989
Outstanding Leader, American Legislative Exchange Council,
1987
Legislator of the Year, National Republican Legislative
Association, 1992
Director and Past President, Women's Republican Club of
Massachusetts

RNC Activity

Alternate Delegate, Republican National Convention, 1976,
1988
Member, RNC Rules Committee, 1989 -

(cont.)



Massachusetts

Edward M. Kennedy (D)

John Kerry (D)

1. John W. Olver (D)
2. Richard E. Neal (D)
3. Peter I. Blute (R)
4. Barney Frank (D)
5. Martin T. Meehan (D)
6. Peter G. Torkildsen (R)
7. Edward J. Markey (D)
8. Joseph P. Kennedy II (D)
9. Joe Moakley (D)
10. Gerry E. Studds (D)

SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1994 (cont'd)PAGE two

1:15 PM DROP BY Hi-Donor Brunch for Joe Malone
617/267-5300
617/267-7668 Fax

Location: Ballroom Foyer Room -
Attendance: 50
Event runs: 12:00 - 1:30 PM
Press: Closed
Facility: None
Format: Mix and Mingle

Contact: Lisa Tashjian
617/647-3370 (o)
617/647-1360 Fax
617/237-3299 (h)

1:45 PM- ATTEND/SPEAK Joe Malone Re-election Announcement
2:45 PM Reception

Enter through Director Room en route backstage

Location: Grand Ballroom
Attendance: 700
Event runs: 1:30 - 3:30 pm
Facility: Stage, podium and mic
Format: 2:00 pm VIPS enter stage (Senator
Dole, Joe Malone, Senator Smith
and Governor Weld remain
backstage)
2:05 pm Linda Malone gives welcome
and introduces Senator Smith
2:10 pm Senator Smith gives remarks
and introduces Senator Dole
2:12 pm Senator Dole gives remarks
and introduces Governor Weld
2:17 pm Governor Weld gives
remarks and introduces Joe
Malone

2:25 pm Joe Malone gives remarks
Mix and mingle as exiting
Dias: Malone Family, Lt. Governor Paul
Cellucci, Cong. Peter Torkildsen, Jim
Rappaport, Domenic Bozzotto, Jim
Farmer, Senator Smith, Governor Weld,
Senator Dole and Joe Malone

Contact: Lisa Tashjian
617/647-3370 (o)
617/647-1360 Fax
617/237-3299 (h)

TALKING POINTS FOR SENATOR DOLE

- * Joe represents a new generation of Republican candidate, who is drawing strong support from across party lines.
 - In 1990, Joe was elected in this strongly Democratic state by the largest margin statewide, receiving 58% of the vote.
 - Much of his support came from Democrats and Independents as well as Republicans.
Since then, Joe has done such a good job that he has also gained the support and endorsement of elected Democrat officials as well.
- * Joe's doing what more Republicans need to do -- appealing to urban voters in traditional Democrat strongholds.
 - He carried traditional Democrat cities such as Boston, Waltham and Brockton.
- * Joe Malone also represents the scrappy, new-wave Republican candidate that is keeping his word, taking on the establishment, and fighting for us against the system.
- * Other points to be stressed appear on the attached page:

JOE MALONE

A Great State Treasurer

Protecting the citizens of Massachusetts.

Has successfully fought battle after battle with entrenched politicians on Beacon Hill...and won

Cutting spending.

Has reduced the operating budget of the Treasury by more than 35%.

Improving performance.

Has brought the performance of the pension fund from among the worst to among the best in the country

Saving taxpayers millions.

Has saved taxpayers millions of dollars by improving management procedures and refinancing bond obligations.

Achieving record revenue growth.

Has presided over record Lottery sales growth, helping to make more money available for cities and towns.

Helping people attain American Dream.

Created the *Middle Class American Dream Program*, enabling over 3,000 middle class families in Massachusetts to buy homes of their own.

Improving children's economic literacy.

Created the *Saving Makes Cents Program* to teach our children the importance of savings.

Citizens for Joe Malone
296 Newton St.
Waltham, MA 02154
(617) 647-3370

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If we get the
Photo in by 6pm
tonight, we can get
the artwork done by
noon tomorrow.
-Mike

NAME: JOSEPH D. MALONE

POSITION: Massachusetts State Treasurer and Receiver General

VITAE: Harvard University, B.A. Government 1978; Small businessman; Executive Director of Massachusetts Republican State Committee; challenger to Ted Kennedy in 1988.

MOTTO: Give the taxpayers more for less.

LATEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS: Reducing the state treasury operating budget through innovation and cost savings. Each year since taking office the operating budget has decreased and is now down 30% since 1989.

#1 TO-DO-LIST: Use the pension fund productively and constructively to stimulate jobs for Massachusetts.

MY 800 LB GORILLA: Protectors of the *status quo* who fear the word "change."

HISTORICAL HEROES: Ronald Reagan, Harry Truman and Muhammad Ali.

PET PEEVES: Violence on television and in the movies.

PATH NOT TAKEN: Teaching and coaching.

IF I WERE PRESIDENT: I would do everything in my power to shake up the system in Washington. Too many of our elected officials within the Beltway spend their time talking to politicians, lobbyists and bureaucrats, and not enough time listening to the American people.

WHY I'M NOT A DEMOCRAT: The Democrat party, through higher taxes; more bureaucracy and more regulations, has made the American Dream more difficult to achieve. As a son of immigrants, I believe that what makes America great is the individual freedom that allows us to pursue our dreams.

