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# White House News Report




Ira Magaziner
Domestic Policy
216 OEOB
**DELIVER ASAP**

Wednesday, November 9, 1994
Produced by the Office of News Analysis
Room 161, OEOB (Ext. 6-5694)

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**WHITE HOUSE NEWS REPORT**
**Wednesday, November 9, 1994**

AP Daybook.....i

9:00 a.m. The National Press Foundation holds a fall forum, **"The Morning After: An Early Analysis of the '94 Midterm Elections."** National Press Club.

9:00 a.m. National Republican Senatorial Committee Chair **Phil Gramm** (R-Tex.) holds a news conference. 425 2nd St., NE.

9:00 a.m. National Republican Congressional Committee Chair **Bill Paxon** holds a news conference. Capitol Hill Club, 300 1st St, SE.

9:00 a.m. The Agency for Health Care Policy and Research and the Centers for Disease Control hold a meeting to receive comments on the development of a clinical practice **guideline on smoking prevention and cessation.** Bethesda Marriott Hotel.

10:00 a.m. The Labor Department releases **productivity figures for the third quarter.**

10:00 a.m. Author Dick Ramey holds a news conference to detail **complaints to be filed with the Federal Communications Commission against Rush Limbaugh** for political and personal attacks against him. National Press Club.

10:15 a.m. Republican National Committee Chair **Haley Barbour** holds a news conference. National Press Club.

10:30 a.m. News briefing to protest **Iran's continuing missile attacks** on the resistance. Hay-Adams Hotel, 800 16th St., NW.

11:00 a.m. Sentencing for former Rep. Carroll Hubbard (D-Ky.) before Judge Oberdorfer. U.S. District Court.

1:00 p.m. "Campaigns and Elections" magazine and the American Association of Political Consultants sponsors a **post-election analysis forum.** Mayflower Hotel.

2:30 p.m. **The President** holds a news conference to discuss results of the mid-term elections.

2:30 p.m. **Presidential Assistants W. Bowman Cutter and Sandy Berger** hold a briefing on the upcoming APEC Conference and the economic agenda. Foreign Press Center, National Press Building.

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TVTRACK HEADLINES Copyright US Newswire 1994 Tuesday November 8, 1994

ABC World News Tonight

1 A Long Campaign Night Lies Ahead; ABC Projects Lugar Win
Peter Jennings New York 1:45
2 Clinton Makes Last Pitch to Voters; White House Worried
Brit Hume Washington 1:30
3 Polls Show Many Voters Sending Message: We Don't Like Clinton
Lynn Sherr New York 1:30
4 Commentary on the Election by ABC Experts
Peter Jennings New York 1:35
5 A Survey of Tonight's Races in the West
Jim Wooten San Francisco 2:00
6 Mexico City McDonalds Trashed to Protest Calif. Prop. 187
Peter Jennings New York 0:20
7 $449 Million Was Spent on House, Senate Races Through October
Peter Jennings New York 0:20
8 TV Campaign Ads Portray a Dark and Threatening America
Jeff Greenfield New York 2:35
9 Memorial Services Held For Indiana Air Crash Victims
Peter Jennings New York 0:15
10 Govt Issues Warning Against Flying Commuter Plane in Ice
Michelle Norris Washington 2:50
11 Susan Smith's Brother Issues Apology to Black Community
Mike Von Fremd Union, SC 2:00
12 Several Civilians Killed by Serbian Snipers in Sarajevo
Peter Jennings New York 0:25
13 Some Voices From Around the Nation on the Election
Peter Jennings New York 1:20

CBS Evening News

14 Early Evidence Points to Possible GOP Election Hurricane
Dan Rather New York 0:55
15 An Overview of Races to Watch
Bob Schieffer New York 1:40
16 All Signs Point to Dead Heat in Virginia Senate Race
Eric Engberg Richmond, VA 1:00
17 Exit Polls Indicate Bad News For Clinton All Over U.S.
Connie Chung New York 1:50
18 Over 30 Governors Races on the Line Tonight; GOP Hopeful
Ed Bradley New York 2:00
19 Anne Richards in Surprisingly Tight Race
Vicki Mabrey Austin, TX 0:50
20 The White House is Worried Over Election Outcome
Rita Braver Washington 1:25
21 After Hard-Fought Campaign, Kennedy is Optimistic
Linda Douglass Boston 0:55
22 Signs of Healing Appear in Town After Kids' Murder
Randall Pinkston Union, SC 1:45
23 Simpson Votes From Jail; Friend Cowlings Won't Face Charges
Dan Rather New York 0:25
24 Five Children Killed in Tragic Van Accident
Connie Chung New York 0:15
25 Six Firefighters Injured in Seattle Dock Fire
Connie Chung New York 0:10
26 Tribunal Meets to Consider War Crimes in Bosnia
Dan Rather New York 1:00
27 Moslem, Croat Forces Seize More Territory From the Serbs
Allen Pizzey Kupres, Bosnia 1:50
28 Moments to Remember From the ``Mad as Hell'' Campaign
Eric Engberg Washington 2:55
29 Update: Tonight's Story is How Big Will GOP Win Be?
Dan Rather New York 0:40

NBC Nightly News

30 The Voting is On; Heavy GOP Turnout is the Trend
Brian Williams New York 3:00
31 NBC Projects Victory by Richard Lugar of Indiana
Tom Brokaw New York 0:10
32 Clinton White House Braces For the Worst
Andrea Mitchell Washington 2:00
33 Commentary by Tim Russert on the Election's Meaning
Tom Brokaw New York 1:20
34 Commuter Plane May be Barred From Flying in Icy Conditions
Robert Hager Washington 1:45
35 Members of Smith Family Speak Out on Slain Children
Kenley Jones Union, SC 1:30
36 Five Children Die in Horrible Church Van Accident
Tom Brokaw New York 0:20
37 Simpson Friend Cowlings Won't Be Charged
Tom Brokaw New York 0:15
38 Canadian Abortion Doctor Shot and Wounded
Tom Brokaw New York 0:15
39 Marchers Protest California Immigration Proposition
George Lewis Los Angeles 1:55
40 Crime, Term Limits, Gambling, Tax Initiatives on Many Ballot
Tom Brokaw New York 1:20
41 Initiative Would Make Vermont Constitution Gender-Neutral
Tom Brokaw New York 0:10
42 Christian Right an Increasing Factor in Many States' Politics
Bob Kur Charleston, SC 2:50
43 Americans Relieved This Year's Campaign is Finally Over
Roger O'Neil Denver 2:00

Summaries are available for 30 days from date of broadcast
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**** filed by:US-F(--) on 11/08/94 at 20:09EST ****
**** printed by:WHPR(LSAM) on 11/08/94 at 20:48EST ****

Hourly News Summary
Around the World, Around the Clock...with United Press International.
-0-
The Republican party has reason to celebrate today. It handed the Democrats a sound defeat...sending a message of displeasure to President Clinton.
-0-
The name George Bush has made a political comeback...George W. Bush. The former president's son has taken the Texas governor's seat away from Ann Richards.

New York governor Mario Cuomo lost his seat to Republican challenger George Pataki.
-0-
The governor's race is so close in Maryland that it won't be decided until tomorrow.
-0-
Republican governor Pete Wilson won re election in California. Mario Cuomo lost his race in New York to George Pataki.
-0-
President Clinton's press secretary says he WAS disappointed... and will assess the election results later in the day. The president offered to work with Republicans.
-0-
Marion Barry will be mayor of Washington, D.C. again. He lost that job several years ago when he went to jail on a drug charge. Barry won re-election from Republican Carol Schwartz.
-0-
Virginia Senator Charles Robb will serve another term. He waged a bitter race against former Iran/Contra figure Oliver North.
-0-
Massachusetts senator Edward Kennedy kept his long-held seat.
-0-
By Shirley Smith (UPI)

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ELECTION '94 RESULTS
(underline= undecided at 6:00 a.m.)
Source: Associated Press
Produced by the Office of News Analysis, OEOB 161, Ext. 6-5694

Alabama

Gov James (R)

House 1 Callahan (R)
House 2 Everett (R)
House 3 Browder (D)
House 4 Bevill (D)
House 5 Cramer (D)
House 6 Bachus (R)
House 7 Hilliard (D)

Alaska

Gov

House 1 Young (R)

Arizona

Gov Symington (R)

Kyl (R)

House 1 Salmon (R)
House 2 Pastor (D)
House 3 Stump (R)
House 4 Shadegg (R)
House 5 Kolbe (R)
House 6 Hayworth (R)

Arkansas

Gov Tucker (D)

House 1 Lambert (D)
House 2 Thornton (D)
House 3 Hutchinson (R)
House 4 Dickey (R)

California

Gov Wilson (R)

SENATE

House 1 Riggs (R)
House 2 Herger (R)
House 3 Fazio (D)
House 4 Doolittle (R)
House 5 Matsui (D)
House 6 Woolsey (D)
House 7 Miller (D)
House 8 Pelosi (D)
House 9 Dellums (D)
House 10 Baker (R)
House 11 Pombo (R)
House 12 Lantos (D)
House 13 Stark (D)
House 14 Eshoo (D)
House 15 Mineta (D)
House 16 Lofgren (D)
House 17 Farr (D)
House 18 Condit (D)
House 19 Radanovich (R)
House 20 Dooley (D)
House 21 Thomas (R)
House 22
House 23 Gallegly (R)
House 24
House 25 McKeon (R)
House 26 Berman (D)
House 27 Moorhead (R)
House 28 Dreier (R)
House 29 Waxman (D)
House 30 Becerra (D)
House 31 Martinez (D)
House 32 Dixon (D)
House 33 Roybal-Allard (D)
House 34 Torres (D)
House 35 Waters (D)
House 36
House 37
House 38 Horn (R)
House 39 Royce (R)
House 40 Lewis (R)
House 41 Kim (R)
House 42 Brown (D)
House 43 Calvert (R)
House 44 Bono (R)
House 45 Rohrabacher (R)
House 46 Dornan (R)
House 47 Cox (R)
House 48 Packard (R)
House 49 Bilbray (R)
House 50 Filner (D)
House 51 Cunningham (R)
House 52 Hunter (R)

Colorado:

Gov Romer (D)

House 1 Schroder (D)
House 2 Skaggs (D)
House 3 McInnis (R)
House 4 Allard (R)
House 5 Hefley (R)
House 6 Schaefer (R)

Connecticut

Gov Rowland (R)

Lieberman (D)

House 1 Kennelly (D)
House 2
House 3 DeLauro (D)
House 4 Shays (R)
House 5 Franks (R)
House 6 Johnson (R)

Delaware

Roth (R)

House 1 Castle (D)

Florida

Gov Chiles (D)

Mack (R)

House 1 Scarbourough (R)
House 2 Peterson (D)
House 3 Brown (D)
House 4 Fowler (R)
House 5 Thurman (D)
House 6 Stearns (R)
House 7 Mica (R)
House 8 McCollum (R)
House 9 Bilirakis (R)
House 10 Young (R)
House 11 Gibbons (D)
House 12 Canady (R)
House 13 Miller (R)
House 14 Goss (R)
House 15 Weldon (R)
House 16 Foley (R)
House 17 Meek (D)

House 18 Ros-Lehtinen (R)
House 19 Johnston (D)
House 20 Deutsch (D)
House 21 Diaz-Balart (R)
House 22 Shaw (D)
House 23 Hastings (D)

Georgia

Gov Miller (D)

House 1 Kingston (R)
House 2 Bishop (D)
House 3 Collins (R)
House 4 Linder (R)
House 5 Lewis (D)
House 6 Gingrich (R)
House 7 Barr (R)
House 8 Chambliss (R)
House 9 Deal (D)
House 10 Norwood (R)
House 11 McKinney (D)

Hawaii

Gov Cayetano (D)

Akaka (D)

House 1 Abercrombie (D)
House 2 Mink (D)

Idaho

Gov Batt (R)

House 1 Chenoweth (R)
House 2 Crapo (R)

Illinois

Gov Edgar (R)

House 1 Rush (D)
House 2 Reynolds (D)
House 3 Lipinski (D)
House 4 Guiterrez (D)
House 5 Flanagan (R)
House 6 Hyde (R)
House 7 Collins (D)
House 8 Crane (R)
House 9 Yates (D)
House 10 Porter (R)
House 11 Weller (R)
House 12 Costello (D)
House 13 Fawell (R)
House 14 Hastert (R)
House 15 Ewing (R)
House 16 Manzullo (R)
House 17 Evans (D)
House 18 LaHood (R)
House 19 Poshard (D)
House 20 Durbin (D)

Indiana

Lugar (R)

House 1 Visclosky (D)
House 2 McIntosh (R)
House 3 Roemer (D)
House 4 Souder (R)
House 5 Buyer (R)
House 6 Burton (R)
House 7 Myers (R)
House 8 Hostettler (R)
House 9 Hamilton (D)
House 10 Jacobs (D)

Iowa

Gov Branstad (R)

House 1 Leach (R)
House 2 Nussle (R)
House 3 Lightfoot (R)
House 4 Ganske (R)
House 5 Latham (R)

Kansas

Gov. Graves (R)

House 1 Roberts (R)
House 2 Brownback (R)
House 3 Meyers (R)
House 4 Tiahrt (R)

Kentucky

House 1 Whitfield (R)
House 2 Lewis (R)
House 3 Ward (D)
House 4 Bunning (R)
House 5 Rogers (R)
House 6 Baesler (D)

Louisiana

House 1 Livingston (R)
House 2 Jefferson (D)
House 3 Tauzin (D)
House 4 Fields (D)
House 5 McCrery (R)
House 6 Baker (R)
House 7 Hayes (D)

Maine

Gov King (I)

Snowe (R)

House 1
House 2 Baldacci (D)

Maryland

Gov

Sarbanes (D)

House 1 Gilchrest (R)
House 2 Ehrlich (R)
House 3 Cardin (D)
House 4 Wynn (D)
House 5 Hoyer (D)
House 6 Bartlett (R)
House 7 Mfume (D)
House 8 Morella (R)

Massachusetts

Gov Weld (R)

Kennedy (D)

House 1 Olver (D)
House 2 Neal (D)
House 3 Blute (R)
House 4 Frank (D)
House 5 Meehan (D)
House 6 Torkildsen (R)
House 7 Markey (D)
House 8 Kennedy (D)
House 9 Moakley (D)
House 10 Studds (D)

Michigan

Gov. Engler (R)

Abraham (R)

House 1 Stupak (D)
House 2 Hoekstra (R)
House 3 Ehlers (R)
House 4 Camp (R)
House 5 Barcia (D)
House 6 Upton (R)
House 7 Smith (R)
House 8 Chrysler (R)
House 9 Kildee (D)
House 10 Bonior (D)
House 11 Knollenberg (R)
House 12 Levin (D)
House 13
House 14 Conyers (D)
House 15 Collins (D)
House 16 Dingell (D)

Minnesota

Gov Carlson (R)

Grams (R)

House 1 Gutknecht (R)
House 2 Minge (D)
House 3 Ramstad (R)
House 4 Vento (D)
House 5 Sabo (D)
House 6 Luther (D)
House 7 Peterson (D)
House 8 Oberstar (D)

Mississippi

Lott (R)

House 1 Wicker (R)
House 2 Thompson (D)
House 3 Montgomery (D)
House 4 Parker (D)
House 5 Taylor (D)

Missouri

Ashcroft (R)

House 1 Clay (D)
House 2 Talent (R)
House 3 Gephardt (D)
House 4 Skelton (D)
House 5 McCarthy (D)
House 6 Danner (D)
House 7 Hancock (R)
House 8 Emerson (R)
House 9 Volkmer (D)

Montana

Burns (R)

House 1 Williams (D)

Nebraska

Gov Nelson (D)

Kerrey (D)

House 1 Bereuter (R)
House 2 Christensen (R)
House 3 Barrett (R)

Nevada

Gov Miller (D), wins

Bryan (D)

House 1 Ensign (R)
House 2 Vucanovich (R)

New Hampshire

Gov Merrill (R), wins

House 1 Zeliff (R)
House 2 Bass (R)

New Jersey

Lautenberg (D)

House 1 Andrews (D)
House 2 LoBiondo (R)
House 3 Saxton (R)
House 4 Smith (R)
House 5 Roukema (R)
House 6 Pallone (D)
House 7 Franks (R)
House 8 Martini (R)
House 9 Torricelli (D)
House 10 Payne (D)
House 11 Frelinghuysen (R)
House 12 Zimmer (R)
House 13 Menendez (D)

New Mexico

Gov Johnson (R)

Bingaman (D)

House 1 Schiff (R)
House 2 Skeen (R)
House 3 Richardson (D)

New York

Gov Pataki (R)

Moynihan (D)

House 1 Forbes (R)
House 2 Lazio (R)
House 3 King (R)
House 4 Frisa (R)
House 5 Ackerman (D)
House 6 Flake (D)
House 7 Manton (D)
House 8 Nadler (D)
House 9 Schumer (D)
House 10 Towns (D)
House 11 Owens (D)
House 12 Velazquez (D)
House 13 Molinari (R)
House 14 Maloney (D)
House 15 Rangel (D)
House 16 Serrano (D)
House 17 Engel (D)
House 18 Lowey (D)
House 19 Kelly (R)
House 20 Gilman (R)
House 21 McNulty (D)
House 22 Solomon (R)
House 23 Boehlert (R)
House 24 McHugh (R)
House 25 Walsh (R)
House 26
House 27 Paxon (R)
House 28 Slaughter (D)
House 29 La Falce (D)
House 30 Quinn (R)
House 31 Houghton (R)

North Carolina

House 1 Clayton (D)
House 2 Funderburk (R)
House 3 Jones (R)
House 4 Heineman (R)
House 5 Burr (R)
House 6 Coble (R)
House 7 Rose (D)
House 8 Hefner (D)
House 9 Myrick (R)
House 10 Ballenger (R)
House 11 Taylor (R)
House 12 Watt (D)

North Dakota

Conrad (D)

House 1 Pomeroy (D)

Ohio

Gov Voinovich (R)

DeWine (R)

House 1 Chabot (R)
House 2 Portman (R)
House 3 Hall (D)
House 4 Oxley (R)
House 5 Gillmor (R)
House 6 Creamans (R)
House 7 Hobson (R)
House 8 Boehner (R)
House 9 Kaptur (D)
House 10 Hoke (R)
House 11 Stokes (D)
House 12 Kasich (R)
House 13 Brown (D)
House 14 Sawyer (D)
House 15 Pryce (R)
House 16 Regula (R)
House 17 Traficant (D)
House 18 Ney (R)
House 19 LaTourette (R)

Oklahoma

Gov. Keating (R)

Inhofe (R)

House 1 Largent (R)
House 2 Coburn (R)
House 3 Brewster (D)
House 4 Watts (R)
House 5 Istook (R)
House 6 Lucas (D)

Oregon

Gov Kitzhaber (D)

House 1
House 2 Cooley (R)
House 3 Wyden (D)
House 4 DeFazio (D)
House 5

Pennsylvania

Gov Ridge (R)

Santorum (R)

House 1 Foglietta (D)
House 2 Fattah (D)
House 3 Borski (D)
House 4 Klink (D)
House 5 Clinger (R)
House 6 Holden (D)
House 7 Weldon (R)
House 8 Greenwood (R)
House 9 Shuster (R)
House 10 McDade (R)
House 11 Kanjorski (D)
House 12 Murtha (D)
House 13 Fox (R)
House 14 Coyne (D)
House 15
House 16 Walker (R)
House 17 Gekas (R)
House 18 Doyle (D)
House 19 Goodling (R)
House 20 Mascara (D)
House 21 English (R)

Rhode Island

Gov Almond (R)

Chafee (R)

House 1 Kennedy (D)
House 2 Reed (D)

South Carolina

Gov Beasley (R)

House 1 Sanford (R)
House 2 Spence (R)
House 3 Graham (R)
House 4 Inglis (R)
House 5 Spratt (D)
House 6 Clyburn (D)

South Dakota

Janklow (R)

House 1 Johnson (D)

Tennessee

Gov Sundquist (R)

Thompson (R)
Frist (R)

House 1 Quillen (R)
House 2 Duncan (R)
House 3 Wamp (R)
House 4 Hilleary (R)
House 5 Clement (D)
House 6 Gordon (D)
House 7 Bryant (R)
House 8 Tanner (D)
House 9 Ford (D)

Texas

Gov Bush (R)

Hutchison (R)

House 1 Chapman (D)
House 2 Wilson (D)
House 3 Johnnson (R)
House 4 Hall (D)
House 5 Bryant (D)
House 6 Barton (R)
House 7 Archer (R)
House 8 Crane (R)
House 9 Stockman (R)
House 10 Doggett (D)
House 11 Edwards (D)
House 12 Geren (D)
House 13 Thornberry (R)
House 14 Laughlin (D)
House 15 de la Garza (D)
House 16 Coleman (D)
House 17 Stenholm (R)
House 18 Lee (D)
House 19 Combest (R)
House 20 Gonzalez (D)
House 21 Smith (R)
House 22 DeLay (R)
House 23 Bonilla (D)
House 24 Frost (D)
House 25 Bentsen (D)
House 26 Armey (R)
House 27 Ortiz (D)
House 28 Tejeda (D)
House 29 Green (D)
House 30 Johnson (D)

Utah

Hatch (R)

House 1 Hansen (R)
House 2 Waldholtz (R)
House 3 Orton (D)

Vermont

Gov Dean (D)

Jeffords (R)

House 1 Sanders (I)

Virginia

Robb (D)

House 1 Bateman (R)
House 2 Pickett (D)
House 3 Scott (D)
House 4 Sisisky (D)
House 5 Payne (D)
House 6 Goodlatte (R)
House 7 Bliley (R)
House 8 Moran (D)
House 9 Boucher (D)
House 10 Wolf (R)
House 11 Davis (R)

Washington

Gorton (R), wins

House 1 White (R)
House 2 Metcalf (R)
House 3 Smith (R)
House 4 Hastings (R)
House 5
House 6 Dicks (D)
House 7 McDermott (D)
House 8 Dunn (R)
House 9

West Virginia

Byrd (D), wins

House 1 Mollohan (D)
House 2 Wise (D)
House 3 Rahall (D)

Wisconsin

Gov Thompson (R)

Kohl (D)

House 1 Neumann (R)
House 2 Klug (R)
House 3 Gunderson (R)
House 4 Kleczka (D)
House 5 Barrett (D)
House 6 Petri (R)
House 7 Obey (D)
House 8 Roth (R)
House 9 Sensenbrenner (R)

Wyoming

Gov Geringer (R)

Thomas (R)

House 1 Cubin (R)

34 Democratic Senators do not face re-election this year. 31 Republican Senators do not face re-election this year.

# G.O.P. Candidates Show Early Gains in Senate Races

## But Moynihan and Kennedy Hang On

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Republican candidates scored early triumphs in the Senate yesterday, winning hard-fought races in Tennessee, Ohio and Delaware in an election that will determine the fate of President Clinton's legislative agenda for the next two years.

One Republican newcomer won the Senate seat once held by Vice President Al Gore in Tennessee and another took the seat of Senator James Sasser, the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, who was the first incumbent to concede defeat last night.

In Ohio, Lieut. Gov. Michael DeWine was elected the state's first Republican Senator in nearly two decades, according to surveys. Mr. DeWine defeated Joel Hyatt, who owns a chain of legal services companies and is the son-in-law of Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, a Democrat retiring after three terms.

And in Delaware, Senator William Roth beat back an aggresive challenge from the state's Attorney General, Charles Oberly. Mr. Oberly had been one of his party's best hopes for winning a Republican seat.

Despite the scattered Republican loses, another longtime Democrat, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, hung on to his seat after the biggest scare of his political life.

In a campaign season notable for restive voters, vituperative candidates and astonishing mudslinging, all 435 members of the House, 35 Senators and 36 governors were up. By 9:45 P.M., the Republicans seemed headed for more significant gains, but it was not yet clear whether they would take control of the Senate.

The polls of voters showed that two incumbent Democratic Senators who never appeared in danger, Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Senator Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, had kept their seats. Mr. Moynihan was opposed by Bernadette Castro, a former sofa bed company executive, and Mr. Lieberman was challenged by a former state senator, Gerald Labriola.

Another Democrat, Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, won a seventh term, easily defeating his long-shot Republican challenger, Stan Klos, who is in the real estate business.

Two Republican Senators who had seemed secure throughout the campaign easily beat back their challengers. Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, the senior Republican on the Agriculture Committee, defeated former Representative Jim Jontz. And Connie Mack of Florida defeated Hugh Rodham, the brother of Hillary Rodham Clinton who was making his first bid for public office, handing the Clintons a personal defeat along with the first broader political losses of the night.

Two incumbent Republican Gov-

Continued From Page A1

ernors, William F. Weld of Massachusetts and George V. Voinovich of Ohio, coasted to easy victories.

While the Democrats had braced for big losses yesterday, the outcomes in Tennessee were particularly painful because voters were favoring two Republicans who had never before run for political office over two respected Democrats.

Before the polls closed on the West Coast, Haley Barbour, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, called it a great day for his party and sought to make the returns a referendum on the President. "What the American people did tonight is they rejected President Clinton's policies," he said.

A Democrat, Senator John Breaux of Louisiana, said: "You know, I've never been in a minority before." Asked if Republican control was inevitable, he replied, "I think it is."

In a particular blow to the White House, Mr. Gore's furious campaigning in Tennessee was apparently not enough to reverse the Democrats' fortunes in the race for the remaining two years of the term. Fred D. Thompson, a lawyer, lobbyist and occasional movie actor, was well ahead of Representative Jim Cooper, a six-term House member who drew national attention for proposing a moderate alternative to President Clinton's health care proposal.

But many Democrats were more surprised that Senator Sasser, a three-term veteran, appeared unable to beat back a challenge from William Frist, a millionaire heart surgeon. Mr. Sasser was not only the chairman of the powerful Senate Budget Committee, but had also been a leading candidate in the race for Senate Democratic leader, and his defeat will scramble the party's leadership even more than the announcement earlier this year that Senator George J. Mitchell, the party's leader in the Senate, would retire.

Mr. Frist had depicted Mr. Sasser as being in the pocket of Mr. Clinton, whose deep unpopularity had harmed many of his party's candidates this year, and sought to tie him to a coterie of controversial Democrats, including Mr. Kennedy, Representative Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, indicted on 17 counts of fraud and other improprieties, and former Mayor Marion Barry of Washington, who had been heavily favored for reelection after winning the Democratic nomination.

The strength of Mr. Frist and Mr. Thompson was not only notable because they are Republicans but also because they are hard-edged conservatives in a state that has favored more moderate Republicans in recent years.

Pat Nolan, an independent political consultant in Nashville, said it appeared that Mr. Cooper was being swamped by "the four great anti's: anti-Democrat, anti-Clinton, anti-Congress and anti-incumbent."

He said: "If you drew concentric circles representing all of these, Jim Cooper and to a certain extent Jim Sasser is right in the bull's eye. The Republicans structured the issues and set the agenda in these races."

M. Lee Smith, who published a Republican newsletter in the state, said he thought heavy Republican turnout made the difference. "We are probably going to find that we had a huge Republican turnout and an anemic Democratic turnout," he said.

Randle Richardson, chairman of the Tennessee Republican Party, said last night that the success came after his party put aside internal differences. "We decided to quit arguing among ourselves," he said. "We started running our party like a business." The Democrats, he added, were "running on Washington themes rather than Tennessee themes."

While the vote counters were still hard at work, Representative Newt Gingrich, the House minority whip, wasted no time become the first to proclaim a Republican victory in the Senate.

"What we are seeing so far, plus the exit polling, it looks like Senator Dole will be the majority leader of the Senate, probably with 53 or 54 Republican seats, a tremendous, tremendous victory," he told an interviewer in suburban Atlanta, in be-

### Returns Incomplete

Results in many local and national contests were not available in time for this edition, and will be reported fully tomorrow.

1/2



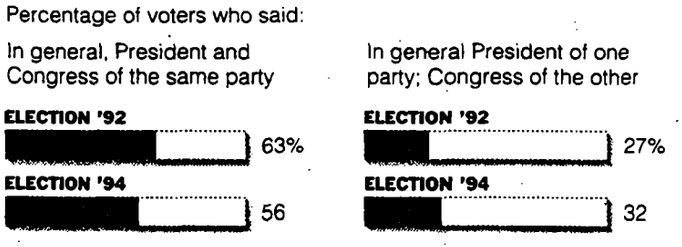
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**EXIT POLL**

## Which Is Better for the Country?

Percentage of voters who said:




*Source: 1992 data from Voter Research and Surveys exit poll of 15,232 voters. 1994 data from Mitofsky International exit poll of 2,601 voters.*

The New York Times

tween glances at the news on television screen.

In Massachusetts, Mitt Romney waged a surprisingly strong challenge against Senator Kennedy, who had never had as tough a fight in his previous six bids for the office. Mr. Romney, a business executive who is the son of former Gov. George Romney of Michigan, has played up his lack of political experience and ridiculed Mr. Kennedy as an out-of-touch insider.

But after weeks in which the polls showed Mr. Romney leading Mr. Kennedy, the Senator's fortunes revived when he fought back with major television advertising blitz against Mr. Romney, and performed ably in two televised debates near the end of the campaign.

One bad sign for Democrats for the future is that their voters tended to be much older than the voters who cast their ballots for Republicans.

The preliminary results of a nationwide poll of voters as they left polling places showed that voters over 50 were slightly more likely to have voted for Democratic candidates. But voters aged 25 to 40 were much more likely to have cast their ballots for Republicans.

The poll found that about a third of the respondents said their votes for House candidates had nothing to do with their views of President Clinton. Of the remainder, slightly more said their opposition to Mr. Clinton affected their vote yesterday than those who said their support for him was a factor in their vote.

Given the throw-the-bums-out climate that pervaded the election campaigns, voters said by a majority of more than 2 to 1 that they preferred an experienced candidate to a new face, and a clear majority said they preferred having Congress and the Presidency controlled by the same party.

Protestants and Catholics alike were more likely to have voted Republican than Democratic. Jews voted heavily Democratic as did respondents who said they were not particularly religious.

In the poll, 2,600 voters were questioned at selected precincts in every state.

While the party that wins the White House almost always loses seats in the midterm election, analysts in both parties had long been predicting particularly big losses for the Democrats, given Mr. Clinton's low popularity and the fact that few voters were giving him much credit for a rebounding economy.

In addition, a searing anti-politician mood seemed to be sweeping the electorate, which was bad news for Democrats, since they held 22 of the 35 Senate seats up yesterday, and 21 of the 36 governorships. In the House, there were 52 open seats at stake, of which 31 were now held by Democrats.

There were more down-to-the-wire contests than in any off-year election in decades, and even as the voting began, candidates in high-profile Senate races in states including Virginia, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma and Minnesota had little advance clue about their prospects.

After the voting began, Mr. Clinton made a series of last-minute radio appeals on behalf of his party. He urged the public not to be turned off by the bitter tone of many races and to go to the polls.

"This is not the time for negativism," Mr. Clinton said on one program. "This is the time to be upbeat but aggressive in tackling our problems and meeting our opportunities."

On another program, the President repeated a message he pounded away at for eight days of stumping the country for Democratic candidates. "How are we going to work together and move this country forward?" he asked. "We don't want to go back, and we don't want to be divided, and we don't want to think less of ourselves as a result of this election."

Asked if Mr. Clinton and his agenda would be hampered by Republican gains in the Senate and the House, George Stephanopoulos, the President's senior adviser, said last night: "I don't think he'll be hamstrung at all. He was elected on a platform to move the economy forward. That's exactly what he's done."

