

8/14/93 Chautauqua NY  
"Democrat for Dole"

CURRICULUM VITAE

Steven T. Ross

Date of Birth:

April 7, 1937  
New York City

Business  
Address:

Strategy Department  
Naval War College  
Newport, Rhode Island 02841-5010

Home Address:

The Carriage House  
Gordon Street  
Newport, Rhode Island 02840

Education:

B.A. 1959 Williams College  
M.A. 1962 Princeton University  
Ph.D. 1963 Princeton University

Experience:

1961-1962 Princeton University  
Instructor  
1963-1967 University of Nebraska  
Instructor and Assistant  
Professor  
1967-1973 University of Texas  
Associate Professor  
1973-Present  
Naval War College  
Professor of Strategy  
1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1989, 1990  
Yale University Visiting Professor  
in College Seminar Program  
1979-1981 Defense Intelligence Agency  
Academic Assistant  
1986-1987 Central Intelligence Agency  
Scholar in Residence

Awards and  
Scholarships:

Phi Beta Kappa  
Woodrow Wilson Fellowship  
Rollins Fellowship  
Dodd Fellowship  
Fels Scholarship

# PUBLICATIONS

## Books:

1. European Diplomatic History, 1789-1815  
France Against Europe, (N.Y., Doubleday  
Inc., 1969; Krieger Publishing, 1981, 1985,  
1986)
2. The French Revolution: Conflict or  
Continuity? (N.Y., Holt, Rinehart and  
Winston, 1971; Krieger Publishing, 1978)
3. Quest for Victory, French Military  
Strategy 1792-1799 (N.Y., NYAS Barnes and  
Co., London Thomas Yoseloff Ltd., 1973)
4. From Flintlock to Rifle: Infantry  
Tactics 1740-1866 (Teaneck, N.J., Fairleigh  
Dickinson University Press, and Associated  
University Presses, London, 1979)
5. French Military History 1661-1799:  
A Guide to the Literature. (N.Y., Garland  
Publishing, 1984)
6. ed., JCS Reform: Proceedings of the  
Conference. (Newport, Naval War College  
Press, 1985)
7. American War Plans, 1945-1950  
(N.Y., Garland Publishing, 1988)
8. ed., with D.A.Rosenberg, America's  
Plans for War against the Soviet Union,  
1945-1950 (N.Y., Garland Publishing, 1989-  
1990)
  - Vol 1 The Strategic Environment
  - Vol 2 Design for Gloval War: The  
Pincher Plans
  - Vol 3 Pincher: Campaign Plans,  
Part 1
  - Vol 4 Pincher: Campaign Plans,  
Part 2
  - Vol 5 The Limits of Amercian Power
  - Vol 6 Plan Frolic and American  
Resources
  - Vol 7 From Crankshaft to Halfmoon
  - Vol 8 Plan Bushwacker
  - Vol 9 The Atomic Bomb and War  
Planning: Concepts and  
Capabilities
  - Vol 10 Assessing the Threat
  - Vol 11 The Limits of Nuclear Strategy
  - Vol 12 Budgets and Strategy: The  
Road to Offtackle

- |        |   |
|--------|---|
| Vol 13 | Evaluating the Air Offensive:<br>The WSEG 1 Study |
| Vol 14 | Long Range Planning: Dropshot                     |
| Vol 15 | Blueprint for Rearmament:<br>Reaper               |

9. American War Plans 1919-1941 (N.Y., Garland Publishing, 1992)

- |       |   |
|-------|---|
| Vol 1 | Peacetime War Plans 1919-1935                         |
| Vol 2 | Plans for War against the<br>British Empire and Japan |
| Vol 3 | Plans to Meet the Axis Threats<br>1939-1940           |
| Vol 4 | Coalition War Plans and<br>Hemisphere Defense Plans   |
| Vol 5 | Plans for Global War                                  |

Reviews:

Reviews have appeared in the following journals:

American Historical Review

Military Affairs

Naval War College Review

Southern Humanities Review

Latin American Historical Review

Scholarly Papers  
and Lectures:

1. Napoleonic Tactics: The Old Regime and Republican Background, University of Georgia, 1965.
2. The Military Response to Napoleon: Military Reform in Central Europe, Dusquesne University, History Forum, 1973.
3. The October War, Seton Hall University, January, 1974.
4. The Impact of the Revolution on Warfare 1789-1815, Florida State University, 1974.
5. Guerrilla Warfare in the Napoleonic Era, Duke University, 1975.
6. The Military Balance in the Middle East, Brown University, 1978.



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9. American War Plans 1919-1941 (N.Y., Garland Publishing, 1992)

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5. Guerrilla Warfare in the Napoleonic Era, Duke University, 1975.
6. The Military Balance in the Middle East, Brown University, 1978.

7. Vergennes and the American Revolution, Society for French Historical Studies, 1978
8. French Revolutionary Infantry Tactics, College of Charleston, 1979.
9. Napoleon as Military Leader, Yale University, 1979.
10. Napoleon's Infantry Tactics, University of Alabama, 1981.
11. Military Balance in the Middle East, Royal Roads Military College, Victoria, Canada, 1982.
12. The War in Lebanon, Royal United Service Institution, Victoria, Canada, 1982.
13. French Defense Policy and NATO, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1983.
14. Military Lessons of the War in Lebanon, University of Victoria, Canada, 1983.
15. Tactics and Strategy in World War I, Williams College, 1983.
16. U.S. Policy and the Middle East, Williams College, 1983.
17. Napoleon and Maneuver Warfare, Harmon Memorial Lecture, U.S. Air Force Academy, 1985.
18. In Imitation of the Emperor-Briggs Lecture, Virginia Military Institute, 1987.
19. U.S. War Plans 1945-1950, Society of Naval Historians, 1987.
20. Wellington - The Aristocrat as Planner, Smithsonian Institute, 1988.
21. French Intelligence During the 1930's, French Historical Studies Conference, March 1992.

Articles:

1. "The Development of the Combat Division in Eighteenth Century French Armies," in French Historical Studies, IV (1965)
2. "The Military Strategy of the Directory: The Campaign of 1799," in French Historical Studies, V (1967)
3. "The Free Corps Movement in Post World War Europe" in Rocky Mountain Social Science Quarterly, (1968)
4. "Force Levels and Limited War," in Naval War College Review, (Fall, 1975)
5. "Blue Water Strategy Revisited," in Naval War College Review, (Spring, 1978)
6. "Detente Then and Now," in Naval War College Review, (Fall, 1978)
7. "Nimitz," in R. Love, ed. The Chiefs of Naval Operations, (Annapolis, MD, 1980)
8. "The Stiller Case and the MFS," (Washington 1979 - Classified Secret)
9. "Soviet Special Forces," (Washington 1979 - Classified Top Secret)
10. "French Defense Policy," in Naval War College Review, (May-June 1984)
11. "Foreword" to H.T. Parker, Three Napoleonic Battles, (Duke University Press 1983)
12. "Soviet Maskirovka" (Washington 1980 - Classified Top Secret SI TK)
13. "The French Army" in Richard Gabriel, ed., Fighting Armies NATO and the Warsaw Pact a Combat Assessment, (Westport, Conn and London, Greenwood Press, 1983)
14. The following Articles appear in Scott, S.F. and Rothaus B., eds. Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution 1789-1799, (Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1985)



Basel, Treaty of  
Campoformio, Treaty of  
Floridablanca, Jose Monino, Conde de  
Kaunitz, Wenzel Anton prince von  
Lessart, Claude Antoine de Valdec de  
Nile, Battle of  
Paul I, Czar  
Rivoli, Battle of  
Soult, Nicholas Jean de Dieu, general  
Victor Amadeus III

15. The MFS and Technology Transfer  
(Washington 1980 - Classified Secret)
16. Soviet Unconventional Warfare Forces  
(Washington 1980 - Classified Top Secret)
17. Soviet Satellite Photographic Efforts  
(Washington 1980 - Classified Top Secret  
SI TK)
18. Soviet Signal Intelligence (Washington 1980 -  
Classified Top Secret SI TK)
19. The following Articles appear in Connolly,  
O.ed., Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic  
France 1799-1815, (Westport, Conn., Greenwood  
Press, 1985)

First Italian Campaign

Second Italian Campaign

French Infantry Tactics

20. "French Revolutionary Infantry Tactics"  
in Proceedings of the Consortium on  
Revolutionary Europe 1979
21. "Napoleonic Tactics" in Proceedings of  
the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1981
22. "French Defense Structure" in JCS Reform:  
Proceedings of the Conference (Newport, 1985)