This appeared
in the March edition
of the GOP magazine

To: Dennis
From: Mary
647-1360

GOVERNOR WELD'S
INTRODUCTION FOR SEN. BOB DOLE

THANK YOU. LET ME START BY SAYING THAT I AM DELIGHTED TO BE
HERE TODAY FOR MY GOOD FRIEND JOE MALONE.

OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS, JOE HAS WORKED WITH PAUL CELLUCCI
AND I TO OVERCOME THE FISCAL CRISIS WE INHERITED IN 1991, AND TO
MAKE MASSACHUSETTS A BETTER PLACE TO WORK, LIVE AND RAISE A
FAMILY.

WHEN JOE TOOK OFFICE AS STATE TREASURER IN 1991, HE PROMISED
TO MAKE THE TREASURY MORE ACCOUNTABLE AND MORE EFFICIENT. SINCE
THEN, HE HAS RESTRUCTURED AND MODERNIZED THE TREASURY'S
DEPARTMENTS AND REDUCED BOTH OPERATING COSTS AND THE PAYROLL BY
MORE THAN 35%.

THROUGH INNOVATION, PRUDENT FINANCIAL POLICIES AND A
COMMITMENT TO PRODUCTIVITY, JOE HAS IMPROVED SERVICES DELIVERED
BY HIS AGENCIES, AND HE HAS OPENED GOVERNMENT BOOKS TO THE PUBLIC
AND PRIVATE SECTORS THROUGH HIS PUBLICATION, "QUARTERLY REPORT."

SINCE 1991, JOE HAS RETURNED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN BUDGET
SAVINGS TO THE STATE'S GENERAL FUND BY CUTTING ADMINISTRATION
COSTS AT THE TREASURY AND LOTTERY.

JOE HAS ALSO INSTITUTED INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS SUCH AS THE
MIDDLE-CLASS AMERICAN DREAM PROGRAM, WHICH MAKES HOME-OWNERSHIP
MORE ACCESSIBLE TO WORKING FAMILIES. THIS PROGRAM IS JUST THE
FIRST IN A SERIES OF PENSION FUND INVESTMENTS SPEARHEADED BY THE
TREASURER AND A PANEL OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR EXPERTS UNDER
THE TREASURER'S ECONOMICALLY TARGETED INVESTMENT PROGRAM.

WE WANT TO KEEP MASSACHUSETTS MOVING FORWARD, AND TO DO SO, WE NEED JOE MALONE'S COMMITMENT TO QUALITY AND FINANCIAL PRUDENCE.

WE NEED ANOTHER FOUR YEARS OF TREASURER JOE MALONE!

JOINING US TODAY IS ONE OF THE GREAT AND MOST DISTINGUISHED REPUBLICAN LEADERS OF OUR TIME. HIS RECORD OF PUBLIC SERVICE SPANNING FOUR DECADES HAS EARNED HIM THE ADMIRATION OF REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS ALIKE.

FEW CAN MATCH HIS EXPERIENCE: HE WAS THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN IN THE DARK DAYS OF THE EARLY 1970'S. IN A BRIGHTER TIME DURING THE 1980'S, HE WAS THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WHO SAW THE REAGAN TAX CUTS THROUGH THE SENATE.

THROUGHOUT HIS CAREER, HE HAS BEEN AN EFFECTIVE ADVOCATE FOR REPUBLICAN PRINCIPALS AND A STRONG VOICE FOR COMMON-SENSE AMERICAN VALUES.

BUT AT NO TIME DURING HIS LONG AND IMPRESSIVE CAREER HAS HIS LEADERSHIP BEEN MORE VITAL THAN IT IS TODAY. DURING THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF, HE HAS BEEN THERE TO PROTECT HARD-WORKING AMERICAN TAXPAYERS FROM THE MOST DANGEROUS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION'S LIBERAL IMPULSES.

HE HAS RIGHTLY EARNED THE REPUTATION AS ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL LEADERS AND ONE OF THE GREAT AMERICANS OF OUR TIME.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PLEASE HELP ME WELCOME THE REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, BOB DOLE.