Moreover, Mr. Stephanopoulos said, "The President is ready to reach out his hand to members of any party who are willing to get the economy moving forward." He said he believed that even such staunch Republicans as Senator Bob Dole of Kansas could work with Mr. Clinton in a bipartisan manner.

Asked if the 1994 election was a referendum on President Clinton, Mr. Stephanopoulos deflected the question. He said that this year's election, like the 1992 vote, was "about the pace of change in this country."

Mr. Stephanopoulos vehemently disputed Republican assertions that the Administration had played the race card by exploiting the fears of black voters in the last few weeks.

Jim Estrin/The New York Times

Andrea Mohin/The New York Times

George E. Pataki, right, brought his daughter Allison with him as he cast his vote in Garrison, N.Y. Gov. Mario M. Cuomo left a voting booth at Public School 178 in Queens.

# For Clinton, a Sharp Rebuff at the Polls

## *President Now Faces Two Years of Conflict*

A1

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

It was an immoderate campaign, coarse in its tone and unedifying in its substance, and the nation's politics are likely to stay that way for the next two years and beyond.

**News Analysis**

Dissatisfaction with President Clinton, with liberalism, with the Democratic party, and with Washington in general combined to create a surge by Republicans, especially conservative Republicans. If not quite a tidal wave, yesterday's results swept many an incumbent from office and set up two years of intense political confrontation between the White House and Congress.

The returns constituted a sharp rebuff to Mr. Clinton. Many of those for whom he stumped so frantically in the final hours were defeated, some of them decisively. Exit polls showed that about a third of all voters said they voted as they did to express their disapproval of what the President had done.

"They didn't like him," said a defeated Democratic Senate candidate, "and so they didn't like me."

Even before the votes were counted, it was clear that the next Congress would be more extreme than the last. Senators John C. Danforth, Republican of Missouri; David Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, and David L. Boren, Democrat of Oklahoma, all moderates, are all retiring at the end of the year.

To compound the change, Tennessee voters denied another term to Senator Jim Sasser, a middle-of-the-road Democrat who had hoped to become majority leader, and those in Oklahoma rebuffed Representative Dave McCurdy, the chairman of the centrist Democratic Leadership Conference, in his Senate bid.

Their replacements, whether Republican or Democratic, will be

*Continued on Page B5, Column 1*

*Continued From Page A1*

much less prepared to tread the middle of the road. They made that clear in their campaign speeches. So did other new members coming to Washington.

In an era of weak party discipline and constantly shifting coalitions on Capitol Hill, the moderates have been the clay out of which many a legislative edifice has been built in recent years. Now, a White House official fretted last night, "there may not be any center there for us to work with."

That is bad news for President Clinton. He passed the crime bill with the help of moderates in both parties, and Mr. Danforth played a major role at one point. Mr. Clinton's hopes for the passage of a health-care bill next year rested heavily with centrist, accommodation-minded politicians like Representative

**The next Congress will be more Republican and more conservative.**

Jim Cooper, a Democrat whose try for the second Tennessee seat fell short.

Representative Jim Inhofe, the Republican who will succeed Senator Boren, defined himself in an interview a few weeks ago as "a man who's going to Washington to stand for something, not to horse-trade and compromise."

The moderate viewpoint will not, of course, be without its champions. Senator John H. Chaffee, the Rhode Island Republican who tried in vain to assemble a moderate coalition behind a modest health-care bill this year, will be back to try again.

A former Democratic Leadership Conference leader, Senator Charles Robb, Democrat of Virginia, appeared to be building a substantial lead over the most extreme of the Republican candidates, Oliver L. North. With 80 percent of the vote counted, Mr. Robb led by about 100,000 votes.

The religious right will persist, too, especially in the 1996 Presidential campaign, attempting to insure that the Republicans nominate for President someone sympathetic with their opposition to abortion, for example.

A counterweight may arise in the statehouses. Republican governors elected and re-elected across the Midwest, as well as others such as William F. Weld in Massachusetts, are generally less ideological than their fellows in the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Republican convention two years ago in Houston showed how deep the potential schisms within the party are. Conservatives emphasized what they termed "family issues," while others, such as Senator Richard G. Lugar, the Indiana Republican who won easy re-election Tuesday night, thought it was big mistake to put on such a show.

If this year's results are any guide, 1996 could be worse. While the country has unmistakably moved to the right, exclusionary tactics could result in something like the 1964 G.O.P. convention in San Francisco, which so badly split the party that Lyndon B.. Johnson was to win by a landslide.

A difficult tactical situation will confront the Republican leadership on Capitol Hill. Do they cooperate with Mr. Clinton, even a little, and take the edge off their effort to unseat Mr. Clinton two years from now? Or do they play hardball and risk charges of obstructionism of the kind that Harry S. Truman leveled at the 80th Congress to such devastating effect in 1948?

But the Democrats' problems are clearly much worse.

Mr. Clinton had won election as the apostle of change. But exit polls showed that voters think he has failed to deliver — that he has become the symbol of the very status quo that his election was to have shattered.

Now, he is confronted with a huge challenge: with less support on Capitol Hill, how does he deliver enough change to change people's minds?

David Wilhelm, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said tonight that it was unthinkable that anyone would challenge Mr. Clinton for the Democratic nomination two years from now. But when Mr. Truman was trounced in 1946, he drew challenges from both left and right two years later.



3

# Denny's Selling 47 Franchises To a Black-Owned Company

A1

By N. R. KLEINFIELD

The Denny's restaurant chain, which for years has been accused of widespread prejudice against black customers, announced yesterday that a black-owned company in Atlanta had agreed to buy and operate as many as 47 Denny's restaurants in New York and New Jersey.

The arrangement moves Denny's close to meeting a goal the chain established with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to add 53 minority-owned restaurants by 1997. Only a few months ago, none of the more than 1,500 Denny's restaurants were owned by blacks. One black franchisee was added in June and a second one last week.

Under the new agreement, NDI Inc., which owns 23 Blockbuster video stores among other holdings, will buy 17 of the casual, sit-down restaurants this year and will have the right to acquire five more next year. At the same time, it can build 25 other restaurants in New York and New Jersey over five years.

NDI said it sought the franchises based on economic opportunity, but it added that it was careful to look into the racist stigma that envelops Denny's. "You can always stand on the sidelines and say that a company is racist," said Richard Venegar of Atlanta, an NDI board member. "The best thing to do is get involved and become part of the solution. We looked into the allegations and we thought Denny's was making strides to alleviate their past."

The initial group of 17 restaurants are located in upstate New York and in south and central New Jersey. There are no Denny's restaurants in New York City. Denny's would not divulge the exact locations of the restaurants, most of which are along highways, because it said it had not yet notified their employees.

NDI said the restaurants included 10 in New York in places like Syracuse, Albany, Newburgh, Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, and 7 in New Jersey in towns like Toms River, Raritan and Eatontown.

*Continued on Page B15, Column 5*

The restaurants, NDI said, are primarily in racially mixed neighborhoods, though some are in predominantly black and some in predominantly white areas. They are now owned by the corporation, as are about two-thirds of the restaurants in the chain. Denny's would not divulge the purchase price, though NDI said it was paying about five times the cash flow.

In recent years, Denny's, owned by Flagstar Companies of Spartanburg, S.C., has been buffeted by allegations that its restaurants discriminated against black customers, turning it into a symbol of bigotry. While the company has maintained that the incidents were isolated and not part of any corporate policy, it has taken several expensive steps recently to try to shed its tarnished image.

In May, Denny's agreed to pay more than $54 million to settle lawsuits filed by thousands of black customers who contended that they had been refused service or been forced to wait longer than white patrons or asked to pay in advance. The settlement was the largest under the Federal public-accommodations laws, adopted to bring an end to segregation in restaurants and other places serving the public.

In July 1993, Flagstar, which also owns 600 Hardee's restaurants and more than 400 others carrying the names Quincy Family Steak House and El Pollo Loco, reached a "Fair Share" agreement with the N.A.A.C.P. to spend $1 billion in jobs and contracts for minorities over seven years.

The agreement requires the company to hire a significant number of black managers, franchise owners and sub-contractors, as well as to name a black board member. It set as franchise targets eight minority-owned restaurants by the end of 1994 and 53 by 1997.

Fred Rasheed, the national director of economic development for the N.A.A.C.P., said he was pleased with yesterday's development. "It's a significant step on their part to achieve the goals and commitments they made to us," he said. "Up to this deal, we haven't seen much progress, so this is encouraging."

So far as other areas of the Fair Share agreement, he said that the N.A.A.C.P. was happy with the increase in black managers at Flagstar, but he said "the jury is still out" on increasing minority purchasing contracts.

NDI, the new franchise owner, has diverse holdings. Besides the Blockbuster stores, it owns a small Atlanta hair-care-products company and Ward-Hill Inc., a Haverhill, Mass., company that makes paper tray liners for fast-food restaurants. The company says it produces about half of the tray liners used by McDonald's, and virtually all of the tray liners used east of the Mississippi. "Hopefully, we'll sell more to Denny's," Mr. Venegar said. "That's one of the reasons we were interested."

NDI is entirely black-owned and says it has revenues of about $25 million, which will double with the addition of the first 17 Denny's restaurants. Its majority investor is the Levmark Corporation, a New York black-owned investment company. Leon Wright, a 51-year-old entrepreneur, is Levmark's principal owner and founded NDI in late 1990.

James Holden, 37, joined NDI as its president and chief executive officer nine months ago, coming out of the cable service and investment banking fields. Charles Davis, who has been in the fast-food business, will serve as chief operating officer at NDI for the Denny's restaurants.

Mr. Holden said the company wants to become a worldwide presence in the casual dining business. He added that NDI hopes to become the largest Denny's franchise operator. At the moment, that distinction is held by American Family Restaurants, also of Atlanta, which owns 78 Denny's restaurants.

NDI said that the 17 restaurants that it is buying this year have average revenues of some $1.4 million, above the $1.2 million average for the entire chain. "They're not dogs," Mr. Venegar said.

He said the new Denny's restaurants that NDI might build were expected to include places on Long Island and, possibly, in New York City.

The only other Denny's restaurants run by blacks are in Beaumont, Tex., which David Booker, a former Denny's region leader, took over in June, and in Carson, Calif., which Earl Norsworthy, a Los Angeles businessman, began running last week.

The first black franchisee was Donald Bohana, who started a Denny's in the Watts section of Los Angeles in September 1992. He operated it until last March, when Denny's took it over because it was experiencing financial difficulties.

Denny's said that 25 other black franchise applicants are being reviewed by Denny's and that some might be approved in the next few months.



4

# Israel Will Speed Up Talks For Palestinian Self-Rule

## Move Is an Effort to Deflect Pressure on Arafat

A1

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

EREZ CROSSING, Gaza Strip, Nov. 8 — Moving to defend Yasir Arafat against a challenge from his Islamic foes, Israel agreed today to pick up the pace of its sluggish talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization on expanding self-rule beyond the Gaza Strip and the Jericho enclave to include the entire West Bank.

The two sides said that starting in two weeks they would negotiate several major issues at the same time, principally territory-wide elections for a self-rule council and a withdrawal of Israeli forces from West Bank cities and towns.

Meeting at this border crossing in a northern sliver of the Gaza Strip still in Israeli hands, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel and Mr. Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, also decided to complete the transfer of certain administrative powers to Palestinians in the West Bank by the end of the month.

This handing over of authority — in education, health, taxation, welfare and tourism — had been agreed to in August. But except for Palestinians' taking over the schools two months ago, nothing really changed because they did not have the necessary money from foreign donors. But Mr. Arafat said after his talks with Mr. Rabin that promises of aid had come "from some very dear friends."

In addition, Mr. Rabin agreed to a further easing of the blockade that his Government had thrown around Gaza and the West Bank after several terrorist attacks in October by Islamic radicals, including the Tel Aviv bus bombing that killed 23 people.

While a restriction on Arab movement is widely popular with Israelis because it makes them feel safer, it keeps tens of thousands of Palestinians from reaching needed jobs inside Israel. That, in turn, worsens Gaza's already anemic economy and strengthens the radicals at Mr. Arafat's expense.

As it is P.L.O. leaders fret that Israel is pushing the chairman too hard on the security issue, demanding that he crack down vigorously on armed militants but in the process making him look like Israel's puppet in some Palestinian eyes.

That view was graphically expressed by Nabil Shaath, the chief P.L.O. negotiator, in an interview today with the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot. "I would suggest not making Arafat look like an Israeli agent, like an 'Uncle Tom' serving his masters," he said.

As a concession, Mr. Rabin said, Israeli would authorize work permits for 10,000 Palestinians in addition to 13,000 approved last week. Even so, these numbers are well below the 60,000 who went to jobs in Israel each day before the October blockade.

The main Israeli concession today, however, involved talks about Palestinian elections and Israeli troop pullbacks in the West Bank — core issues in a so-called second phase of Palestinian self-rule, moving beyond the autonomy already in place in Gaza and Jericho.

The new change does not mean that the negotiators will necessarily reach a final settlement any faster; these are complicated matters that may still need many months to solve. But until now Israel had wanted to take each issue one at a time, when in fact they are intricately connected, and so agreeing to a package deal now was an Israeli acknowledgment that the old approach did not work.

"The discussions will be comprehensive — all the issues that need to be solved to move to the next stage," Mr. Rabin said at Erez.

In his newspaper interview, Mr. Shaath complained that with the previous slow pace, "the effect on us is devastating." He added: "I'm in despair. Rabin does not even try to hide how much he despises us. If there won't be a miracle, the agreement between us will collapse."

The Israeli decision on the talks reflected a conclusion that Mr. Arafat was losing too much ground to Muslim groups like Hamas and Islamic Holy War and needed to have his position shored up through accelerated talks.

"If Arafat is weak we are weak, too, in terms of what still has to be done in the territories," a senior Israeli official said.

Under the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the P.L.O. at the White House 14 months ago, Israeli forces in the territories are supposed to be "redeployed outside populated areas" no later than "the eve of elections."

Even though the two issues are closely linked, negotiations thus far have focused only on elections, and without making progress. Among the disagreements are the nature of the council that is to administer territory-wide self-rule. The P.L.O. wants a 100-member body with both executive and legislative powers, but Israel insists on a more modest 30-member group that would have no lawmaking powers.

Palestinians have accused Israel of foot-dragging on elections to keep its army where it is. While the Israelis deny the assertion, they acknowledge that the question of troop redeployment in the West Bank is perhaps the most complicated security issue they face because many Jewish settlements there are cheek by jowl with Arab towns.

*Continued on Page A10, Column 1*

## *Death From Cholera Confirmed in Gaza*

JERUSALEM, Nov. 8 (AP) — A 2½-year-old child in the autonomous Gaza Strip has died of cholera and 15 people there have contracted the disease, the Palestinian Health Minister said today.

The Health Minister, Riyad Zanoun, said at a news conference that another 14 people from Gaza had cholera symptoms and were in hospitals being tested.

Israel banned the import of food from the Gaza Strip to Israel and the occupied West Bank and asked residents not to buy food from unknown sources.

Cholera is usually transferred by food or water contaminated with the feces of infected people. It can kill by causing diarrhea and vomiting that brings severe dehydration.

The first victim, Wafa Jabber of Gaza City, died on Monday, five hours after falling ill. The intestinal disease is rare in the West but has caused widespread deaths in developing countries.

Farmers in Gaza protested the loss of an estimated $300,000 a day from the sale of tomatoes, cucumbers and peppers. Gaza exports about 2,600 tons of those vegetables to Israel each week.

Mohammed Rayis, deputy director of Gaza's Agriculture Ministry, accused Israel of punishing Gaza farmers.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# *Sarajevo Is Hit by Artillery Fire In Worst Attack Since February*

A1

By CHUCK SUDETIC
Special to The New York Times

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Nov. 8 — In the worst bombardment of the Bosnian capital since a NATO ultimatum in February, Sarajevo was hit by 10 to 15 artillery rounds late this afternoon, probably fired from Bosnian Serb positions, a United Nations spokesman said here tonight.

Four people, three of them children, were killed in the shelling and in sniper attacks and six others were wounded.

The United Nations military force in Sarajevo said in a statement tonight that it would not retaliate. But a Bosnian Army officer vowed, "You can bet we're going to retaliate if this continues, and it will be much fiercer than anyone expects."

In the past the Serbs used random sniping and artillery fire to exact revenge for military operations by the Bosnian Army here and elsewhere. The attack today came after several advances by the Muslim-led Bosnian Army.

This afternoon Nermina Omerovic, 13, died of a gunshot wound in the head in her family's apartment, whose windows are exposed to the war front near the city's old Jewish cemetery, witnesses and doctors at the Kosevo Hospital said. Heavy sniping was reported in the area at the time.

Two other children were killed in a mortar shell explosion in the Kosevsko Brdo neighborhood later in the afternoon, a hospital official said. A 30-year-old woman also died.

The United Nations statement said there was no doubt that the gunshot that killed Nermina Omerovic came from the Serbian-held neighborhood of Grbavica.

But the statement said, "It was not clear as to precisely where the mortar was fired from."

"Although the supposition must be made that it was fired by the Bosnian Serb Army," the statement said, "immediate access to the site and to forensic evidence on the ground was denied by the Bosnian police. Therefore, without unequivocal evidence, a military response has been ruled out at this stage."

The United Nations military commander in Bosnia, Lieut. Gen. Sir Michael Rose, has called on the commanders of the Bosnian Serbs, Gen. Ratko Mladic, and the Bosnian Army commander, Gen. Rasim Delic, to meet at Sarajevo Airport on Wednesday "to try and halt the deterioration of the situation," the statement said.

Tensions and military activity in Sarajevo have risen sharply since Saturday evening when Bosnian Army units and Serbian forces traded howitzer, mortar and infantry-weapon fire near the airport. United Nations officials have said the Bosnian Army initiated the fighting on Saturday.

Heavy mortar and small-arms fire in the same front-line area lasted for more than an hour on Monday night, subsiding only after NATO jets renewed low-level flights over the area and United Nations commanders issued protests to both the Bosnians and the Serbs.

After a shell killed 68 people in Sarajevo's main outdoor market on Feb. 5, NATO warned of air strikes unless the Serbs withdrew all of their heavy weapons from an exclusion zone around the city or placed them in collection points guarded by the United Nations. The zone has a radius of 12.4 miles.

The United Nations was never able to establish conclusively that Serbian shells were responsible for the marketplace deaths.

NATO and United Nations officials have been at odds for months over enforcement of the ultimatum, with NATO complaining that the United Nations officials responsible for approving air strikes have been too lenient with the Serbs and have damaged the military alliance's credibility.

United Nations officials said that the continuing fighting had produced no significant change in the battle-front that winds around Sarajevo, which has a population of 200,000.

But United Nations officials here maintain that the recent fighting, which has included random Serbian shelling of Hrasnica, a Sarajevo suburb, has not reached a level that would prompt the Serbs to seize weapons en masse from the United Nations depots and train them on the city in an effort to deter the Bosnian Army attacks.

"The earth would move if they did that," said a United Nations military officer, referring to the threat of air strikes.

Bosnian Army forces have dealt setbacks to the Bosnian Serbs all over the country in the last two weeks, exploiting weak points along a 1,000-mile-long front.

The Serbs' superiority in firepower has been reduced as the Bosnians have brought weapons through Croatia and seized sizable quantities of armaments, including tanks, from the Serbs.

"The Serbs have armed six of our brigades in the last two weeks," the Bosnian Army officer said.

A United Nations military assessment said the Bosnian Serb Army appeared confused, "unsure where the Bosnian Army will initiate further attacks and hence where to commit limited Bosnian Serb Army reserves from their already-overextended forces."

"The Bosnian Army," the report said, "will undoubtedly continue offensive action in alternating areas of operations in order to maintain this atmosphere of Bosnian Serb Army indecisiveness."

The report said the Bosnian Army might initiate attacks in the area of Hadzici, a Serbian-controlled western suburb of Sarajevo that controls the main road to the Adriatic Sea, as the Serbs withdraw troops and weapons to counter Bosnian Army incursions elsewhere in the country.

In a morning briefing before today's attack, Lieut. Col. Tim Spicer, a spokesman for the United Nations military force in Sarajevo, said, "We don't think we have a serious situation where the whole process around Sarajevo will unravel."

"The attacks are not militarily significant," he added, explaining why the United Nations commander in Bosnia did not call upon NATO to launch air strikes in retaliation for the firing of heavy weapons on Saturday and Monday nights. "If these intense, short-lived firefights develop, they will obviously have a destabilizing effect."

A report by United Nations military observers filed Monday but yet to be confirmed said the capture on Friday of the town of Kupres by the Bosnian Croats' militia, the Croatian Defense Council, might have been part of a deal by the Croats, the Serbs and the Bosnian Army.

"Locals," the report said, "stated that there is some sort of agreement among the Croatian Defense Council, Bosnian Army and Bosnian Serb Army concerning the handing over of Kupres and towns to the south and that when Croatian Defense Council soldiers advanced into a village five kilometers north of Kupres, they met Bosnian Serb soldiers who told them that this village was not part of 'the deal' and that they should return to Kupres. They were allowed to return unopposed."



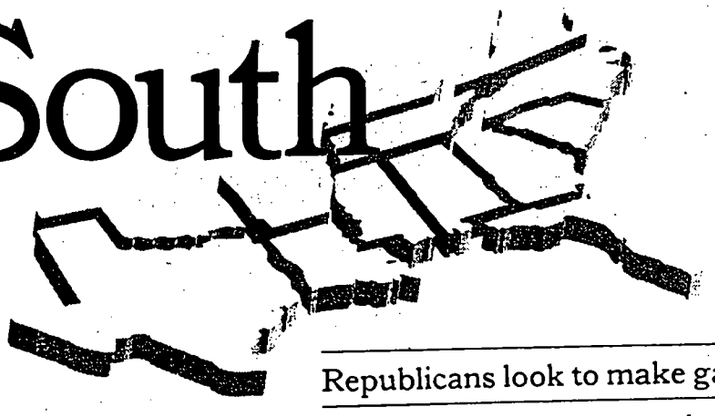

The New York Times

Military tensions in Sarajevo have been growing since last weekend.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

6

# South



Republicans look to make gains in what was once a stronghold of the Democratic Party.

## ALABAMA

In a counterweight to the anti-Clinton sentiment in Alabama, Gov. James E. Folsom Jr. held a lead, albeit shrinking, over the Republican challenger, Fob James Jr. Mr. Folsom, 45, a former lieutenant governor, was elevated last year after the Republican Governor, Guy Hunt, was convicted of ethics violations. Mr. James, 60, governed the state from 1979 to 1983 as a Democrat, but switched parties for this race.

In a hotly contested House battle in Alabama's northern Fifth District, Wayne Parker, a Republican banker, was running neck-and-neck with a two-term Democra incumbent, Robert E. Cramer. Mr. Parke was counting on powerful Republican ties to help him.

Mr. Parker is the son-in-law of Representative Bill Archer, the ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, and he has drawn support from other Republican leaders like Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole. The district includes Huntsville's space and military installations, and both candidates were trying to outdo each other to preserve dwindling financing from the space agency and the Pentagon.

## ARKANSAS

Some Democrats are still popular in President Clinton's home state. Mr. Clinton's successor, Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, 51, held a solid lead over the Republican challenger, Sheffield Nelson, a 53-year-old former utility executive, who twice ran unsuccessfully against Mr. Clinton.

And in the southern Fourth District, which includes Mr. Clinton's hometown, Hope, the first Republican elected to the House from the district in 120 years was in a tight struggle to keep his seat. The Congressman, Jay Dickey, squared off against another Jay, State Senator Jay Bradford, with each competing to show how tough he would be on crime. Mr. Dickey's vote against an omnibus crime bill could have hurt his chances, but he still narrowly led. Mr. Dickey countered Mr. Bradford by asserting that he would just be a yes-man for Mr. Clinton.

Arkansans also voted on an initiative to authorize one casino and create a state gambling commission.

## FLORIDA

The American South, a Democratic bastion for more than a century, has grown more Republican in the last two decades, and Florida is no exception. Gov. Lawton Chiles, a Democrat seeking re-election, faced a conservative Republican challenger, Jeb Bush, who took an early lead this autumn by emphasizing crime. But a survey of 481 voters today by Mitofsky International found the race to be a dead heat.

More conservative than his father, former President George Bush, or his brother, George W. Bush, a candidate for Governor in Texas, Jeb Bush advocated welfare cuts, abortion limits and harsher punishments for criminals. He called for limiting death row inmates' appeals and requiring prisoners to serve at least 85 percent of their sentences. In one of Mr. Bush's television advertisements, a woman blamed Mr. Chiles for failing to execute her daughter's killer.

But Mr. Chiles fought back in October, accusing Mr. Bush, a real estate developer, of lacking experience and relying on family ties. A Chiles campaign television advertisement pointed out that the case featured in Mr. Bush's advertisement was under appeal, not on the governor's desk.

Today's survey of voters indicated that Mr. Chiles may have neutralized the crime issue. Voters mentioned crime concerns more than any other issues, but those voters most worried by crime were just as likely to vote for Mr. Chiles as Mr. Bush.

Anti-incumbent sentiment threatened Representative Sam M. Gibbons, the 74-year-old acting chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Mark Sharpe, a 34-year-old Republican junior high school teacher, criticized Mr. Gibbons as a Clinton Administration ally and called for a single Federal income tax rate for all Americans. Both sides claimed leads in polls.

By contrast, Senator Connie Mack, a Republican, easily beat Hugh Rodham, the younger brother of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Voters were also asked to decide a ballot proposal to allow casino gambling.

## GEORGIA

Representative Newt Gingrich, the Republican firebrand who has made no secret of his ambition to become the House Speaker, went back to his district in the final days of the campaign to solidify his home base. But it was expected that he would defeat Representative Ben Jones.

Mr. Jones, who played Cooter on the "Dukes of Hazard" television show, spent most of his time making fun of the powerful incumbent. He also raised questions about a political action committee run by Mr. Gingrich.

In the state's other high-profile race, the Democratic Governor, Zell Miller, was facing a tough test from his millionaire Republican challenger, Guy Millner.

In the last days of the campaign, Mr. Millner unleashed television advertisements attacking Mr. Miller for trying to redesign the state flag to remove the Confederate battle flag design.

Mr. Millner also tried to capitalize on anti-Clinton sentiment throughout the South by running television ads with footage of Mr. Miller's keynote address for Mr. Clinton at the 1992 Democratic National Convention.

## KENTUCKY

Kentucky, a Democratic stronghold since the Civil War, is one of the states where the Republican Party seemed to be making significant gains in the House, leading in four of the six races, according to early results. Enfeebled by a Federal investigation into corruption in the state government, the Democrats were likely to be in the minority for only the second time in history. Before the election the seats had been split evenly.

After the death of William H. Natcher, a Democrat who had held his seat for 41 years, Ron Lewis, a Republican Baptist minister and Christian bookstore owner, won the seat in a special election in May.

## LOUISIANA

It was Election Day for Federal offices all across the United States, but not in Louisiana. All seven of the state's incumbent House members — all Democrats — were re-elected on Oct. 1. It was the first time in 10 years that none of the state's Congressional elections required runoffs in the general election.

The state's election system places all candidates on the same ballot for the primary. If no one receives 50 percent or more of the vote, the top two, regardless of the party, square off in a runoff on Election Day.

Louisiana voters did go to the polls, however. But it was to vote in a special election for the State Senate.

## MISSISSIPPI

Trent Lott, a Republican seeking his second term in the Senate, was running far ahead of former State Senator Ken Harper, who was hampered by a lack of money for the race.

Although the Democrats were once again expected to dominate the state's races for Congress, the Republicans put up a strong fight over a symbolic seat, that of Representative Jamie L. Whitten, a Democrat who is retiring after more than 50 years.

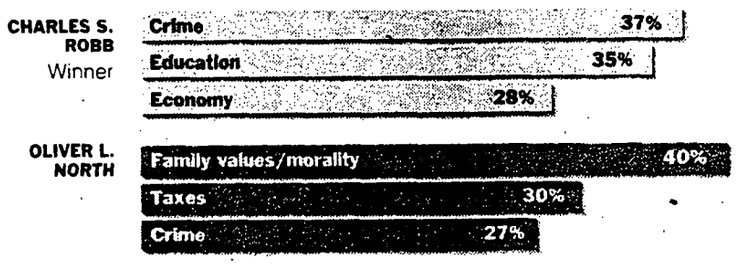
State Senator Roger Wicker, the Republican seeking Mr. Whitten's seat, and State Representative Bill Wheeler, both campaigned as conservatives, with Mr. Wicker touting his opposition to abortion and Mr. Wheeler voicing support for school prayer.

Mr. Wicker's campaign tried to remove the privileged upper-class stigma that has

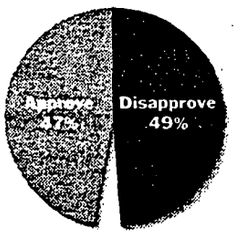
BEHIND THE VOTE

## Southern Close-Up: Virginia

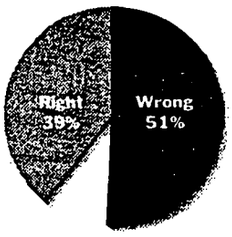
What issues mattered most to those who voted for . . .




How do you feel about the way Bill Clinton is handling his job?




In the Iran-Contra affair, was Oliver North morally right or wrong?




What is happening to your standard of living?




*Source: Mitofsky International exit poll of 1,508 Virginia voters; those not answering are not shown.*

New York Times

haunted Republicans.

Mr. Wheeler portrayed himself as a "working man's candidate," and ran a television testimonial starring his mother.

### NORTH CAROLINA

There were no statewide races on the ballot in North Carolina this year, and Republicans hoped that a low turnout would help them capture two Congressional seats being vacated by retiring Democrats.

The most interesting race was between David Funderburk, a former aide to Senator Jesse Helms and Ambassador to Romania, and Richard H. Moore, a Democratic state lawmaker. The district, which includes parts of Durham, tends to vote for the candidate who has shown greater fondness for the tobacco industry. Mr. Funderburk tried to link his opponent to President Clinton, who is unpopular because he advocated a tobacco tax increase. Mr. Moore pressed his record of support for tobacco.

### OKLAHOMA

Although Oklahomans overwhelmingly register as Democrats, they often vote Republican when they are disenchanted with a Democratic administration.

But for President Clinton's unpopularity, the Senate seat held by David L. Boren, a popular Democrat who resigned to become president of the University of Oklahoma, would have easily passed to Dave McCurdy, a moderate Democrat who has served seven terms in the House. Instead, this year's Republican surge has been a boon for Representative James M. Inhofe, who stressed his conservative values.

That same surge also raised Republican hopes for gaining the governorship. Frank Keating, a former Reagan Administration official, ran a strong race against the Democratic candidate, Lieut. Gov. Jack Mildren. But an independent, Wes Watkins, a former Democratic member of the House, complicated the race, winning support from Democrats and Republicans alike. .

Virgil R. Cooper, the 71-year old retired middle-school principal who defeated Representative Mike Synar in the the Democratic primary for the Second District, around Muskogee, won national attention with his everyman campaign and its slogan of "Elect an Average Citizen." Neither he nor his Republican opponent, Tom Coburn, has ever held elective office.

### SOUTH CAROLINA

For much of the 20th century South Carolina stood as a secure bastion for the Democrats. But like much of the South, it has



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turned increasingly Republican, and this election was widely viewed as another long step in that direction. The featured contest was the race to succeed Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr., a Republican.