23. "Armies of the Period" in D. Howard, ed., Napoleonic Military History: A Bibliography History (NY 1986)
24. "Napoleon and Maneuver Warfare" The Harmon Memorial Lectures in Military History Number Twenty Eight United States Air Force Academy Colorado 1985
25. Defense of the North Flank (Langley-1986-Classified Secret)
26. The ACE Mobile Force (Langley-1986-Classified Secret)
27. NORHTAG (Langley-1987-Classified Secret)
28. The I Netherlands Corps (Langley-1987 Classified Secret)
29. NATO Out of Area Capabilities (Langley-1987-Classified Secret) with Peter Scofield
30. Mobilized Reservists in AFCENT (Langley-1987-Classified Secret)
31. "In Imitation of the Emperor," in H.S. Bausum ed., Military Leadership and Command: The John Biggs Cincinnati Lectures (Lexington, VA, The UMI Foundation, 1987)
32. "French Net Assessment" in A. Millett and W. Murray eds., Calculations Net Assessment and the Coming of World War II (N.Y., The Free Press, 1992)



AUGUST 12, 1993

NOTE TO SENATOR DOLE

FROM: SUZANNE HELLMANN

SH

RE: ISSUES OF CONCERN IN AMO HOUGHTON'S DISTRICT

- 1) Economy is the # 1 issue. As you know, the state of New York is losing people rapidly. Houghton's district is the number one district in the state in loss of population. They recently had a big plant close.
- 2) Budget. People are concerned about the Clinton budget plan that was just passed. Amo Houghton is on the Ways and Means Committee, so has a specific interest.

Also, please note that the Chautauqua Institution audience is known to be a liberal one. However, you can expect their questions to be "civilized."

Finally, at the Houghton fundraiser/reception, you will see a man named Keith Sheldon who is married to a staffer (Carol) for Amo Houghton. You apparently called him some time ago after you received a letter from him stating the three things you and he had in common:

- 1) Both GOP
- 2) Both Methodists, and
- 3) Had same surgery on same day.

He was so pleased that you called and is really looking forward to meeting you in person at this fundraiser.

## NEW YORK DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

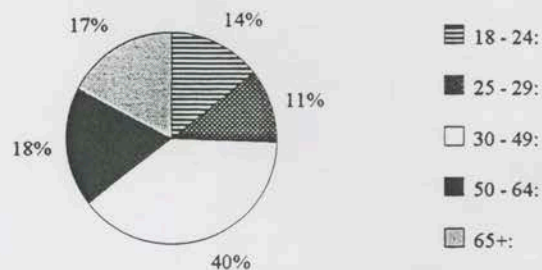
### Population Data

Total Population:	17,990,454
Total Voting Age Population:	13,730,905
% of Total Population Voting Age:	76.3%
Black Voting Age Population:	2,023,216
Nationwide Rank:	1
Black Voting Age Population:	14.7%
Nationwide Rank:	11
Hispanic Voting Age Population:	1,538,055
Nationwide Rank:	3
Hispanic Voting Age Population:	11.2%
Nationwide Rank:	6
Asian Voting Age Population:	520,669
Nationwide Rank:	2
Asian Voting Age Population:	3.8%
Nationwide Rank:	4

### Voting Age Population Data

18 - 24:	1,953,423
25 - 29:	1,564,616
30 - 49:	5,340,572
50 - 64:	2,508,569
65+:	2,363,721

### Voting Age Population Distribution



### 2002 Party Registration

Republican:	2,622,984	32.3%
Democrat:	3,814,017	47.0%
Other:	1,684,358	20.7%
Total:	8,121,359	

Number of Counties: 62

## NEW YORK 1992 ELECTION SUMMARY

### HISTORICAL PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE

	REP. VOTE	REP %	DEM. VOTE	DEM %	OTH. VOTE	OTH %	TOTAL	REGISTRATION
1992 BUSH/CLINTON/PEROT:	2,346,649	34.1%	3,444,450	50.1%	1,090,721	15.8%	6,881,820	9,193,391
1988 BUSH/DUKAKIS:	3,081,871	47.5%	3,347,882	51.6%	55,930	0.9%	6,485,683	8,581,276
1984 REAGAN/MONDALE:	3,664,763	54.0%	3,119,609	46.0%	0	0.0%	6,784,372	9,044,208
1980 REAGAN/CARTER/ANDERSON:	2,893,831	47.5%	2,728,372	44.8%	467,801	7.7%	6,090,004	7,897,555
1976 FORD/CARTER:	3,100,791	47.8%	3,389,558	52.2%	0	0.0%	6,490,349	7,183,003
1972 NIXON/McGOVERN:	4,192,778	58.5%	2,951,084	41.2%	22,057	0.3%	7,165,919	9,207,363
1968 NIXON/HUMPHREY/WALLACE:	3,007,932	44.6%	3,378,470	50.1%	358,864	5.3%	6,745,266	8,113,216

### STATEWIDE ELECTION RETURNS

	REP. VOTE	REP %	DEM. VOTE	DEM %	OTH. VOTE	OTH %	TOTAL
1992 SENATE:	3,166,994	50.6%	3,086,200	49.4%	0	0.0%	6,253,194
1990 GOVERNOR:	865,948	22.5%	2,157,087	56.0%	827,614	21.5%	3,850,649
1988 SENATE:	1,875,784	31.1%	4,048,649	67.0%	116,491	1.9%	6,040,924
1986 GOVERNOR:	1,363,810	31.8%	2,775,229	64.6%	154,932	3.6%	4,293,971

### STATE SENATE

YEAR	SEATS	DEM	REP	OTH	NET
1992	61	26	35	0	0
1990	61	26	35	0	1
1988	61	27	34	0	-1

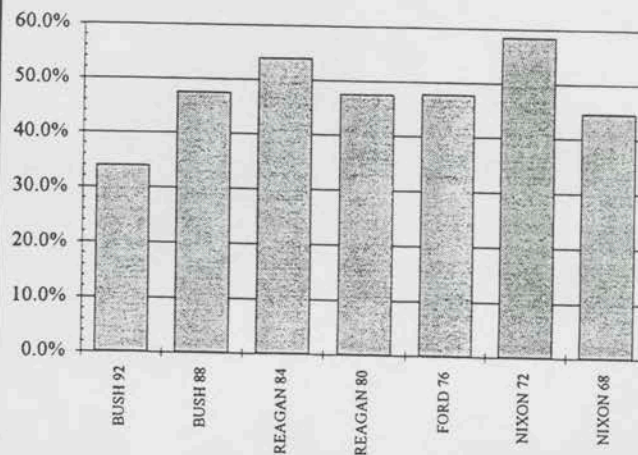
### STATE HOUSE

YEAR	SEATS	DEM	REP	OTH	NET
1992	150	101	49	0	-6
1990	150	95	55	0	-3
1988	150	92	58	0	2

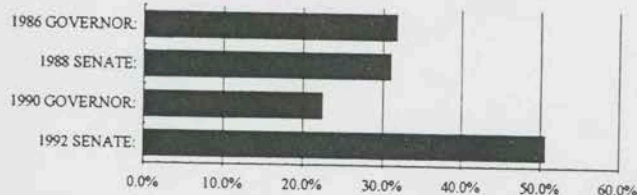
### U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

YEAR	SEATS	DEM	REP	OTH	NET
1992	31	18	13	0	0
1990	34	21	13	0	0
1988	34	21	13	0	-1

### REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE



### REPUBLICAN STATEWIDE PERFORMANCE





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of New York by the  
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al innovation: Martin





# The Almanac of American Politics 1994

Michael Barone  
Grant Ujifusa

National  
Journal



## NEW YORK 933

Bush only 29%; Ross Perot won 27%, his best showing in a major central-city metropolitan county. In a stunning upset, Quinn won 52%-46%. He brands himself a moderate and suggests he looks favorably on government spending; he also promised, as so many freshmen have, to continue living in his home district and to spend as little time in Washington as possible.

**The People:** Pop. 1990: 580,818; 13% rural; 15% age 65+; 81% White; 17% Black; 1% Amer. Indian; 1% Asian; 1% Other; 1% Hispanic origin. Voting age pop.: 441,257; 15% Black; 1% Hispanic origin. Households: 51% married couple families; 22% married couple fams. w. children; 39% college educ.; median household income: \$26,263; per capita income: \$12,176; median gross rent: \$374; median house value: \$68,000.