FISCAL UPDATE

A Quarterly Report from Treasurer Joe Malone

Winter 1993

Volume 1 Number 9

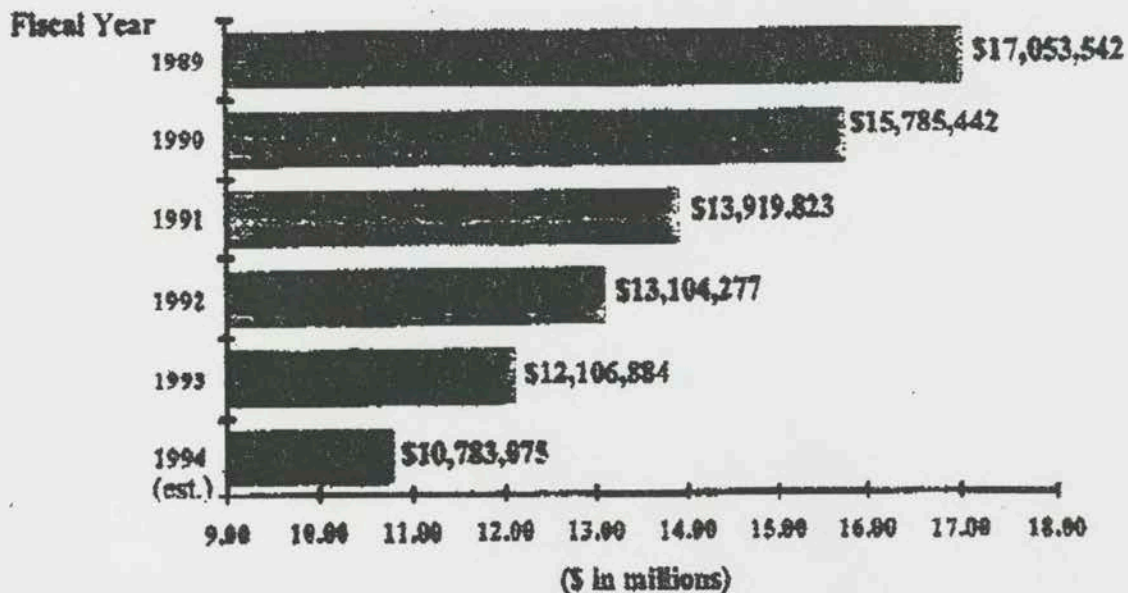
From the State Treasurer

YEAR IN REVIEW - 1993 - "DOING MORE WITH LESS"

OVERVIEW

❖ Administrative Spending

The graph below shows the shrinkage in total Treasury and Retirement Board spending for fiscal years 1989 to 1994.



Estimated spending for fiscal year 1994 is 36.8% less than it was for 1989. If spending in 1989 is adjusted for inflation, the reduction is nearly 46%.

❖ Number of Employees

The number of full time employees (FTE's) has been reduced from a high of 324 in fiscal year 1989 to 150 at the end of December, 1993.

The Boston Globe Magazine

OCTOBER 10, 1993

State Treasurer Joseph D. Malone has blossomed into an odd kind of celebrity: the self-proclaimed political outsider who rails against cronyism and fiscal irresponsibility. "You can either conform, or you can walk on your own path," he says. "If it means you're going to bump shoulders, so what?"

WHY DOES BEACON HILL HATE THIS MAN?

By Don Aucoin

On and on the guy yammers, thrusting his jaw to within a millimeter of Joe Malone's amiable mug, dispensing advice and exhortations while Malone grins and nods as if this were the single most important conversation of his life. As seconds of street-corner schmooze in Boston's North End stretch into minutes, Malone's driver wears the lemme outta-here look of a treed cat. He mutters something about a gaggle of VIPs waiting back at the State House, but Malone pays him no heed. What's the hurry?

"I'm most happy when I'm outside the State House," Malone confides to a reporter, not needing to add that the State House feels much the same way. So why not savor this authentic Malone Moment, chumming it up with an Average Citizen who seems to view him as some kind of Capra-esque folk hero of Massachusetts politics? Heaven knows, Malone has

Continued on Page 40

*Joe and
Linda
Malone at
home in
Waltham
with their
sons, Joey,
4, and
Sam, 2.*

Don Aucoin is a member of the Globe's State House bureau.

worked hard enough to build that persona: slamming into the Beacon Hill status quo like a publicity-seeking missile, beaming munificently as he bestows lottery jackpots on grateful voters, refusing to join the rest of the State House gang at the St. Patrick's Day breakfast hosted by Senate President William Bulger, spearheading motherhood-and-apple-pie causes ranging from a "Hero's Welcome" for returning Gulf War veterans to term limits to high school quiz shows to an "American Dream" home-mortgage program.

Call it sincerity, call it calculation, call it a mixture of the two: The fact is that Joseph D. Malone, a Republican, is the wild card in a long-stacked deck. In the dry-as-dust job of state treasurer, he has somehow blossomed into an odd kind of celebrity: the regular-guy reformer, the maverick with a mission to tell the public about the patronage and cronyism and fiscal irresponsibility he says he finds under the golden dome.

"You can either conform, or you can walk on your own path," says Malone with a shrug. "If it means you're going to bump shoulders, so what? It's worth the bumping." But this summer, Beacon Hill started bumping back — hard. And after 2½ years of putting the boot to the powers that be, Joe Malone found himself suddenly and dramatically on the defensive.

First, the Democrat-dominated Massachusetts Senate sliced the lottery advertising budget to ribbons (something it had never done to Malone's Democratic predecessor, Bob Crane). When Malone blamed Bulger for the cuts, blasting him as a "petty man who is consumed with being vindic-

ative," Democrats shrugged, reminded Malone that a few weeks earlier he had held a press conference to present a \$1 million "check" to "the people of Massachusetts" (representing savings achieved by the treasurer's office), and replied, hey, you said you didn't need all that money.

Then, in late August, Democrats demanded a federal investigation after the state inspector general, a former Democratic legislator, released a report accusing Malone's office of bending or breaking rules in steering lucrative pension-management contracts to six firms, and producing backdated and bogus documents to justify the contract awards. A top Malone aide resigned over the flap.

Malone immediately took to the radio talk shows — his favorite medium — to wage a fierce counteroffensive. He called it an "old-fashioned witch hunt" and a "political game" by an insiders' club captained by Bulger, insisted his aides had made only well-intentioned mistakes while trying to improve the pension fund, and said that it was he who discovered that his aide had backdated the documents and then alerted the inspector general. While Malone himself was not implicated in the alleged mishandling of the pension contracts, Democrats reminded the public that Malone has overall responsibility for the conduct of his underlings. Malone himself has already translated the pension controversy into a sports metaphor, a sure sign that he is determined to rebound from it.

"Politics is a bit like boxing," he says now. "You can have nine terrific rounds, but then you can have a 10th round where you get knocked on the seat of your

pants. It's not an unhealthy thing to be knocked on the seat of your pants once in a while."