Although it had once been considered close, polls over the last few months consistently favored David Beasley, a former Democratic state legislator who switched to the Republican Party in 1991, over Nick A. Theodore, the two-term lieutenant governor and Democratic candidate.

Mr. Beasley ran with the enthusiastic support of the Christian conservative movement, a potentially formidable force in South Carolina. In a state typifying the South once taken for granted by the Democrats that has turned increasingly Republican in recent elections, the state's incumbent Democratic Congressmen campaigned early and hard. In addition to polls showing that Republicans would control the governor's mansion, it seemed possible that the Republicans would gain a majority in the State House of Representatatives for the first time since Reconstruction.

## TENNESSEE

If this was an unusually exciting off-year election throughout the nation, nowhere was that more the case than in Tennessee, with its two Senate races.

Republicans may have captured both by exploiting a combination of anti-incumbent and anti-Clinton sentiments. Surveys of voters leaving the polls showed that Senator Jim Sasser, a Democratic incumbent, was trailing badly behind his Republican challenger, Bill Frist, a Nashville heart surgeon whose family helped found the Hospital Corporation of America. Dr. Frist used some of his own fortune to finance a campaign heavy with themes intended to tie Senator Sasser to President Clinton.

Tennesseans also votedto fill the seat once held by Vice President Al Gore. A caretaker held the seat for two years, and in the special election to fill the remaining two years of the term Fred Thompson, a former investigator for the Republicans on the Watergate committee who has acted in several major films, defeated Representative Jim Cooper, a Democrat. Mr. Cooper's campaign was heavily financed by medical industry representatives who liked his moderate alternative to the President's health care proposal.

Ordinarily, a race for governor might be overshadowed by two hotly contested Senate races reflecting national trends, but that was not so in Tennessee. The race matched the Republican candidate, Representative Don Sundquist, against Nashville's Democratic Mayor, Phil Bredesen.

## TEXAS

In a lively gubernatorial race, Gov. Ann W. Richards faced an aggressive challenge from George W. Bush, the former President's eldest son and a co-owner of the Texas Rangers baseball team.

Governor Richards, who got Ross Perot's endorsement last week, kept after her base of women, blacks and Hispanics, portraying her opponent as a rich political upstart who got "born on third and thinks they hit a triple." Mr. Bush counterattacked by enlisting his parents to campaign against the woman he called a "champion of the status quo."

Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, a freshman Republican, had a strong hold on the seat she won last year after Lloyd Bentsen resigned to become Secretary of the Treasury. Her subsequent indictment on charges of misusing her office as a State Treasurer — charges she was later acquitted of — cast less of a shadow on her campaign against Richard Fisher than on the Democratic prosecutor.

In the 10th District, around Austin, the retirement of Representative J. J. Pickle, an 81-year-old Democrat, opened the way for a fight between Lloyd Doggett, a Democrat who is a State Supreme Court judge, and A. Jo Baylor, a political newcomer.

Representative Michael A. Andrews's decision to run (unsuccessfully) for the Senate, touched off an expensive fight in South Houston's 25th District, where, Gene Fontenot, a Republican doctor, spent more than $2.3 million against Ken Bentsen, a nephew of Secretary Bentsen.

## VIRGINIA

At $25 million and counting, the race between Oliver L. North and Charles S. Robb was among the most expensive and nasty of the season.

But ultimately Mr. Robb, the Democratic incumbent prevailed. A former Marine honor guard at the White House and a son-in-law of President Lyndon B. Johnson, Mr. Robb struggled to overcome confessions about his private affairs and win a second term. His candidacy was perceived by many residents as a referendum on the politics of President Clinton, with whom he had been closely allied, in a state that has voted Republican in every Presidential race since 1968.

Indeed, 49 percent of the voters questioned in an election day survey said they disapproved of Mr. Clinton's handling of his job, while 47 percent approved.

For his central role in the Iran-contra affair, Mr. North faced a chorus of criticism from Democrats, including Mr. Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, who said that he was a perennial liar. His candidacy also sharply split Republicans, with figures from the 1980's, including President Ronald Reagan, denouncing the retired colcnel's campaign. A majority of the voters said in the survey that they thought Mr. North was morally wrong in the affair, while only 39 percent said he was right.

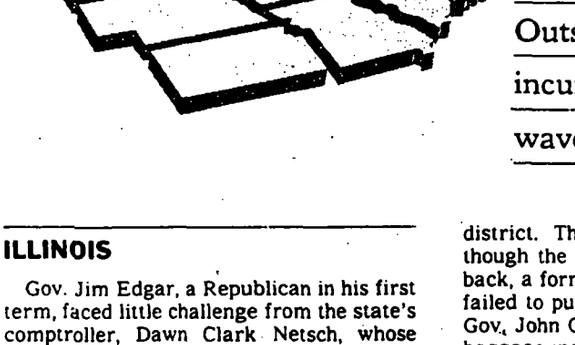
In fund-raising, Mr. North outdid Mr. Robb by more than 2 to 1, relying largely on a sophisticated mail drive to raise more than $15 million.

| SENATE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 83% reporting | Coleman | 187,297 | 15% |
| | North | 706,729 | 43% |
| | Robb | 767,410 | 46% |



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# Midwest



Outside Wisconsin, incumbents face a wave of discontent.

## ILLINOIS

Gov. Jim Edgar, a Republican in his first term, faced little challenge from the state's comptroller, Dawn Clark Netsch, whose campaign never really got off the ground after she staged an upset victory in the spring primary.

Representative Dan Rostenkowski, the 18-term Chicago Democrat who stepped down as the head of the Ways and Means Committee after his indictment earlier this year, was struggling to fend off a last minute surge by a relative unknown, Michael Patrick Flanagan. Mr. Rostenkowski had run a low-profile campaign, and sensing his vulnerability, the national Republican Party last week sent his campaign more than $50,000 for a final week blitz of advertising.

One other House contest offered a strong chance for crossing from the Democrats to the Republicans. Polls showed the seat in Joliet held by Representative George E. Sanmeister, a Democrat who is retiring, as likely to be won by State Representative Gerald C. Weller, a Republican, who was running against Frank Giglio, a Democratic State Representative from Chicago.

In Peoria, the seat opening up with the retirement of Robert H. Michel, the House minority leader, appeared within the grasp of his former chief of staff, Ray LaHood, who was facing a contest against Mr. Michel's old opponent, G. Douglas Stephens.

## INDIANA

Senator Richard G. Lugar swept to an easy victory, pulling more than twice as many votes as his Democratic opponent, former Representative Jim Jontz, who tried to play on anti-incumbent sentiment with advertisements in which he wandered Indiana in his pickup truck, visiting towns with names like Moscow, Peru and Lebanon looking for the foreign aid that Senator Lugar who is an advocate of term limits.

The hottest House race was the one to succeed Mr. Slattery in his Topeka-based district. This, too, tilted Republican, although the party's candidate, Sam Brownback, a former state agriculture secretary, failed to pull away decisively from former Gov. John Carlin, whose extensive political baggage included higher taxes.

## IOWA

Gov. Terry E. Branstad, a Republican, was considered vulnerable in his unprecedented bid for a fourth term, having only narrowly survived a bruising primary challenge from Representative Fred Grandy, a more moderate Republican. Mr. Grandy, who was an actor on the "Love Boat" television series, refused to endorse Gov. Branstad, and Mr. Grandy's wife was an outspoken supporter of the Governor's opponent, Attorney General Bonnie Campbell.

While several House Republicans faced tough re-election battles, Representative Jim Ross Lightfoot was favored over Elaine Baxter, the Democratic challenger, and Jim Nussle, a Republican, had the edge on Dave Nagle. In the race for Mr. Grandy's seat, the Republican candidate, Tom Latham, was favored over the Democrat, Sheila McGuire.

A Republican incumbent, Representative Jim Leach, was likely to keep his seat, while a Democratic incumbent, Representative Neal Smith, was struggling to hold his.

## KANSAS

With no Senate seats at stake, the main interest in this Republican state was the ultimately unsuccessful gamble by Jim Slattery, a six-term Democrat who was the only member of his party this year to give up a House seat to run for governor. Mr. Slattery failed to find significant issues to distinguish himself from his friend and Republican opponent, Bill Graves, the Kansas Secretary of State for eight years, and lost his bid to hold one of the Democrats' most vulnerable governorships.

The office was open because Joan Finney, a 41-year veteran of Kansas politics who is an advocate of term limits, is retiring.

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## MICHIGAN

The retirement of Senator Donald W. Riegle opened the seat to a tight contest between Representative Bob Carr, a Democrat, and Spencer Abraham, the former state Republican chairman and aide to Dan Quayle. Prompted by polls showing a horse race, President Clinton made his third trip to the state on behalf of Mr. Carr on Monday.

Mr. Carr was counting heavily on support from organized labor, while Mr. Abraham was hoping to ride on the coattails of John Engler, the Republican Governor who staged one of the state's biggest upsets ever four years ago when he narrowly defeated the two-term incumbent, James Blanchard.

Earlier this year, Mr. Engler won a huge victory in a referendum to reduce property taxes and change the way public education is financed. With the economy on the rebound, Mr. Engler has consistently remained the heavy favorite in his race against former Representative Howard Wolpe, who ran a less than adept campaign.

Democrats also faced serious challenges in five Congressional seats they had held. The most threatened incumbent was Representative Sander M. Levin against John Pappageorge for the 12th district in East Detroit.

## MINNESOTA

In a year when Democrats were struggling to hold onto the Senate, Ann Wynia was the only one of 13 Democrats running for Republican-held seats who seemed to have a real chance of winning.

The choice between Ms. Wynia and her Republican rival, Representative Rod Grams, could not have been clearer.

Ms. Wynia, the 51-year-old former majority leader in the State House, has stressed the need for a greater government role in issues involving women and children.

But Mr. Grams, a 46-year-old House freshman with a voting record as conservative as any in the House, campaigned on a platform calling for a smaller Government that is tougher on crime.

Along the way, each candidate sought to portray the other as an extremist in the kind of contest that Minnesotans, who pride themselves on tolerance, are not accustomed to.

The importance of the race was underscored by the fact that both President Clin-

ton and Bob Dole, the Senate Republican leader, made campaign stops in the state.

Experts said the outcome of the race could depend on whether religious conservatives and other conservative Republicans — the voters Mr. Grams is counting on — turn out to vote in large numbers.

Gov. Arne Carlson, a Republican moderate, was expected to win in a landslide over State Senator John Marty, who has changed campaign managers three times.

## MISSOURI

Representative Alan Wheat made history here when he became the first black to be nominated for statewide office in a bid for the United States Senate seat that was opened by John C. Danforth's retirement.

But the six-term Democratic Congressman has trailed his Republican rival, John Ashcroft, a former Governor who remains popular across the state.

Mr. Wheat has had to overcome the battering he took in the primary, in which he depleted his campaign treasury and was attacked for his use of Congressional perks and his 86 overdrafts at the House bank.

Mr. Ashcroft, on the other hand, had virtually no opposition during the primary.

The Republicans also posed a significant challenge to the Democratic Congressman in the district that includes Columbia. Representative Harold L. Volkmer, who was held to 57 percent by five challengers in the primary, has been in a tight race with Kenny Hulshof, a state prosecutor who has attacked Mr. Volkmer as a liberal spender and a supporter of big government.

The only serious challenge to a Republican-held Congressional seat is in southwest Missouri, where Representative Mel Hancock has been criticized as too conservative. The Democratic nominee, James R. Fossard, a lawyer from Springfield, has run on a moderate-to-conservative platform, favoring abortion rights while backing capital punishment and line-item veto power for the President.

## NEBRASKA

Senator Bob Kerrey's well-publicized attacks on President Clinton's leadership helped him shield himself from the angry anti-Washington fervor. Mr. Kerrey, who was Governor for one term, was running ahead of his Republican challenger, Jan Stoney, a former top executive at US West.

The Senate campaign overshadowed the race of Gov. Ben Nelson, a 53-year-old Democrat, who was holding a comfortable lead over Gene Spence, 60-year-old director of Omaha Public Power.

Not all Democrats were getting off lightly. Representative Peter Hoagland, 52, faced a fierce attack by a 31-year-old Republican insurance executive, Jon Christensen.

A term-limit initiative, drafted after the State Supreme Court threw out an earlier law, appeared likely to be approved.

## NORTH DAKOTA

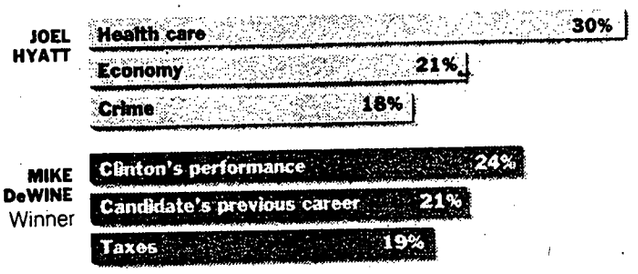
Senator Kent Conrad, a freshman Democrat, was comfortably ahead in the polls in his race against Ben J. Clayburgh, an orthopedic surgeon. Coming from a state that handed three electoral votes to President Bush, Mr. Conrad was one of the Democrats in the West who campaigned by distancing himself from Mr. Clinton. But his advertisements were unusual for the pains they took to keep away from the White House. They noted that Mr. Conrad had voted with Bob Dole, the Republican Senate leader, more than half the time.

In the contest for the state's sole House seat, the Democratic incumbent, Earl Pomeroy, was leading in the polls against State Representative Gary Porter.

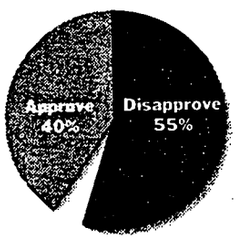
**BEHIND THE VOTE**

## Midwestern Close-Up: Ohio

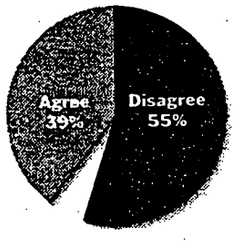
What issues mattered most to those who voted for . . .




How do you feel about the way Bill Clinton is handling his job?




Government would work bettter if all new people were elected this year.




Which comes closest to your opinion? Abortion should be . . .




*Source: Voter News Service exit poll of 2,141 Ohio voters; those not answering are not shown.*

The New York Tu[illegible]

## OHIO

Two wealthy men tried to present themselves as ordinary citizens as they pursued a Senate seat in this heavily blue-collar state. Joel Hyatt, the Democratic son-in-law of Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, a Democrat whose retirement has left the seat up for grabs, made a fortune from his legal services company and appeared in its television advertisements for years. But low public esteem for lawyers caught up with him in the campaign, as many people told pollsters that they personally disliked him.

A survey of 1,148 voters leaving the polls gave a commanding lead instead to the Republican candidate, Lieut. Gov. Mike DeWine, the scion of a family that made its money in seeds. He wore plaid shirts and took a down-home tone in building solid support in heavily Republican rural areas. He also campaigned effectively in Cleveland, a political base of the Metzenbaum family, after a nasty primary battle last spring led Mr. Hyatt to replace much of his campaign staff. Republicans were counting on the seat to help them control the Senate.

Surveys of voters at the polls also showed Gov. George V. Voinovich, a Republican and former Mayor of Cleveland who also draws support from Ohio's rural southern counties, winning re-election over Robert Burch, a Democratic State Senator.

## SOUTH DAKOTA

It was something of an upset when William Janklow defeated Gov. Walter D. Miller in the Republican primary earlier this year. But Mr. Janklow had been Governor for two terms, until 1986, and had been prohibited by state law from seeking a third consecutive term.

His Democratic opponent, Jim Beddow, the former president of Dakota Wesleyan University, is counting on the desire of voters for a fresh face.

But Mr. Janklow has made an issue of two initiatives on the ballot — one to cut property taxes by 60 percent and the other to decide whether to continue its video lottery — by arguing that only an experienced leader could handle the fiscal crisis that could result from their passage.

Representative Tim Johnson, a Democrat, was expected to win a fifth term.

## WISCONSIN

The nation's anti-incumbency epidemic seemed to spare Wisconsin. Senator Herb Kohl, a Democrat, established himself as a popular centrist alternative to Robert T. Welch, his conservative Republican challenger. Senator Kohl, the owner of the Milwaukee Bucks baseball team and many commercial properties, spent millions of dollars of his own money to win the seat in 1988, and millions more this time around.

After two terms in office, Gov. Tommy G. Thompson remained a voter favorite, in part because of his tough stance on welfare. Under the Republican Governor, Wisconsin's welfare rolls shrank by 23 percent, and new legislation will abolish the current welfare system by 1999. The Democratic nominee, State Senator Charles J. Chvala, attacked the Governor as mean-spirited, pointing out that child poverty rose as the welfare rolls shrank.

Warm voter attitudes toward Wisconsin's nine House members run so high that it may be the only state to re-elect all its incumbents.

# Northeast

Challengers pose stiff tests for incumbents in a year in which taxes are a central campaign issue.



## CONNECTICUT

Joseph I. Lieberman, one of only a half dozen Senate Democrats with seemingly secure seats, trounced his challenger, Gerald Labriola, a retired pediatrician and former State Senator who made little headway against the popular incumbent. Mr. Labriola had promised to serve only one term had he won.

With the retirement of Lowell P. Weicker Jr., the race for governor was a muddled four-way contest involving John G. Rowland, a former Republican Representative; William E. Curry Jr., a Democrat who is the state comptroller; Lieut. Gov. Eunice S. Groark of Mr. Weicker's A Connecticut Party, and an anti-tax crusader, Tom Scott, running as the long-shot Independence Party candidate. Late in the race, which was dominated by a debate over taxes, Mr. Rowland's prospects suffered when it was disclosed that he had tried to suppress a police report about a marital dispute.

One notable House race, in western Connecticut, pitted James H. Maloney, a State Senator around whom fractious Democrats rallied, against Representative Gary Franks. In 1990, Mr. Franks became the first black elected to Congress by the state and the first black Republican with voting status in the House since 1935.

In another House race, the incumbent Democrat, Sam Gejdenson, was rematched with his 1992 opponent, Edward W. Munster, a former Republican State Senator.

## DELAWARE

Charles M. Oberly 3d, the state's 47-year-old Democratic Attorney General, made a solid bid to oust William V. Roth Jr., a genial Reagan-era tax-cutter seeking a fifth term in a state that values incumbency.

But Mr. Oberly, who is a proven statewide vote-getter for the Democrats, faded in the polls despite strong anti-crime credentials and the fact that Mr. Roth, 73, who campaigns with a trademark St. Bernard, has been precluded from running on the Republican platform for change. Mr. Roth was seen as vulnerable enough that Representative Michael N. Castle, a former Governor, considered a challenge in the primary.

Mr. Castle was likely to retain the state's sole House seat by dispatching Carol Ann DeSantis, a hospital executive.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Redemption was the campaign theme of former Mayor Marion S. Barry Jr., who struggled back from a 1990 drug conviction and six-month jail term. But Carol Schwartz, who lost to Mr. Barry in 1986, called for change and stayed even in early ballot returns, apparently having persuaded voters of her political viability even as a white Republican running in a city that is 70 percent black and 90 percent Democratic.

Ms. Schwartz blamed Mr. Barry for the city's chronic budget deficits, dilapidated public schools and steady loss of jobs and residents to the suburbs. She advocated the sale of city land and tough tax collection. Mr. Barry stressed his 30 years of experience in public life, calling for a healing spirit to address crime and drug problems.

## MAINE

It was supposed to be a relatively calm political year in this state, but Senator George J. Mitchell's plan to retire set off a ripple effect from the state's highest office to the lowest.

Both of the state's United States Representatives — Thomas H. Andrews, a Democrat, and Olympia J. Snowe, a Republican — gave up their House seats to run for Mr. Mitchell's seat.

Early on, Mr. Andrews seemed well positioned to keep the Senate seat in Democratic hands. Some of Mr. Mitchell's popularity seemed to rub off on the 41-year-old liberal Congressman, who was elected twice to the House with large majorities. And President Clinton is highly regarded here.

But Mr. Andrews fell far behind in recent weeks.

The fiercely independent character of the state seems to have been a factor.

Ms. Snowe's moderate Republican views have attracted many supporters of Ross Perot, who won 30 percent of the vote in the 1992 Presidential election.

In addition, Mr. Andrews has had a hard time selling his liberal views of such issues as gun control to Republicans.

The governor's race, pitting Joseph Brennan, a Democrat who was Governor from 1979 to 1987, and Angus King, a businessman who is running as an independent, was attracting the most attention here before Mr. Mitchell's announcement. That race is tight, but Mr. Brennan could also be hurt by the independent streak of voters.

## MARYLAND

With one of the lower profiles in the Senate and a voting record ripe for Clinton bashers, Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, the Democratic incumbent, had looked vulnerable to some political experts early in the campaign. Instead he has been fending off a challenge from William E. Brock 3d, a former Republican Senator from Tennessee and a former chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Two factors had combined to suggest that Mr. Sarbanes would retain the seat that he first won in 1976. Democrats hold a 2-to-1 advantage in voter registration in the Free State, and Mr. Sarbanes has persistently attacked Mr. Brock as a carpetbagger.

But the governor's race was different. For weeks it looked as if Parris N. Glendening, a three-term Prince George's County executive, would succeed his fellow Democrat, William Donald Schaefer, who is barred by state law from seeking a third term. Then, Ellen R. Sauerbrey, the Republican leader of the Maryland House, pulled a stunning upset in a primary against Representative Helen Delich Bentley.

Patterning her campaign after the success of Gov. Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey, Ms. Sauerbrey pledged to cut income taxes 25 percent and steadily gained ground in opinion polls, turning the race into a dead heat.

## MASSACHUSETTS

In the toughest election of his 32-year political career, Senator Edward M. Kennedy defeated his Republican challenger, Mitt Romney, after a hard-fought final month of campaigning.

Mr. Romney, a venture capitalist, had been even with Senator Kennedy in polls in September, but in the campaign's final weeks, he fell behind when he failed to generate heat in two debates. He tried to regain the initiative with half-hour commercials in the style of Ross Perot.

The son of former Gov. George Romney of Michigan, Mitt Romney was credited with a polished campaign style even though this was his first race. His negative advertisements painted Senator Kennedy as obsolete and tired, including one commercial that showed the Senator having difficulty sitting. But Mr. Romney was largely successful only in casting himself as an alternative to his veteran opponent, whose checkered personal life has hurt his popularity.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

Mr. Kennedy, who has won six times with at least 55 percent of the vote, was an uncomfortable campaigner. But he put up a strong defense in the last month, characterizing Mr. Romney as a businessman who "puts profits over people." The defection of independent voters to Senator Kennedy was blamed for Mr. Romney's erosion in the polls.

In the race for the governorship, William F. Weld, a Republican, handily won re-election against State Representative Mark R. Roosevelt.

The Democrats' troubles in Massachusetts, highlighted by Mr. Romney's showing, extended to two House seats they lost in 1992 and appeared unlikely to reclaim.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

Ever since Representative Dick Swett, a Democrat, broke the 76-year Republican hold on the state's Second District House seat in 1990, he has been a target for overthrow.

In a race dominated by hard-hitting advertising, Mr. Swett's Republican challenger, former State Senator Charles F. Bass, relied on his mainstream record to court swing voters. Despite Mr. Bass's pedigree as the grandson of a former Governor and the son of a former Representative, voters appeared to be leaning toward Mr. Swett in early returns.

This year's curse of incumbency notwithstanding, other officeholders appeared safe. Gov. Steve Merrill, a popular Republican, was out to an easy lead over Wayne D. King, a State Senator, with the first precincts reporting. And a two-term Republican Representative, Bill Zeliff, was well ahead of his challenger, Bill Verge.

## NEW JERSEY

After a campaign marked by nasty advertisements from both sides, surveys of voters leaving the polls showed that Chuck Haytaian, the Republican State Assembly Speaker, was doing better than expected against Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, who was seeking a third term from New Jersey's notoriously volatile electorate.

Last spring, Republicans eyeing control of the Senate had cited Mr. Lautenberg's seat as vulnerable. But Mr. Haytaian was at a disadvantage, having raised $3 million less than the incumbent's $7.4 million, in a state where television advertisements must be bought in both the costly New York and Philadelphia markets.

Mr. Haytaian, a strict conservative, campaigned on a flat Federal income tax and sought to ride the coattails of the popular Governor, Christine Todd Whitman, who often joined him on the stump. Mr. Lautenberg was also endorsed by Ross Perot.

In the House races, Republicans were expected to fill two open seats. In one, Frank A. Lobiondo, a State Assemblyman, should succeed Representative William J. Hughes, a Democrat who is retiring after 10 terms.

The Republicans may gain another seat in the state's closest Congressional race, in which Herb Klein, a freshman Representative is running against William Martini, a lawyer and former Assistant United States Attorney.

## NEW YORK

Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Mario M. Cuomo are two of the nation's most prominent Democrats. But most people in the country may not have even been aware that Senator Moynihan was up for re-election this year because he never faced any real threat from the Republican, Bernadette Castro, the convertible sofa heiress.

Not so Governor Cuomo. Mr. Cuomo's chances to win a fourth term always seemed at risk during the campaign, and the reasons had little to do with his Republican opponent, George F. Pataki, a state legislator and former Mayor of Peekskill. Mr. Cuomo's vulnerabilities were a combination of the same troubles that have bedeviled other incumbents, especially Democrats, this year as well as a kind of voter fatigue with the intense Governor himself.

Voters were offered a race of the kind New York has been famous for — a combination of rich ethnic stew, personal political vendettas and high drama.

Polls throughout the race showed voters prepared to declare it gold-watch time for Mr. Cuomo. But in the final weeks, Mr. Cuomo fought back, one of his principal weapons being the endorsement of New York's Republican Mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani. Mr. Giuliani gave more than lip service, campaigning vigorously in the final weeks at the Governor's side. Mr. Guiliani said he crossed party lines because Mr. Cuomo would help New York while Mr. Pataki's policies would make it harder to run the city. But the Mayor also made clear that his opposition to his party's nominee was based in part on Mr. Pataki's principal sponsor, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, a bitter Guiliani rival.

## PENNSYLVANIA

Senator Harris Wofford, a Democrat who won his seat in a special election three years ago largely on a platform of overhauling the nation's health care system, was in a tight race with Representative Rick Santorum. Less than two weeks ago, Mr. Wofford had been trailing. But he fought back with television commercials accusing Mr. Santorum of favoring a delay in Social Security benefits until recipients reached the age of 70.

And that was not the only hotly contested race in Pennsylvania. The decision by the popular Governor, Robert P. Casey, to step down generated a heated race between Lieut. Gov. Mark S. Singel, a Democrat, Representative Tom Ridge, a Republican, and Peg Luksik, an abortion opponent who ran as an independent.

The entrance of Ms. Luksik into the race created trouble for Mr. Ridge. Mr. Singel had his own problems: recent revelations that as head of the State Board of Pardons, he recommended parole for a prisoner who is now charged with rape and murder in New York City.

And a high-profile vote last year, in which she cast the 218th and deciding vote to pass President Clinton's budget bill, put a spotlight on the re-election bid of Representative Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky. She is a freshman Democrat from a suburban district west of Philadelphia.

## RHODE ISLAND

Lincoln Almond, a Republican former United States Attorney, was expected to defeat State Representative Myrth York in a gubernatorial race that will be remembered for primaries in which the Democratic incumbent was denied renomination by his party and the Republican front-runner lost by a wide margin.

Ms. York got twice as many votes in the September primary as Gov. Bruce Sundlun, whose administration was plagued by ethical and fiscal problems. But despite the state's Democratic tilt and early polls indicating a tight race, Ms. York fell behind Mr. Almond, a no-nonsense, take-charge campaigner who did well with voters anxious about crime and the economy.

Senator John H. Chafee, a moderate Republican seeking his fourth term, was far ahead of State Representative Linda Kushner in the polls.

But a Democrat, Patrick J. Kennedy, was favored for the seat vacated by Ronald K. Machtley, who lost the Republican gubernatorial nomination to Mr. Almond in the primaries. Mr. Kennedy, the 27-year-old son of Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, campaigned as the candidate best suited to bring Federal programs and money to the state.

## VERMONT

While Vermont is noted for upsets in non-Presidential years, Senator James M. Jeffords, an independent-minded and well-financed Republican, was favored to win a second term despite a late spurt by Jan Backus, a Democratic State Senator. Ms. Backus got a boost from the endorsement last Friday from the state's biggest paper, The Burlington Free-Press.

The incumbent Governor, Howard Dean, also seemed a shoo-in for a second term. Mr. Dean, a doctor, was challenged by David F. Kelley, a Republican lawyer.

Probably the most interesting race was for Vermont's lone House seat held by Bernard Sanders, the former Burlington Mayor who runs as an independent but calls himself a socialist. He put himself at risk by angering gun control opponents with his vote for the crime bill and its ban on assault weapons. In 1990, Mr. Sanders won his seat when gun owners aggressively opposed his Republican opponent. This time, the Republicans have put up John Carroll, majority leader of the Vermont Senate. No Democrat is on the ballot.

## WEST VIRGINIA

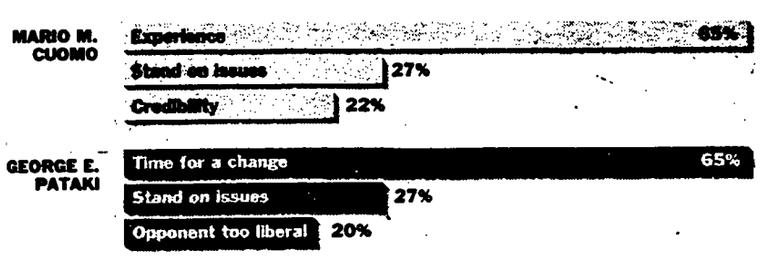
Anti-incumbent sentiment has been weak in West Virginia, one state where voters still appreciate Federal spending. Robert C. Byrd, the six-term Democratic Senator, is known in his home state as a coal field orphan who put himself through law school at night and has never forgotten his roots. He gave up the Senate majority leader's post five years ago to become chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. He has since directed at least $1.5 billion to his home state, much of it for roads to connect the hills and hollows of this Appalachian state to highways.

West Virginia voters responded today by choosing him over Stan Klos, a wealthy Republican real estate developer who did not campaign actively.

**BEHIND THE VOTE**

### Eastern Close-Up: New York

What factors mattered most to those who voted for ...




How do you feel about the way Bill Clinton is handling his job?




How do you think things are going in this state today?




How do you feel about laws to protect the rights of homosexuals?




*Source: Mitofsky International exit poll of 489 New York voters, those not answering are not shown.*

New York Times

# West



Democrats try to put some distance between themselves and the Clinton Administration.

## ALASKA

A Democrat, Tony Knowles, went into Election Day with a big lead in the polls in his bid for re-election as Governor despite an acerbic campaign run by his Republican opponent, Jim Campbell, a retired Anchorage businessman.

One advertisement, which the Campbell campaign ran briefly in October, created a flurry of concern among Mr. Knowles's supporters, who complained that it wrongly accused him of womanizing.

In the commercial, a male radio announcer says, "President Clinton is tall, has a shy smile, good hair," then adds: "Some women tell me he's really good-looking. And then I noticed Tony Knowles — tall, shy smile, good hair — same thing with the women."

Lieut. Gov. Jack Coghill was running as the Alaska Party Choice in the race.

The incumbent for Alaska's only House seat, Don Young, a Republican, was also favored to win re-election. Mr. Young narrowly won in 1990 and 1992.

For the fourth time in two decades, a measure was on the ballot to move the state capital from Juneau, a waterfront city of 26,000 people, to Wasilla, a frontier-like town of 4,000 people. The effort has failed in the past because of concern about the cost of moving.