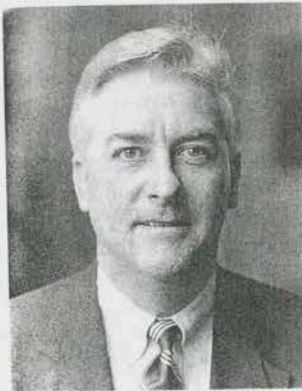
### 1992 Presidential Vote

Clinton (D) .....	119,115 (45%)
Perot (I) .....	73,333 (28%)
Bush (R) .....	68,174 (26%)

### 1988 Presidential Vote

Dukakis (D) .....	149,485 (60%)
Bush (R) .....	100,470 (40%)

### Rep. Jack Quinn (R)



Elected 1992; b. Apr. 13, 1951, Buffalo; home, Hamburg; Siena Col., B.A. 1969, S.U.N.Y., M.A. 1973; Catholic; married (Mary Beth).

**Career:** Teacher and coach, Orchard Park Central Schl., 1973-83; Hamburg Town Supervisor, 1984-92.

**Offices:** 331 CHOB 20515, 202-225-3306. Also 403 Main St., #501, Buffalo 14203, 716-845-5257.

**Committees:** *Public Works and Transportation* (24th of 24 R); *Economic Development; Water Resources and Environment. Veterans' Affairs* (10th of 14 R); *Education, Training and Employment; Oversight and Investigations.*

### Group Ratings and 102d Congress Votes: Newly Elected

#### Key Votes of the 103d Congress

	1. Family Leave	FOR	2. Deficit Reduction	AGN	3. Stimulus Plan	AGN
<b>Election Results</b>						
1992 general	Jack Quinn (R-CCP) .....		125,734	(52%)		(\$199,257)
	Dennis T. Gorski (D-C) .....		111,445	(46%)		(\$459,349)
	Other .....		6,025	(3%)		
1992 primary	Jack Quinn (R), unopposed					
1990 general	Henry J. Nowak (D-L) .....		84,905	(78%)		(\$93,158)
(NY 33)	Thomas K. Kepfer (R) .....		18,181	(17%)		
	Louis P. Corrigan, Jr. (C) .....		6,460	(6%)		

### THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT

The Southern Tier of New York is one of the nation's forgotten stretches of territory; yet it has an interesting and distinctive history. Elmira was once the home of Mark Twain and, though far from the Mississippi, was where he wrote *Huckleberry Finn*. On Lake Chautauqua, not far from Lake Erie, a training camp for Methodist Sunday school teachers was founded in 1874, where in summers, on wide green lawns and on porches and in gazebos decorated with ornate Victorian



## 934 NEW YORK

gingerbread, some 25,000 people heard educational talks and inspirational lectures from the likes of William Jennings Bryan. Corning is the headquarters of Corning Glass Works, one of America's long-successful and also artistically distinguished manufacturing companies. In between are two small Indian reservations, miles and miles of dairy farms, and much of New York's wine country; sheltered by hills, the lands at the edge of Upstate's deep lakes are the largest grape-growing area outside California, and the leader in concord grapes, with headquarters of prime New York State wineries and Welch's grape juice.

The Southern Tier's western half forms the 31st Congressional District of New York. Politically, this was Republican country since the party's founding. The towns and countryside are no longer homogeneously Protestant, but remain solidly Republican in most elections, though occasionally willing to consider a Democrat. In fact, the area was represented by Democrat Stan Lundine, onetime mayor of Jamestown, from 1976 until he was tapped to become Mario Cuomo's lieutenant governor 10 years later. The current Republican congressman carries a familiar name, and with considerable grace: he is Amory Houghton, scion of the very rich family that owns the Corning Glass Works and a top executive at Corning for 25 years, who had considered retiring to be a missionary in Africa, but instead ran for Congress. The Houghtons are not just rich folks in a small town, they are charter members of the American establishment: Houghton's father was an ambassador to France; his grandfather, a congressman in the 1920s, built one of the biggest mansions on Washington's Embassy Row, his family endowed the rare books library at Harvard, and this latest Houghton sat on boards of companies like IBM, Citicorp and Procter and Gamble. Cheerful, articulate, used to being in comfortable command, Amo Houghton ran a chipper and well-financed campaign in 1986, chatted with voters, competed with a serious Democratic opponent, outpolling him with 77% in his home county of Steuben and 60% in the district. In the 1988 campaign, opposed only by a Liberal Party candidate who at 24 was too young to serve, Houghton did "work days" as a disc jockey at Elmira's WENY, as a cook at the Texas Hots restaurant in Wellsville, and as a man-on-the-street reporter for the *Olean Times-Herald*. He won with 70% and 71% in 1990 and 1992.

By one estimate, he is the richest member of Congress, with \$420 million, although most of that may represent the wealth of many family members; anyway, he is clearly rich, the only member of Congress who pays for his foreign travel out of personal funds, and who gave \$27,000 to colleagues' campaigns in 1992. He is the only former CEO of a Fortune 500 company currently in Congress, and only the second in the last 50 years (the other was Illinois Senator Charles Percy, once of Bell & Howell). If he was not a typical freshman congressman when elected, he may well be more what the Founding Fathers had in mind than the politically adept youngsters with few local ties who win in so many districts. He seems to have the cheerful unassuming nature of one to whom much is given, who has been living up to his responsibilities and has enjoyed himself in the process. With the same good will his company used to enhance life in Corning, and for blacks and women in management, he produced a bill settling a Seneca Indian land dispute. He is not unwilling to put burdens on the rest of society which he is ready for his own interests to shoulder: he backed the plant closing law, spoke out for the beleaguered catastrophic health care program and was one of two Republicans who in the party conference in early 1993 refused to say they would back no new taxes. He was repelled by the 1992 Republican National Convention and said its "harsher and more belligerent voices do not represent, at least for me, either an appealing or enduring base for growth in coming years."

**The People:** Pop. 1990: 580,400; 60% rural; 15% age 65+; 95% White; 2% Black; 1% Amer. Indian; 1% Asian; 1% Other; 1% Hispanic origin. Voting age pop.: 428,466; 2% Black; 1% Hispanic origin. Households: 58% married couple families; 27% married couple fams. w. children; 39% college educ.; median household income: \$25,124; per capita income: \$11,382; median gross rent: \$341; median house value: \$48,300.

1992 Preside  
Bush (R) ...  
Clinton (D)  
Perot (I) ...

Rep. Amo



Group R

1992  
1991

Nationa

Econom  
Social  
Foreign

Key Vo

1. Ban
2. \$ for
3. Tax
4. FY9

Key V

1. Fan

Electi

1992

1992  
1990  
(NY)



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area was represented by  
5 until he was tapped to  
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ve at Corning for 25 years,  
ad ran for Congress. The  
members of the American  
randfather, a congressman  
Embassy Row, his family  
sat on boards of companies  
ed to being in comfortable  
ign in 1986, chatted with  
him with 77% in his home  
opposed only by a Liberal  
rk days" as a disc jockey at  
ville, and as a man-on-the-  
71% in 1990 and 1992.

0 million, although most of  
he is clearly rich, the only  
inds, and who gave \$27,000  
f a Fortune 500 company  
e other was Illinois Senator  
eshman congressman when  
d than the politically adept  
seems to have the cheerful  
ing up to his responsibilities  
s company used to enhance  
aced a bill settling a Seneca  
society which he is ready for  
oke out for the beleaguered  
ho in the party conference in  
was repelled by the 1992  
e belligerent voices do not  
growth in coming years."

2%; 2% Black; 1% Amer. Indian;  
2% Black; 1% Hispanic origin.  
w. children; 39% college educ.;  
gross rent: \$341; median house

## NEW YORK 935

### 1992 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	97,447 (40%)
Clinton (D)	82,671 (34%)
Perot (I)	62,325 (25%)

### 1988 Presidential Vote

Bush (R)	132,922 (59%)
Dukakis (D)	91,462 (41%)

### Rep. Amo Houghton (R)



Elected 1986; b. Aug. 7, 1926, Corning; home, Corning; Harvard, B.A. 1950, M.B.A. 1952; Episcopalian; married (Priscilla).

**Career:** Marine Corps, 1945-46 (WWII); Corning Glass Works, 1951-86, Chmn. and CEO, 1964-86.

**Offices:** 1110 LHOB 20515, 202-225-3161. Also 700 W. Gate Plz., W. State St., Olean 14760, 716-372-2127; 32 Denison Pkwy. W., Corning 14830, 607-937-3333; and Fed. Bldg., #122, Prendergast & 3d Sts., Jamestown 14701, 716-484-0252.