THE EPISODE SHOWED the high and narrow tightrope Malone walks as the most powerful outsider in Massachusetts politics, and how many on Beacon Hill are eager to see him fall. "As long as I've been on the Hill, those people who have been most righteously indignant have been hoisted on their own petard sooner or later," observes House Speaker Charles Flaherty, a Democrat and a 27-year veteran from Cambridge. "If you're going to be that self-righteous, you'd better be damn sure you never, ever cross that line."

But few who have watched Malone perfect the outside game against the insiders were betting against his ability to rebound or even use the controversy as further proof that Beacon Hill is out to destroy him. In making that case, Malone has plenty of good will with the general public to draw upon. Prior to the pension flap, his favorability ratings were through the roof: 54 percent favorable to 15 percent unfavorable in a June poll by the Becker Institute. But after the flap, a *Globe* poll, conducted in September, found that he had slipped to 39 percent favorable and 13 percent unfavorable.

Malone is a big hit with talk-show callers and audiences on the rubber-chicken circuit ("People who don't like politics like Joe Malone," says one political activist), and he gained more pizzazz when *Boston* magazine named him one of Greater Boston's "10 sexiest men." And in a region besotted with *Cheers* for the past decade, he even has a 2-year-old son named Sam Malone.

Politically, his strength is growing. He has a robust campaign organization and a war chest that is expected to top \$1 million by Christmas; he has forged a Reaganlike coalition of die-hard Republicans and blue-collar Democrats (he easily defeated his 1990 Democratic opponent in Boston and Worcester, cities no Republican is supposed to carry); and GOP presidential hopefuls have started asking him to speak on their behalf in New Hampshire.

"This is the type of business where you build up as much capital as you can," Malone says, "because you never know where that capital will be spent."

Some political pros are happy to suggest ways Malone can spend it. "I don't know when, but there is no doubt in my mind that Joe Malone will be governor someday," says Charley Manning, a consultant who advises Malone. "He is the natural. If Michael Jordan was born to play basketball and Tom Wolfe was born to be a writer, then Joe was born to do what he does today."

A leading Republican says, "He's terrific — maybe as good as there is — when it comes to retail politics. He remembers people's names, asks about their families. He's one of those politicians who has the ability to make you feel he knows you and actually cares about you, even though you may have met him only once before in your life."

It's always been that way. It was that way at Harvard in the early 1970s, when the hulking 240-pound kid from Waltham would go out of his way to chat with the cafeteria ladies, first-generation Americans, most of them. He would ask about their kids, and they would cook him a special extra

dorm. It was that way during the GOP's moment of electoral triumph in 1990, when the nobs and opportunists gravitated to Gov. William Weld's inaugural gala while the working stiffs and old friends went to Malone's separate bash, where he managed - as he always does - to talk to each person in the room at least twice.

It is that way now, on this sunny day in the North End. "The whole neighborhood, the whole street, we're with you, Joe," the Average Citizen tells him. "I hope you run for governor."

"Maybe someday," Malone replies. But there is no maybe in his voice or his manner. There never is. On the much-discussed matter of Joe Malone's running for governor, the question is not if, but when.

It could be as soon as next year, but only if a restless Weld decides to forgo his reelection campaign to challenge US Sen. Edward Kennedy. That would offer a piquant irony. During Kennedy's last reelection campaign, in 1988, he was challenged by a first-time candidate with an engaging manner who stuck to the high road and didn't mention Kennedy's personal life, a kid everybody agreed was going places, name of Joe Malone. That race changed Malone's identity from that of a "Shamie guy" - referring to his long stint as the right-hand man of former Republican leader Ray Shamie - to the "guy who took on Ted Kennedy."

(One of those who wanted to meet the guy taking on Ted Kennedy was President Ronald Reagan, who interrupted Malone's honeymoon by summoning the young Republican and his bride, Linda, from Nantucket to the White House for a little campaign coaching.)

ing Malone to challenge US Sen. John Kerry in 1996, but he is cool to the idea. By far the most likely scenario is one that many Republicans look forward to with a mixture of eagerness and dread: a 1998 battle with Lt. Gov. Paul Cellucci for the GOP nomination for governor that one Republican predicts would trigger a "civil war" within the party. Despite - or because of - Cellucci's starring role in the Weld administration, most observers say they would bet on Malone in that fight. Malone, whose mother was the first woman to chair the Massachusetts Republican Club and who worked for years as a Republican operative, has an emotional bond with the GOP grass roots that Cellucci - or Weld, for that matter - cannot match.

Cellucci declines to speculate on a match-up with Malone, saying only, "He's an important and dynamic leader in the Republican Party, and we need important and dynamic leaders."

GOP consultant Todd Domke says Malone was talking about running for governor as early as 1982. Asked point blank, Malone wraps his ambition in generalities: "Where it all leads, I don't know. I don't have any grand scheme. If the opportunity arose to expand my opportunities and by so doing help people even more, that would be terrific."

While he weighs those tantalizing options, Malone will keep going on talk shows to decry "this back-room mentality where everyone cuts deals behind closed doors" (though the pension-management flap may inhibit his rhetoric for a while on this score), keep his uncanny political antennae attuned to what the Average Citizen is thinking ("I don't claim to be an intellectual, but I have

of the average working person," Malone says), and, through it all, keep grinning that grin.

"That little lopsided grin of his is very useful," observes WBZ talk-show host David Brudnoy. "He looks like the kind of guy grandmothers want to take home for supper and fathers want to play catch with."

And other politicians want to throttle.