## ARIZONA

Democrats were hoping their designs on Arizona, long a conservative bastion, would pay off in the race for governor, where Eddie Basha, a supermarket magnate, ran a strong race against the Republican incumbent, J. Fife Symington.

Mr. Basha's lead in the polls narrowed late in the campaign, however, and Governor Symington used his opponent's support for gay marriages to undercut his popularity with conservative Democrats.

In a race for the Senate seat held by Dennis DeConcini, a Democrat who is retiring, prospects for a Republican gain were good. Representative Sam Coppersmith, a freshman Democrat, was an underdog against Representative John Kyl, who breezed through the Republican primary with no opposition.

Republicans also had a chance of picking up two House seats, the one Mr. Coppersmith vacated and one in the Sixth District, where Representative Karan English, a Democrat, struggled against a challenge by J. D. Hayworth, a first-time candidate who is a former sportscaster.

Representative English, who was endorsed in 1992 by a conservative icon, Barry Goldwater, was faulted for running a lackluster campaign against Mr. Hayworth.

In the open First District, the Democrat, State Senator Chuck Blanchard, was in a close race with the Republican, State Senator Matt Salmon.

## CALIFORNIA

The Senate race in California captured the nasty air of the 1994 campaign. By Election Day, Senator Dianne Feinstein, the Democrat, was calling her opponent a carpetbagger and a hypocrite, and the Republican, Representative Michael Huffington, was calling her a liar and a disgrace to the state.

A transplanted Texan with an oil fortune, Mr. Huffington broke all records for spending in a Senate race, dipping into his own pocket for $28 million, two times Ms. Feinstein's war chest, for what was largely a battle of the airwaves.

Mr. Huffington's surging campaign sputtered badly in the last two weeks, after disclosures that he and his wife, Arianna, had hired an illegal alien. Reports last week said that Ms. Feinstein had a similar problem, but she said that the immigrant, a Guatemalan, had documents that showed that she was in the United States legally, although after a bit of confusion the Immigration and Naturalization Service said her status was illegal.

Almost overshadowed by the invective, Gov. Pete Wilson, a Republican, rebounded from the lowest approval ratings in state history to seize a significant lead over Kathleen Brown, daughter of a former governor, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, and sister of another, Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. Once more than 20 points behind, Mr. Wilson, 61, attacked illegal immigration and accused Ms. Brown, 49, of being soft on crime.

Long the wellspring of controversial ballot measures, California is at it again this year with Proposition 187, which would bar illegal aliens from welfare, education and nonemergency health services.

Opposition to the initiative gained momentum late in the campaign, as many Hispanic groups as well as the Government of Mexico spoke out against the measure.

Californians also voted on an initiative to create a single-payer health care system, and another, heavily backed by the tobacco industry, to replace local antismoking laws with statewide standards that would in some cases be looser.

## COLORADO

Gov. Roy Romer appeared headed for a third term despite deep voter displeasure with incumbent Democrats in general and Mr. Romer's close ties to President Clinton, who is unpopular in Colorado.

The Governor's lead in the polls may have owed less to the state's economic growth than to the self-destruction of his challenger, Bruce Benson, a millionaire oilman and a former state Republican chairman. What had been a dead heat until last month turned against Mr. Benson after a series of embarrassing personal disclosures about him. Voters also disdained the challenger's decision to cancel eight debates with Governor Romer, who Mr. Benson said was a better debater.

No upsets were expected in Congressional races.

Also on the ballot was an initiative to raise tobacco taxes to increase health care to the poor. Another initiative would give towns and cities more power to outlaw sexually explicit books, magazines and videos.

## HAWAII

For much of the year, Patricia F. Saiki, a former Republican Representative, seemed poised to become the state's first female governor and its first Republican leader since 1959. A decline in tourism as well as rising living costs and welfare rolls threatened the Democrats' grip on the office.

But Lieut. Gov. Ben Cayetano, a Democrat, recently gained momentum and was expected to succeed Gov. John Waihee 3d, who could not run for a third consecutive term.

The challenge of a popular independent, Frank Fasi, a former mayor of Honolulu, siphoned votes from both parties.

The polls showed Senator Daniel K. Akaka, the incumbent Democrat, would be easily re-elected.

Despite an aggressive challenge by Orson Swindle, a Republican who advised Ross Perot in 1992, Representative Neil Abercrombie, the two-term incumbent, should keep his seat.

## IDAHO

With the retirement of Gov. Cecil D. Andrus, a Democrat, the state faced a tight race between Attorney General Larry Echo-Hawk, a Democrat who wanted to become the first Indian governor in the nation, and his Republican challenger, former Lieut. Gov. Phil Batt.

Mr. Batt tried to paint Mr. EchoHawk as a clone of President Clinton in the hopes of becoming the first Republican governor in the state in 29 years.

Larry LaRocco, a two-term Democratic Representative, faced a difficult challenge for his Boise seat from a Republican energy consultant, Helen Chenoweth. Mr. LaRocco's campaign stumbled in October when it was revealed that his former brokerage firm had paid his female assistant $40,000 to settle a sexual discrimination lawsuit. In the last race, Mr. LaRocco had said rumors of the relationship were a lie, but he was forced to backpedal and acknowledge it this time around.

The ballot in Idaho also contained an anti-gay rights amendment and a proposition to limit state and Federal terms.

## MONTANA

Senator Conrad Burns was on his way toward defying expectations in his bid to become the first Republican re-elected to the Senate from solidly Democratic Montana.

The Senator's poor ratings from voters and his spotty legislative record made his seat ripe for Democrats to pick. But his opponent, Jack Mudd, a lawyer and first-time candidate, was unable to mount a strong campaign.

A recent poll showed that Senator Burns's support grew from about 44 percent at the campaign's start to 51 percent at the end, despite a much-publicized remark in which he used a racial epithet. Mr. Mudd's support remained at about 37 percent throughout the campaign.

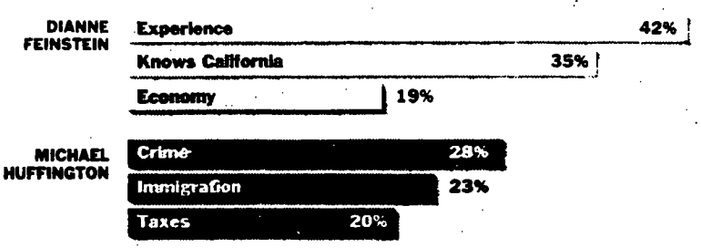
In a hotly contested House race, Pat Williams, an eight-term Democratic Representative, was expected to fend off a challenge by Cy Jamison, former director of the Bureau of Land Management.

Voters also appeared ready to support a measure requiring voter approval for tax increases.

BEHIND THE VOTE

## Western Close-Up: California

What issues mattered most to those who voted for . . .



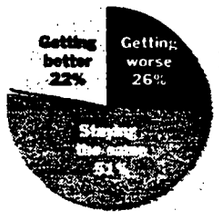

How do you feel about the way Bill Clinton is handling his job?




Government would work better if all new people were elected this year.




What is happening to your family's financial situation?




*Source. Voter News Service exit poll of 1,561 California voters; those not answering are not shown*

New York Times

### NEVADA

Gov. Bob Miller was the person principally responsible for delivering Nevada to the Democratic column for Bill Clinton in 1992, and his Republican opponent this year, Assemblyman Jim Gibbons, worked tirelessly to remind voters of it.

Senator Richard H. Bryan appeared to be locked in a close contest early in the campaign, but he recently seemed headed for an easy victory over his Republican challenger, Hal Furman. Although a Democrat, Mr. Bryan has kept his distance from President Clinton, notably voting against the 1993 bill that cut the deficit and increased taxes.

Nevada's ballot was also bristling with propositions for the voters, including two that would add the state to the growing list of those trying to impose term limits on officeholders. But another ballot referendum would require a two-thirds vote of the Legislature to raise taxes. Mr. Gibbons has made this initiative a centerpiece of his campaign for governor.

### NEW MEXICO

Republicans were within striking distance of gaining a Senate seat in New Mexico, where Senator Jeff Bingaman, a Democrat, was locked in a tight race with Colin R. McMillan, a Republican rancher who is counting on Senator Bingaman's support of President Clinton's land policies to swing rural voters his way.

As Mr. McMillan pulled to within three percentage points of Mr. Bingaman in recent polls, the Senator, who had been running a low-key, issue-oriented campaign, ran negative television advertisements that questioned Mr. McMillan's support of Social Security and Medicare.

In response, the challenger called in big Republican guns like the Senate minority leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, and Dick Cheney, Mr. McMillan's boss when he was an Assistant Secretary of the Defense Department.

Despite a revived state economy and the Democrats' 2-to-1 registration edge, Republicans appeared likely to win the governorship.

At the close of the campaign, Bruce King, the Democratic incumbent, trailed the Republican, Gary E. Johnson, by as many as 10 percentage points. Governor King's chances of closing the gap were hurt by the independent candidacy of Roberto Mondragon, a former Democratic Lieutenant Governor and now a Green Party candidate who mostly drew away Democratic votes.

### OREGON

The Republicans had targeted the seat held by Representative Elizabeth Furse as one that was vulnerable. But Ms. Furse was expected to hold onto her seat. One reason was that her Republican opponent, Bill Witt, a businessman, had been criticized for his past ties to the Oregon Citizens Alliance, a group that backs a conservative agenda that includes the anti-gay rights measure on the state's ballot this year.

Ms. Furse emphasized her support for abortion rights and her opposition to the anti-gay rights initiative.

In the governor's race, John Kitzhaber, the doctor who designed Oregon's innovative health care rationing plan, was expected to beat Denny Smith, a former Republican Congressman.

Mr. Kitzhaber's path to the Democratic nomination was cleared earlier this year when Gov. Barbara Roberts, the Democratic incumbent, announced that she would not run again.

Also on the ballot, and expected to win approval, was a measure to allow the terminally ill to obtain lethal prescriptions for suicide. The Oregon plan, unlike similar ones that failed in Washington and California, would leave the final act to patients rather than doctors.

Proponents said the measure would save the ruinous cost of keeping the terminally ill alive. But opponents argued that it would encourage the poor and the elderly to kill themselves.

### UTAH

Although Utah has been in the forefront of the term-limits movement, Senator Orrin G. Hatch, the 60-year-old Republican and Judiciary Committee power, headed for a handy victory for a fourth term. His opponent, Patrick A. Shea, a former State Democratic Party chairman, had failed to gain momentum.

Utah had one of the more interesting House races in the re-election effort of Karen Shepherd, matched again with her 1992 opponent, Enid Greene Waldholtz. Ms. Shepherd, a Democrat who as a freshman championed changing how Congress works, had received contributions from unions despite voting for the trade agreement with Mexico. An conservative independent, Merrill Cook, who finished second in the 1992 governor's race, was running neck-and-neck with the other two.

Voters were also deciding on a term-limit petition, financed by Mr. Cook, that could produce a bizarre situation if passed, leaving Utah with conflicting laws on the subject. There is also a retroactive requirement for runoffs when no candidate wins a majority.

### WASHINGTON

The anti-incumbent spirit that now touches voters across this traditionally Democratic state has roots in the 1992 approval of a ballot proposition limiting politicians' terms of office. House Speaker Thomas S. Foley's lawsuit to overturn the limits, together with his close ties to the Clinton Administration, left the 15-term Democrat struggling for re-election.

Mr. Foley's opponent, George Nethercutt, the 50-year-old chairman of the Spokane County Republican Party, played on voter hostility toward the Federal Government, accusing Mr. Foley of favoring unnecessary social spending and broad gun controls. Mr. Foley responded that as Speaker he had brought Federal jobs to the state. To reassure gun owners in his district, the state's easternmost and one of the most conservative, Mr. Foley shot a few rounds at a firing range.

Long vulnerable in his district's four rural counties, Mr. Foley fought this year to retain support in Spokane. Mr. Nethercutt posted leads of up to 19 percentage points in early polls. Mr. Foley pulled even in late October but could not move ahead.

Senator Slade Gorton, a Republican, initially faced a less difficult re-election struggle. But Ron Sims, a member of the County Council in King County, which includes Seattle, narrowed a 20-point deficit in the polls to just 3 points by Friday, giving Democrats a rare chance to capture a Republican seat.

Republican hopes for big gains in the House next year partly reflected an assessment that Democrats across Washington State may do badly, and not just Mr. Foley. While Democrats hold all but one of the state's nine House seats now, Republican candidates pulled even or ahead of Democrats in three other races this autumn.

### WYOMING

The least-populous state ranks among the most dependent on Federal cattle-ranching and mining subsidies, which the Clinton Administration wants to cut.

In the race to replace Senator Malcolm Wallop, a Republican who is retiring, Administration ties left Gov. Mike Sullivan, a Democrat, in an uphill struggle against Representative Craig Thomas, a Republican. Mr. Thomas portrayed the popular Governor as very likely to side with the President against Wyoming's interests, and he kept a strong lead in polls.

Kathy Karpan, the Wyoming Secretary of State, stayed even this autumn with Jim Geringer, a Republican State Senator, in the race to replace Mr. Sullivan in the Statehouse. Democrats fare better in Wyoming campaigns for state office, in which Federal land management issues are less of a factor.

Two ballot propositions were closely fought. One would allow some slot-machine gambling. The other would subject people who perform abortions to felony prosecution, except in cases of rape or incest or when the woman's life was in danger. Women having the abortions would not be subject to prosecution.

WHO WON WHERE

# The Races For the U.S. Senate

Results at 9-45 P.M

— Winner
■ Winner and change in party control
* Incumbent

**ARIZONA** 0%
Sam Coppersmith, D 0 0%
Jon Kyl, R 0 0%

**CALIFORNIA** 0%
Dianne Feinstein, D* 0 0%
Michael Huffington, R 0 0%

**CONNECTICUT** 55%
☐ Joseph I. Lieberman, D* 362,401 67%
Jerry Labriola, R 164,642 31%

**DELAWARE** 71%
Charles Oberly, D 57,744 42%
☐ William Roth Jr., R* 75,943 56%
John Dierickx, Other 2,405 2%

**FLORIDA** 43%
Hugh E. Rodham, D 427,801 30%
☐ Connie Mack, R* 1,008,393 70%

**HAWAII** 0%
Daniel K. Akaka, D* 0 0%
Maria M. Hustace, R 0 0%

**INDIANA** 63%
James Jontz, D 263,524 30%
☐ Richard M. Lugar, R* 600,868 68%

**MAINE** 5%-GOP GAIN
Thomas Andrews, D 4,140 38%
Olympia Snowe, R 6,322 58%

**MARYLAND** 40%
☐ Paul S. Sarbanes, D* 298,746 56%
William Brock, R 238,166 44%

**MASSACHUSETTS** 16%
☐ Edward M. Kennedy, D* 178,613 60%
Mitt Romney, R 116,870 39%

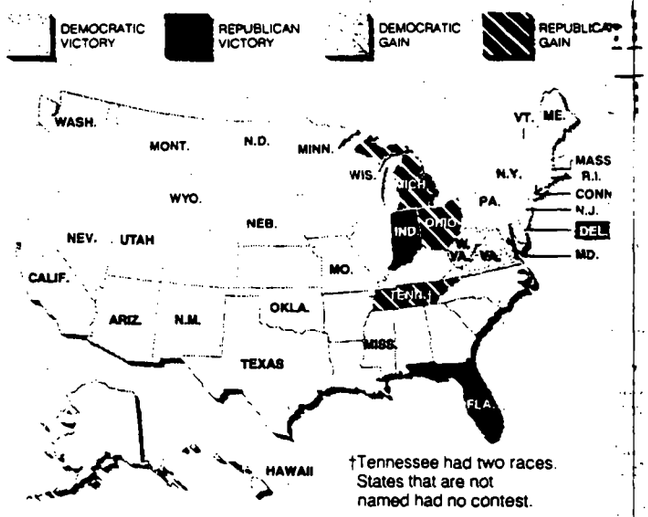
**MICHIGAN** 8%
Bob Carr, D 106,270 36%
Spencer Abraham, R 170,811 58%
Jon Coon, Other 12,343 4%

**MINNESOTA** 2%
Ann Wynia, D 36,311 53%
Rod Grams, R 26,057 38%

**MISSISSIPPI** 34%
Ken Harper, D 57,224 32%
Trent Lott, R* 123,626 68%

**MISSOURI** 37%
Alan Wheat, D 225,899 37%
☐ John Ashcroft, R 359,447 59%

**MONTANA** 0%
Jack Mudd, D 0 0%
Conrad Burns, R* 0 0%




†Tennessee had two races.
States that are not named had no contest.

**NEBRASKA** 26%
Bob Kerrey, D* 77,739 54%
Jan Stoney, R 64,917 46%

**NEVADA** 0%
Richard H. Bryan, D* 0 0%
Hal Furman, R 0 0%

**NEW JERSEY** 43%
Frank R. Lautenberg, D* 440,166 50%
Chuck Haytaian, R 413,808 47%

**NEW MEXICO** 7%
Jeff Bingaman, D* 9,464 49%
Colin R. McMillan, R 9,891 51%

**NEW YORK** 8%
☐ Daniel P. Moynihan, D* 182,382 52%
Bernadette Castro, R 158,117 45%

**NORTH DAKOTA** 5%
Kent Conrad, D* 4,551 57%
Ben Clayburgh, R 3,376 43%

**OHIO** 23%-
Joel Hyatt, D 426,565 39%
■ Mike DeWine, R 590,660 53%

**OKLAHOMA** 74%-
Dave McCurdy, D 290,537 40%
James Inhofe, R 394,720 55%

**PENNSYLVANIA** 43%
Harris Wofford, D* 676,158 50%
Rick Santorum, R 629,601 47%

**RHODE ISLAND** 0%
Linda J. Kushner, D 0 0%
John H. Chafee, R* 0 0%

**TENNESSEE** 61%
Jim Sasser, D* 364,914 42%
■ Bill Frist, R 492,830 57%

Jim Cooper, D* 351,278 38%
■ Fred Thompson, R 521,785 61%

**TEXAS** 17%
Richard Fisher, D 534,783 37%
Kay Bailey Hutchison, R* 887,587 62%

**UTAH** 0%
Patrick A. Shea, D 0 0%
Orrin G. Hatch, R* 0 0%

**VERMONT** 14%
Jan Backus, D 10,933 44%
James Jeffords, R* 12,022 48%

**VIRGINIA** 98%
☐ Charles S. Robb, D* 801,093 46%
Oliver L. North, R 737,374 43%
J. Marshall Coleman, Other 196,040 11%

**WASHINGTON** 0%
Ron Sims, D 0 0%
Slade Gorton, R* 0 0%

**WEST VIRGINIA** 47%
☐ Robert C. Byrd, D* 119,953 71%
Stan Klos, R 49,322 29%

**WISCONSIN** 5%
Herb Kohl, D* 66,529 61%
Robert Welch, R 41,903 38%

**WYOMING** 0%
Mike Sullivan, D 31 20%
Craig Thomas, R 124 79%

WHO WON WHERE

# The Races for Governor

Results at 9:55 P.M.

☐ Winner
■ Winner and change in party control
* Incumbent

**ALABAMA** REPORTING: 39%
James E. Folsom Jr., D* 233,970 50%
Fob James Jr., R 235,299 50%

**ALASKA** 0%
Tony Knowles, D 0 0%
James Campbell, R 0 0%
John Coghill, Other 0 0%

**ARIZONA** 0%
Eddie Basha, D 0 0%
Fife Symington, R* 0 0%

**ARKANSAS** 15%
Jim Guy Tucker, D* 72,252 60%
Sheffield Nelson, R 48,010 40%

**CALIFORNIA** 0%
Kathleen Brown, D 0 0%
Pete Wilson, R* 0 0%
Richard Rider, Other — 0 0%

**COLORADO** 3%
Roy Romer, D* 52,024 60%
Bruce Benson, R 31,081 36%

**CONNECTICUT** 60%
Bill Curry, D 211,903 33%
John Rowland, R 231,640 36%
Eunice Groark, Other 121,032 19%

**FLORIDA** 49%
Lawton Chiles, D* 871,702 51%
Jeb Bush, R 824,515 49%

**GEORGIA** 52%
Zell Miller, D* 335,250 52%
Guy Millner, R 306,025 48%

**HAWAII** 0%
Ben Cayetano, D 0 0%
Patricia Saiki, R 0 0%
Frank Fasi, Other 0 0%

**IDAHO** 0%
Larry EchoHawk, D 0 0%
Phil Batt, R 0 0%

**ILLINOIS** 23%
Dawn Clark Netsch, D 209,593 35%
Jim Edgar, R* 375,243 63%

**IOWA** 0%
Bonnie Campbell, D 0 0%
Terry Branstad, R* 0 0%

**KANSAS** 43%
Jim Slattery, D 148,837 37%
Bill Graves, R 253,056 63%

**MAINE** 9%
Joseph Brennan, D 13,804 36%
Susan Collins, R 7,935 21%
Jonathan Carter, Other 1,969 5%
Angus King, Other 14,587 38%

**MARYLAND** 53%
Parris Glendening, D 325,887 48%
Ellen Sauerbrey, R 353,986 52%

**MASSACHUSETTS** 24%
Mark Roosevelt, D 126,548 29%
☐ William Weld, R* 310,288 70%

**MICHIGAN** 11%
Howard Wolpe, D 123,513 33%
John Engler, R* 249,857 67%

**MINNESOTA** 6%
John Marty, D 65,437 38%
Arne Carlson, R* 100,620 59%

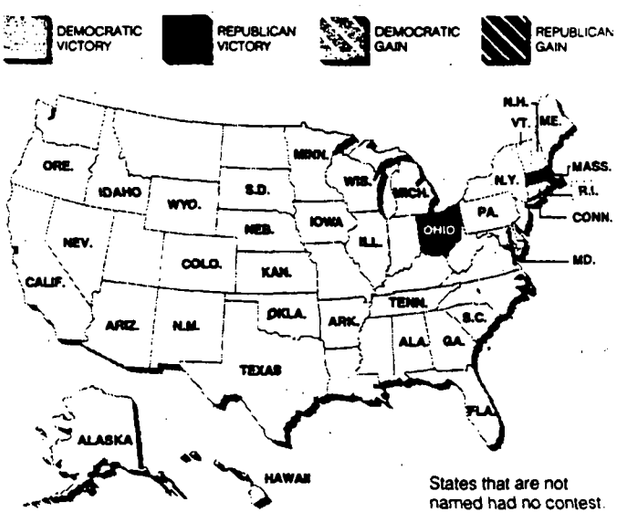
**NEBRASKA** 26%
Ben Nelson, D* 107,290 74%
Gene Spence, R 38,075 26%

**NEVADA** 0%
Bob Miller, D* 0 0%
Jim Gibbons, R 0 0%

**NEW HAMPSHIRE** 50%
Wayne King, D 31,746 27%
Steve Merrill, R* 80,354 68%

**NEW MEXICO** 17%
Bruce King, D* 29,921 39%
Gary Johnson, R 39,424 51%
Roberto Mondragon, Other 7,580 10%

**NEW YORK** 19%
Mario Cuomo, D* 396,239 43%
George Pataki, R 463,119 50%
Robert Walsh, Other 13,329 1%
B. Thomas Golisano, Oth. 46,874 5%
Lawrence Lane, Other 1,213 0%
Bob Schulz, Other 2,129 0%




States that are not named had no contest.

**OHIO** 47%
Robert Burch Jr., D 380,046 25%
☐ George Voinovich, R* 1,071,060 71%

**OKLAHOMA** 83%
Jack Mildren, D 238,006 30%
Frank Keating, R 364,230 45%
Wes Watkins, Other 198,528 25%

**OREGON** 0%
John Kitzhaber, D 0 0%
Denny Smith, R 0 0%
Ed Hickam, Other 0 0%

**PENNSYLVANIA** 56%
Mark S. Singel, D 764,893 42%
Thomas Ridge, R 784,486 43%
Peg Luksik, Other 226,201 12%

**RHODE ISLAND** 7%
Myrth York, D 4,234 46%
Lincoln Almond, R 4,227 46%

**SOUTH CAROLINA** 60%
Nick Theodore, D 264,866 50%
David Beasley, R 255,034 48%

**SOUTH DAKOTA** 1%
Jim Beddow, D 1,203 46%
William J. Janklow, R 1,230 47%

**TENNESSEE** 74%
Phil Bredesen, D 447,958 44%
Don Sundquist, R 549,548 54%

**TEXAS** 23%
Ann W. Richards, D* 725,169 44%
George W. Bush, R 901,605 55%

**VERMONT** 18%
Howard Dean, D* 21,401 72%
David Kelley, R 5,707 19%

**WISCONSIN** 10%
Chuck Chvala, D 68,828 34%
Tommy Thompson, R* 131,492 64%

**WYOMING** 6%
Kathy Karpan, D 6,921 46%
Jim Geringer, R 7,905 53%

AT THE POLLS

# For Some, It Was Just a Choice of Evils

By JANNY SCOTT

In the end, the people of New York swallowed their distaste and trundled off to the polls yesterday, voting — if not enthusiastically, then dutifully — for whoever struck them as what many called "the lesser of two evils."

Few seemed thrilled by the choices. But many said they were relieved that a mean-spirited campaign season had come to an end. If they found little satisfaction in voting, they still said they would not have abstained.

"I am not excited, but I feel obligated," said Beatrice van Tassel of Glen Cove, L.I., who has not skipped an election since 1932 but who said she finds these days that she votes against more candidates than she votes for.

This time, she and many others settled. Some voted grudgingly for Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, saying they disliked his Republican opponent, State Senator George E. Pataki, even more. Others said they voted for Mr. Pataki mainly because he was not Mr. Cuomo.

Edy O'Brien, 43, a social worker and mother of four, who voted in the steaming greenhouse of Davis Florist in Syracuse, said she had been unable until the last minute to make up her mind.

She finally opted for Mr. Cuomo, in large part because she disliked Mr. Pataki's benefactor, United States Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato. Of Mr. Cuomo, she said with resignation, "It was the best of the two evils."

"There's been a lot of changes," she said, reflecting on Mr. Cuomo's 12 years in office. "Businesses leaving, taxes being too high." She said she spends much of her summers down South, where "it's easier to live."

There appeared to be few reported glitches, beyond the occasional broken voting machine, late poll openings and tiffs between frazzled voters and cranky poll workers. On the Upper West Side of Manhattan, Assemblyman Scott M. Stringer, a Democrat, was arrested for electioneering within 100 feet of a polling booth, then ticketed and released. Mr. Stringer told the arresting officer he thought he was at least 100 feet from the booths.

Voter turnout appeared to be well above normal. In New York City, a spokeswoman for the Board of Elections, Naomi Bernstein, said last evening that the board was predicting a turnout of 45 to 50 percent — "above normal for normal times."

Some voters said they had been inspired to turn out by the fact that the race for governor appeared close. But others said tight races in other states like Massachusetts and Texas had distracted their attention.

In the end, some said they were voting for Mr. Pataki's promised lower taxes. Others said they were voting for Mr. Cuomo's 12 years of experience. Many cited Mr. Cuomo's opposition to the death penalty, Mr. D'Amato's influence on Mr. Pataki, and what they called Mr. Pataki's waffling on the abortion issue.

David Kulick, 30, an actor from Manhattan, said he came out to vote for Karen S. Burstein, the attorney general candidate who, if elected, would be the first openly homosexual elected to statewide office. "I'd like to see more gays and lesbians in those positions," he said. "After all, it is New York. We have to keep it in the forefront on issues like domestic-partnership legislation."

*Voter turnout in New York City is called above normal.*

Some said they were stirred to vote by Mr. Pataki's promise of welfare reform, others by Mr. Cuomo's opposition to capital punishment. "Pataki is going to bring back the death penalty," said Willie Young, a retired longshoreman from East New York, Brooklyn. "That's really bad for the black community. Who is going to go to Death Row but them?"

"It's extremely important in this neighborhood and the black community," he said. "There aren't any jobs around here. The ghetto has to have Cuomo to protect their kids. Nobody wants their kids on Death Row."

Several New York City voters said they had made up their minds to vote for Mr. Cuomo after Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani broke ranks with the Republican Party and endorsed him. They said Mr. Giuliani's maneuver had raised not only Mr. Cuomo in their estimation but also Mr. Giuliani.

Ellen Baumgarten, 38, who lives on the Upper East Side of Manhattan and runs a textile business with her husband, said that until Mr. Giuliani's endorsement, she had been considering voting for Mr. Pataki and that her husband "was A.B.C. — Anybody but Cuomo."

"We feel that Mayor Giuliani is doing such a great job for the city, we should vote for anyone he recommends," said Mrs. Baumgarten, who had arrived at her old polling place in a school gymnasium on East 97th Street only to be told that her polling place had been changed.

Other voters seemed less enthusiastic about their choices.

Anna Savino, 65, a retired food-services manager for the Yonkers public schools, voted Republican — "something I never do," she said.

"I'm thoroughly disgusted with the Democrats: they're just too liberal," she continued. "I really don't know too much about Pataki. But Pataki is the lesser of two evils. Or maybe it's just a protest vote."

Russell Pechman, 23, of Scarsdale, newly graduated from Brandeis University with a political science degree, said he had voted for Mr. Cuomo "because he stands for something, he seems like a capable man capable of leading the state. He sticks to his guns, even if the tide is going the other way."

Outside the school where she had voted on the Upper East Side, Lucy Despard, 66, a retired magazine editor, said of Mr. Cuomo: "I like most of his policies. But I also like him as a person."

Asked what she liked about him, she said: "He's quite enchanting. Quite a lot of charm."

She had voted with her husband, Clem, a painter, accompanied by their long-haired dachshund, Countess Karlotta von Cleome. The Despards said they had been impressed by Mr. Giuliani's endorsement. "For New York, this has got to be a good combination," Mr. Despard said.

Many voters said the campaigns had left a bad taste in their mouth.

Leonard N. Rich, 57, a stockbroker from White Plains and a Republican, said: "Essentially these days, you can't believe much of what you hear. I don't know how anyone who doesn't dig for the issues can follow the candidates. They seem to say anything they want. It puts a real onerous burden on the voting public."



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MASSACHUSETTS

# Polls See Kennedy Winning Easily

By SARA RIMER
Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, Nov. 8 — On a day when Republicans picked up Senate seats in other states, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the icon of Democratic liberalism, won easily here, according to voter surveys.

After the fight of his 32-year political career, Mr. Kennedy defeated Mitt Romney, a wealthy businessman who had cast himself as the anti-Kennedy, by sticking to his message that government has a responsibility to improve people's lives. Exit polls showed Mr. Kennedy winning, 57 percent to 42 percent.

Support from women was critical to the Kennedy victory. While men were almost evenly split, 62 percent of women voted for Mr. Kennedy and 38 percent for Mr. Romney.

While in much of the nation incumbents were assailed simply for being incumbents, Mr. Kennedy cited his influence in the Senate and his success in getting major legislation passed as reasons for voters to send him back to Washington.

In the end, the Massachusetts Democrats held firm for their favorite son, the candidate they knew, Ted Kennedy. "He's Old Ironsides — our durable, almost ageless broad-bottomed hulk of a venerable warship, whose thick oak planks have been dented but never penetrated by enemy cannonballs," David Nyhan, a columnist for The Boston Globe and a longtime Kennedy supporter, wrote recently. "He's Fenway Park, he's Ted Williams."

It was the veteran politician against the Michigan-born millionaire who tried to cast himself as an outsider; the man with the scandal-tinged past, campaigning with his second wife at his side, against the milk-drinking Boy Scout married to his high school sweetheart; the overweight 62-year-old with the bad back and the rumpled suits against the 47-year-old, made-for-television candidate who seemed not even to sweat.