**Committees:** *Ways and Means* (9th of 14 R); Oversight (RMM); Social Security.

### Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CDF	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1992	30	43	50	40	27	13	68	90	100	88	53
1991	20	—	50	50	28	8	70	—	—	70	53

### National Journal Ratings

	1991 LIB	—	1991 CONS	1992 LIB	—	1992 CONS
Economic	28%	—	71%	28%	—	70%
Social	43%	—	56%	52%	—	48%
Foreign	34%	—	65%	18%	—	74%

### Key Votes of the 102d Congress

1. Ban Striker Replace	AGN	5. Handgun Wait/7-Day	AGN	9. Use Force in Gulf	FOR
2. \$ for Homeownership	FOR	6. Overseas Mil. Abortion	FOR	10. US Mil. Abroad \$ Cut	AGN
3. Tax Rich/Cut Mid Cls.	AGN	7. Obscn. Art NEA \$ Ban	AGN	11. Limit SDI Funds	AGN
4. FY93/\$15B Def. Cut	AGN	8. Death Pen. from Jury	FOR	12. Cuba Trade Embargo	AGN

### Key Votes of the 103d Congress

1. Family Leave	AGN	2. Deficit Reduction	AGN	3. Stimulus Plan	AGN
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### Election Results

1992 general	Amo Houghton (R-C)	150,696	(71%)	(\$444,296)
	Joseph P. Leahey (D)	52,010	(24%)	(\$5,850)
	Gretchen S. McManus (RTL)	10,848	(5%)	
1992 primary	Amo Houghton (R), unopposed			
1990 general	Amo Houghton (R-C)	89,831	(70%)	(\$178,401)
(NY 34)	Joseph P. Leahey (D)	37,421	(29%)	(\$6,462)
	Other	1,807	(1%)	

AUG 02 '93 17:03

;]:

P.3

List of attendees - Bratton Dinner - August 13 - 8:30 p.m.

Dr. and Mrs. Bratton

Sen. and Mrs. Robert Dole, Robin Dole

Sen. Al D'Amato + guest

Rep. Amo Houghton and Priscilla Dewey Houghton

Assemblyman and Mrs. Clarence Rappleyea

Mr. and Mrs. Quint Anderson -

Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Nauleau -

Mr. and Mrs. Reg Lenna -

*wealthy GOP  
owned a co. he  
sold -*

*"dtr + husb.  
out by 9:20*



08/09/93

16:11

SENATOR DOLE SH-141 → 202 408 5117

NO. 242

P02

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

**Chautauqua**  
INSTITUTION  
CHAUTAUQUA NEW YORK 14722 716/357-6200

August 3, 1993

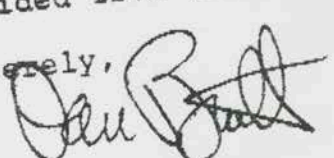
The Honorable and Mrs. Robert Dole  
141 Senate Hart Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator and Mrs. Dole:

The weekend of August 13 and 14 will be an exciting one at Chautauqua as you, Elizabeth and your daughter, Robin, join Al D'Amato, and Amo and Priscilla Houghton here on the grounds.

I invite you for cocktails and supper at our home, 55 North Lake Drive, at 8:15 p.m. on Friday, August 13. Transportation will be provided from the Athenaeum Hotel.

Sincerely,

  
Daniel L. Bratton  
President

DLB/jb

A CENTER FOR THE ARTS • EDUCATION • RELIGION • RECREATION

G U B E R N A T O R I A L   R A C E

HOTLINE 8/10/93

NEW YORK: PRIMARY DISPUTE MAY DRIVE SHARPTON TO IND GOV BID

Rev. Al Sharpton (D) "threatened ... to run an independent campaign against" Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) "unless Democrats permit him to easily challenge" Sen. Pat Moynihan (D) in the primary. "Sharpton's threat, which came after days of talks with political backers, puts him on a collision course with both Cuomo, the titular head of the state Democratic party, and Moynihan, who says the Democrats 'better not' grant Sharpton's wish." Sharpton: "We agreed that I would run for the Senate, but if they [Dems] block me, then I'll run on an independent line for governor." Sharpton wants Dems to give him the automatic 25% at the nominating convention "needed to get on the primary ballot to challenge Moynihan." In the '92 race against Sen. Al D'Amato (R) the Dem challengers -- AG Robert Abrams (D), Sharpton, ex-Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D) and NYC Comptroller Liz Holtzman -- all were given the automatic 25%. Without the automatic ballot slot, Sharpton would face the "difficult chore" of passing around nominating petitions to get at least 15,000 valid signatures. Sharpton: "The question then becomes: Why should we take the party insulting us after we proved that we represent an important constituency within the party?" Moynihan "said earlier this year ... that the Democrats 'better not' give the activist the 25 percent convention vote": "If you want to go to the ballot you collect" the signatures (Dicker, N.Y. POST, 8/10).



HOTLINE 7/28/93

NEW YORK: D'AMATO SAYS, IF I RUN, "I WILL WIN"

Sen. Al D'Amato (R) announced "he has formed an exploratory committee to help him decide whether to run for governor next year, and sent out telegrams to close supporters asking for their political and financial help." D'Amato said he will decide on a bid before the end of the year, saying that if he doesn't run all monies raised will be donated to candidates for statewide office in '94 (Turner, BUFFALO NEWS, 7/28). "Inching closer to running" D'Amato "brashly" predicted, "If I run against Mario Cuomo, I will win." A D'Amato-Cuomo "race has the potential to be one of the most exciting in years, pitting two former friends who love a political street fight against each other." One GOP strategist: "I don't know if he'll take on Mario Cuomo, but he wants to do enough, so that if Cuomo doesn't go again, he's ready" (Benenson, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/28).

CROWN HEIGHTS FALLOUT: Cuomo "admitted ... that he was 'surprised at the damage done to'" NYC Mayor David Dinkins (D) "by the politically explosive Crown Heights report." Cuomo said he "'wouldn't be surprised if I got hurt' politically with black voters, because he was the one who requested that the report be prepared" (Dicker, N.Y. POST, 7/27). N.Y. NEWSDAY editorial: "Cuomo strongly denies he's backpedaling. But it seems clear enough that he's trying to distance himself from blame if Dinkins loses a re-election race. City Hall understandably feels stung by the report and by what it sees as a broader lack of support from Cuomo. The governor is doing a political dance. But as he tries to insulate himself from criticism, he winds up in the odd position of seeming to diminish the laudable work of his own people. He sounds like a guy who needs a nice rest" (7/27). N.Y. TIMES Finder: "Some political experts contended that Mr. Cuomo undertook that state probe influenced, in part, by his own needs. They said that the Governor was doubtless among those who noticed how well" D'Amato "did among Jewish voters in his re-election last November, a signal that the Crown Heights situation had resonated powerfully among Jewish voters, especially in Brooklyn" (7/24). Other possible GOPers: Ex-Rep. Bill Green, ex-Amb. to France Evan Galbraith, Assembly Min. Leader Clarence Rappleyea, NYU Dean Herb London, businessman Patrick Barrett, developer James Burden, Mutual fund chair Jon Fossil, ex-NY GOP Chair Richard Rosenbaum, '89 NYC mayoral cand. Ron Lauder, '82 gov. cand. Lew Lehrman and ex-Asst. AG for civil rights John Dunne.

HOTLINE 7/12/93

\*16 NEW YORK: CAN'T WAIT FOR THE FIRST TV DEBATE ON C-SPAN

"It's starting to sound more and more" as if Sen. Al D'Amato (R) "may really run." D'Amato: "We're looking at it very closely." He said his decision would depend on "what signs of encouragement he sees from his supporters, and whether he believes he can raise enough money." D'Amato still has about a \$200,000 debt from his '92 sen. campaign. "But he is already talking with his distinctive instinct for the bulls-eye":

"Terrorists are laughing at us. Businesses move to New Jersey and terrorists move to New York, and Mario Cuomo just doesn't get it, whether it's his tax-and-spend philosophy or the lack of the death penalty. This is no longer the Empire State. This is the vampire state. We're sucking the blood out of everybody. We tax the things that move, the things that don't and people have got to move out of here before they die." D'Amato also responded to ex-NY GOP chair Pat Barrett's request for D'Amato to make up his mind, saying he had "supporters to consult": "You, on the other hand, have no one to consult with and can make a decision immediately. Why don't you?" (Purdum, N.Y. TIMES, 7/11).

GOPers: ex-Rep. Bill Green, ex-Amb. to France Evan Galbraith, '90 Conservative Party nominee Herb London, ex-U.S. Atty Rudy Giuliani, '89 NYC mayoral candidate Ronald Lauder, '82 candidate Lew Lehrman, Rep. Susan Molinari (R-13) and Staten Island BP Guy Molinari.