MALONE HAS SPEAR-headed the statewide drive to limit politicians' terms in office (and, before he was treasurer, the drive to repeal their pay hikes). He has closed their special legislative bank and released to the news media the names of those who drew advances on their salaries (only after the media requested those names under the Freedom of Information Act, his aides insist). He has broomed their cronies out of the patronage-laden treasury and the lottery (though he, too, is vulnerable to charges of cronyism, having hired old schoolmates and former campaign workers on his staff). He has called other politicians the "dinosaurs on Beacon Hill." And he has tried to contrast his openness and accessibility with their back-door ways.

"Joe Malone has more enemies than any other political figure in the state," says Domke, who has known Malone since the treasurer was a rookie political operative. "If he ever really slips, there will be a lot of kicking motions in his direction."

Even House Ways and Means chairman Thomas Finneran, who is more kindly disposed to Malone than most Democrats, says, "We all take each other with various grains of salt, but with Joe, you might need another tablespoon. Inside the [State House] building he is looked upon as somebody who tries to grandstand at the expense of the general dismal assessment the public has of the Legislature and of the Senate president in particular."

Flaherty is more blunt. "Any time anyone asks a question of Joe Malone or offers any criticism, his response is, 'This is political, because I'm standing up to the boys on the Hill,'" he says. "That's getting weary."

But the story line continues to enthrall John and Jane Q. Public. Malone sees a lot of John and Jane since, by his own admission, he attends political or charitable events "only on days ending in the letter Y."

Unlike Weld or Cellucci, Malone doesn't have to take positions constantly on controversial social issues, such as abortion, which he opposes. Cultural conservatism is more deeply ingrained in Malone than in either Weld or Cellucci (he fiercely debated the influence of TV violence with a Hollywood producer during a forum at his Harvard reunion this year, winning applause from the largely liberal crowd), but Malone's conservatism projects to the general public as a nonideological populism delivered by an utterly different breed of cat. "Joe likes to play to that frustrated, lower-middle-class, mad-as-hell constituency," says a GOP operative.

Larry Overlan, author of a book about the 1990 Republican renaissance, asserts, "There is no question that he's the most popular Republican in Massachusetts. When he speaks, people are attentive, crowding to get near him, giving him rousing ovations when he's done.

He's the future of the GOP in Massachusetts."

Malone is one of those pols that people feel they're on a first-name basis with. When he marches in parades, spectators routinely call out: "Joe, I need a winning lottery number!" And he is a big draw at GOP functions. "The rank-and-file are very favorable toward Joe Malone, because he'll go out of his way to make functions, picnics, meet-the-candidate nights, and help little town committees," says Andrew Zale, chairman of the Republican Town Committee in Groton. "It's not just glad-handing. You can always count on him."

Part of his appeal to the true believers may be his gee-whiz, corny sentiments: "Whether we like it or not, we're role models for the next generation. I hope there's somebody out there saying, 'I admire Joe Malone, and I'd like to get into politics.'" Of other politicians, he says, with a straight face: "My hope is I can get them to see the world the way I do."

Inside the State House, where Malone shows a steely political cunning more often than an ingenuous idealism, remarks like those elicit grins. "The insiders think Joe is a little too cute," says one politico. "He's a political animal through and through."

But Cellucci describes Malone in more neutral terms: "Joe Malone came in here as an independent person, someone who was not tied to anyone in the building, someone who wanted to change things. To the extent he's ruffled feathers, well, that's what he told people he was going to do."

NOTHING DEFINES MALONE'S outsider persona so clearly — and suits his political purposes so well — as his war with Bulger, who detests Malone so much that he has told the treasurer's office not to call his office for any reason. "He knows that

I'm coming from a different world than he is," says Malone, adding a colossal understatement: "He sees things differently."

A testy relationship between the two was probably inevitable, given that Malone, when he served as executive director of the Republican State Committee, once carried a sign during a GOP protest that read: "Billy Bulger, Keep Your Hands off the Boston Garden." As chairman of the Massachusetts Convention Center Authority board, Malone has frequently (though not lately) been at loggerheads with Francis X. Joyce, a Bulger protege who is executive director of the authority.

In Malone's war with Bulger, no symbol is too small, as evinced by Malone's refusal to attend Bulger's annual St. Patrick's Day breakfast-cum-political-roast in South Boston. This greatly annoys Bulger, who considers his "time" to be the one day each year when fellowship should prevail over partisanship, a chance for pols of all stripes to let their hair down and show their human side. (Easy for him to say, since Bulger — who declined to be interviewed for this article — makes sure he has all the best lines.)

Malone intimates say it's not that the treasurer is an antisocial prig. Indeed, he enjoys a reputation as a party-hearty guy who catches Bruce Springsteen in concert whenever The Boss is in town, and he recently created a stir by appearing tieless at a swank affair at the Ritz Roof. But they say Malone views Bulger's breakfast as a symbol of the cozy old-boys' network he is determined not to be cooped into.

"Joe thinks it's a bit obscene to have Bulger up there saying, 'I'll cut your budget if you don't laugh at

my jokes,'" says Manning. "He doesn't think those jokes are funny."

Another source close to Malone says, "The minute you play Bulger's game, you become just like any other politician, and Joe does not want to be just like any other politician. Bulger considers himself the pope of Massachusetts politics, but Joe doesn't kiss the ring. He understands that Bulger is a powerful guy who controls a lot of things, but he feels that if he has to compromise with Bulger to get along with the guy, then he's not going to get along with the guy."

This contrasts sharply with Weld, who hit Bulger as hard as any other Republican during the 1990 campaign but has been beguiled by the Senate president and shows up each year at Bulger's breakfast to perform a witty songspiel.