Mr. Romney, despite the image, was hardly a political newcomer. He is the son of George W. Romney, the former Republican governor of Michigan, who made a short-lived run for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1968. And many of his top campaign people were veterans of the administration of Gov. William F. Weld.

Mr. Weld, a Republican with national aspirations, handily beat his Democratic challenger, Mark Roosevelt. The Governor far outspent Mr. Roosevelt, a state Representative, who happens to be a second cousin of the Governor's wife, Susan Roosevelt Weld.

The political pundits underestimated Mr. Kennedy. He didn't stumble in his two debates against Mr. Romney; in fact, most observers here felt that he came out ahead in the debates, particularly the first, in which he aggressively attacked his opponent. Back in Massachusetts after the Senate adjourned, he campaigned hard across the state, delivering his message that he believed government could make things better.

In his last campaign speech on Monday night, Mr. Kennedy addressed a rally in West Roxbury. "I am looking forward to the outcome of that election tomorrow, and I want to tell every one of you, that's a part of our Democratic tradition."

"The Kennedy magic is not eternal, even in Massachusetts," said Edward T. Jesser, a Democratic political consultant, who witnessed his first Kennedy campaign at age 6, riding on the back of a sound truck for John F. Kennedy's 1948 Congressional run. "But he flashed it when he truly needed it."

For weeks it was a virtual dead heat. Mr. Romney, who poured more than $2 million of his own money into the race, benefited early on from several weeks of negative television commercials attacking the Senator as weak on crime and welfare, while Mr. Kennedy, apparently confident of victory, was still waging a low-key campaign.

Mr. Romney's lead began to erode after the Kennedy campaign struck back

# Minorities and Women Win Airwave Licenses

By EDMUND L. ANDREWS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7 — In a further sign that the nation's airwaves are worth plenty on the open market, the Federal Government received bids today totaling nearly $400 million in its third set of auctions of wireless-radio licenses.

At stake were 30 regional licenses for two-way paging services, with each license covering about one-fifth of the country. Today's results, when added to those of the auction in July for 10 nationwide paging licenses, bring the total to be received so far from selling the airwaves to more than $1.1 billion.

In contrast with July, some of the biggest winners were companies owned by women and members of minorities. The bidding began almost two weeks ago, lasted through a grueling 104 rounds and left almost every participant exhausted at the conclusion.

One of the biggest winners was Maceo K. Sloan, head of the Sloan Financial Group, a black-owned investment-management company based in Durham, N.C. Mr. Sloan, backed by nearly half a dozen venture-capital firms, bid $90.9 million and won five regional licenses that will effectively constitute one nationwide license.

"We look at this as one of the few great frontiers left for minority firms," Mr. Sloan said today. "In radio, television, even cable, the big players are so far ahead of everyone else that there's no room for anybody else. But this is new technology."

A second big winner was Lisa Gaye-Shearing, an investment banker, who bid $31.8 million for three licenses that cover about 60 percent of the country. Ms. Shearing, founder of Page Call Inc., teamed up with Adelphia Communications Inc., a cable television operator that will provide most of the financing and owns 49.9 percent of Page Call's stock.

The F.C.C. actively sought to encourage companies owned by minorities and women. The commission set aside 10 licenses — two of the six being awarded in each of the five regions — for bidding by what it called "designated entities," and gave those companies financial incentives. Depending on their size and ownership structure, such companies were eligible for discounts as great as 40 percent from their nominal bids and were allowed to pay for their licenses on an installment basis over 10 years.

But other companies were also active bidders. Three established paging companies — Page Mart Inc., Advanced Wireless Messaging and Mobilmedia Communications Inc. — each won a license for all five regions of the country.

All told, 28 companies applied to bid, 11 of them owned by minorities or women. When it was over, 9 companies had won 30 licenses, and 4 of those were owned by minorities or women.

Mr. Sloan, in an interview after the auctions, said he had not even bothered to bid in July for nationwide paging licenses because he could not raise the required capital.

## A third round of F.C.C. bidding offers some incentives.

But when the commission changed the rules to allow installment payments, that, combined with the bidding credits that had already been made available, made it much easier to obtain financing.

In a curious twist, commission officials said the prices paid for licenses reserved for minorities and women exceeded those open to bidding by all. Companies outside the minority category paid an average of $3.10 for each megahertz of band width and each person covered by the license, while minority companies paid $3.47, even after the discounts.

Mr. Sloan came to the auctions with no experience in communications, though his family controls an extensive array of investment and insurance companies in North Carolina. Ms. Shearing has never headed a company, but previously ran the telecommunications lending practice of the Toronto Dominion Bank and the London office of Communications Equities Associates, a big investor in cable television deals.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

TENNESSEE

# Republican Wins the Seat Gore Vacated In the Senate

By RONALD SMOTHERS
Special to The New York Times

NASHVILLE, Nov. 8 — Fred D. Thompson, a Republican lawyer, lobbyist and sometime actor, delivered a stinging defeat to the Democrats today by winning the Senate seat formerly held by Al Gore, according to voter surveys.

Mr. Thompson defeated Representative Jim Cooper for the right to serve out the remaining two years of the term that Mr. Gore left behind when he became Vice President in 1993.

In the other Senate race in Tennessee, the Republican, Dr. William Frist, a heart and lung surgeon who is a political novice, was leading the three-term Democratic incumbent, Jim Sasser, according to the exit polls.

Those surveys of Tennesseans as they left the voting booths showed Mr. Thompson winning 59 percent of the vote. Thompson voters said their opposition to President Clinton and a desire for change were their primary concerns, while the economy and political experience were less important.

The exit polls also showed Mr. Thompson getting 65 percent of the white vote; black voters, in contrast, were supporting Mr. Cooper by an overwhelming 87 percent.

Pat Nolan, a political analyst here, said early indications from the exit polls suggested that the Democratic candidates in the two Senate races had been caught in a "Bataan death march."

Mr. Nolan said the Democrats, "especially Cooper, got caught up in the four great 'anti's' this year: anti-Congress, anti-Clinton, anti-Democrat and anti-incumbent."

He said Mr. Cooper, a Harvard-educated lawyer and Rhodes scholar, had tried to rush to the right by championing the death penalty, opposing President Clinton on a health care overhaul and opposing abortion. In the process, Mr. Nolan said, the candidate failed to get back to center and shore up his Democratic base.

*A 'Bataan death march' for two Democratic candidates.*

M. Lee Smith, the publisher of The Tennessee Journal, a Republican-oriented political newsletter, agreed. "Cooper tried to run away from the Democratic Party and Bill Clinton, and that created some real problems for him," Mr. Smith said. "The other thing, though, was that Fred Thompson was a superb and effective media candidate who got his message across."

That effectiveness was not evident early in the campaign. Indeed, Mr. Thompson had to scramble to overcome a 12-point deficit to Mr. Cooper that prevailed in public opinion polls just after the Aug. 4 primary. But with his organization in early disarray, experienced hands from the old campaigns of Howard Baker, the former Senate Republican leader, and Lamar Alexander, the former Governor, stepped into central roles.

Mr. Thompson then re-emerged, stripped of his dark suits and his Lincoln Continental. In his television advertisements and on the stump, he appeared in jeans and a plaid work shirt, driving a red pickup truck.

His message had been restyled as well, to reflect a theme that Mr. Alexander had been advancing in appearances around the country: that Congress ought to be a part-time body with "citizen legislators."

"Cut their pay and send them home," Mr. Thompson said on the campaign trail, engaging in what Mr. Nolan suggested would prove "a field test" of Mr. Alexander's own message should the former Governor decide to run for President.

Dick Kopper, a spokesman for Mr. Thompson's campaign, said the candidate's message, combined with his new, down-home look, "connected with the residents of the state." Suddenly money to broadcast that message and image to a wider audience started coming in.

SENATE

# Exit Polls Show Moynihan Easily Defeating Castro

## Popular Incumbent Heading to a 4th Term

By ALAN FINDER

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a three-term incumbent who is among the most influential members of Congress, was re-elected by a wide margin yesterday over his Republican challenger, Bernadette Castro, according to two surveys of voters leaving polling places.

Mr. Moynihan, a Democrat, defeated Ms. Castro, a longtime Republican fund-raiser who was running for public office for the first time, by a ratio of about 3 to 2, the surveys showed. The polls were conducted by the Voter News Service, a consortium of the four major television networks and The Associated Press, and by Mitofsky International.

"My opponent and I agreed that the issue in this race was my record as a United States Senator," Mr. Moynihan said in a statement. "I believe that New Yorkers viewed it that way, too."

Mr. Moynihan outspent Ms. Castro significantly during the campaign, and he led by as many as 30 percentage points in various opinion polls since Ms. Castro was nominated at the state Republican convention in May.

In winning a fourth term, Mr. Moynihan confounded the conventional wisdom that incumbents were especially vulnerable this year. Despite his bookishness and a penchant for bluntness, he has consistently registered as one of New York State's most popular politicians.

Mr. Moynihan is difficult to categorize politically. He is perceived by liberals as uncomfortably moderate on some social issues, while conservatives often view him as too liberal. He has repeatedly done well among upstate voters, including Republicans, as well as in traditional Democratic strongholds like New York City.

Mr. Moynihan, 67, has been in the Senate since 1977 and is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. He served as a cabinet or subcabinet member for four Presidents, from John F. Kennedy to Gerald R. Ford. He was also Ambassador to India and a professor at Harvard, and he has written or edited more than a dozen books.

Ms. Castro, 50, faced long odds from the outset of the campaign last spring. She had trouble raising money, in part because she was seen as a long-shot candidate, and she struggled, too, to distinguish her politics significantly from Mr. Moynihan's. Except for Ms. Castro's support for the death penalty, the candidates did not differ significantly on major issues.

Ms. Castro described herself as a "Christine Todd Whitman Republican" — referring to the New Jersey Governor to describe herself as fiscally conservative and socially moderate. She tried to portray Mr. Moynihan as far more liberal and free-spending than she would be. She often characterized him as an aloof intellectual more concerned about the political and policy arcana of Washington than the mundane concerns of ordinary New Yorkers.

Ms. Castro, who was best known previously for having appeared as a child in television commercials for her family's convertible sofa company, is a resident of Long Island. She was president of the family business until it was sold last year. Ms. Castro had long been active in Republican circles as a fund-raiser.

Republican Party officials had hoped that Ms. Castro, with her connections and family fortune, would be able to mount a well-financed campaign against Mr. Moynihan, who in addition to being one of the best-known members of Congress had assembled a large campaign treasury.

In a recent New York Times/WCBS-TV News Poll, an overwhelming 64 percent of registered voters surveyed said they approved of Mr. Moynihan's performance, although only one in five could cite a main reason for their high regard.

Mr. Moynihan tried to cement the point with his campaign television commercials, which touted his legislative achievements, including stabilizing the Social Security system, reorganizing welfare and cracking down on fathers who are delinquent in paying child support. The tagline of the advertisements was "New York's Moynihan."

*That rare creature, a well-liked politician, is apparently not endangered.*

Immediately after Ms. Castro received the Republican nomination in May, she said she expected that the Senate race would cost $3 million to $4 million. Asked how much of her own money she would spend, Ms. Castro said, "As much as it takes."

But she ultimately raised only $500,000 and donated an estimated $1.2 million of her own money — perhaps half of what Mr. Moynihan spent. Some Republican Party officials indicated disappointment that she had not dipped more into her own finances.

Ms. Castro blamed some of her fund-raising difficulties on Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato. She accused him of scaring away potential financial backers by urging them to donate money to the top of the Republican ticket, State Senator George E. Pataki, instead of to Ms. Castro. Mr. D'Amato denied that he had done so.

Ms. Castro also complained that Mr. D'Amato, out of deference to his Senate colleague, Mr. Moynihan, had not gone out of his way to help her on the campaign trail. Mr. D'Amato acknowledged that he had told Ms. Castro he could not campaign against Mr. Moynihan, with whom he has worked for years in Washington.

While Mr. D'Amato's help might have been useful to Ms. Castro, the wide margin yesterday suggested it was unlikely to have been decisive.

THE VOTERS

# In Chicago (Chicago!), Many Just Stay Home

By ISABEL WILKERSON
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Nov. 8 — Precinct captains stood outside nearly empty polling places. They looked at their lists and checked off names. They got people rides to the polls. They got babysitters for voters' children. They slipped reminders on people's front porches and palm cards in their hands. They got doors slammed in their faces and weak promises from voters who vowed they would vote but did not.

By the end of Election Day in a city where politics is a blood sport more important than even baseball, less than half of the voters had cast ballots for state and Congressional races that politicians said could change the face of Washington.

"They're really not interested this time, to tell you the truth," said John Amerin, a Democratic precinct captain on Chicago's Northwest Side.

There are many reasons. Two Congressmen on the Chicago ballot are under indictment — Dan Rostenkowski on charges of fraud and embezzlement, Mel Reynolds on charges of sexual assault of a minor. Voters say negative advertising has eroded whatever respect they had for some candidates. And this year, "crook" and "politician" have been used interchangeably in what now seems an echo chamber of discontent.

In interviews today, voters told why they were sitting out this election, why they were drinking espresso or running errands or heading to the gym instead of going to the polls in one of the tightest, meanest midterm elections in years.

They spoke in the venomous tones that have characterized the campaign. "Politicians are finaglers, liars, jugglers and seat-holders," said Lloyd Jackson, a welder explaining why he was not voting. "At election time, tongues wag both ways. Politics have done absolutely nothing for me."

Some said they were simply too busy. "I just graduated from school, I work 65, 70 hours a week, I've got student loans to pay back," said Keith Frainey, a psychologist. "What mainly interests me is trying to make a living."

Some said they could not stomach the ballot choices. "The candidates are unworthy because they run simply by attacking each other instead of saying what they will do," said Bob Makey, a real estate developer trying to decide to drag himself to the polls. "I don't even know most of the candidates. The press has dis-

Continued on Page B4

Continued From Page B1

couraged me from voting because it looks like it's going to be a Republican landslide and there is nothing I can do about it. People are frustrated, emasculated and there's no hope anymore."

Joseph Paulus, a store manager in training, said he voted for President Clinton, but was too turned off to vote this time. "It's the same old garbage," Mr. Paulus said. "Nothing changes. I'm just so frustrated and fed up."

He said he wants radical change. "We need to do away with Congress," he said. "It should be a lottery just like jury duty. You should be drafted to go to Washington. That way we would get reporters and teachers and farmers and businessmen. It would be a better representation of the country."

Sarah Dusek, a paralegal, said she felt guilty because she was a political science major in college. But, she said, "I'm not going to vote because I don't know who's running and I'm fed up with all the mudslinging, awful TV commercials."





Photographs by Todd Buchanan for The New York Times

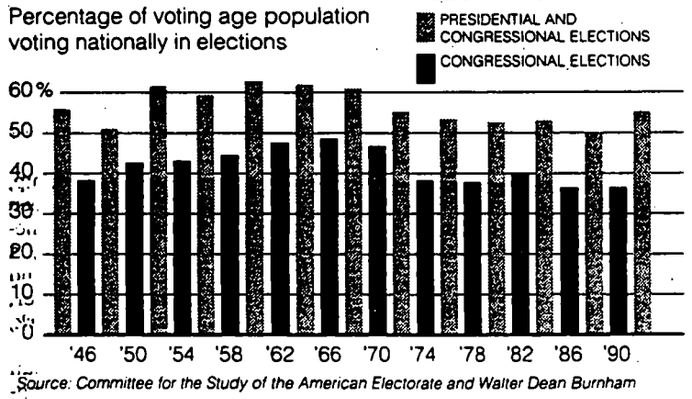
**Charisse Landise**
*Shiatsu Practitioner*
"I'm in the dark. I'm looking for who I should vote for. Just clues."

Russ Gibbs
Marketing Executive
"It doesn't seem like there are that many issues pertinent to me. If you're not in any particular pain, you're not going to vote. It's going to go on without me."

TALLY

## Getting Out the Vote

Percentage of voting age population voting nationally in elections




Source: Committee for the Study of the American Electorate and Walter Dean Burnham

The New York Times



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Even people who decided to vote had a hard time deciding what to do once they got their ballot. "I know I should vote, but I'm not excited or anything," said Charisse Landise, a shiatsu practitioner.

She sat with a cup of coffee, studying the front page of The Chicago Tribune before walking to the voting booth. "I'm looking for some type of reference point of who is declaring what," Ms. Landise said. "I'm in the dark. I'm looking for who I should vote for. Just clues."

This time of year in Chicago, a city where people really do call their alderman's office when their trash is not picked up, there should be a forest of yard signs and arguments over candidates at every dinner table.

"Normally Chicago is abuzz this time of year," said Richard Mell, an alderman on Chicago's Northwest Side. "This is a strange one. I just don't see the enthusiasm. This time people didn't even take the yard signs like they usually do."

So the precinct captains have had to work a little harder. "We're dragging everybody out to vote and hoping they're sympathetic," Mr. Mell said. "We drive them if they need a ride and babysit for them if they need a babysitter.'

Things started slowly and stayed slow. Of the 684 registered Democrats on the list of one Northwest Side precinct captain, Robert Pietryka, only 58 had shown up by 9:30 A.M., the end of the morning rush. "Right now, I'm running 50 percent of my normal pace," Mr. Pietryka said. "Your morning rush is your big voting period. We're looking at maybe 35 percent turnout by 7 P.M."

An election judge at a South Side polling place said, "There hasn't been the stream of people that usually come out before work."

"Stream?" asked Craig Jeffreys, another election judge."It's been more like a drip. You know how you turn off the faucet and all that's left is that slow drip that comes out? That's how it's been."

Cozella Ireland, another election judge on Chicago's South Side, said she spent all day Sunday trying to get people in her predominantly black district excited about voting.

"I passed out literature about Nelson Mandela and the history of what it took for Africans to vote," Ms. Ireland said. "The literature had pictures of mothers with children on their backs and shoulders walking for three days to vote. And these people live right around the corner and won't come."

In Chicago, where nearly half of all voters are black, Democrats and Republicans have gone so far as to try to woo blacks with rap campaign commercials. (Gov. Jim Edgar, a Republican, stiffly did his own rap in a radio spot: "Well, my name is Jim and I've just been dissed/So I've got to respond 'cause my point was missed.")

Velma Rivera, a nursing assistant who is black, said it was a further insult in an election year when issues like crime and welfare seemed to be assaults on them. "I'm 32 years old," Ms. Rivera said. "Rap is for my 16-year-old son. It just shows what they think of us."

She says she is not voting. "Black people are on their own," Ms. Rivera said, remembering with some sadness the excitement she felt when Harold Washington won his first mayoral race. "These politicians now don't even compare to Harold Washington."

The apathy crosses wards and races. "They just don't care," said Patricia Cullerton, an alderman on Chicago's Northwest Side. "They're saying their lives are too busy to vote. They feel politicians don't help them anyway, so it doesn't matter."

Russ Gibbs, a marketing executive who voted for Ross Perot in the 1992 Presidential election, said he saw no reason to go. "It doesn't seem like there are that many issues pertinent to me," Mr. Gibbs said. "The economy is doing pretty good. I'm not really affected by crime. If you're not in any particular pain, you're not going to vote. It's going to go on without me."

Steve Joslyn was beyond apathetic about the election. "I don't even know when it is," said Mr. Joslyn, a chef at a North Side restaurant, who stopped for coffee at a North Side Starbucks but said he did not have time to vote. "It's Thursday, isn't it?"

The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll

## Voters and Nonvoters Compared

| | VOTING PUBLIC | NONVOTING PUBLIC |
|---|---|---|
| **DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS** | | |
| Percentage who . . . | | |
| Are under 30 years of age | 6% | 38% |
| Have not attended college | 51 | 66 |
| Reported annual household income under $30,000 | 35 | 47 |
| Are men | 50 | 46 |
| Are women | 50 | 54 |
| Are white | 90 | 76 |
| Are black | 7 | 16 |
| Have moved in the last two years | 7 | 23 |
| **CIVIC ATTITUDES** | | |
| Percentage who . . . | | |
| Say people like themselves do not have much say about what Government does | 64% | 70% |
| Say Government will not work better even if all new people are elected | 59 | 50 |
| Trust Government to do what is right only some of the time or never | 81 | 76 |
| **VIEWS OF THE PARTIES** | | |
| Percentage who . . . | | |
| Have favorable view of Republican Party | 56% | 52% |
| Have favorable view of Democratic Party | 45 | 43 |
| Say country needs a new political party to compete with Democratic and Republican parties | 50 | 61 |
| Describe themselves as | | |
| Democrat | 36 | 33 |
| Republican | 36 | 29 |
| Independent | 24 | 31 |

Based on telephone interviews with 1,429 adults nationwide from Oct. 29-Nov. 1. The "voting public" and "nonvoting public" are identified by using whether or not the respondent is registered to vote and what their intention of voting on Election Day is, as well as whether or not they say they voted in 1990.

CAMPAIGN FINANCING

# *On the Money Trail, Most 'Insiders' Had the Advantage*

By STEPHEN LABATON

If money could have voted, incumbents would have had far less to worry about in yesterday's elections, the most expensive midterm contest in American history. Although the oratory around the nation railed against Washington insiders, incumbents continued to vastly outraise and outspend challengers.

Despite that trend, which favored the Democrats, contribution figures at the Federal Election Commission showed that some Republican challengers had either narrowed or eliminated the financial advantages that historically attach to incumbency.

In particular, two Democratic incumbents in the Senate — Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania and Jim Sasser of Tennessee — found opponents drawing virtually even with them in fund raising. Two other Democratic Senators — Charles S. Robb of Virginia and Dianne Feinstein of California — trailed their Republican opponents by ratios of more than 2 to 1.

With the emergence of challengers who had poured tens of millions of dollars from their personal fortunes into their campaigns, House and Senate races this year directly raised more than $240 million, in contrast to $249.5 million in 1992 and $196.6 million in 1990, according to the election commission.

The numbers generally showed that at least in terms of fund raising, and contrary to the electoral mood, it was easier to be a Congressional veteran than an outsider.

A new study by Common Cause, a public-affairs lobbying group in Washington, found that House incumbents seeking re-election had, on average, a 5-to-1 advantage over their challengers in total campaign resources, a 15-to-1 edge in contributions by political action committees and an 8-to-1 cash-on-hand advantage going into the final month of the campaign.

The study found that House incumbents had $214 million in direct and indirect campaign resources on Sept. 30; challengers had $43 million. And challengers for House seats raised more money than their opponents in only 10 contests.

In contrast, the House races in the 52 districts with no incumbents showed virtually equal fund raising, with Democrats raising $19.7 million through Sept. 30 and Republicans raising $19.1 million.

Still, there were signs along the money trail that things have changed for some incumbents and that the large number of open seats had yielded many truly competitive races.

In 98 House races and 14 Senate contests, neither candidate had a 2-to-1 fund-raising advantage, an important sign of close races, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, a nonpartisan organization in Washington that examines the influence of money on politics.

Figures also showed how Republican challengers had been more successful on the fund-raising circuit than Democratic challengers. In 1992, victors in House races spent an average of $550,000; campaign finance experts thus consider it essential that contenders raise at least $250,000 to run viable campaigns. In

***If money could talk, this would be the nation's gabbiest midterm election.***

mid-October, records show that 108 Republican challengers had raised at least $250,000, while only 58 Democratic challengers had reached that threshold.

Another sign that Democrats were having a difficult time raising money was the increased presence of self-financed candidates, and mostly Republicans at that.

In contrast to elections of the last decade, many candidates spent significant sums of their own money for their campaigns. Prompted by wealthy competitors, Democratic incumbents like Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Ms. Feinstein took multimillion-dollar mortgages on their homes to help pay for their races.

By far the most expensive Senate race in history was in California, where the Republican challenger, Representative Michael Huffington, spent more than $27 million of his own fortune, and Ms. Feinstein raised more than $14 million.

Thirty-one House candidates either gave or lent their campaigns a total of $17.2 million as of mid-October. In Senate races, 15 candidates gave or lent their campaigns a total of $41.7 million. Most of these wealthy candidates are Republican challengers; a few are running for open seats. Only three incumbents in the House and three in the Senate have supplied more than $100,000 to their campaigns.

Experts on campaign finance said the trend toward self-financing campaigns, a phenomenon that began to take off two years ago with the independent candidacy of Ross Perot, reflects the weakening of political parties.

"All of this flows from the continuing increase in expenses of campaigns," said Fred Wertheimer, president of Common Cause. "It is part of the extraordinary phenomenon where the only people who wind up in Congress are rich people or people who are obligated to special interest groups."

# High Court Considers Limits of Congress's Power

By LINDA GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 — Congress was on the defensive in arguments before the Supreme Court today as the Justices expressed doubt about the constitutionality of two recent Federal laws. One prohibits Federal civil servants from accepting pay for single speeches or articles, whether or not connected to their work. The other bans the possession of guns within 1,000 feet of a school.

Federal appeals courts declared both laws unconstitutional last year. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit found that the ban on honorariums, part of the Ethics Reform Act of 1989, violated Federal employees' First Amendment right of free speech. The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, in New Orleans, ruled that the Gun-Free School Zones Act of 1990 was a Federal intrusion on state sovereignty for which Congress had failed to provide an adequate rationale.

In back-to-back arguments today, the Government's two top appellate lawyers labored under skeptical questioning from the Justices to persuade the Court to overturn the two decisions.

Deputy Solicitor General Paul Bender, arguing in defense of the ban on honorariums, conceded that "there are things that appear to be irrational" about a law that, for example, bars receipt of money for a single article or speech on any subject but that permits payment for a series of articles or speeches as long as the series is not "directly related" to the employees' official duties.

"I just don't understand," Justice Sandra Day O'Connor said. Among her comments at other points during Mr. Bender's argument were: "Isn't that absurd?" and "But this doesn't make sense!"

Mr. Bender said that when he first encountered the part of the law permitting payment for some series, "I thought at first it was a typographical error." But on further investigation, he said, he learned that Congress intended to permit some series of speeches or articles on the theory that a series took more work than a single speech or article. He said Congress was concerned about the use of honorariums "as transfer payments to employees who did little work."

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who has said that she places a high value on tightly written judicial opinions, disputed the premise that a series necessarily took more work than a single article. "A great man once said, 'It takes time to write it short,' " she said to Mr. Bender, who was her classmate in high school.

The case, United States v. National Treasury Employees Union, No. 93-1170, was brought by a group of Federal employees who had previously earned money by writing about their hobbies, reviewing plays for local newspapers, lecturing on religion and the like. Mr. Bender emphasized that these employees could still write and speak as before, but simply could not be paid.

"If this were a prohibition, the answer might be different, but this does not prohibit any speech," he said, adding: "These are all people who have another job."

Justice Stephen G. Breyer asked about a 1991 Supreme Court decision that invalidated New York's so-called Son of Sam law, which barred criminals from earning money by writing about their crimes. Justice Breyer asked why, "if a triple ax-murderer cannot be constitutionally prohibited from selling his story for money," the "non-political people in the civil service" who brought this case did not get equivalent constitutional protection.

"The Court has always given Congress a lot more discretion in regulating the activities of Federal employees," Mr. Bender replied.

Justice Clarence Thomas took an uncharacteristically active role in the argument. Addressing Gregory O'Duden, the lawyer for the Federal employees, he said that from his own "limited experience in the executive branch," Federal employees who worked at outside jobs posed more of a problem than those who gave an occasional speech or wrote an article. He suggested, and Mr. O'Duden agreed, that a ban on "all moonlighting" would be easier to defend than the current law because it would not single out the constitutionally protected activities of speaking and writing.

In the second of the day's arguments, Solicitor General Drew S.

**Arguments on speaking fees and a ban on guns near schools.**

Days 3d told the Justices that the Fifth Circuit's "extraordinary step" of invalidating the Gun Free School Zones Act was based on a "fundamental misreading of the precedents of this Court."

The appeals court had held that in drafting the law, Congress had failed to indicate how the regulation of guns near schools came within its constitutional authority over interstate commerce. In the crime bill that it passed this year, Congress provided some retroactive justifications for the law, including the "adverse impact on interstate commerce" caused by the "decline in the quality of education" in violence-ridden schools.

The weight that these after-the-fact justifications should get received considerable attention today, but the concerns of several Justices went deeper: If Congress can invoke its interstate commerce authority to police the immediate surroundings of local schools, they wanted to know, are there any limits at all on Congressional power?

"Presumably there is nothing left if Congress can do this, no recognizable limit," Justice David H. Souter told Mr. Days, who was unable to offer reassurance that some practical limit could be defined. When the Solicitor General said that legislation should be upheld as long as it had a "rational basis," Justice Souter replied: "If that's the test, it's all over. Benjamin Franklin said it's wonderful to be a rational animal because there's a reason for everything."

This case, United States v. Lopez, No. 93-1260, has attracted wide attention because the Constitution's Commerce Clause is the source of much of the Federal Government's regulatory authority. Since the New Deal, the Federal courts have read the clause generously. A turn in the opposite direction could place other Federal criminal laws under a constitutional cloud.

In addition to the arguments today, the Court issued a unanimous decision. It ruled, in an opinion by Justice Antonin Scalia, that cases in Federal court that are settled by the parties while on appeal after an initial decision should ordinarily retain their status as precedents.

The decision, U.S. Bancorp v. Bonner Mall, No. 93-714, rejected a practice known as "vacatur," under which courts vacate a judgment in a case that has become moot. The Court said today that when the moot status results not from a change in circumstances but from a voluntary settlement, vacatur would "disturb the orderly operation of the Federal judicial system" by erasing a precedent that had not been appealed.

## Panel Asks Germany To Turn Over Serb

THE HAGUE, Nov. 8 (AP) — An international tribunal on war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia asked Germany today to surrender a Bosnian Serb accused of murder and torture.

In a courtroom rented at an insurance company headquarters, three judges ruled that the accused Serb, Dusan Tadic, should be tried by the tribunal, established a year ago by the United Nations.

Mr. Tadic has been held in Germany since a Bosnian Muslim identified him in February at a German refugee camp. The German authorities indicted him Monday on genocide and murder charges but have expressed willingness to turn his case over to the tribunal.

The court is investigating charges against of murder, torture, forced deportations and gang rape in the Tadic case. The chief prosecutor, Richard Goldstone of South Africa, said witnesses' statements implicated Mr. Tadic in atrocities committed in the Prijedor region of northwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992.

The tribunal request is for formal jurisdiction in the case, not for Mr. Tadic himself. The panel has to first indict him pending completion of its investigation of his alleged activities.

Mr. Tadic's legal representative, Jörg Sklebitz, told the court that his client was willing to have the case transferred to the tribunal but said that Mr. Tadic denies the charges.

The tribunal registrar, Theo van Boven, said the 38-year-old former bar owner and karate instructor would probably be the first suspect to go to trial before the United Nations war crimes panel and that his trial would probably begin next spring. Mr. van Boven said the maximum sentence would be life imprisonment.

**ABOUT NEW YORK**

Michael T. Kaufman

# Generation X Makes Its Mark

IN this season of heightened cynicism, how will today's young and relatively innocent first-time voters come to remember their political initiation?

How in years to come will they recall the time they cast their first ballot as grown men and women, as candidates who vied for their vote were mostly casting stones?

"Well, I can't say it's been particularly inspiring," said David Straussman, a 20-year-old aspiring actor who voted in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. I guess I will remember that Howard Stern pulled out of the gubernatorial race. Maybe he thought politics was too sleazy."