BUDGET MESS: N.Y. TIMES editorial under header, "From bad to worse in Albany": Cuomo "could have exerted stronger leadership over the aimless legislature. 'There's something wrong,' Mr. Cuomo said in assessing the legislative process. There is indeed. Enough to give New Yorkers pause next year -- which is an election year -- about the people they send to Albany" (7/10).

SET YOUR VCR'S: C-SPAN's "Day-in-the-life" featured Rep. Molinari, 7/11, as she returned to Staten Island.



HOTLINE 7/1/93

\*15 NEW YORK: BARRETT URGES D'AMATO TO GET OFF THE POTHOLE

In a letter to Sen. Al D'Amato (R), ex-NY GOP chair/  
millionaire businessman Patrick Barrett (R) writes: "More than  
two weeks ago I wrote to your urging you to set a deadline to  
make final decision on you candidacy for Governor. That timeline  
has now passed. In my letter, I reminded you of the promise you  
made last October to New Yorkers that if you were re-elected to  
the Senate, you would never seek public office again. Yet, now  
you leave people wondering whether they can really take your  
word. ... Your failure to announce your campaign decision is  
holding our State hostage. It's all politics as usual and it's  
wrong, Al. ... We are now engaged in a battle for the heart and  
soul of the Republican Party and the future of our state.  
Neither you nor [Gov.] Mario Cuomo will be permitted to hold our  
State hostage to intransigence or indecision. The stakes are too  
high and the future is too precious. The people of New York are  
looking for real change, Al, not just politics as usual"  
(release, 6/30).

HOTLINE 6/22/93

\*18 NEW YORK: NO NICKEL-AND-DIME CAMPAIGN FOR BARRETT

Ex-NY GOP chair/millionaire businessman Patrick Barrett, who is "testing the waters" for a '94 gov. run, said he'd "be willing" to spend \$8-\$10 million on a GOP primary and another \$10 million in the general election. Barrett: "Pat Barrett doesn't have any name identification. ... Mario Cuomo has substantial name identification." In 1990, GOP nominee Pierre Rinfret spent about \$1 million, compared to Cuomo's \$5 million (Fish, Syracuse POST-STANDARD, 6/18). Barrett said he "welcomes" a primary because of the "attention he needs" (Craig, Syracuse HERALD-JOURNAL, 6/18). Cuomo beat Rinfret 54-21%. Conservative Party candidate Herbert London received 20%. A Zogby poll released last week shows Cuomo beating Barrett by 26 points, although he leads Sen. Al D'Amato (R) by only 4 points (see HOTLINE 6/18). In a N.Y. POST poll last week, Cuomo led Barrett 42-18% (see HOTLINE 6/15). Barrett has spent more than \$100,000 on TV ads and surveys so far.



HOTLINE 6/15/93

\*17 NEW YORK: CUOMO RE-ELECT AT 30%; HE STILL LEADS ALL GOPERS  
Political/Media Research surveyed 811 likely voters 6/10-12;  
margin of error +/- 3.5% (N.Y. POST, BUFFALO NEWS, 6/15).  
Tested: Gov. Mario Cuomo (D), Sen. Al D'Amato (R), JCS Chair  
Gen. Colin Powell, NYC mayoral candidate Rudolph Giuliani (R),  
Staten Island B.P. Guy Molinari (R), ex-Rep. Bill Green (R), '90  
Conservative Party gov. nominee Herb London (R), businessman/ex-  
NY GOP chair Patrick Barrett, '89 NYC mayoral candidate Ronald  
Lauder (R), atty/ex-NY GOP chair Richard Rosenbaum (R) ex-state  
Rep. Jon Fossil (R).

	FAV/UNFAV	ID	CUOMO RE-ELECT				
Powell	58% / 7%	81%	Re-elect		30%		
Cuomo	43 / 40	100	Consider another		40		
D'Amato	35 / 34	100	Replace		28		
Giuliani	21 / 12	60					
Molinari	12 / 2	39	JOB PERF.	EXC	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Green	11 / 2	30	Cuomo NOW	8%	32%	34%	26%
London	9 / 2	25	9/92	11	38	27	24
Lauder	7 / 13	34					
Barrett	4 / 1	16	D'Amato NOW	1%	35%	26%	22%
Rosenbaum	4 / 2	23	9/92	5	30	32	26
Fossil	2 / 1	13					

HYPOTHETICAL '94 GOV. MATCH-UPS

Cuomo	46%	Cuomo	40%	Cuomo	45%	Cuomo	43%	Cuomo	42%
D'Amato	35	Powell	32	Giuliani	25	London	20	Green	20
Cuomo	42%	Cuomo	44%	Cuomo	41%	Cuomo	44%	Cuomo	41%
Barrett	18	Lauder	18	Molinari	21	Fossil	16	Rosnbm	19

HOTLINE 6/8/93

\*20 NEW YORK: D'AMATO SETS CONDITIONS FOR GOV BID

Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) told reporters 6/7 that the odds of him launching a '94 gov. bid are "at least 50-50 or better." He added that he would only get in the race "if his backers demonstrated their support by retiring his \$200,000 campaign debt and then building a new war chest." D'Amato: "I've said to them, 'If you really want me to run, then you demonstrate that there is real support out there.' ... I have to retire this debt, and then there's the question of forming the necessary fund-raising committees to raise the monies for a possible run" (Sack, N.Y. TIMES, 6/8). D'Amato said Clinton's "difficulties are damaging" the Dem party in NY: "The climate for Republicans has improved dramatically." Gov. Mario Cuomo (D), asked if he could name a tougher challenger than D'Amato: "If I had one who was tougher, I'd have to be a pretty big dope to give you the name" (W. POST, 6/8). NY GOP chair Wm Powers said D'Amato is "in a decision making mode" (Humber, AP/ALBANY TIMES-UNION, 6/8).

OTHERS: Ex-World Bank pres. Barber Conable has "agreed to serve" as co-chair of the Finance Cmte for the possible gov. candidacy of atty Richard Rosenbaum (R). Conable is scheduled to speak "at a \$1,000-per-person fundraiser for Rosenbaum in Rochester on [6/15]." Although Rosenbaum hasn't officially announced his candidacy, he said he would run "if he can raise enough money" (AP/Rochester DEMOCRAT & CHRONICLE). Other possible GOP candidates: ex-Rep. Bill Green, Ex-Amb to France Evan Galbraith, Assembly Min. Leader Clarence Rappleyea, NYU's Dean Herb London, businessman Patrick Barrett, Developer James Burden, Mutual fund chair Jon Fossil, '89 NYC mayor candidate Ron Lauder, '82 gov. nominee Lew Lehrman and ex-Asst AG for civil rights John Dunne. Cuomo has not said whether he will run again.



## MAYORAL RACE

HOTLINE 8/10/93

NYC MAYOR: STATEN ISLAND SECESSION TRIPS RACE CARD

Mayor David Dinkins (D) "formally complained to a campaign monitoring group that" ex-U.S. Atty Rudolph Giuliani (R) "was being 'divisive' by injecting race into the debate" over the Staten Island secession referendum. "The flap is the latest in a series of racially charged maneuvers that both sides have employed, even as the candidates bemoan such tactics." Dinkins lodged his complaint with the Partnership of Faith in New York City, "a coalition of religious leaders trying to keep race out of the mayoral campaign." Dinkins' complaint was "prompted by a comment Giuliani made in the New York Times in an article published yesterday on the secession referendum ... In the article, Giuliani blames the Dinkins administration for the bad feelings fueling the secession drive, adding 'The mayor tries to put it (the secession fight) in racial terms and that makes things worse.'" Dinkins charged that Giuliani's comments violated a pact that he, Giuliani and other candidates signed earlier this year with the Partnership of Faith, pledging to shun racial politicking." Giuliani "promptly shot back that it was Dinkins who has depicted the secession battle in racial terms" (Lombardi, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 8/10).

ON THE AIR: "Without ever formally announcing his second mayoral bid" Giuliani has begun airing his first TV and radio ads. He "sprung his ads [8/5], becoming the first mayoral candidate to begin the paid-media phase of his campaign." The TV spots are "designed to flesh out and soften his media image, which has tended to focus on his gangbusting reputation from his years" as Manhattan U.S. Atty (Lombardi, DAILY NEWS, 8/7). Dinkins "said ... that his campaign would hit the radio airwaves for the first time today in an effort to get money and volunteers via a toll-free telephone number." Dinkins said the 30 second spots "would be broadcast on five stations over the next two or three weeks. Several of the mayor's campaign advisors described the venture as a modest experiment, costing about \$10,000 altogether" (Finder, N.Y. TIMES, 8/10).