It probably goes without saying that Malone doesn't mind sharp contrasts with other politicians, even Weld. Though the two have a warm relationship sustained by frequent phone calls, Malone has taken pains to publicize his occasional differences with Weld, such as when he blasted his support for a Bulger initiative to dedicate part of the hotel-motel tax to subsidize the John B. Hynes Veterans Memorial Convention Center. As for Cellucci, Malone has made it clear he will not defer to him next year if Weld decides not to seek reelection.

As Malone himself might say, it's worth the bumping.

IF THERE IS A CORE OF toughness to Malone beneath his genial surface, it may have been forged 25 years ago, when death blew a hole in the center of his world. The youngest of seven in a close-knit Italian-

American family in Waltham (the name was changed from Mulone many years ago), Joe was "always the little guy inseparable from my father," recalls Chuck Malone, Joe's brother. "My dad would say, 'Joe, let's go,' and Joe would just jump in the car." Young Joe liked to go to his father's office at the family-owned trucking firm, and sit on his desk while his father worked.

One day, 12-year-old Joe bounded out of his father's car with a pistachio ice cream cone, shouting to his six brothers and sisters, "Look what Daddy bought me!" When his siblings teased him that pistachio was a rotten flavor, Joe retorted: "Dad said I can have any flavor I want tomorrow." But the next day, Charles Malone suffered a heart attack, and within days he was dead at age 61.

"My father was the Rock of Gibraltar," Joe Malone says quietly over lunch in the North End. "And suddenly there was my mother one morning, trying to explain: That's it, there's no more Dad. From that day forward, the world changed considerably."

At the funeral, Chuck Malone says, Joe didn't cry. He stood erect in a dark suit, hair combed, and he didn't cry. "He had to be a little man," says Chuck. "He felt that if he cried, it wouldn't be honorable for his father." (Malone would show a similar stoicism many years later, when his first child, Joe Jr., was born two months prematurely. "It was touch-and-go for a while, really scary, but Joe was a rock," recalls Manning.)

Despite Joe's outward show of strength when his father died, Adele Malone realized that her youngest child needed her more than ever. She had long been active in Republican politics — former governor John Volpe

was a frequent visitor to the Malone home, and by 1972 Joe was working as a driver for Volpe — and she began bringing Joe along with her to GOP events. In no time, Joe was offering political advice to his elders. “He would analyze, and he would be concerned if he felt our candidate wasn’t doing so well,” recalls Adelle Malone. “He would feel the pulse of the people.”

For his part, Joe seems almost to have believed that if he became everybody’s all-American, he could ease his mother’s grief over the loss of her husband. He buckled down in school, was elected president of the student council at Waltham High, and was named captain of the football team. “My whole inspiration and drive has been making my mother’s load less heavy,” says Malone.

“He tried to please me in so many ways,” says his mother. “I still treasure his cards from Mother’s Day, little handwritten notes he would write.”

Ira Steinberg, an English teacher at Waltham High School, recalls Joe Malone as a beefy, naturally gregarious kid who had an easy rapport with jocks and eggheads alike in a working-class city with a heavily Italian, Irish, and French population. “He had a great personality,” says Steinberg. “It was clear, even as a teenager, that he was destined for greater accomplishments. He had the intellect and the perseverance.”

In his English class, Steinberg frequently held up prizefighter Muhammad Ali to Malone as the embodiment of courageous independence. Malone remembered. In January 1992, when Steinberg was recuperating from a bout with cancer, Malone called to invite him to a political get-together in Waltham. When Steinberg

arrived, Malone maneuvered him into a private audience with the guest of honor: Muhammad Ali. “I consider that to have been a significant part of my recuperation, the joy I felt that day,” Steinberg says.

As he approached his senior year at Waltham High, Malone set his heart on Harvard. But, sensing that he needed to bolster his credentials to join the Ivy League, he enrolled at Andover, a select prep school. At Andover and later at Harvard, Malone roomed with Christopher Doherty, a self-described Kennedy Democrat; the two got into many avid late-night discussions in which, Doherty recalls, “I’d go after Nixon, and he’d go after Ted Kennedy.” (Doherty would later work for both Kennedy and Malone.)

“Andover and Harvard gave Joe a lot of polish, a lot of confidence, by giving him the opportunity to rub shoulders with all kinds of people,” Doherty says. And to bang shoulders: Malone played nose tackle on the Harvard football team.

In 1980, Malone went to work at the nuts-and-bolts level of politics, helping congressional candidate Thomas Trimarco build a campaign organization in his challenge to then-U.S. Rep. Nicholas Mavroules, of Peabody. Malone’s decade of toil in the political vineyard had be-

gun, and with Trimarco’s loss to Mavroules, he was beginning to understand the GOP’s underdog status in Massachusetts.

In 1982, Todd Domke was campaign director for Republican senatorial candidate Raymond Shamie in his challenge to Kennedy, and he put out the word that he was looking for a crack operative to corral delegates at the GOP state convention. The young guy who showed up looked pretty unpromising: unshaven, wearing a grubby plaid shirt, obviously recovering from a long night.

“If I was judging based on appearance, I wouldn’t have hired him,” Domke says. But Malone

SENATE PRESIDENT *William Bulger* “considers himself the pope of Massachusetts,” says a source close to Treasurer *Malone*, “but Joe doesn’t kiss the ring.”

proved adept at rounding up delegates, and Shamie won the convention endorsement. Malone went on to manage the Shamie campaign, during which Shamie did better against Kennedy than any candidate had ever done. In 1984, Malone managed Shamie’s campaign against US Sen. John Kerry. Once again, Shamie went down to defeat.