MR. STRAUSSMAN, who said he voted because that's the way he was raised, said the campaign seemed to drag on.

"Everybody kept shouting at everybody and spending a lot of money," he said, "but I can't really say what the issues were except that everybody talked about character and integrity, which never seem to mean too much in politics.

"I thought it was great how Cuomo used the Paul Simon song with the line, 'You can call me Al,' to slag on Pataki for being D'Amato's man. Another good part was when that guy from Staten Island attacked Karen Burstein for being a lesbian and then he got denounced by his own brother, who was gay."

Mr. straussman said he felt more of sense of inclusion when he bought his first Lotto ticket, for the recent $72.5 million lottery drawing, than he did in voting. "I think there were more tickets sold in the lottery than there will be votes cast, and if you win in the lottery, you win much bigger than you do as a voter, and if you lose, that hurts less in the lottery than when you vote."

THEN there were Kevin Low and Allison Briseno, 18-year-old New York University freshmen who were working on their chemistry homework at Washington Square. They had registered but not yet voted.

"I have no idea when I'm going to vote," Ms. Briseno said. "I'm not really aware of what's going on. In a way it's pointless to vote because we don't think we can make a difference.

"We're a little pessimistic about politicians because we have to trust them by their words," she explained. "They say they are going to do a lot of things, but from what we've seen they really haven't done anything."

Mr. Low nodded. "We were just thinking of going out and getting a paper so we can read up on the issues," he said, at 11:30 on Election Day morning. He said he had watched the candidates' television commercials. "It seems the candidates were just trashing each other."

At a polling place in Greenwich Village, Sarah Parr, 23, said she was delighted to be voting even though the campaign seemed bad-mannered and uninformative to her. She said she could not understand why so many of her friends were not voting. "They don't care, they don't know the issues and they don't believe that voting will have any effect on them," she said.

FARTHER uptown, at the New School for Social Research, Chris Rosso, an 18-year-old psychology major, emerged from the voting booth for the first time more relieved than proud.

"I compare this campaign to a long and difficult surgical procedure with numerous arterial breaks. Something with a lot of blood and guts, but thankfully, coming to an end once it's sutured up."

Mr. Rosso, who grew up in the Bronx, said he really studied the positions of the gubernatorial candidates, an effort that left him envying the system his mother used. "So long as the candidate is Italian, she says he can't be that bad," Mr. Rosso said.

Carl Jean, a pre-med freshman at N.Y.U. whose family migrated from Haiti, said he was proud to be voting. "It's my right as a citizen," he said. "I want to be able to say I had a role in electing someone."

But he, too, admitted dismay at what he had seen and heard: "The ads no longer tell about the candidate's good qualities. It's like a game, if I can make you look bad and you look worse than me, then I win. Year after year it gets worse. I don't know where it's leading to."

IN contrast, Adina Berrios, an economics and political science student at Columbia who had been president of her high school class, was enthusiastic. "This year I was, like, 'Yes, I get to vote,' " she said as she left the polling place at 116th Street and Riverside Drive. "I feel like I've been waiting 18 years to do this. I know that statistically my vote won't make a difference, but if everyone had that attitude no one's vote would ever matter."

She added that the most disappointing part of the experience was that there were no people handing out materials. "I really wanted to get one of those 'I Voted' stickers," she said.

And so it went on another election day. Some of the young got into habits of democracy, swimming through currents of cynicism and duplicity, jumping over obstacles like fish heading upriver to spawn.

Others just sat around.

# *Fuel Prices Rise With Clean-Air Rules*

## *Drivers in Many Areas to See Dramatic Effect in Next Few Weeks*

By MATTHEW L. WALD

New Federal clean-air rules will force drastic changes in the recipe used for gasoline in most urban areas in the next few weeks, and refiners and distributors are struggling to get supplies of the reformulated gasoline into place. Some analysts are predicting spot shortages and sudden price surges.

"We're going to have the biggest change in gasoline chemistry ever, even bigger than what we saw when we went to unleaded gas in 1973 and 1974," said William Berman, chief environmental affairs lobbyist of the American Automobile Association.

The new rules will instantly cover about 30 percent of the national gasoline market, nearly 30 million gallons a day, enough to fuel 43 million passenger cars. By contrast, the last big change, to unleaded fuel, was gradual, with only enough produced at first to supply 1974 model cars.

The areas where the new gasoline will be required are most of the Boston-New York-Washington megalopolis, extending south to Richmond, north to most of coastal Maine and west to much of western Pennsylvania; the Chicago region, including northeastern Indiana and eastern Wisconsin; sections of Kentucky in the Louisville area and near Cincinnati; the Houston and Dallas-Fort Worth areas, and the Los Angeles and San Diego areas.

Distributors must have the new fuel on hand by Dec. 1, and refiners in areas where reformulated gasoline is required must have switched over completely by Jan. 1. In many areas, retailers are already pumping the new fuel, although most preferred to wait as long as possible because the new fuel is more expensive.

The new fuel, designed to cut smog by 20 percent, will burn more thoroughly, evaporate more slowly, and even smell different. It will have sharply reduced levels of compounds like toluene and benzene, which refiners have used for years to enhance octane but which scientists have determined are toxic.

And the reformulated gasoline will cost more, because it will require more refining and because it must include oxygen-containing molecules. That oxygen requirement is contributing to a temporary shortage of gasoline ingredients that contain oxygen. The "oxygenated" gasoline now costs about 9 cents a gallon more than ordinary fuel at wholesale.

Experts say that the cost of the oxygen-containing additives may decline, becoming no more per gallon than the cost of the gasoline it is blended with. But in the long term, drivers will probably pay 4 to 6 cents a gallon more for reformulated gasoline, because of the additional refining work needed.

Other than price, drivers probably will not notice much change. "The customer is not going to see a change in vehicle performance, in the sense of acceleration, riding down the road, knock, or anything else," said Reginald R. Modlin, the manager of vehicle emissions regulatory planning at Chrysler. "What we're talking about is emissions performance."

> ***The price at the pump is expected to go up 4 to 6 cents a gallon eventually.***

Some automotive experts say, though, that the new gasoline is likely to be blamed for anything that goes wrong with a car after Jan. 1.

The new gasoline, like the old, is a potpourri of hydrocarbon molecules derived from crude oil. But in unreformulated gasoline the largest of those molecules tend to go through engines without burning, so the new rules will allow fewer of the big molecules. In addition, the smallest molecules tend to evaporate easily, which also adds to air pollution, so the new gas will have fewer of those.

As a result, refiners will have to fuse the smallest molecules, and break up the biggest, or take those materials out of the gasoline altogether. None of the technology is complicated, but it involves more refining equipment and more work to produce each gallon.

The law also has "anti-dumping" provisions, so that chemicals taken out of reformulated gasoline cannot be thrown into the mix in rural areas and other places that do not now have an air pollution problem.

This has created logistical problems for refiners and distributors. "You're basically introducing yet another kind of gasoline," said Bryan Davis, a spokesman for Sun Oil Company. But the number of pipelines and storage tanks is not changing. "It's like putting something new on the shelf without building any more shelves," he said.

Some experts are predicting sudden swings in the price of gasoline of 25 cents a gallon or more.

Others think the new rules will raise prices because they will reduce competition in the marketplace. Edwin S. Rothschild, of Citizen Action, a nonprofit group in Washington, said that major oil companies would have an easier time complying with the new rules than small companies, which formerly imported much of their gasoline and now would find it harder to obtain supplies that meet the complicated new specifications.

And, he said, companies would no longer be able to swap supplies so easily, because "unleaded regular" is no longer one product, but two, reformulated and unreformulated.

And some places where reformulated gasoline is not required will end up using it anyway, because the terminals or tanker trucks may change over to the new fuel for all of their distribution area, even if only part of it must have the new fuel.

Even the rules governing who must have the reformulated gas are a patchwork. For nine urban areas the changes are mandated by the Clean Air Act amendments of 1990; 40 other areas decided to require the new gasoline, in preference to other measures to clean up the air, like stricter controls on factories or tougher car inspections or new rules on new cars. Refiners expect more areas to voluntarily adopt the new fuel, which may eventually cover more than half the national market.

The rules taking effect on Jan. 1 are only the first stage; the Clean Air Act calls for stricter rules on Jan. 1, 1998, and a third phase, stricter yet, on Jan. 1, 2000.

This January, motorists who keep careful track may notice a decline in mileage of about 1.5 percent, because the new fuel has more molecules that contain an oxygen atom. The idea is to provide more oxygen in the cylinder, so that when the fuel is burned, the exhaust contains less carbon monoxide, which is poisonous, and more carbon dioxide, which is not. But the oxygen-containing molecules have less energy per gallon.

A national program to require oxygenated gasoline in wintertime, when carbon monoxide is a problem, began in late 1992; it is now entering its third winter. But the new reformulated gasoline also calls for oxygenated fuel, and that will be yearround.

The oxygenate most popular with refiners is methyl tertiary butyl ether, known as MTBE, but it is now in short supply, because of the increased demand, combined with recent breakdowns at refineries that make the ingredients of MTBE. MTBE usually sells for about the same price per gallon as unleaded gasoline, 65 cents, but it is now selling for double that.

As a result, gasoline with oxygenates is now selling at wholesale for about 9 cents a gallon more than regular gasoline; last winter the difference was only 3.5 cents.

A 9-cent increase at retail would be large if it came suddenly. But prices show a considerable variation over the period of a few months. According to the American Automobile Association, the national average price for a gallon of self-serve regular unleaded was $1.065 in March vs. $1.188 in August. The most recent figure, for mid-October, was $1.157 a gallon.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# 'Bell Curve' Critics Say Early I.Q. Isn't Destiny

By PETER PASSELL

Are children who score poorly on standardized tests of ability fated to lives of poverty, crime and social squalor?

Charles Murray and Richard J. Herrnstein, authors of the controversial book, "The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life" (the Free Press), make no secret of their pessimism about the prospects for elevating the underclass. "For the foreseeable future," they wrote, "the problems of low cognitive ability are not going to be solved by outside intervention."

But many social scientists, saying they are dismayed by the book's conclusions, believe that intervention can make a big difference — that study after study of children living in poverty suggests that early attention can improve performance.

"Murray and Herrnstein just ignored the evidence," said James Heckman, an economist at the University of Chicago. "They are 180 degrees off course."

Much of "The Bell Curve" is devoted to showing that "cognitive ability," as measured by I.Q. and other intelligence tests, is a powerful predictor of everything from earnings to criminal behavior to competence as parents. Were it possible to make "people smarter with the right kind of help," they wrote, their own research would "constitute a clarion call for programs to do so."

They concluded that Head Start-style preschool enrichment for disadvantaged children held little promise because the gains they made in them quickly faded. Improving the quality of schools (where quality is measured by class size or per-pupil spending) does not seem to make much difference, either. And while Mr. Murray and Mr. Herrnstein, who died recently, said that years of schooling do matter, they argued that the benefits of pushing more people through more grades would be modest.

But others plainly disagree with this rationale for laissez faire. A just-completed survey of thousands of Head Start children around the nation, by Janet Currie and Duncan Thomas of the University of California at Los Angeles and the Rand Corporation, does confirm one of the Murray-Herrnstein contentions — that black children record substantial gains in standardized tests while they are in preschool programs but that the test scores drop after a few years.

Strikingly, though, the Currie-Thomas study's evidence on white children runs counter to the Murray-Herrnstein conclusions. Ms. Currie and Mr. Thomas found that poor whites initially gained as much from Head Start programs as blacks from comparable backgrounds did, but that the whites did not lose the edge when they began school. These white children were less likely to repeat a grade and were taller at age 9 than a sample group of youngsters who were not in Head Start, a finding that suggested that the participants were also healthier than the nonparticipants.

The most plausible explanation for the racial difference, Ms. Currie and Mr. Thomas said, is that black children in poverty live in harsher environments and thus need continued help to benefit from Head Start.

The most famous experiment in preschool enrichment — relied on heavily by Murray-Herrnstein — is the Perry Preschool program in the mid-1960's. About 123 black children living in poverty in Ypsilanti, Mich., with I.Q.'s below average, were divided into experimental and control groups. Those in the experimental group attended an intensive preschool progam and scored an average of 11 points higher on I.Q. tests than those in the control group. And, as Mr. Murray and Mr. Herrnstein noted in their book, the differences had faded after a few years.

That, however, is not the end of the story. Edward Gramlich, an economist at the University of Michigan who evaluated the Perry children through the age of 19, found that those in the experimental group continued to do better than those in the control group, by measures other than I.Q. These children were absent from school fewer days, less likely to be classified as retarded and more likely to graduate from high school.

*Early attention can improve school performance among the poor, studies say.*

What's more, as young adults, the children in the experimental group were found less likely to be on welfare or to have been arrested for a serious crime. And at the time of the survey, the young women in the experimental group had given birth to only half as many children as those in the control group. All told, Mr. Gramlich calculated that the savings to taxpayers represented by the findings far exceeded the cost of the preschool program.

There is conflicting evidence on the impact of special programs designed to enhance the performance of disadvantaged children once they are in school. A study led by the sociologist James Coleman of the University of Chicago, along with a subsequent survey of research by Eric Hanushek of the University of Rochester, disclosed no systematic relationship between student achievement and class size, teacher credentials or dollars spent.

But the preponderance of evidence suggests that intervention does work if it is planned carefully. The State of Tennessee, for example, formally experimented with class sizes in the mid-1980's to see if extra attention by teachers could raise the scores on standardized achievement tests of children living in poverty. The experimenters found that small classes offered the biggest advantage in kindergarten and perhaps first grade, and that the students in them still scored better in the second and third grade. But the gap in achievement did not widen.

Richard Murnane, a Harvard economist, and Frank Levy, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, also discovered selective benefits from school enrichment. Cash with no strings attached given to elementary schools in poor neighborhoods of Austin, Tex., as part of an anti-discrimination settlement generally had no impact on test scores. When schools reorganized teaching methods, however, there were substantial dividends. "Where the money was used to change the student environment radically, scores rose sharply," Mr. Murnane reports.

By the same token, research that links years of schooling to earnings later on has been dogged by accusations that the measures it uses are spurious. Smart children from affluent backgrounds generally go to school longer and earn more as adults. But is it the years of education or the combination of heritable intelligence and family background that leads to their success?

The most sophisticated efforts to tease out cause and effect in education and earnings point in one direction. Orley Ashenfelter and Alan Krueger, economists at Princeton University, looked at the differences in earnings between identical twins. A sibling with more education earned more money — a stunning 16 percent more a year — for every extra year in school, they found.

David Card, another economist from Princeton, compared men who grew up near low-cost colleges with those who did not. He found that college proximity mattered a lot, raising years of schooling and average earnings. This implies that ease of access to higher education, a factor independent of intelligence or family background, helps determine earnings for adults.

Mr. Hanushek of the University of Rochester concluded, "Poor kids, dumb kids, black kids, etc., all find that their lifetime earnings are raised by added years of schooling."

Numerous questions relevant to the Herrnstein-Murray thesis remain unanswered. There is no clear evidence about which preschool, school or post-school training strategies works best to raise achievement or income. Nor is it clear that every program able to improve student performance is cost-effective: social scientists are deeply divided between those who think early intervention is essential and those who think the disadvantaged can catch up as adults.

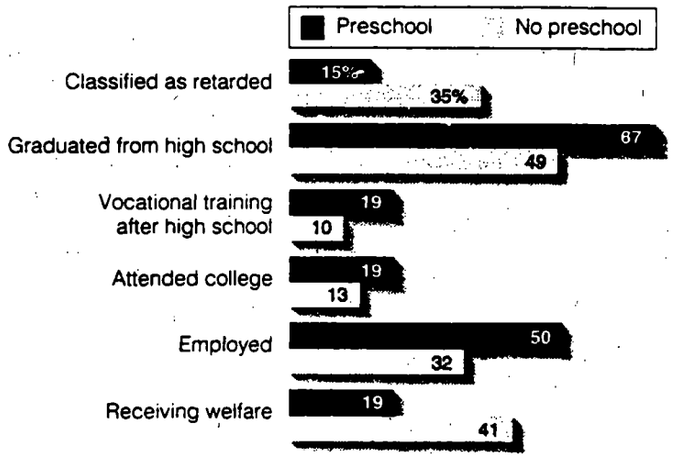
Perhaps most important, it is far from clear that Americans are prepared to invest what is necessary to eliminate the culture of poverty if the payoff in terms of lower crime and reduce dependence on welfare takes a generation to reap. But most social scientists who have looked closely at the issues do believe that the pessimistic determinism of "The Bell Curve" is unwarranted.

"The evidence is overwhelming," says Gary Burtless, an economist at the Brookings Institution. "There is good reason to be optimistic that intervention can work."

**AN EDGE**

## Preschool's Lasting Impact

In the mid-1960's, 123 poor black children in Ypsilanti, Mich., with below-average I.Q.'s, were randomly chosen for two groups. One group was put in an intensive preschool program and the other did not attend preschool. The progress of the groups has been continually evaluated by Edward Gramlich, an economist at the University of Michigan. Below are his findings for the groups at age 19 in 1986.




The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# Free Tuition for Public Service Law

By WILLIAM CELIS 3d

To help increase the flagging number of lawyers in public service, the New York University School of Law said yesterday that it would give free tuition to students who agree to take low-paying legal jobs after graduation.

Students would have to serve in these jobs for 10 years, and the university will insure this by repaying all law school costs, as much as $40,000 a year at N.Y.U., for as long as the graduate remains in public service. If, for example, a graduate spends six years working in a public defender's office, 60 percent of the debt would be paid by the university.

Officials said the plan, to begin next fall, would be the most ambitious in the country. Although other law schools offer reduced tuition and debt forgiveness for students specializing in public service or graduates working in public service, "the N.Y.U. program is for a substantially higher amount of money," said Nancy Slonim, deputy press secretary for the American Bar Association. "It's much higher than elsewhere."

The high cost of law school at many of the nation's leading colleges and universities has been of mounting concern to institutions like the American Bar Association, the nation's largest organization for lawyers, which twice since 1988 has passed measures urging law schools to improve the number of their graduates entering public-interest law.

The low salaries for public service jobs, typically $20,000 to $30,000 a year, have pushed many students to higher-paying jobs at law firms or other large corporations just to pay student loan debt. Yearly salaries at such firms can average $80,000 or more. For the nation's leading law schools, student debt can often exceed $100,000 for three years.

"N.Y.U. is now in a position to offer what no other law school in the country can offer," said John E. Sexton, dean of the law school. "The opportunity, unconstrained by debt, to attend law school and pursue the career of one's choice."

The program is financed by an anonymous $5 million gift that was matched by the law school, which has an enrollment of 1,260 students. The program will cover the entering classes of 1995, 1996 and 1997. With 420 students enrolling a year, university officials say the $10 million will cover up to half the class — far more than the expected demand.

The N.Y.U. law-school plan is the latest in a series of financial measures intended to encourage students getting expensive professional degrees not only in law but in medicine and education to assist the poor and the infirm, or to work in rural areas. The American Bar Association two years ago strongly encouraged law schools to build public service programs into their curriculums.

**N.Y.U. offers an incentive for graduates willing to serve society.**

Many law schools, including Harvard, Tulane and the University of California at Los Angeles, have tried to reduce law-school bills for graduates who go into public service. But typically these programs cover only a part of expenses. For medical schools, the issues have been similar, and they have initiated similar programs. And President Clinton's National Service Plan pays students $10,000 for college tuition.

Whether these programs actually succeed in the long term in increasing the number of public-service lawyers, doctors or teachers remains a point of debate. But it is clear that they help in the short term. A study for the Journal of the American Medical Association said the doctors working in rural areas as members of the National Health Service Corps, which carries repayment of Federal loans for medical school, stay in their practices long enough to complete their obligation but leave soon afterward.

What is perhaps more troubling is that the program itself is not recruiting as many doctors as it did when it was formed 20 years ago. Medical school graduates, facing higher educational costs, are pursuing more lucrative positions in other areas of health care.

It is too soon to determine whether tuition enticements for public service in legal professions will similarly meet limited success.

But at a minimum, said Dean Sexton, the N.Y.U. program will help students like a recent graduate who accepted a $14,000-a-year job in Texas helping migrant workers.

Mr. Sexton said the student was among the brightest of her class when she graduated two to three years ago. But she is hard pressed to meet her $500-a-month student loan payments. He said she has managed to make ends meet by accepting food from her clients.

"But this program isn't just about producing folks for just legal services offices," Mr. Sexton said. "There is a broad swath of legal needs being underserved, some of which is even middle class in rural America."

The free-tuition program and N.Y.U.'s other loan programs will all be studied to see how best to encourage public service by graduates. About 15 percent of graduates now pursue such jobs, a percentage that has been climbing steadily in the last five years, the dean said, reflecting, in part, a growing emphasis on public service of all types by this generation of college students.

The program, said Steven Kelban, the executive director of N.Y.U.'s Public Interest Law Center, which will oversee the program, "allows us to make an incredible offer to top-flight students committed to public service."

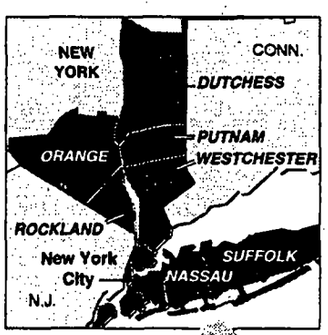
"If they want a career in public service," Mr. Kelban said, "we can tell them now at N.Y.U., nothing will stand in your way. The choice is theirs."

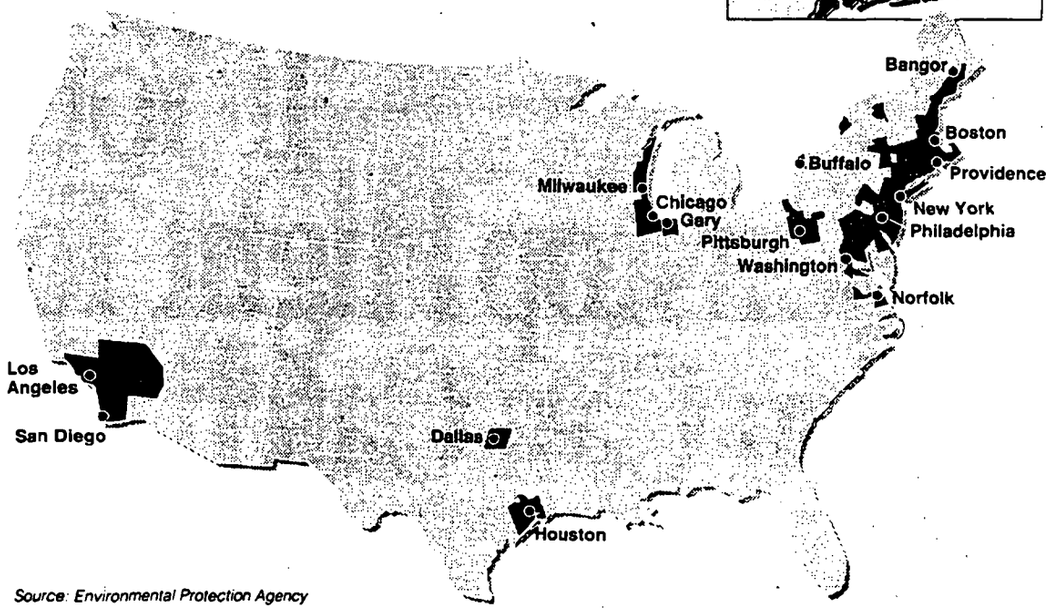
THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

**MORE OXYGEN, LESS MONOXIDE**

## A New Mix at the Pump

Urban areas that will require the use of a reformulated gasoline as of Jan. 1, 1995, because of Clean Air Act guidelines. The new fuel is mixed to evaporate less readily, burn more thoroughly and contain reduced amounts of toxic compounds. The gasoline is already being sold at many service stations. The new rules will instantly cover about 30 percent of the national gasoline market, nearly 30 million gallons a day, enough to fuel 43 million passenger cars.




Source: Environmental Protection Agency

# Ex-Farrakhan Aide Speaks at N.Y.U.

By LYNDA RICHARDSON

BACK on the campus lecture circuit after recovering from a shooting last spring, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, the former spokesman for the Nation of Islam, strode onto a New York University stage Monday night and warned whites in the audience that "it's going to be a rough ride, buddy."

Some giggled nervously. A few squirmed uncomfortably in their chairs, in anticipation of the oratory to come from a man widely denounced as a hatemonger for his attacks against whites, Jews, homosexuals and the Pope, among others.

It was Black Solidarity Day, and 280 people streamed into the student center auditorium to hear what Mr. Muhammad had to say. The listeners were a diverse group — mostly black or Latino, with perhaps one-fifth white or Asian — and the student-sponsored event was restricted primarily to people with university identification cards. They had waited about two hours for Mr. Muhammad's appearance, applauding warmly for a folklore group in vivid African dress.

Silence fell as Mr. Muhammad took the floor. In a sharp-edged delivery laced with searing humor, Mr. Muhammad painted a portrait of institutionalized racism in America. In forceful bursts, he said many of the same things he has said before.

But this time, Mr. Muhammad was mainstream. The crowd, in jeans and backpacks, was integrated, and they chuckled when he looked out into the audience like a standup comic and mimicked the speech of anxious whites and even bourgeous blacks who he said might feel uncomfortable about expressing support for him when they are with their white friends. Even Santa Claus was not spared. He ribbed blacks for "celebrating a holiday with a fat, nasty white man in a red and white suit, talking about ho-ho-ho."

HE left his most incendiary remarks for last. He offered no apologies for the speech last November at Kean College in Union, N.J., which set off a national uproar and led to his demotion as senior spokesman for Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam.

At N.Y.U., he said the Kean College speech was given "in a moment when I was in a war posture" as demonstrators outside called for the death of his leader and teacher, Mr. Farrakhan. He said that his repeated depictions of Jews as "bloodsuckers" in black neighborhoods referred to Jewish and Arab merchants who made money by selling to blacks rotten pork that they would not eat or touch themselves.

"If that is not a bloodsucker, I don't know what a bloodsucker is. A bloodsucker is a parasite who sucks the life from a host. That's what's happening in the black community."

Mr. Muhammad drew one of the strongest bursts of applause by referring to what he called the "Academy Award" performance of the South Carolina woman who is accused of drowning her two children after saying a black man had abducted them. "This lying devil," he sneered.

He jokingly suggested that a national hotline should be set up to blame black people for crimes they did not commit. "Blame us for everything. It's a good thing we weren't on the Titanic or they'd blame a nigger."

It was Mr. Muhammad's first college appearance in the city since he was shot in the legs last May at the University of California at Riverside by a man linked to a Muslim fringe group. At N.Y.U., people attending the speech had to pass through a metal detector before they were allowed to enter the auditorium. Outside were several dozen protesters waving placards that said things like, "education yes, racism no," and "hate and lies are never the answer."

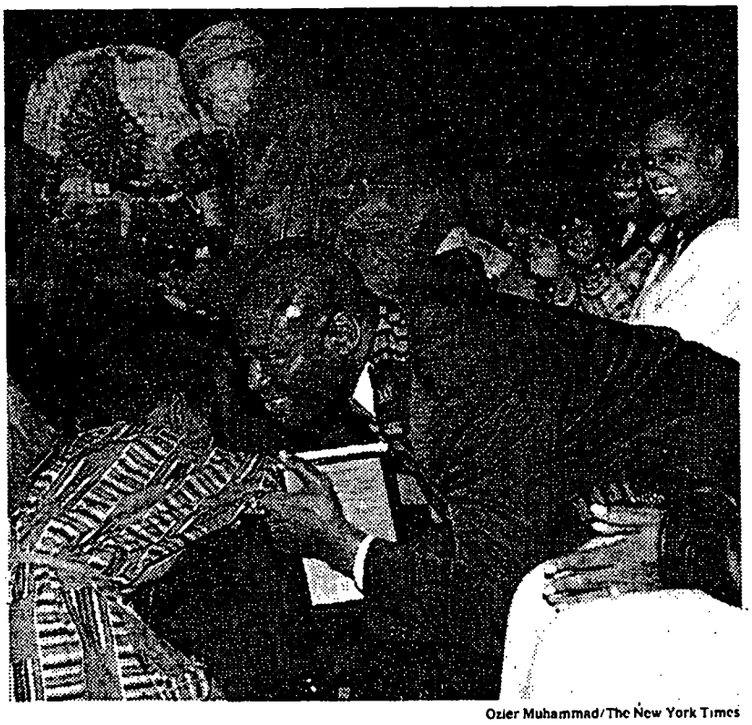
The speech was sponsored by two black student groups, Brothers for Brothers and the Black Student Service Center, which had paid Mr. Muhammad more than $1,000 for his appearance. It was publicized in an article in the student newspaper, posters and flyers circulated in the last several days.

At the end of Mr. Muhammad's speech, as a basket was passed around for donations to offset the cost, even a few whites gave money.

Monique Moore, a sophomore who is black, said she learned nothing new from Mr. Muhammad's speech. "It's just refreshing and uplifting."

But Amanda Ream, a sophomore who is white, said she had a different view of Mr. Muhammad after hearing him for herself. The student, who wore heavy-rimmed glasses and high-top black sneakers, said many of her white friends did not want her to go to the event, but she was curious.

"I was really unfamiliar with him and the things he said. I think he was definitely portrayed wrongly," she said. "I don't think he is as hateful as people make him to be."



Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times

Khalid Abdul Muhammad, the former spokesman for the Nation of Islam, greeting a young member of a dance troupe that performed before his speech at New York University on Monday night.

**A speaker's warning to whites: 'It's going to be a rough ride.'**

## Gunman at School Used to Be Student

WICKLIFFE, Ohio, Nov. 8 (AP) — The man who opened fire in the hallway of a middle school here on Monday, killing a custodian and wounding three other men, is a former student who the authorities said had been diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic.

None of the 500 students at Wickliffe Middle School was injured. A police officer and a teacher were in critical condition, the police said, and an assistant principal and the gunman were also wounded.

The gunman, identified as Keith A. Ledeger, 37, will be charged with murder and attempted murder, Police Chief Jim Fox said. A judge will determine when and where Mr. Ledeger will be arraigned, either in the hospital or later when he is able to appear in court, Chief Fox added.

School was canceled today, and a team of crisis counselors arrived to help students, teachers and parents. Wickliffe, a suburb of Cleveland, has a population of about 14,500.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# World Bank Approves Loan to Help Russia Clean Up Pollution

By DAVID E. SANGER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 — The World Bank today approved its first loan to Russia aimed at cleaning up some of the country's contaminated rivers, polluted industrial sites and toxic waste dumps, and said it was the first step in a broad program to undo seven decades of environmental mismanagement.

By international standards the loan is small, about $110 million. But bank officials, who have been heavily criticized for financing huge infrastructure projects in the developing world with little regard for their environmental effects, insisted today that the loan symbolized a change of direction that took place several years ago in the bank's lending, and is being speeded.

The loan, combined with $45 million in investments from newly privatized businesses in Russia and $90 million in donations from the United States, the European Union and oth-

***A first installment in a program to reverse Soviet-era abuse of the environment.***

er other nations, would soon be felt in some of Russia's most fouled urban areas.

"This is an important first step that focuses on a few areas where the need is critical," said Roger Batstone, the bank's principal environmental engineer for the project. "This is the first installment of a large program of environmental lending for the Russian Federation."

Russia's environmental problems are tied directly to decades of central planning that ignored environmental concerns in the failed effort to increase the country's industrial output. Underpriced energy, economists say, only worsened the problem, as economically inefficient factories spewed enormous amounts of untreated exhausts and chemical wastes into the atmosphere.