HOTLINE 6/18/93

\*6 NEW YORK STATE POLL: CLINTON UNDER 40% IN THREE-WAY  
A John Zogby Group poll, conducted 6/14-16, surveyed 643  
adults; margin of error +/- 4%. Subsamples: 563 registered  
voters; +/- 4%; 492 likely voters; +/- 4.5% (release, 6/17).

CLINTON	ALL	RVS	MEN	WOM	WHT	BLK	HISP	ASIAN	DEM	GOP
Favorable	38%	37	35%	41%	35%	61%	59%	28%	51%	24%
Unfavorable	39	40	44	35	43	22	13	29	30	50

IF ELECTION WERE TODAY	ALL	RVS	LVS	DEM	GOP	OTH	MEN	WOM
Clinton (D)	37%	37%	39%	56%	18%	22%	34%	39%
Perot (I)	26	26	25	21	29	32	31	22
Dole (R)	21	21	22	9	38	24	19	23

IF ELECTION WERE TODAY	ALL	WHT	BLK	HISP	ASIAN	UPSTA	SBRBS	NYC
Clinton (D)	37%	34%	56%	56%	20%	34%	31%	46
Perot (I)	26	28	22	26	5	28	35	17
Dole (R)	21	22	5	12	38	22	19	20

HOTLINE 6/17/93

\*16 NEW YORK: MOYNIHAN LOOKS UNBEATABLE, EVEN OVER POWELL  
BUFFALO NEWS/N.Y. POST poll, conducted 6/10-12 by Mason  
Dixon Political/Media Research, surveyed 811 likely voters;  
margin of error +/- 3.5% (6/17). Tested: Sen. Pat Moynihan (D),  
JCS Chair Colin Powell, NYC mayoral candidate Rudy Giuliani (R),  
Rep. Susan Molinari (R-13), ex-Rep. Bill Green (R), '89 NYC  
mayoral candidate Ronald Lauder (R), NY GOP chair Bill Powers.

	FAV/UNFAV	ID	MOYNIHAN						
Powell	58% / 7%	81%	JOB	NOW	9/92	MEN	WOM	WHT	BLK
Moynihan	51 / 11	98	Ex.	10%	11%	11%	9%	10%	10%
Giuliani	21 / 12	60	Good	51	41	49	53	49	64
Molinari	16 / 6	44	Fair	30	29	30	30	31	21
Green	11 / 2	30	Poor	6	8	7	5	7	3
Lauder	7 / 13	34							
Powers	4 / 2	18							

HYPOTHETICAL '94 MATCH-UPS				MOYNIHAN RE-ELECT	
Moynihan	61%	Moynihan	60%	Moynihan	52%
Powell	22	Giuliani	18	Green	36
				Replace	11

Moynihan	68%	Moynihan	66%	Moynihan	64%
Powers	11	Lauder	12	Molinari	16

"FOUL-MOUTH AL": At a jobs rally "staged" in Plattsburgh, Sen. Al D'Amato (R) "repeatedly shouted obscenities" at LG Stan Lundine (D). Plattsburgh Mayor Clyde Rabideau (D): "D'Amato charged straight at Stan, put his finger in his chest and started saying, 'F--- you! F--- you! ... D'Amato said 'f---' quite a bit and he said it really loud. Stan responded, 'Don't push me.' He was flushed." Rabideau said he "finally managed to quiet things down": "At that point I thought it would be best to intercede to keep these guys apart. I did not want fighting going on in our town. Not even from Big Al." D'Amato spokesperson Zenia Mucha "accused Rabideau of distorting the encounter for political reasons": "Isn't it remarkable that when Sen. D'Amato announces he may run for governor, these personal attacks start?" GOP sources said D'Amato was "furious" at Lundine for attacking him during AG Bob Abrams' (D) '92 Senate campaign (Dicker, N.Y. POST, 6/17). N.Y. POST cover screamer: "D'Amato pops his cork" (6/17). N.Y. TIMES subhead: "In front of a crowd at a rally, a Senator loses his cool" (6/17).



## CAMPAIGN AMERICA

HOTLINE 6/16/93

SENATOR BOB DOLE

Honorary Chairman

\*6 NEW YORK: NOT DOING WELL IN THE EMPIRE STATE

A poll, conducted 6/10-12 by Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research, surveyed 811 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.5% (BUFFALO NEWS, N.Y. POST, 6/16).

CLINTON J.P.	ALL	MEN	WOM	WHT	BLK	DEM	GOP	IND
Excellent	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%	1%	1%
Good	31	28	34	27	57	38	22	32
Fair	42	44	40	44	29	43	39	44
Poor	24	26	22	26	11	14	38	23

CLINTON	FAV/UNFAV	ECON PLAN	CUT SPENDING BY \$200B
Now	32%/ 35%	Approve 48%	Approve 78%
10/92	46 / 31	Disapprove 38	Disapprove 13

===== NATIONAL BRIEFING =====

HOTLINE 7/28/93

NYC MAYOR: POLL SHOWS DINKINS SURVIVES CROWN HEIGHTS

A N.Y. DAILY NEWS Poll, conducted 7/23-27 by Louis Harris & Assoc., surveyed 846 "probable" voters; margin of error +/- 3.4%. Subsamples: 668 "Most likely voters"; +/- 3.8%. Pre-Crown Heights samples: 842 RVs 7/9-11, +/- 3.4%; 680 "most likely voters," +/- 3.8%. Another poll, conducted by Lou Harris and LH Research for New York 1 News, surveyed 1,008 RVs 7/23-25; +/- 3% (N.Y. TIMES, 7/28). NOTE: Lou Harris is no longer affiliated with Lou Harris & Assocs. Tested: Mayor David Dinkins (D) and ex-U.S. Atty Rudolph Giuliani (R).

	N.Y. DAILY NEWS/HARRIS				NY NEWS 1/ LH RESEARCH
	"PROBABLE VOTERS"		"MOST LIKELY VOTERS"		
	7/23-27	7/9-11	7/23-27	7/9-11	7/23-25
Giuliani	48%	47%	50%	51%	43%
Dinkins	46	46	44	43	45

ALL NUMBERS BELOW ARE FROM THE N.Y. DAILY NEWS/HARRIS SURVEY:

	WHT	BLK	HISP	JEW	MEN	WOM
Giuliani	69%	4%	42%	62%	54%	44%
Dinkins	23	94	50	27	41	49

"DO YOU BELIEVE DINKINS WHEN HE SAID NO ONE TOLD HIM THAT THE POLICE HAD LOST OF CONTROL OF CROWN HEIGHTS UNTIL THE THIRD DAY?"

	ALL	WHT	BLK	HISP	JEW	MEN	WOM
Yes	36%	23%	63%	42%	26%	36%	36%
No	58	70	32	52	70	60	56

WHO DO YOU BLAME FOR HOW CROWN HEIGHTS WAS HANDLED?

High-ranking police officials	32%
The Mayor	23
Police on the street	19
Mayor's staff	16

Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) "took an I-told-you-so stance to the polls findings": "The voters of New York City are more intelligent than the media was assuming. They're saying, 'We'll judge him on his whole record.'" DAILY NEWS screamer: "TEFLON DAVE ... Crown Heights report didn't hurt mayor" (7/28).

JEWS & DINKINS: "Concerned about Jewish support following the release of the Crown Heights report, Mayor Dinkins plans to hire an advisor whose sole task is to lure votes from Jews. ... Among those being considered for the Jewish post is Jeremy Burton, who works in the Mayor's Office of Jewish Community Affairs" (Schwartzman, DAILY NEWS, 7/28).

"FREEDOM RIDERS": NAACP Exec. dir. Ben Chavis announced a voter registration drive for minorities in the city "in time for the November mayoral election." Chavis "repeatedly stressed that the national black organization does not endorse candidates. But



after speaking to a group of Baptist ministers in Harlem he told reporters that the NAACP plans a voter drive similar to the Freedom Rides of the 1960s in which Southern blacks were registered" (Sataline, DAILY NEWS, 7/27).

THAT'S A WRAP: Dinkins "managed to create some positive momentum" over the past couple of days in Los Angeles, where he is "raising money for his re-election campaign and drumming up support for filming in New York City." Over the weekend, Dinkins "held a fund-raiser, played tennis and met Barbra Streisand and friends for dinner and movies." Giuliani said that "Dinkins was masking fund-raising in Los Angeles as an official trip" (Sims, N.Y. TIMES, 7/27).