After a year as executive director of the Republican State Committee, building up a lot of good will and political IOUs among grass-roots activists, Malone decided to challenge Kennedy (some say it was partly because Malone wanted to protect his mentor, Shamie, from GOP pressure to run and be defeated a third time). At first, the cognoscenti were underwhelmed. Malone, after all, hadn’t run for political office since his student-council days at Waltham High. “The *Herald* called me an unknown, the *Globe* called me a sacrificial lamb,” Malone recalls with a chuckle.

Though some Republicans urged him to take the gloves off and attack Kennedy personally, and some reporters told him his press conferences would be better covered if he hammered the incumbent, Malone refrained. “I wanted to run this campaign as someone who had ad-

dressed the issues, rather than make a nasty attack on the senator," he says. As with so much of what Malone does, doing what came naturally proved politically astute, since he won points with the public by running a "clean" campaign and established himself as more than just another cutthroat politician.

But there were some unnerving moments for the political novice. For example, Malone's first debate with Kennedy also happened to be his first debate ever. "In my first debate, there I was, debating Ted Kennedy on statewide TV," Malone says with a shake of his head. "It was somewhat surreal."

Kennedy trounced Malone by nearly a million votes, but Malone had pushed his way into the public eye. He quickly turned his attention to the next election cycle: 1990. Denied a chance to run against a Democratic incumbent when Bob Crane decided to retire, Malone drew the next-best opponent for his purposes: state Rep. Bill Galvin, a longtime Beacon Hill insider.

Announcing that he would refrain from mudslinging, he instead came out with issue-oriented "Joe Malone Reports." Every Friday, he would stroll into a small radio station in Watertown, quickly write three 60-second spots on folksy topics designed to introduce himself to the voters (how lucky we Bay Staters were to have Larry Bird, what it was like growing up in Waltham, how nice a city Brockton is), and then tape the spots with the ease and naturalness of a veteran broadcaster.

"No political consultant was there saying, 'Shade this word or that word,'" says Manning. "Joe just knew. His political gut is absolutely perfect, right on line."

Partly due to the anti-Democrat wave that also carried Weld and Cellucci into office, partly due to his own persona and reformist message, Malone trounced Galvin by 400,000 votes. Linking 1988 and 1990, Malone says: "I felt like I had shown up for the interview; I didn't

get the job the first time, but I got the job when it became available."

ONCE HE GOT THE JOB, becoming the first Republican state treasurer in more than three decades, Malone's life changed dramatically. He and his wife, who had been renting an apartment in Watertown and living on money borrowed from relatives, were finally able to afford to buy a house in Waltham.

Meanwhile, Malone began earning headlines — and enemies — at the State House. He drastically trimmed the treasurer's staff, putting many Crane loyalists out of work, although critics noted that Malone also hired some loyalists of his own. He laid off 20 percent of the work force at the state lottery — long considered a patronage haven for the politically connected — and replaced the couriers who delivered lottery tickets with the use of the United Parcel Service. Styling himself as a fiscal watchdog, Malone publicly warned Weld against complacency about the state deficit, and he began lobbing rhetorical cherry bombs at the Legislature on a regular basis.

But along with the reform-minded shakeups, there were also occasional missteps. In June 1992, the *Globe* uncovered two cases in which firms that employed friends of Malone landed millions of dollars in state business because of decisions made by the treasurer and his staff. Though Malone insisted that his friends just happened to work for the most qualified applicant, the contract awards jeopardized Malone's claim to have abjured the business-as-usual approach in the treasurer's office.

The *Globe* also reported that Malone had collected \$4,500 in pay from the Emergency Finance Board for 45 meetings, even though he had attended only three of the meetings. After pointing out that he had taken the money because his staff told him that was what Crane did, Malone recovered quickly from that embarrassment by returning the money.

That combination of forthright-

ness and political nimbleness has served Malone well, brought him far, and set him apart from the pack. But as this summer turned into fall, Malone appeared to be at a crossroads, with many wondering whether the independent, give-'em-hell tactics that have served him so well were starting to backfire.

For instance, a lot of Republicans were peeved at him after he weighed in with seemingly sanctimonious pronouncements when a Republican state senator was indicted on conflict-of-interest charges in August. And the pension flap was like blood in the water to Democratic sharks looking for a chance to take a bite out of Malone's image.

When in doubt, though, Malone always returns to The People. It is time to say goodbye to the Average Citizen, time for Malone the consummate listener to end this conversation in the North End.

But not before Malone the perpetual campaigner offers one last promise, one he will find harder and harder to keep in the next two years as his enemies wait and watch for any missteps, for more tarnish on Malone's halo. "I'll keep banging away," Malone says. Then he heads back to the State House. □



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Treasury Department

State House, Boston 02133

Joseph D. Malone
Treasurer and Receiver General

BIOGRAPHY: STATE TREASURER JOE MALONE

On January 16, 1991, Joseph D. Malone was inaugurated 56th Treasurer and Receiver General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The first Republican to hold that office since 1949, Joe carried the state with a 58% of the vote in November 1990.

Since taking office, Malone has acted on his promise to make Massachusetts government more accountable and more efficient. He has restructured the Treasury and modernized its departments, streamlining its operations costs by 33% and cutting the number of employees in half. As head of the Massachusetts State Lottery, Malone has also streamlined Lottery operations costs by 20%.

Malone has committed his time in office to quality, productivity, prudent finance, and innovation. Malone has privatized government services, and has opened government books to the public and the private sectors through his "Quarterly Report." During his tenure, Malone has returned millions of dollars in budget savings to the state's General Fund from Treasury and Lottery administrative accounts.