The bank said today that 43 Russian cities were in urgent need of relief from air pollution, and that Russian industry discharged more sodium dioxide, the substance that causes acid rain, than all the factories in the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and France combined. Deforestation is widespread, largely because so many trees are still harvested for firewood, and fish harvests are declining because of pollution and the diversion of water for irrigation.

The World Bank program will focus on three regions: the Upper Volga, the North Caucasus and the Urals. "These are areas where there is some local commitment to cleaning things up," Mr. Batstone said, "so we believe they are good test areas."

Nonetheless, nearly half the project funds will be spent outside of Russia, for foreign environmental cleanup equipment and foreign consultants. The first step will be to establish a database of environmental hazards, and to develop plans for water-quality management in several regions.

The bank's president, Lewis Preston, is traveling in Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan this week to discuss their transition to market economies. Mr. Preston has been arguing in recent months that the bank's critics have overblown its past lack of interest in environmental issues, noting that in the last four years it has spent $2.7 billion for environmental projects. Nearly half that figure, however, was spent last year. The bank issues about $17 billion in loans each year.

# Reformer Is Named To Russian Cabinet

MOSCOW, Nov. 8 (AP) — President Boris N. Yeltsin today named Yevgeny Yasin, an economist with strong reformist credentials, to succeed a Economics Minister who resigned in protest last week.

Mr. Yasin, a 60-year-old economist, headed the Presidential Analytical Center, an economic research group. His appointment is the latest in a broad Cabinet shake-up set off by the collapse of the ruble on Oct. 11.

He replaces Aleksandr N. Shokhin, a reformist who resigned last week when a Soviet-era budget specialist, Vladimir G. Panskov, was named Finance Minister without his approval.

By choosing Mr. Yasin, whose reform credentials date back to the late Soviet period, Mr. Yeltsin underlined the Government's commitment to continuing reform.

Mr. Yasin will report to Anatoly B. Chubais, the newly appointed First Deputy Prime Minister for economics and finance, who until recently was the highly respected chief of Russia's privatization program.

In 1990, Mr. Yasin headed the Soviet Government's commission on economic reform.

# F.A.A. Considering a Ban On Commuter Planes in Ice

By ADAM BRYANT

The Federal Aviation Administration said yesterday that it would consider a recommendation that the make of commuter aircraft that crashed last week in Indiana be prohibited from flying in icy conditions.

The plane that crashed in a soybean field, killing 68 people, was a Avions de Transport Regional ATR-72. The recommendation also includes the company's ATR-42.

If the F.A.A. acts in the next several days on the recommendation — one of many issued late Monday by the National Transportation Safety Board in the wake of last week's crash — many airlines would have to adjust their flight schedules to account for the possibility that they might not be able to fly ATR planes.

Conditions where ice might build up on the wings occur not just in winter because temperatures are much colder at higher altitudes than on the ground.

Altogether, United States commuter airlines fly a total of 41 ATR-72 and 109 ATR-42 twin-engine turboprops. Although these aircraft represent only about 7 percent of the nation's commuter airline fleet, they are among the largest commercial propeller-driven aircraft in use.

If the F.A.A. acts on the board's recommendation to prohibit the planes temporarily from flying in certain conditions, it would be the first time a particular model of aircraft has been grounded since DC-10 jets were prohibited from flying for 38 days in 1979 after a crash in Chicago that killed 273 people.

The safety board, which said that the F.A.A. "should take immediate action" to prevent another crash like the one last week, often makes such recommendations to the administration. But only the F.A.A. has authority to write rules or issue orders. It has accepted 82 percent of the safety board's recommendations.

The F.A.A. said yesterday that it would also follow the safety board's suggestion to set up a team to analyze the airplane's performance during icy conditions and, if necessary, require modifications.

Finally, the F.A.A. said it was also considering the safety board's recommendation that air traffic controllers should give special treatment to such planes to keep them out of holding patterns where ice might build up. It said it expects to put the rule into effect within several days.

The F.A.A. is meeting this week with airline executives from all United States airlines that fly the ATR-72 and ATR-42 to discuss operating advisories that the F.A.A. issued last Friday. The new rules advise against the use of autopilot during icing conditions, for example, and recommend minimum speed and power level in the engines of the ATR planes.

Besides American Eagle, whose ATR-72 crashed last week, the ATR aircraft are also used by the commuter airline divisions of Continental Airlines and Trans World Airlines; Atlantic Southeast Airlines, which operates connections for Delta Air Lines; by Mahalo Air in Hawaii, and by Trans States Airlines.

The safety board said yesterday that it was still investigating several possible causes of the crash, adding that information from the flight data recorder recovered from the crashed plane was still being loaded into computers yesterday.

The board said in its recommendations that the crash "might be attributed to the weather conditions

***A recommendation takes aim at some 150 U.S.-flown commuter aircraft.***

encountered by the flight and the characteristics of the aerodynamic design and flight control systems of the airplane."

The board also said last week that the pilot of another ATR-72, flying into South Bend, Ind., later the same night of the American Eagle crash told investigators that he had experienced a buildup of ice while on autopilot and that his plane tended to roll too far into turns.

An ATR-42 had shown problems with ice buildup while on autopilot in 1988, and to solve the problem the F.A.A. ordered installation of devices on the wings of the ATR-42 planes called vortex generators to prevent dangerous changes in the air flow. Although the ATR-72's were built with vortex generators included, the F.A.A.'s advisory last week suggested that this solution may not have been sufficient.

Do you have The Times delivered?

# Pentagon Aide On Secret Visit To Tour China

By PATRICK E. TYLER
Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, Nov. 8 — The director of the Defense Intelligence Agency is in China, but United States officials will not say whom he is meeting or which defense sites he is visiting.

The visit by Lieut. Gen. James R. Clapper represents the highest level of known contact by a United States intelligence official and the Chinese military leadership since the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989.

At that time, the two nations were cooperating on a number of intelligence operations, including the monitoring of ballistic missile tests in the Soviet Union and covert operations in Afghanistan.

Despite the silence surrounding the trip, Pentagon and American Embassy spokesmen said General Clapper's visit was part of the "normal military-to-military relations" between Beijing and Washington.

An embassy official said only that the general had already left Beijing for a tour of China. A Pentagon official said, "He is traveling around visiting some military units."

General Clapper is believed to be accompanied by Brig. Gen. Michael T. Byrnes, the United States military attaché in Beijing, as well as other Pentagon aides.

Defense Secretary William J. Perry, during his recent visit to China, urged greater "transparency" in China's defense spending and military strategy. He also suggested that if China would agree to halt underground nuclear testing, the United States could provide computers to demonstrate the reliability of China's upgraded nuclear weapons.

China thus far has not responded to the offer and is believed to be planning more underground tests.

Also, Chinese military leaders are said to be concerned that if the United States goes forward with deployment of a theater ballistic missile defense system, including one that would protect American forces in the Pacific, China's modest nuclear force could be rendered impotent.

Mr. Perry said during his visit that China had agreed to send a delegation of military officials to Washington to brief the Pentagon on China's military modernization plans and force structure.

Job hunting? Check today's Times.



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# Aristide's Cabinet Is Sworn and Pledges to Get to Work

By LARRY ROHTER
Special to The New York Times

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Nov. 8 — After nearly a month of highly publicized consultations with friends and foes and a bit of old-fashioned politicking behind closed doors, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide finally has a Prime Minister, a full Cabinet and a Parliament-approved plan of action.

At a ceremony at the National Palace this morning, before guests who included Haitian politicians, foreign diplomats and Maj. Gen. David Meade, commander of the American troops here, Prime Minister-designate Smarck Michel and his Cabinet took their oaths of office and pledged to begin work immediately on the daunting task of rebuilding a country devastated by military dictatorship, corruption and harsh economic sanctions.

"I thank the Haitian people for their patience," Mr. Michel, 57, a businessman, said. "I hope I don't disappoint you."

The swearing-in followed a vote of confidence late Monday night in which Parliament formally endorsed Mr. Michel, his 17-member Cabinet and the program of government he had submitted for the lawmakers' approval.

That plan, markedly more mainstream in tone than the approach President Aristide took during his first tenure in office, emphasizes the establishment of democratic institutions and the rebuilding of the economy through market forces and foreign assistance.

Mr. Michel was selected as Prime Minister on Oct. 24, but Parliament, which still has a large contingent of former supporters of the military junta that ousted President Aristide in 1991, dragged its heels on his confirmation through a variety of procedural devices. That forced the President to meet with opposition legislators, as well as factions from his own coalition, and appeal for their cooperation.

President Aristide was eager to have his Cabinet confirmed and installed because a delegation from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank is here this week to discuss the economic reconstruction of Haiti. Had the Cabinet appointments and program not been ratified, it would not have been clear who had the authority to meet with the visitors and make commitments on behalf of the President.

In the end, the President was able to retain close associates whom he originally appointed while in exile in most of the important economic posts, including Finance Minister Marie-Michèle Rey, Planning Minister Jean-Marie Cheréstal and Agriculture Minister Agronome F. Séverin. The Foreign Minister, Claudette Werleigh, and Interior Minister, René Prosper, also are carryovers.

As his Defense Minister, President Aristide named a retired general, Wilton Lerisson. Today's swearing-in ceremony was attended by Maj. Gen. Jean-Claude Duperval, who replaced Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cédras as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces last month, and other members of the high command. They listened attentively as the President urged them to work "hand in hand" with the civilian authorities.

Evoking the three years of state-sponsored terror and repression Haiti has just suffered through, President Aristide said his goal was for all Haitians to "feel like they have security" and are "living in a country where their hearts are not pounding, but are beating calmly." He pledged that his Government would work "not for one or two people, or one group of people, but for each and every person."

In an effort to reach out to constituencies that his predecessors largely ignored, including women, intellectuals and the approximately one million Haitians who live abroad, President Aristide also created four new Cabinet posts. These are the Ministries for Women's Affairs, the Haitian diaspora, Culture and Public Functions, which was spun off from the Planning Ministry.

The new Cabinet also includes one minister, Marc Henri Rousseau-François of Public Works, who held the same post under the military dictatorship that overthrew President Aristide on Sept. 30 1991. Another member, Trade and Industry Minister Maurice Lafortune, who was elected last month as president of the Haitian Chamber of Commerce, served under one of the military governments that held power before Father Aristide's election.

The United States Ambassador to Haiti, William L. Swing, described the appointees as "a good, strong group of people" and praised the Haitian President for assembling "a very broad-based" Government that included people outside his Lavalas movement.

Mr. Swing also promised that the Clinton Administration and President Aristide's other foreign allies would do their best to help the new Government succeed during the 15 months remaining in his term.

"I believe Haiti has the best opportunity in its modern history to build democracy and a sound economy," Mr. Swing said. "In contrast to a lot of other transitional countries, the political resolve of the Haitian people and the international community is being matched by commensurate economic and financial resources to support them at this time of watershed change."



Reuters

The Haitian Prime Minister, Smarck Michel, left, and President Jean-Bertrand Aristide were congratulated yesterday by Women's Affairs Minister Lise-Marie Dejean and Culture Minister Jean-Claude Bajeux.

*Haiti looks to building democracy and rebuilding a devastated economy.*

# Protesters in Mexico City Ransack a McDonald's

MEXICO CITY, Nov. 8 (Reuters) — About 40 masked men ransacked a McDonald's restaurant in Mexico City today to protest a ballot proposal in California that would cut social benefits of illegal immigrants and their families.

The assailants broke windows, threw cash registers to the floor, overturned wastebaskets and painted graffiti denouncing the United States in the restaurant in the fashionable Zona Rosa area of the capital, said a McDonald's marketing manager, Manuel Júarez. He said no one was injured.

"Yankee Go Home!" "Solidarity With the Immigrants!" and "No to 187!" — a reference to Proposition 187, the ballot initiative in California — were among the messages scrawled on the restaurant's windows.

Witnesses said some of the assailants had earlier held a protest against California's anti-immigration proposal on the street outside the restaurant.

Californians were voting today on Proposition 187, which would cut off education, welfare and non-emergency health care to illegal immigrants and would require doctors, teachers and police officers to report anyone they suspect of being in the United States illegally.

The proposal, supported by Gov. Pete Wilson in his campaign for reelection, has stirred bitter protests among Mexican immigrants in California and drawn wide criticism in virtually all sectors of Mexican society.

After wrecking the restaurant, the masked gang headed toward another nearby McDonald's franchise, but police officers were quickly deployed to stave off a second attack, according to radio reports.

In an effort to head off possible riots, hundreds of extra police officers have been mobilized in southern California, where most of the state's 1.7 million illegal immigrants, most of them Mexican, live.

In Mexico City, a string of protests has been held outside the American Embassy in recent days, and officials expect huge demonstrations if Proposition 187 is passed.

McDonald's is viewed by many Mexican leftists as a symbol of American imperialism.

Mr. Juarez emphasized that all cDonald's restaurants in Mexico re franchises owned by Mexican investors that employ only Mexican staff.



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# U.N. Debates an End to Bosnia Arms Embargo

By BARBARA CROSSETTE
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 8 — The Security Council began a debate tonight on a resolution calling for an end to the arms embargo against the Muslim-led Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the center of the discussion is a General Assembly resolution passed Thursday that asks the Security Council to consider exempting the Muslim-led Bosnian Government from a general embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia in 1991.

More than 40 nations asked for time to speak on the issue, in a debate that is expected to last two days. The debate comes at a time when Bosnian Muslim and Bosnian Croat forces have been making military advances against the Bosnian Serbs.

Russia's delegate, Sergei V. Lavrov, speaking shortly after the beginning of the debate, said that the recent increase in fighting was made possible by violations of the embargo that allowed arms to go to the Bosnian Government. He said that the Bosnian war could only get worse with the open shipment of weapons.

Today's meeting was formally requested by Pakistan. But it was actively sought by the United States as a way of bringing into the open the sharp divisions on the issue, which is also the subject of an American-sponsored resolution before the Security Council that seems to have no chance of success.

It is expected that following this open general debate, Madeleine K. Albright, the chief United States delegate and this month's Security Council President, will withdraw the American resolution in its present form.

The Clinton Administration was bound by a promise to Congress to introduce this resolution if the Bosnian Serbs did not accept a plan to partition Bosnia and Herzegovina that was proposed in July by a five-nation group consisting of the United States, Britain, France, Germany and Russia.

Under the American resolution, the ban would not be lifted until six months from the date of its passage, thereby giving additional time to the Europeans and Russians to persuade the Bosnian Serbs to sign the agreement that would give them 49 percent of the territory of Bosnia, down from the roughly 70 percent they now control.

Opening the debate, Pakistan's delegate, Jamsheed K.A. Marker, who also spoke on behalf of the Islamic Conference, said that "the ethnic cleansing and genocide in Bosnia constitutues one of the greatest tragedies of modern times" and that Mulsim nations already took the position that the embargo did not apply to Bosnia.

France's delegate, Jean-Bernard Mérimée, warned that a lifting of the embargo on the Bosnian Government would force the withdrawal of United Nations peacekeeping troops before the ban was eased.

Mr. Mérimée also said that such an action would "put an end to any chance of dialogue with the Bosnian Serbs."

**Get new ideas on the Op-Ed Page.**

# Nationalist In Russia, Nice in U.S.

## Got Me All Wrong, Zhirinovsky Says

By JOHN KIFNER
Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 8 — Buttoned grimly into a suit for his visit to America, the Russian nationalist Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky insisted that all those nasty things people said about him just were not true.

He was not an anti-Semite, the head of the ultranationalist party that shocked American leaders by capturing the biggest share of parliamentary seats in elections last December told a somewhat incredulous audience of the World Affairs Council of Northern California Monday night.

Nor, although the impression was gleaned from his published writings, televised speeches, political campaigns and various brawls, was he a racist, a fascist, a militarist or a coveter of more land for Russia in the Middle East, Finland or Alaska.

"I tell you outright that is a total falsehood," Mr. Zhirinovsky said when asked about previous remarks derogatory to Jews. He later expanding his denials to maintain, "You in America are totally misled."

You did, however, he warned, have to watch out for those Chinese and Muslims.

Mr. Zhirinovsky was clearly on his best behavior as he began a two-week trip to the United States. His only mishap came when he knocked the sign of his sponsor off the blue velvet backdrop upon arriving for his news conference. The American Embassy in Moscow had reluctantly granted him a visa only after issuing a statement declaring, "The U.S. Government finds many of Mr. Zirinovsky's views anathema."

On previous ventures abroad he spat and threw dirt at Jewish picketers, threatened to drop nuclear weapons on Japan, spent a weekend with a former Nazi SS storm trooper in the Austrian mountains, accused European legislators of stealing his wool fisherman's hat and was expelled from Slovenia after his party tore up a resort hotel.

The purpose of this trip — as well as his vague and shifting itinerary — was not clear, but it appeared largely intended to make public appearances and give television interviews that might bolster his prestige at home. He is to address the United Nations Correspondents Association in New York on Wednesday.

"Please do not praise us," Victor Bogatyi, a close party associate of Mr. Zirinovsky, interrupted at one point, adding gleefully: "Give the worst thing about us. In that case, we'll have a lot of votes."

Mr. Zhirinovsky said he had come "to give the proper impression of who we are."

With both of San Francisco's daily newspapers on strike, Mr. Zhirinovsky's visit was overshadowed by bitterly fought local election campaigns and a record rainfall of more than six inches over the weekend. His speech and question and answer session attracted an audience of about 500 in the Sheraton Palace Hotel and a slightly lesser number of protesters, mostly from Jewish groups, on the street outside.

The questioners in the audience had clearly come prepared to joust with Mr. Zhirinovsky, and in this proudly polyglot city, he was challenged not only by Jews, but also by Bosnians, Muslim émigrés from the former Soviet Union and even Russian veterans of World War II. Mr. Bogatyi's translations of Mr. Zhirinovsky's responses came under attack, too, with sporadic objections from Russian speakers in the audience.

Mr. Zhirinovsky asserted that he had received twice the 25 percent of the vote that he was credited with, and added that a corrupt government of former Communists had stolen the rest. Next time, he said: "I promise we will get 90 percent. Forty-five will be stolen, but we will still have 45 which will give us the lead."

As for Russia's neighbors, "There's lots of Chinese, lots of Muslims," he said. "What about us? We have a lot of wars with these neighbors. This is real life."

On the subject of the war in the former Yugoslavia, in which Serbs, Croats and Muslims have fought against each other, Mr. Zhirinovsky declared: "There are only one people, Serbs. Remove all troops from the Balkans and the Serbs themselves should decide."

Mr. Zhirinovsky, who came to prominence on a wave of Russian discontent, painted a bleak picture of the former Soviet Union, saying it was dominated by gangsters and on the brink of civil war. The military, he warned, was "at the edge of making mistakes, maybe some decisive actions and it will end, we don't want to say where it will end."

But the one question that seemed to draw a genuinely prickley response was whether his rival, Boris N. Yeltsin, had a drinking problem.

"This is interference in the internal life of our President," Mr. Zhirinovsky, who has been known to have a drink himself, said stiffly. "And we object to it."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# *U.S. Agency Is Accused of Bias in Making South Africa Grants*

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8 — Several current or former officials in the Agency for International Development are engaged in a dispute over whether the agency has improperly sought to exclude non-black groups both in the United States and in South Africa when it awards grants to aid that African nation.

Paul Neifert, an A.I.D. official who was transferred out of South Africa after criticizing agency policies there, complained that just when the new Government of President Nelson Mandela was seeking to build a country free of discrimination, A.I.D. was increasingly basing its grants on the color of recipients.

In a scathing article in the November issue of Foreign Service Journal, Mr. Neifert pointed to several instances in which the agency had strained to insure that grants went to black-led organizations. He wrote that after the agency adopted its new policy in mid-1992, A.I.D. managers in South Africa informed their staff members that "those uncomfortable with the new Afro-centric direction" of agency programs "should leave."

He wrote about one agency official who, eager to award grants to black groups, asked in an open meeting what it would take to get a white South African to resign as leader of an A.I.D.-funded organization.

In interviews today, senior A.I.D. officials denied any improper actions, asserting that they were merely following American laws that allow favoring black-led organizations when awarding A.I.D. contracts. The agency plans to provide about $200 million in aid to South Africa over each of the next three years.

"They're alleging that the U.S. has made a policy decision to utilize only African-American groups to work in South Africa, and that's just not true," said John F. Hicks, A.I.D.'s assistant administrator for Africa.

Mr. Hicks said, for instance, that it makes sense to award grants to black schools, like Howard University, to help improve South African education programs because they have a lot to offer with their long history of teaching students who have suffered discrimination.

Mr. Hicks noted that of the $132.6 million his agency has granted so far this year to assist South Africa, $62 million has been channeled through American groups. About $11 million of this has gone to black-led or black-owned groups, while the other $51 million went to groups that are not black-led.

But the agency's critics say its affirmative action policies have gone so far that they have sought to exclude Asian-Americans and multiracial organizations in South Africa from winning contracts.

Last April, Harry Johnson, a 27-year agency veteran, now retired, sent a letter to A.I.D.'s top official, J. Brian Atwood, to complain that its grants to South Africa were being improperly skewed to favor the "African community, as opposed to the 'Colored' or 'Asian' communities," which he said were also considered disadvantaged.

Mr. Johnson complained that managers blocked consultants' recommendations to grant money to a multi-racial business group, rather than a black-led organization, to teach skills to black-owned small businesses in South Africa.

Several Republicans in Congress have joined the attack. Accusing the agency of engaging in a frenzy of "political correctness," Representative Daniel Burton, an Indiana Republican, said, "The South African people deserve better than to have themselves turned into a trough of spoils and rich contracts."

Mr. Hicks sought to downplay the criticism. "They're challenging a policy that is trying to work with black-led groups to the maximum extent possible," he said.

# Sri Lanka Increases Security for Heated Presidential Election

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka, Nov. 8 (Reuters) — Police officers stepped up security today in advance of a presidential election on Wednesday that could decide whether the Government pursues peace talks to end an 11-year civil war.

As many as 11 million in this island nation of 18 million people are expected to vote in the election, which pits Prime Minister Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga of the People's Alliance against Srima Dissanayake, candidate of the opposition United National Party.

The candidates, both of whom lost husbands to assassins, have both pledged to seek peace. But they differ sharply on how to end the revolt by separatists of the Tamil ethnic minority, a rebellion that has killed more than 30,000 people.

Mrs. Kumaratunga wants to resume peace talks with the rebels. The talks were called off last month after the killing of Gamini Dissanayake, Mrs. Dissanayake's husband. Mrs. Dissanayake says the rebels must lay down their arms before negotiations are reopened.

The Government has ordered more than 40,000 police officers to assume special duties on election day to avert possible violence between supporters of the rival parties and bomb attacks by rebels.

Mrs. Kumaratunga is favored to win the election with the help of votes from Muslims as well as the Tamils, who are mostly Hindu and make up about 15 percent of the population. The overwhelming majority of Sri Lankans are Buddhist Sinhalese.

The constitutional future of Sri Lanka could also be at stake. Arguing that a powerful presidency is open to abuse, Mrs. Kumaratunga, 49, has promised to scrap the executive presidency by July 1995 and restore Parliament's supremacy.

In August, Mrs. Kumaratunga ended 17 uears of United National Party rule by leading her People's Alliance to victory in parliamentary elections. Her father and mother both served as Prime Minister in the 1960's and 1970's.

Soon after she became Prime Minister, she set up a parliamentary select committee to suggest changes in the Constitution.

Mrs. Kumaratunga's husband, Vijaya Kumaratunga, an actor and politician, was killed by leftists in 1988.

Mrs. Dissanayake, a 51-year-old lawyer, has pledged to fulfil the wishes of her husband, Gamini, the original opposition candidate, who was killed along with 53 others by a suicide bomber at a campaign rally on Oct. 24. He supported plans to reduce the powers of the presidency.

In the past week the two women have traded charges on television and in posters, with Mrs. Dissanayake accusing the Prime Minister of trying to intimidate her through a police raid on her home, and Mrs. Kumaratunga asserting that her opponent is trying to fan communal tensions between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.

Mrs. Dissanayake has accused the Government of appeasing the Tamil rebels by not naming them as suspects in the killing of her husband. The Government has said it will not accuse anybody until investigations into the blast are completed.

[Government forces killed at least seven Tamil rebels who were preparing to attack a naval landing craft in the Bay of Bengal, the Associated Press reported, quoting military officials.]

The police said four people were killed and 15 others injured in weekend violence between supporters of the two rivals.

The Government said that 100,000 officials would staff nearly 10,000 polling stations across the island for Wednesday's election. They will not be deployed in the northern Tamil rebel stronghold of Jaffna, where the Tamil rebels have said they will not allow voting.

# Tense Times for France-Africa Tie

By HOWARD W. FRENCH
Special to The New York Times

BIARRITZ, France, Nov. 8 — Rather than a fond summing-up of nearly half a century of deep involvement in African affairs, the 18th so-called Franco-African summit meeting was marked by unusual soul-searching on the part of French commentators and African officials.

Heard amid, and often over, the traditional French statements of solidarity with Africa has been an uncomfortable debate over France's role in the Rwandan crisis and questions about its continuing close ties to leaders who, despite elections and reforms, have continued to rule as dictators.

President François Mitterrand opened the two-day conference with a series of questions to the 35 African leaders in the audience. The first question was: "Africa has a right to justice and liberty. How will this be achieved?"

Seated in the front row with Mr. Mitterrand, and Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, however, were many of the autocratic African leaders whose very presence led French human rights groups to simultaneously hold what was billed as a "countèrsummit."

In a subtle expression of disapproval, Mr. Mitterrand violated protocol by avoiding sitting beside the longest-serving African leader in attendance, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who, after 29 years in power is also known as one of the most dictatorial. Mr. Mitterrand was warmly introduced by the Gabonese leader Omar Bongo, who is said to have held power since 1967 by engineering fraudulent elections. Nearby, sat Gnassingbe Eyadema, the President of Togo, who also seized power in 1967 and who has been accused of rule by terror.

Mr. Mitterrand's early years in office were marked by expectations of stronger support for democracy. After scant change in his first seven-year term, he revived these expectations at a Franco-African summit meeting four years ago when he spoke of linking aid with real democratization.

The disappointment of the French left at the absence of change has only deepened in the wake of the Rwandan crisis, in which French military and financial support for the former Hutu dictatorship set the stage for this year's massacre of thousands of members of the Tutsi minority.

Sylvie Brunel, a participant in the alternative conference, said, "Information suggesting that President [Juvenal] Habyarimana in Rwanda was conducting a policy of repeated attacks on human rights was known by all.

"From 1990, France continued to support and to arm President Habyarimana up until the current explosion. This explosion was in its developing stages, and this is why we say that France is guilty of genocide and of complicity in genocide."

Responding to statements by French officials that Rwanda's new leaders must "prove themselves" before France cooperates with them, Le Monde echoed widespread criticism in the French press with an article asking about the three leaders who have been described as "the dinosaurs": "What of the Mobutus, Eyademas and Bongos, after nearly three decades of power?"

Mr. Mobutu, who had been expected by many here to make a quiet return to France after being barred from the country for more than a year after the shooting of a French ambassador in his country, made one of the strongest of many remarks on Rwanda by the African leaders gathered here.

Addressing journalists in his luxurious suite at the seaside Hôtel du Palais, formerly a Napoleonic chateau, Mr. Mobutu deplored France's failure to invite Rwanda's new leaders, saying: "Now we are going to talk about Rwanda without the Rwandans. That is difficult."

France's Foreign Minister, Alain Juppé, told reporters that the Rwandans had not made a "formal request" to take part.

But other African officials said that France's failure to invite the Rwandans reflected much of what is wrong with Paris's relations with the continent.

# *U.N. Approves Tribunal on Rwandan Atrocities*

by RICHARD D. LYONS
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 8 — The Security Council voted today to create an international tribunal to try people accused of atrocities in Rwanda even though the Rwandan delegate voted against the measure, complaining that it lacked a death penalty and only covered crimes committed in 1994.

The vote was 13 to 1 with China abstaining. The resolution skirted the death penalty issue because over 70 countries prohibit capital punishment and any resolution that included it would have met opposition.

Jamsheed Marker, the Pakistani delegate, described the vote as "a landmark resolution" that was necessary because the mass killings in Rwanda "were gross violations of international law that pose threats to the international community."

Spain's representative, Juan Antonio Yáñez-Barneuvo, said today's action was only the second time in United Nations history that an international tribunal has been created. A similar court was established last year to deal with war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.

While leaders of Rwanda's new Government have been urging since July that the United Nations create a war crimes tribunal to try officials of the former Government, they had sought the death penalty and other changes in the resolution in negotiations over the last week.

Despite its vote against the resolution today, the Rwandan Government said afterwards that it would cooperate with the tribunal. "Rwanda fully supports the tribunal," said Rwanda's delegate, Manzi Bakuramutsa, "although we might not yet be satisfied with the resolution."

Mr. Bakuramutsa insisted that mass killings also took place from 1990 to 1993, and even before, and that the tribunal should at least cover crimes dating back to 1993.

According to United Nations officials here, Rwandan authorities also have been annoyed that the resolution failed to address such specifics as who the judges might be and how they would be chosen, which jails might hold the accused, and where the trials could be held.

It was expected that these details would be worked out in the next few weeks and that trials might be held in Kigali.

The tribunal vote came amid a deepening United Nations crisis involving the safety of over one million Rwandans in refugee camps in central Africa where gangs of armed thugs have been killing and looting.

# World News Briefs

## *Iraq Is Called Ready To Yield on Border Issue*

MOSCOW, Nov. 8 (AP) — The Russian Foreign Ministry said today that Iraq was ready to bow to a major United Nations demand by formally recognizing Kuwait's borders.

The announcement came after the Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei V. Kozyrev, met here with the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, Tariq Aziz. The Itar-Tass news agency said that Mr. Aziz handed over a letter for President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia from President Saddam Hussein "concerning Iraqi recognition of Kuwait's borders and sovereignty."

Recognition could be a step toward lifting bruising United Nations sanctions imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990. The United Nations Security Council has insisted that Iraq make the recognition official.

Russia, once Iraq's main source of arms and a major trading partner, has been pushing to end the sanctions so that Iraq can begin repaying its $7 billion debt to Russia.

## *An Abortion Doctor Is Shot in Canada*

VANCOUVER, British Columbia, Nov. 8 (AP) — A doctor who performs abortions was shot and wounded at his breakfast table today by a sniper who fired through a sliding glass door, the Canadian police said.

The physician, Dr. Garson Romalis, managed to dial an emergency assistance number and was taken to Vancouver Hospital, where he was listed in stable condition after losing a large amount of blood.

An assailant with a rifle fired at least three times from behind Dr. Romalis's house, striking the gynecologist in the upper leg, the police said. The gunman escaped. The doctor's wife and daughter also were at home but were unharmed.

"It's fairly obvious that this was planned," said Inspector Dave Boyd of the police.

Neighbors told police that people had picketed against Dr. Romalis because he performed abortions.

The police said that Dr. Romalis's wife had received a strange phone call at home on Monday at the same as the attack today.

In Washington, a Justice Department spokesman said the F.B.I. was helping Canadian investigators.

Dr. Mark Schonfeld, president of the British Columbia Medical Association, said: "I'm shocked, absolutely shocked that somebody would be shot. It's just so foreign to our way of life and our thinking."

## *Angolan Guerrillas Seek End of Siege*

LUANDA, Angola, Nov. 8 (AP) — With his supporters surrounded by army artillery, the Angolan guerrilla leader Jonas Savimbi said today that he would sign a peace treaty brokered by the United Nations if the Government ended a siege of his battered headquarters.