HOTLINE 7/23/93

NYC MAYOR: DINKINS HITS BACK ON CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT

A "battered" Mayor David Dinkins (D) "all but declared himself a 'comeback kid'" 7/22, saying the Crown Heights riots "would have been worse" if ex-U.S. Atty Rudy Giuliani (R) had been mayor. "Still reeling" from the "blistering" Crown Heights report, Dinkins "shot back, reminding listeners that Giuliani was at the center of the police union rally-turned-riot." Dinkins: "We know, had he been mayor, how he would have behaved. We witnessed that behavior when the police stormed the steps of City Hall. We know how he behaves" (Schwartzman, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/23). Giuliani "continued to hammer away" at Dinkins' handling of the incident: "It's incomprehensible that a mayor of a major city would be as disengaged as this Mayor was during Crown Heights. ... There are a whole bunch of questions here that Dinkins is going to have to deal with. I know he's going to try to run away from them" (Finder, N.Y. TIMES, 7/23). Giuliani 7/21 "lashed out" at Dinkins' "failure to contain the Crown Heights riots, claiming that a 'Mayor Giuliani' never would have let the disturbance get out of hand." In his first public comment on the report, Giuliani said it showed "a massive breakdown in leadership by the mayor with regard to Crown Heights. ... It is inconceivable that a Police Department operating under me would have any confusion about whether to make arrests or not when people are rioting" (Steier, N.Y. POST, 7/22). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Lombardi reports "Dinkins bristled ... when reporters tried to question him about a credibility cloud cast over some of his top aides by the state's report" on Crown Heights. "Normally polite to a fault, Dinkins testily fielded just one question on the subject, then cut off further inquires" (7/22). N.Y. TIMES' Purdum writes Giuliani "used the Crown Heights report to turn the electoral debate away from ethnic policies to competence and civil stewardship" (7/22). NPR's Zarolli: "Try as he might, Dinkins may not be able to get past Crown Heights anytime soon" ("Morning Edition," 7/22).

MORE REHASH: Ex-Mayor Ed Koch writes the report "reveals Mayor Dinkins' loss of memory and lack of credibility. ... Perhaps the governor knows something we don't. But we now know that in Crown Heights the mayor failed the ... test of leadership" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/23). N.Y. TIMES' Mitchell writes on the report: "It was almost as if two separate institutions, with two separate cultures, were responding to the crisis: City Hall, with its corps of aides, human-rights workers and community mediators, and the police, a paramilitary bureaucracy that in this case was left paralyzed by a lack of orders from the top." One city official said of Dinkins' performance: "Somewhere in his head I think he assumed he didn't need to be commander in chief, in terms of police and public order" (7/23).

RENO PROBE: AG Janet Reno's "fresh look" probe of Crown Heights "will determine whether police and public officials should be prosecuted for failure to protect the community." According to DoJ spokesperson Dean St. Dennis: "The attorney general has decided that the whole matter has to be given a full,



fresh, new look" (Ross/Sisk, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/22).

REFLECTION ON CUOMO: Gov. Mario Cuomo (D), up for re-election in '94, "can ill afford to alienate the Mayor's black supporters." Cuomo "took pains yesterday to try to limit the political fallout from the report, which he commissioned last fall to review the performance of his fellow Democrat, with which he has often had a weary alliance" (N.Y. TIMES, 7/22). Cuomo said he "hoped" Crown Heights would not be an "all-eclipsing" part of the campaign: "Are you telling me that because of one event in Crown Heights that is equated with incompetence?" (Buchsbaum, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/23).

LEE BROWN: Clinton Drug Czar and ex-NYC police commis. Lee Brown: "I take responsibility for the police response. ... We made decisions based on what we thought to be the best information at our disposal at the time. ... It's quite easy to look back and [say] things should've been done differently. ... I have not had a chance to read the report, so therefore I can't respond to the conclusions without determining how they reached the conclusions" ("M/L," PBS, 7/21).

HOTLINE 7/21/93

NYC MAYOR: DINKINS SLAMMED BY CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT

Today's dueling screamers: N.Y. POST: "Crown Hts. Report rips Dinkins, top cops: OUT TO LUNCH! ... Now N.Y. passes buck to the feds"; N.Y. DAILY NEWS: "Dinkins' performance: TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE." N.Y. NEWSDAY: "DINKINS BLEW IT ... Mayor failed to act decisively" (all cites, 7/21).

THE REPORT: "Judging the city's bungled response to the Crown Heights riots a 'collective failure,' an explosive state report ... declared that Mayor Dinkins' slow reaction failed to 'protect the lives, safety and property of the residents of Crown Heights" (Lombardi/Benenson, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/21). The report, "depicts an administration in disarray and unable to cope with the worst outbreak of racial rioting in New York in two decades" (Seifman, N.Y. POST, 7/21). POST's Orin & Dicker report AG Janet Reno "said yesterday that the buck on Crown Heights will stop at her desk. ... She will decide within two or three weeks whether to launch a full probe," according to Rep. Charles Schumer (D-09) who met with her (7/21). N.Y. TIMES' Gottlieb notes the report, commissioned by Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) -- and written by state criminal justice director Richard Girgenti -- "determined that there was no evidence to support the most extreme charges that have dogged the Mayor": that he and then-NYCPD Commis. (now Drug Czar) Lee Brown "had instructed the police to let marauding youths 'vent' their rage after a 7-year-old black boy was killed by on out of control car driven by a Hasidic man" (7/21).

DINKINS DECKED: "The criticism of Dinkins comes as the mayor faces a tough election fight with" ex-U.S. Atty Rudy Giuliani (R). "Giuliani had no immediate response to the report ... But there is no question that the document gives Dinkins' opponents enough ammunition to keep the issue alive" (DAILY NEWS, 7/21). N.Y. POST's Seifman: "The weighty report ... could serve as a campaign document for mayoral rival Rudy Giuliani. ... The problem for Dinkins is that this report calls into question his claim to be a healer -- which is his most potent political weapon against Giuliani, whom mayoral aides gleefully point out is a 'screamer'" (7/21). WCBS's Marcia Walker: "The mayor couldn't escape the fact that although the report by state criminal justice director Richard Girgenti absolved him of the charge that he held police back, it nevertheless painted him as out of touch with the reality of what was going on in the streets" ("CBS This Morning," 7/21). WNYC's Gene Johnson: "New York City's first black mayor came into office promising to heal some of the racial wounds dividing the city, but the Crown Heights riots have had the opposite effect" ("Morning Edition," NPR, 7/21).

EDITORIALS: N.Y. DAILY NEWS: "Few judgments about a mayor, police commissioner, district attorney and their aides could be more painful" (7/21). N.Y. POST: "An alternative explanation for the mayor's failure to order the riot quelled turns on political considerations. Dinkins may have feared that harsh measures would alienate his electoral base. Thus, it's



conceivable that he refrained from insisting that police immediately halt the violence, hoping against hope that the riot would simply spend itself" (7/21). N.Y. TIMES: "The portrait of incompetence is breathtaking" (7/21).

COLUMNISTS: DAILY NEWS' McAlary: "Dinkins is blind. The mayor cannot hear the glass-breaking tumult of the riot over the tinkle of ice in a crystal cocktail glass. The Great Healer, it turns out, is a heel" (7/21). POST's Newfield: "The mayor comes across as a character in a Jackie Mason monologue -- 'I didn't know, I wasn't there, I wouldn't have heard even if I was there, I was asleep in another country'" (7/21). DAILY NEWS' Sleeper: "It's reasonable to conclude that [Dinkins'] lack of instinct for mayoral command is central to what his administration has been" (7/21). N.Y. POST's Kerrison writes "in this firestorm" Dinkins and Brown "displayed monumental ineptitude ... they abdicated their civic duty and responsibility" (7/21).

LEE BROWN: The report "also rips police brass, from" then-commis. Lee Brown "down to his street commanders, who failed to supply the city's top cop with crucial information about what was happening" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/21). N.Y. POST's Seifman notes the report found Brown "passive, ineffectual and in a state of denial -- refusing to concede his cops were helpless on three different nights" (7/21). The portion of the report covering police action "saved it's harshest criticism for Mr. Brown" (N.Y. TIMES, 7/21). DAILY NEWS' Weiss: "The numskull whose head should feel the full brunt of this 3-pound, 600-page, two volume tome is Lee Brown" (7/21).

HOTLINE 7/15/93

NYC MAYOR: GIULIANI WITH 8-POINT LEAD; CUOMO'S ROLE IN RACE

A N.Y. DAILY NEWS poll, conducted 7/9-11 by Louis Harris & Assoc., surveyed 680 registered voters "who said they had made up their minds"; margin of error +/- 4% (7/15). Tested: Mayor David Dinkins (D) and ex-U.S. Atty Rudy Giuliani (R).