Malone has also instituted innovative programs such as the Middle-Class American Dream program. The program brings home ownership within closer reach of citizens in Massachusetts' forgotten middle class. This is the first in a series of pension fund investments spearheaded by the Treasurer and a blue-ribbon panel of public-and private-sector experts under the Treasurer's Economically Targeted Investment program.

Malone also recently implemented an innovative new school banking pilot program called Saving Makes "Cents." This program, which will be made available to every school in the Commonwealth by September, is aimed at improving the economic literacy of elementary school children, by teaching them how to open a savings account, the history of money, and other basic economic issues. The Treasurer is personally going out to elementary schools around the state to teach classes in this 12-week curriculum. He also teaches classes to students at local high schools, and brings experience, inspiration, and practical application to book-learning.

Long active in Massachusetts' civic affairs, Joe has devoted his professional life to rebuilding the two-party system in Massachusetts. He has founded both a drive to initiate term limitation -- "Eight Is Enough" -- and a five-step plan to rebuild the Republican party in Massachusetts.

In 1988, Joe waged a widely-applauded, upbeat campaign for incumbent veteran Ted Kennedy's U.S. Senate seat. The campaign drew support throughout the state and around the country.

In 1991, Malone launched a volunteer fundraising drive which raised \$750,000 for men and women of Massachusetts who answered our country's call during Operation Desert Storm.

The youngest of seven children, Joe Malone was born in Newton on November 18, 1954. He grew up in Waltham, graduated from Waltham High School in 1973, and attend Phillips Academy in Andover. In 1978, Malone earned his bachelor's degree from Harvard, where he was also honored with the prestigious Henry Lamar Award.

Joe and his wife Linda (Ploen) are the proud parents of Joe, Jr. and Samuel. The Malone family resides in Waltham, Massachusetts.

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SENATOR BOB DOLE

JOE MALONE KICK-OFF

MAY 1, 1994

***THANK YOU. IT'S A
PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE TODAY.
I REMEMBER THE TIME NOT ALL
THAT LONG AGO, WHEN IT
LOOKED LIKE MASSACHUSETTS
REPUBLICANS WERE ALL BUT
EXTINCT.**

***BUT THANKS TO THE HARD
WORK OF A LOT OF PEOPLE IN
THIS ROOM...THANKS TO THE
FACT THAT THE DEMOCRATS
ANSWER TO EVERY PROBLEM
WAS TAX AND SPEND...AND
THANKS TO GOOD CANDIDATES
WITH GOOD IDEAS LIKE BILL
WELD, PAUL CELLUCCI, JOE
MALONE, PETER BLUTE, AND**

**PETER TORKILDSEN...A NEW DAY
HAS DAWNED HERE IN THE
COMMONWEALTH OF
MASSACHUSETTS.**

***AND I THINK A NEW DAY
MAY DAWN ACROSS AMERICA
THIS NOVEMBER...FOR A LONG
TIME, THE HOUSE AND THE
SENATE HAVE FACED A
SITUATION LIKE**

**MASSACHUSETTS USED TO--ONE
PARTY RULE.**

***THE HOUSE HAS BEEN
UNDER DEMOCRAT CONTROL
FOR 40 STRAIGHT YEARS--40
STRAIGHT YEARS--JOE MALONE
IS 39 YEARS OLD--AND HE'S
NEVER SEEN A REPUBLICAN
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE. I**

**THINK IT'S TIME TO CHANGE
THAT.**

***THE DEMOCRATS HAVE
ALSO CONTROLLED THE SENATE
FOR 32 OF 40 YEARS.**

***SO WE'RE ASKING VOTERS
THIS YEAR WHAT BILL WELD,
PAUL CELUCCI AND JOE
MALONE ASKED THEM FOUR
YEARS AGO--IF YOU LIKE THE**

**STATUS QUO, THEN VOTE
DEMOCRAT...BUT IF YOU THINK
THERE'S A NEED FOR
CHANGE...IF YOU THINK WE CAN
DO BETTER...THAN VOTE
REPUBLICAN.**

***AND I'M ASKING VOTERS
TO JUST GIVE REPUBLICANS
TWO YEARS--IF YOU DON'T LIKE
WHAT WE DO, THEN THROW US**

OUT FOR ANOTHER 40.

***IN 1990 THE VOTERS OF
THIS COMMONWEALTH GAVE
REPUBLICANS A CHANCE--AND
AS YOU LOOK AT THE RECORD
OF ACCOMPLISHMENT OF BILL
WELD, PAUL CELLUCCI, AND JOE
MALONE, I AM CONFIDENT THEY
WILL GIVE THEM ANOTHER FOUR**

**YEAR LEASE ON THE STATE
HOUSE HERE IN BOSTON.**

***LET ME END BY SAYING
THAT MY WIFE SENDS HER
GREETINGS TODAY. SHE WENT
TO HARVARD LAW SCHOOL, AND
SERVES ON THE HARVARD
BOARD OF OVERSEERS...SHE
CAN'T COME TO EVENTS LIKE
THIS ANY MORE, AS SHE HAS TO**

**STAY NON-POLITICAL...AND IT'S
PROBABLY A GOOD THING, TOO.**

**POLITICIANS USUALLY ASK
FOR YOUR MONEY...BUT
ELIZABETH ASKS FOR YOUR
MONEY AND YOUR BLOOD.**

***IT'S MY PRIVILEGE TO
INTRODUCE TO YOU ONE OF THE
RISING STARS OF THE**

**REPUBLICAN PARTY--THE
GOVERNOR OF THE
COMMONWEALTH OF
MASSACHUSETTS, BILL
WELD.**