GENERAL ELECTION MATCH-UP

Giuliani 51%

Dinkins 43

Giuliani, "perhaps not wanting his supporters to become complacent, said Dinkins 'shouldn't get particularly discouraged' by the numbers and refused to call himself the leader": "I don't consider myself the front-runner." Dinkins "also dismissed the significance" of the poll: "It is important to realize that all this poll really said was what we already know -- the election is deadlocked" (Schwartzman, DAILY NEWS, 7/15).

CUOMO'S EFFECT: N.Y. POST's Dicker writes, "Key political advisers" to Giuliani "are privately praising" Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) -- "for steering clear of the race." The Giuliani camp says they've "picked up strong signals that Cuomo, concerned about his own re-election next year, doesn't want to alienate Giuliani's supporters and, thus doesn't care if Mayor Dinkins loses in November." However, NY Dem chair Al Gordon: "The governor is going to be an active, enthusiastic supporter of the mayor, and as this race comes together I think that will be clear." Others also say Cuomo plans on working hard for Dinkins. "But some say he'll do so largely for practical political reasons, not because he believes Dinkins has been a good mayor who deserves re-election" (7/13). On another note, several prominent black and Jewish Dinkins' supporters sent a letter to Cuomo requesting a meeting because of their concern that Cuomo's "impending report" on how Dinkins "handled the Crown Heights riots" could damage the mayor's campaign. Meanwhile, Rev. Al Sharpton, who did not sign the letter, "accused Cuomo [7/13] of not being supportive of Dinkins by releasing the Crown Heights report four months before the election." Cuomo acknowledged receipt of the letter and said he told the signers of the letter that "he had no control over the timing or substance of the report." Sharpton also noted that Cuomo "did not order state reports for the Howard Beach and Bensonhurst cases" (Cottman, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 7/14).

WHIRLPOOL WAR: Dinkins announced 7/13, "he has declared war on sexual abuse in the city swimming pools -- and he has enlisted a rap group to spread the word, Arrested Development. As part of the campaign, "buttons will distributed at city pools with the slogans": "Don't dis your sis," and "Whirlpool ain't cool" (Seifman/Celona, N.Y. POST, 7/14). N.Y. NEWSDAY front page screamer: "Don't dis your sis" (7/14).

HISPANICS: Yesterday, Giuliani "sailed smoothly through an endorsement from the union representing 2,000 Hispanic correction officers (Schwartzman, DAILY NEWS, 7/15).



# Report Faults N.Y. Police, Mayor Dinkins on '91 Riot

By Malcolm Gladwell  
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 20—The state of New York today faulted senior police officials and New York City Mayor David N. Dinkins (D) for failing to prepare for and adequately respond to the three days of racial violence in the Crown Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn two years ago.

A 600-page report from the state's commissioner of criminal justice detailed numerous instances of breakdowns in communication between police at the scene of the rioting and top brass, mishandling of 911 calls and inexplicable delays in moving to quell violence.

"Major mistakes were made," said Richard Girgenti, director of criminal justice and the principal author of the report. "There were both individual and systemic failures."

But the report found no evidence to support what had been the most incendiary contention in the aftermath of the rioting—that Dinkins had restrained the police from taking aggressive action during the first two days of the rioting. It was this rumor that had led some Jewish leaders to accuse Dinkins of antisemitism.

Instead, the document blamed a "collective failure" by top-ranking police officials—including then Commissioner Lee P. Brown, now the federal drug policy director—for consistently underestimating the extent of the violence. Dinkins, it said, relied uncritically on the analysis of police officials, ignoring contradictory evidence from the news media and community leaders.

The criticism of Dinkins was strong enough that some political analysts said they believe the report could have a major impact on this fall's mayoral contest between Dinkins and Republican candidate Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"The swing voters never believed that Dinkins was an antisemite," said Jay Severin, a political commentator and consultant in Manhattan. "That's not the issue for them. They want to know whether he's a competent manager. . . . This report validates the essential claim of the Giuliani campaign, that Dinkins isn't competent."

At a news conference today, Dinkins said: "This report concludes my reliance [on the police] was misplaced. I accept that conclusion. I wish I had challenged the police account earlier." But Dinkins vowed that "What happened at Crown Heights will never again happen," and he said that he hoped "the truth in this report will serve to speed the healing."

In a statement released today in Washington, Brown said he takes "full responsibility" for actions taken during his tenure and added that "hindsight is 20/20."

on the evening of Aug. 19, 1991, after a 7-year-old black child, Gavin Cato, was struck and killed by a car driven by a member of the Crown Heights Hasidic community. The accident, and a subsequent false rumor that a Jewish-run ambulance on the scene ignored the fatally injured boy, ignited longstanding tensions between the black, largely West Indian inhabitants of the neighborhood and the 15,000 members of the Lubavitcher sect who have lived in Crown Heights since the end of World War II.

Gangs of black youths began roaming the neighborhood, throwing bottles and rocks. Late in the evening, a 29-year-old rabbinical scholar, Yankel Rosenbaum, was fatally stabbed. The report said the investigation of Rosenbaum's death was bungled.

One of the most chilling sections of the report is the reprinting of transcripts of emergency calls to 911 from Hasidic Jews in the midst of the rioting.

911 operator: Police operator. . . . Where is your emergency?

Caller: Yes, it's President Street. My name is [deleted]. They have just come in through the door and they're attacking my wife. . . . They're storming through the windows—they're breaking the windows.

911 operator: How many people broke into your house?

Caller: I have a gang out here. . . . Would you please hurry up?

For the first two days of the violence, however, the New York police followed a policy of restraint, staying close to fixed command posts and often declining to stop or intervene in acts of violence and looting. The report said police believed "that aggressive tactics would only exacerbate an already tense situation."

The report said, however, that the police were far too slow to change this strategy when it became clear that it wasn't working. The report also appears to treat with disbelief Dinkins's contention that he was not aware that the riot was out of control until Wednesday—two days after all the New York newspapers and television stations had published articles or shown live footage of looting and rock-throwing, and after a sniper had wounded eight police officers.

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### 1992 U.S. Senate Race Results:

Senator **ALFONSE D'AMATO** ran for reelection in 1992. Abrams' one percent lead over Ferraro (37% to 36%) remained after 20,000+ absentee ballots were certified on September 30. Abrams received the Liberal party endorsement and appeared on their party line on the November ballot.

In October, Abrams accused D'Amato of being a "fascist." The remark generated quite a bit of controversy, and forced Abrams to apologize to the Italian-American community.

Candidate	Percent
D'Amato (R)	51%
Abrams (D)	49

### 1992 Key Congressional Race Results:

Eight members of Congress from New York, four GOP and four Democrats, retired in 1992. In addition, **TED WEISS** (D) passed away in September.

Democratic Congressman **HENRY NOWAK**, (NY-33), Republican Congressmen **DAVID MARTIN** (NY-26), **FRANK HORTON** (NY-29), **NORMAN LENT** (NY-4), and **RAYMOND MCGRATH** (NY-5) all announced they would not seek reelection. Democrats **ROBERT MRAZEK** (NY-3), **JAMES SCHEUER** (NY-8) and **MATTHEW MCHUGH** (NY-28) also announced their retirements.

#### **CD-02**

Republican City Legislator **RICK LAZIO** ran against Rep. **THOMAS DOWNEY**. In a *Washington Post* article last Spring Downey was listed with several other members as having family members on the Congressional payroll. His wife, Chris, was an Assistant to the Sergeant-at-Arms **JACK RUSS**. She resigned her \$40,000 a year job about the same time he did. Downey attempted to diffuse the allegations of nepotism by reminding the media he issued a press release when she was hired.

Candidate	Percent
Lazio (R)	53%
Downey (D)	47

#### **CD-08**

Congressman **TED WEISS** passed away on September 14, 1992. However, his name remained on the ballot for the September 15th primary, which he won with 88% of the vote against **ARTHUR BLOCK**. **JERROLD NADLER** won the Democratic nomination on September 23 to replace Weiss. Nadler defeated City Council member **Ronnie Eldridge**, former State Representative **Bella Abzug**, State Senator **Franz**



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Leichter, Assemblyman Richard Gottfried, and Weiss's widow, Sonya Hoover Weiss. Nadler faced GOP businessman **DAVID ASKREN** in the November election. CD 8 is a safe Democrat seat.

Candidate	Percent
Askren (R)	16%
Nadler (D)	82
Byrnes (C)	3

**CD-12**

Congressman **STEPHEN SOLARZ** (D), a nine term incumbent, lost to **NYDIA VELAZQUEZ** on September 15th. Velazquez is a former head of the Department of Puerto Rican Affairs in the United States. A majority of this district is Hispanic. Velazquez easily won the general election.

Candidate	Percent
Diaz (R)	21%
Velazquez (D)	76
Franco (Liberal)	2

1/4/93