The treaty, scheduled to be signed on Nov. 15 by President José Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, is expected to lead to a power-sharing deal between the Government and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or Unita, the opposition led by Mr. Savimbi.

In a statement, Mr. Savimbi said he was ready to sign the accord ending 19 years of civil war. But he said Government troops must first "cease this inhumane bloodbath" and leave his headquarters area around Huambo, 330 miles southeast of Luanda.

Leaders from both sides were to meet in Lusaka, Zambia, on Thursday to work out the final details of the peace plan, but a rebel general, Paulo Lukamba Gato, said the guerrillas had postponed the meeting because of the new Government offensive.

# *French Police Arrest 95 Suspected of Links to Algerian Militants*

By ALAN RIDING
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Nov. 8 — In the largest crackdown to date on Islamic militants active within France's Muslim population, the French police today arrested 95 people reportedly linked to Algeria's Armed Islamic Group in raids on homes and Muslim associations in and around Paris.

Interior Minister Charles Pasqua said the police operation confirmed the "implantation" in France of a clandestine network of Muslim militants who were determined to carry out terrorist activities from Europe.

The police said the sweep by 300 commandos before dawn today had resulted in the seizure of weapons, including 12 Kalashnikov assault rifles and an unspecified number of grenades, as well as chemical products that could be used for making bombs and equipment used for printing false documents.

The crackdown, ordered by France's chief anti-terrorist judge, Jean-Louis Bruguière, followed warnings that France would not let its territory be used by Islamic militants fighting to topple Algeria's army-backed Government. This summer, France deported 20 people suspected of being sympathizers of the Islamic Salvation Front, the main Algerian opposition group.

At the same time, the French authorities are increasingly fearful that Islamic fundamentalists are trying to infiltrate this country's Muslim minority of four million. In the last month, France has expelled three foreign Muslim clerics, accusing them of preaching subversion.

"I will not let people of foreign nationality, living here to lead prayers, to become anti-French propagandists, to preach against the institutions of the republic and to advocate confrontation here or elsewhere," Mr. Pasqua told Parliament on Monday.

Mr. Pasqua, who is in charge of internal security, said today that investigation had focused on the Educational Association of French Muslims, which he said recruited petty criminals who were "laundered" into Islamic fundamentalists.

Two leaders of the association in Val-de-Marne, in suburban Paris, were among those arrested today. The police also found weapons at a building in Villeneuve-St.-Georges, another Paris suburb, while the house used for making false documents was in the main Arab quarter in Paris itself.

Asserting that France's internal security now faced "very real threats" from these groups, Mr. Pasqua said that not only were Algerians and other North African immigrants involved, but that French citizens of Algerian extraction were also among those detained today.

He added that the Armed Islamic Group's external network extended to Marseilles, Lyons and Lille in France as well as to Canada, Germany, Britain, Italy and the Netherlands. In the past, Mr. Pasqua has complained that the United States, Britain and Germany have been lax in clamping down on Algerian militant sympathizers.

Until now, France has mainly gone after the Islamic Salvation Front, which took up arms almost three years ago after the Algerian Government canceled elections that seemed certain to bring the front to power. Some 10,000 people have died so far in the conflict.

But since April the police have reportedly been monitoring Muslim neighborhoods for possible infiltration by the more radical Armed Islamic Group. This group, which has threatened to kill all foreigners living in Algeria, has claimed responsibility for the deaths of more than 80 foreigners, including 21 French citizens, in the last 15 months.

Since then, the French colony in Algeria has shrunk from some 8,000 to fewer than 1,500.

**lo Chi Minh City Journal**

# 'n Crumbling Embassy, Echoes of a Fateful Day

By PHILIP SHENON
Special to The New York Times

HO CHI MINH CITY, Vietnam, ov. 2 — Nearly 20 years after the nd of the war, there are still places ı Vietnam that can make an Ameri- an shudder. The battlefields of Khe anh. The village of My Lai. The rison known as the Hanoi Hilton. he rooftop of the United States Em- assy in Saigon.

Today, the killing grounds of Khe anh and My Lai are grown over in laces with rice paddy, verdant roof of the desire of the Vietnamese ɔ put the war behind them, and ıuch of the Hanoi Hilton is destined ɔr the wrecking ball to make way ɔr a modern office building.

But the old American Embassy is till here, the gravel-strewn rooftop till littered with United States ırmy-issue green vinyl sandbags nd, now rusting, the helicopter land- ıg pad that, as dawn approached on pril 30, 1975, was the scene of the rantic, humiliating evacuation of ıe last Americans from Saigon. lours after the Americans fled, the ity was overrun by North Vietnam- se troops and renamed for Ho Chi linh.

The 20th anniversary of the evacu- tion is only five months off, and as it pproaches the United States Em- assy is being emptied again. This ıme it is the Vietnamese who are eaving.

The Vietnamese Government has rdered the current occupants, the tate-owned oil company PetroViet- am and its affiliates, to vacate their ffices by the end of next month to ıake way for the building's old ten- nts. Vietnam is about to hand the mbassy compound back to the Unit- d States.

"It's our building and for better or orse, good memories or bad, we get back," said an American diplomat ho is helping negotiate the return f the embassy building and 21 other merican-owned properties, most of ıem seized by the North Vietnam- se when they overran the South. There has been no decision about hat to do with it. It's in bad shape."

American officials who have in- pected the six-story chancery, hich was built in the mid-1960's for hat was then a princely sum of $2 illion, say that it has so deteriorat- d in southern Vietnam's unrelent- ıg tropical heat that it may now be nusable.

The white concrete exterior is rumbling, with thick tangles of linging vines and even small trees pushing through cracks in the build- ing's grime-smeared shell. Inside, the plumbing and electrical wiring barely function. Toilets are flushed with water scooped out of plastic tubs lined up near the sinks.



David Portnoy/Black Star, for The New York Times

On April 30, 1975, the last Americans to be evacuated from Saigon left in helicopters from the American Embassy roof. Signs of that frantic retreat are still evident as Vietnam prepares to hand back the building.

## The U.S. will recover a historic site, but time has taken a toll.

The elevators broke down years ago, and the only way to the once-restricted sixth floor, where a series of American ambassadors and their military counterparts plotted in secret to save the South from the North Vietnamese threat, is up a dank staircase.

A separate, unlighted staircase leads from the sixth floor to the roof, and it was up those stairs that hundreds of Americans scrambled on that night in April 1975, desperate to get on board one of the helicopters shuttling between the embassy and Navy ships waiting off the coast.

"I know this embassy is an historic place, historic both for the Vietnamese and the Americans," said Pham Van Tuan, who works at the building as a caretaker. He stood on the roof near a stack of rusty C-ration cans left behind 20 years ago by the American marines who manned the embassy's rooftop gun emplacements. "I think this building should be a good symbol of the new friendship between the United States and Vietnam," he said.

It will not be used as an embassy again. The capital of the reunified nation is Hanoi, and the United States has found a new nine-story building there to serve as an embassy when full diplomatic ties are restored. American officials say the old embassy building here could possibly serve as a consulate, although it may be too big for that purpose.

If the building does come down, it would disappoint many of the Vietnamese who walk past it every day, especially the many southern Vietnamese who, whatever their memories of the war and the ignominious American departure, still remember the Americans fondly.

Chau Cam Khanh, 45, the director of a health clinic in Ho Chi Minh City, was born and raised in a city that he still calls Saigon, and he says he can remember the thwonk-thwonk-thwonk of the American helicopters that landed on the embassy on the night of the evacuation.

"I could not see it because I was hiding, but maybe everybody in the city could hear it," he said. "This is a bad memory."

Still, the recollection does not shake his insistence that the crumbling embassy is "very beautiful, and I think of it like an historical palace."

"I hope it stays forever."

Americans might be forgiven for thinking differently about a structure that, as much as any in Vietnam, symbolizes the American failure here.

"This building represents a terrible part of American history," said George Miller of Lido Beach, L.I., who stood outside the embassy early one morning with a busload of other American tourists.

Gerald Sobel, an internist from Chicago, shook his head as he stared up and down the hulk of the old embassy, agreeing that it might be best for the United States simply to tear it down.

"Seeing it makes me think about the whole significance of our involvement in Vietnam," he said. "I can understand how the local people might feel, but I think a new building might be better. It would give us a new start in Vietnam."

# In Mozambique and Other Lands, Children Fight the Wars

By BILL KELLER
Special to The New York Times

BOANE, Mozambique — In the rebel camps where Alberto Matevui spent five years of his childhood, he says the commanders usually called upon the young boys to perform the executions.

The victim might be an uncooperative hostage, or an adult guerrilla who had disobeyed an order, or a child soldier who had tried to escape.

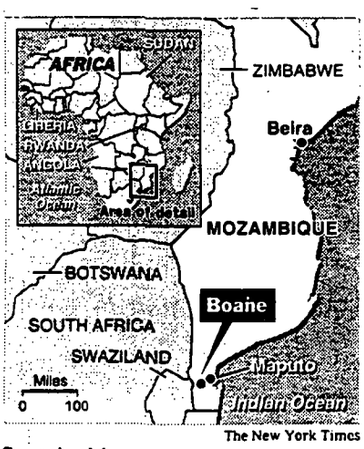
The commander would summon the camp as if for a school assembly and select one of the new boys to do the killing. If he did well, he might be rewarded with the right to carry a pistol and to order the other children around.

"Sometimes they were younger than me," Alberto said of the executioners. He was 10 when he was kidnapped into the rebel movement called Renamo, and even now, restored to his family at the age of 15, barefoot and baby-faced, he looks scarcely old enough for the Boy Scouts.

Alberto Matevui's war is over, and Mozambique's first elections have brought hope of healing after a conflict in which one million people are estimated to have died. But experiences like his have begun to galvanize international agencies and human rights groups.

In Sudan and Liberia, Angola and Rwanda, Afghanistan, Cambodia and the Middle East, child soldiers are a repellent commonplace of warfare, said Samir Basta, director of the Geneva office of the United Nations Children's Fund. The fund is one of several organizations that has seized on the issue with fervor, though with little hope of curtailing the practice.

Children, it turns out, make good killers. They learn fast, they work cheap, and their sense of right and wrong has not outgrown their yearning to be accepted by whatever liberation group or guerrilla army has become their surrogate family.



The New York Times

Snatched by rebels near the town of Boane, a young boy spent five years as a Renamo guerrilla.

"In Rwanda and other places, the perpetrators of some of the worst atrocities were children," Mr. Basta said. "They want to belong and be praised, and their only peer approval may come from being even more brave or barbarous than the adults."

Besides, he added: "Guns are toys. You give somebody a machine gun, and, my God, what a toy!"

Reynaldo Mucavel, who has been tracing the families of child soldiers in Mozambique for the American agency Save the Children, said he had interviewed many youngsters sent by rebels to kill and pillage in their own villages, a tactic apparently aimed at securing the loyalty of young troops while demoralizing civilians.

"I know of one case of a kid who was asked to shoot his mother and father and then cut their necks like he was cutting an onion," said Mr. Mucavel. "He did it. He was 8 years old."

In some cases, children go to war out of desperation, because in a battle-starved economy it is the only way to get food and clothing and occasional provisions to send home to the family.

In other cases, in the Middle East, the former Soviet republics or the remnants of Yugoslavia, young teenagers are caught up in a nationalist or patriotic spirit.

"In Lebanon or Iran, the parents themselves are proud that their kids go to war and become martyrs and so on," Mr. Basta said. "In the former Yugoslavia, we saw many young people volunteering and wearing these Rambo-like uniforms. They feel brave, they feel manly, they feel that their families expect it of them."

And sometimes, as in Mozambique, where civil war mangled the country for 16 years, children were snatched from their homes and press-ganged into service.

According to Save the Children, both Renamo and the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front pressed children into combat, although the rebels were by far the worse offenders.

Save the Children has matched 8,000 Mozambican children with their families, and has lists of 4,000 more still searching for their parents. Some are children of families scattered during the fighting, but most were either soldiers or camp servants for the warring rivals.

Agostinho Mamade, who is in charge of the matching program, said the search is complicated by the fact that 5 million Mozambicans were uprooted by the war in addition to the million estimated to have died. And some children were stolen so young that they cannot remember the names of their villages.

"We had boys from 8, trained and forced to commit atrocities," said Mr. Mamade. Boys younger than eight helped in the camp until old enough for military training. Girls were kidnapped for the sexual amusement of the men, or to cook and clean.

Alberto Matevui's case was not unusual.

In June 1989 he was tending the village cows with his friend Felisberto Massicuane when a guerrilla patrol came to the outskirts of their village near here. The village is so small it is known only as Kilometer 16, its distance from Maputo.

The gunmen snatched the two boys and Alberto's 9-year-old sister. The friend escaped after a few months. (Asked his career ambitions, he said he wants to be a soldier.) The sister was set free two years ago when a cease-fire began. Alberto was released last July, after Save the Children traced his family.

Alberto said he was trained to use an AK-47 assault rifle, but half-heartedly insisted he was never called on to shoot anyone. Brown eyes downcast, he spoke reluctantly of his experience, recalling mainly long periods without food.

When they began their matching project, Mr. Mamade said, Save the Children had a therapist to counsel the tiny warriors, but the project was soon overwhelmed by the numbers. The agency decided the best therapy was to get the children quickly home.

As a result, there is only anecdotal evidence of the emotional damage inflicted by a childhood at war, and little understanding of how quickly children recover.

"It's difficult to guess what kind of human being you have who lived his whole life in a military environment, and a bloody one, a very cruel one," said Mr. Mamade, who is 31 years old and the father of two children. As for comprehending how anyone could force such a life on a child, he said, "I've given up."

For Mozambique, whose rival armies have been recast by the elections as rival political parties, there is also the question of whether these cruelties will lurk in the national psyche like the numberless mines buried in the landscape.

The other day in Alberto's village, two parents of children kidnapped by the Renamo rebels sat in the slanting light of late afternoon and discussed the prospects of reconciliation.

Antonio Sitoe, whose son and daughter were stolen by the guerrillas and recently recovered, was the voice of resignation: "If they are elected, you have to accept. They are going to govern us, and we must accept them."

But Alberto's mother, Marta Matusse, was having none of that.

"Myself, I will never forgive them," she declared. "If they were living among us in the village, in time we would forgive them, though we would not forget. As it is, I cannot forgive what they have done."

# Let Them Eat Cake. Yours.

By Earl Shorris

Since Mayor Rudolph Giuliani announced his plan to end New York City's financing for emergency food assistance programs, he has been accused of insensitivity, cruelty, even immorality. John Cardinal O'Connor wrote that the act raised the issue of "moral right." The leaders of the anti-hunger movement pointed out that the city has more than half a million poor children whose food supply will be threatened.

Although the Mayor has never shown much interest in serving the poor, it is unlikely that he set out to bring down the moral wrath of his church and his city upon himself. Instead, he and his Office of Management and Budget appear to have misunderstood the nature of hunger. They want to treat it as a business problem: they speak of increasing the efficiency of the delivery system and suggest that if $6.3 million of city money is eliminated, supply and demand will soon come into balance.

But hunger doesn't work that way. On the demand side, there are no options: the hungry can't choose whether to spend their money on automobiles or computers; they can't even choose between bread and clothing. In the last two or three days before their welfare check arrives, many single parents run out of money, yet the demand for food must be satisfied.

The threat of starvation will not reduce the demand for food by motivating people to get jobs, either. Nearly one-fourth of the hungry people in New York City are working now. They just can't put food on the table with a minimum-wage job.

**New York should try a meal tax to aid emergency food programs.**

On the supply side, the Mayor assumes that private sources of financing and new efficiencies in delivery will somehow satisfy demand. But 68 percent of the people who help with the delivery of emergency food are volunteers, so the question of labor efficiency is moot. With most of the food already provided by private sources and the Federal Government, the question of cutting supply costs is also moot. This leaves private financing as the only variable.

If feeding the hungry is the truest kind of charity, it is also among the most difficult to pay for. Since most hungry people live in the poorest parts of the city, there is almost no money available in their own neighborhoods.

In the larger society, food assistance competes with other charities at a disadvantage because those who have money to give have no experience with hunger.

Money given to fight cancer, heart disease or AIDS may be returned to the giver a thousandfold should tragedy strike; museums and concerts give pleasure to their benefactors; the gift of a church pew becomes a monument. But a can of beans or a slice of bread eaten by a hungry child is merely consumed, and must be replaced again and again, for what seems like forever.

With supply limited and demand inexorable at any price, the city must look beyond the rules of business to the obligations of a commonwealth. Government must help to meet the demand for more than 30 million meals a year. The problem is how to do it without cutting yet more funds from other vital programs.

Dade County, Fla., rich in agricultural surplus but lacking shelter for its many homeless people and transient farm workers, found one solution. One dollar is added to the price of each restaurant check, and is used for emergency and transitional housing. To avoid the taint of regressive taxation, the county adds the dollar only in restaurants that sell liquor and gross more than $400,000 a year.

In New York City, a similar tax would provide a sweet symmetry: those who have more than enough to eat would buy food for those who have less than enough.

Since the owners of many of New York's leading restaurants have been among the strongest supporters of emergency food assistance, it is unlikely that they would object. And the customers? Is the compassion and the sense of civitas of New Yorkers any less than that of the people of Dade County? □

*Earl Shorris is author, most recently, of "A Nation of Salesmen." He is on the board of the Food and Hunger Hotline.*

# Dissatisfaction Guaranteed

By Eli Ginzberg

We know what the voters didn't like about President Clinton's health reform proposals — more control by the Federal Government, employer mandates, higher taxes to cover the poor and, above all, price controls. The question is how long the voters will remain satisfied with what they have now.

Two out of three Americans have good health insurance or Medicare, and they assume that their employers or the Federal Government pay for it. In fact, of course, the primary payers are working people and the taxpayers, since if there were no employer- or Government-financed health insurance, wages would be higher and taxes lower.

A related assumption is that in the absence of major health reforms, Americans will continue to enjoy the quantity and quality of coverage they now have. This is a serious misperception. In recent years they have seen a significant dilution of their benefits — higher deductibles, higher copayments, more constraints on choice of doctors and hospitals — and the outlook is for further restrictions in the years ahead.

The movement toward health maintenance organizations and other forms of managed care has exercised some restraint on costs, but it cannot do so indefinitely. If we want to moderate expenditures for health care, we have no choice but to control the total dollars flowing into the health care system. That is the lesson we need to learn from Germany, France, Britain, Canada — countries that manage to offer health care to their entire populations at a more or less sustainable cost.

True, Americans prefer to rely on the marketplace rather than on governmental price fixing to control the flow of resources into the economy and its distribution among competing goods and services. But there is so much governmental spending on health care — counting direct appropriations and tax benefits — that the

**The coming clamor for reform.**

competitive market model does not fit the realities of the health sector.

*Time is running out for the United States to face up to the challenge of providing universal health insurance.* Most advanced economies achieved this goal at the end of World War II, if not earlier. It is indecent for the richest of all the advanced nations to remain, half a century later, out of the circle.

Once the American people realize that the deficit cannot be contained so long as Federal health spending keeps growing; that they, not somebody else, are paying the bills; that reliance on competitive forces will not moderate runaway health costs, and that the time is past due when everyone should be covered — once people finally recognize all that, then health reform will have to be put back on the national agenda. And next time around, it will have to be enacted. □

**HEALTH CARE**
**SECOND OPINIONS**
An occasional series.

*Eli Ginzberg is director of the Eisenhower Center for the Conservation of Human Resources at Columbia University.*

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

## In America

BOB HERBERT

# The Soap Opera Machine

The national soap opera apparatus has shifted (temporarily) from the left coast to the right because the story of a woman who would drown her own babies is too colossally exciting to pass up, even in the era of O. J.

Nobody admits it's exciting, of course. Nobody would dare say it was entertaining. But when Phil Donahue and Oprah Winfrey decide to set up shop in Strom Thurmond country, you know there's something titillating going on. Sex, lies and infanticide in Union, S.C.

The outhouse school of journalism is on a roll. From Joey to Tonya to O. J. to Susan Smith, the goal too often is to exploit, not inform. Every time I see photos of Michael and Alexander Smith beneath giant headlines that gleefully scream "Killer Mom" or "Monster Mom," I feel like showering.

There are ways to cover even the ugliest of stories, ways to tell readers or viewers what is true and interesting and significant. A recent example comes from The Boston Globe.

Back in 1988 the city of Boston began slowly integrating public housing developments in South Boston, an isolated, nearly all-white working-class community. To attempt integration of any kind in South Boston is like playing with matches near a gasoline depot. In the mid-1970's, during the convulsions over school busing, the few African-American families already in South Boston developments had to be moved out for their own safety.

The renewed attempt at integration was going relatively smoothly until this year, when white residents began angrily complaining that

## How one paper dealt with incendiary news intelligently.

blacks were bringing crime into the neighborhood. About 700 whites held a raucous meeting in September that was marked by nasty racial epithets and myriad variations on the tired theme that blacks are responsible for all evil.

"It was a very explosive situation," said Sean Murphy, an assistant city editor at The Globe. "People were emotional, screaming and hollering, chanting. It was almost frightening. It got very prominent coverage, especially on television."

In that atmosphere, the editors at The Globe made a simple but remarkably important decision. "We felt the facts needed to be checked," said Mr. Murphy. "Our city editor, Teresa Hanafin, said, 'What is the real situation down there? Let's find out if the white leaders are correct when they say blacks are responsible for increased crime and violence.' "

The paper spent a month studying court records. Even as the study was being conducted, a crowd of 300 South Boston whites held an anti-black protest march. Some of the marchers waved signs that said: "First our schools, now our housing: What's next?"

Boston City Council President James Kelly, a racial agitator who headed the incendiary September meeting, was quoted as saying: "If the minorities who came into this community in the last five years would have been well behaved, nobody would bother them. That hasn't been the case. People feel very intimidated by these black males in hooded sweatshirts."

On Oct. 30, in a story written by Indira A. R. Lakshmanan, The Globe reported the findings of its study. Since 1988, when blacks began moving in, serious crime in South Boston has *fallen* by 18 percent. A study of arrests made in the summer of 1994 showed that blacks and whites were arrested for serious crimes at almost the same rate: blacks at a rate of 18 per 1,000 families; whites at a rate of 20 per 1,000. Whites in South Boston were eight times more likely to be victimized by a white person than by an African-American or a Latino.

The paper submitted its finding to a number of experts, including James Alan Fox, dean of Northeastern University's College of Criminal Justice. Mr. Fox noted that blacks across the country do commit crimes at a higher rate than whites. But that, he said, is a result of socio-economic factors. When blacks and whites of similar incomes from the same neighborhood are compared, as in South Boston, "the discrepancy at which whites and blacks commit crime disappears."

The Boston Globe study didn't draw the attention of the national soap opera apparatus. Not enough juice. But it was a pretty dandy piece of journalism for those of us who still like that sort of thing. □

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

## Public & Private

ANNA QUINDLEN

# Polls, Not Passion

A funny thing happened on the way to the midterm elections. Abortion rights, the stepchild issue of campaigns past, became a stepping stone to elected office. While once candidates wanted the whole subject to simply go away, in 1994 it was a linchpin of both gubernatorial and Congressional campaigns, for those who had previously soft-pedaled the incendiary issue — and those who had once shown little or no support for legal abortion at all.

As recently as 10 years ago, recalls Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, candidates eschewed the league's endorsement or asked it to keep its support low-key. "The change this year was very noticeable," she said. "We had people upset that I couldn't come and campaign for them."

"They understand that the majority of voters are pro-choice," said Mary Dent Crisp, chair of the Republican Coalition for Choice and a former co-chair of the Republican National Committee. "They've been advised by their handlers that that is the way to go."

## For choice? or for expediency?

If that sounds like a depressingly utilitarian way to view one of the great moral issues of our times, that's because it sometimes is. While abortion-rights activists have found cheering the willingness by so many to openly support legal abortion, they're also suspicious of the sincerity of some of that support. Ms. Michelman traveled around the country with a list of so-called Great Pretenders, pro-choice wannabes with more than a suggestion of political expediency about them.

In New York State George Pataki went out of his way to position himself as pro-choice during the gubernatorial race. Yet his voting record in the State Legislature had garnered a 100 percent rating from the Christian Coalition and led a state organization opposed to legal abortion to conclude that Mr. Pataki had "a pro-life voting record."

In Massachusetts Mitt Romney insisted that he had favored legal abortion for more than two decades. Yet one woman, in an agonized first-person essay in a Mormon women's newspaper, described how her bishop, whom she did not name, had visited her in the hospital in 1982 as she awaited a therapeutic abortion and tried to persuade her not to go ahead, although doctors had told her the pregnancy, her sixth, could endanger her life. "I got judgment, criticism, prejudicial advice and rejection," she wrote of the encounter. Friends of the woman say that that bishop was Mr. Romney.

Even Jeb Bush, who opposes legal abortion, seemed to want to have it a bit both ways when he debated Lawton Chiles during the Florida gubernatorial race. While he described himself as "pro-life," supporting abortion only in cases of rape, incest and a threat to the life of the mother, he added: "I also believe that it's not going to change. The Supreme Court has ruled emphatically."

The most forthright public stand on abortion rights during this midterm election period came, tellingly, from a politician who wasn't running. Christine Todd Whitman, the Governor of New Jersey, jumped into the debate by decrying the anti-abortion plank in the Republican Party platform. While various and sundry Republicans proclaimed themselves pro-choice during state races, the alliance of the party with the religious right has moderates fearful that in 1996 opposition to legal abortion will once again be the official party stance.

Governor Whitman opined that the anti-abortion plank should come out of the platform, that it was not only bad for the Republican Party but wrong on principle. She did not whiffle or waffle, put her position off on the Supreme Court or wax politic about waiting periods.

"I don't believe this is a political issue," she said on the television talk show "Equal Time" when she was challenged by a caller. "It's a very personal decision, to be made by a woman and her physician, and that's where the decision ought to lie."

At no time has that been clearer than in the last several months, when pretenders have embraced this most personal of decisions for the sake of political gain. For those on both sides who care passionately about this issue, who consider it a matter of conscience and liberty, it is deeply dispiriting to see it played as a trump card by those who find their ethical compass in focus groups and poll results. □

# Guatemala: Change the Message

For 40 years Guatemala has endured a civil war that, like many Central American conflicts, has been part cold-war proxy battle, part genuine social revolution, marked by disappearances, extrajudicial killings, torture, secret prisons and impunity for hideous human rights abuses. As in other such conflicts, the United States' intelligence services have played a highly questionable role.

No one knows how many innocent Guatemalans have been killed in this bloody conflict. But now U.S. attention is focused on one of its victims, a guerrilla who married an articulate American lawyer. Jennifer Harbury is determined to force the Guatemalan military to produce her husband, dead or alive.

Ms. Harbury married the guerrilla leader, Efraín Bámaca Velásquez, in 1991. In 1992 the Guatemalan Army reported that he had shot himself rather than be taken prisoner. Later, two people claimed to have seen him alive. The army offered to exhume his body; the corpse they produced was not his.

On Oct. 11, Ms. Harbury began a hunger strike in Guatemala City, saying she would remain on a liquid diet until the army produced her husband. The army again offered to produce his body, then postponed the exhumation.

Ms. Harbury is doing what most Guatemalans cannot do: defying the military and challenging the Government to produce the man they say is dead.

In this endeavor she deserves the public support of the U.S. Ambassador, Marilyn Macaffe, who has been shamefully silent. The State Department, for its part, has been frozen in place for fear of putting President Ramiro de León Carpio, a former human rights prosecutor, on the spot with the army. Like civilian presidents before him, he has limited power over a brutal and entrenched military.

In her last meeting with the Guatemalan Defense Minister, Ms. Harbury says she was told her husband was hiding out or was on a secret mission he had not told his wife about. Now the Guatemalan Government has offered another exhumation of another body they say is her husband's. It has announced a special investigation, about which Ms. Harbury is understandably skeptical.

Richard Nuccio, a State Department official who talked to Guatemalan officials about the case in October, believed their version of events over Ms. Harbury's. The State Department needs to change its attitude toward this case. The Guatemalan Defense Ministry represents a brutal military culture that is trying to cover its tracks in the hope that the Harbury embarrassment will fade away. Ms. Harbury is clearly the more credible actor here and deserves better from her own Government.

Most victims of the Guatemalan military — mainly poor Indians — have been innocent actors in a genocidal war that has been encouraged or tolerated by the Central Intelligence Agency. The agency's Congressional monitors must demand that the C.I.A. send different signals to Guatemala's lawless military commanders.

Ms. Harbury's brave stand sheds light on a military culture that has made life miserable for ordinary Guatemalans. Unfortunately, any change is likely to take a long time. As peace becomes the norm throughout Central America, Guatemala remains a deadly exception.

# Judges Err on Whitewater

The behavior of Judge David Sentelle, which put a cloud over the appointment of a new independent prosecutor in the Whitewater case during August, was bad in itself. But the justification for that behavior now offered up by Chief Judge Harry Edwards of the U.S. Court of Appeals is equally appalling.

Judge Sentelle headed a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals that appointed Kenneth Starr, a former judge and U.S. Solicitor General, as independent counsel last summer, replacing Robert Fiske. The court, which makes the selection under the independent counsel law, decided that because Mr. Fiske had been recommended by the Clinton Administration's Justice Department, he should be removed to avoid any possible appearance of partiality to President Clinton in the inquiry into Arkansas land dealings.

But while the court panel strove diligently to guard the independent counsel's appearance of propriety, it was indulging in its own impropriety. Judge Sentelle had lunch in the Senate dining room with Senator Lauch Faircloth, an outspoken Republican critic of Mr. Fiske's investigation, and his North Carolina colleague Jesse Helms.

Three citizens complained to the court that this looked like improper political influence on the judiciary. Now Chief Judge Edwards has delivered the judiciary's rude answer: Those citizens are "naïve" to expect judges to behave non-politically in such circumstances.

Judge Sentelle has said he did not discuss Whitewater with either Senator "to the best of my recollection" — an odd failure of memory. But even if he did discuss Whitewater, Chief Judge Edwards declared last week, there was nothing improper. Judge Sentelle, when performing his assignment to pick an independent counsel, was free to indulge in politics without obeying the rules that govern judges in court cases, said Judge Edwards.

According to Judge Edwards, the citizen complainants have a "quite far-fetched" view of the appointment process "as a cloistered, apolitical judicial proceeding." He went further: "There may be some members of society who would question the actions of the accused judge, for they have a pristine (albeit arguably naïve) view of the appointment process. But this is irrelevant."

Without admitting to naïveté, we count ourselves among the citizens who expect better from the Federal judiciary. The complainants need no condescending lectures in constitutional law from a judge who clearly understands the spirit of this statute less well than they do. They do need assurances that the judges administering the independent counsel law will behave in ways that justify the public's confidence. That assurance is not available from either Judge Sentelle or Judge Edwards.

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994*

# Less Sex, or More Contraception?

It is encouraging that, according to the National Center for Health Statistics, the rate of births to girls aged 15 to 17 has declined by two percentage points, the first drop since 1986. But it is not yet cause for celebration, not when the pregnancy rate among American teen-agers remains the highest of the world's industrialized countries.

Although the Family Research Council, a conservative organization, attributes the drop to "a growing movement toward abstinence among high schoolers today," others credit a more faithful use of contraceptives in response to the AIDS epidemic. They note that the proportion of teen-agers who report having had sexual intercourse is still increasing, hardly evidence of abstinence. At least 56 percent of American girls and 73 percent of American boys have had intercourse before their 18th birthday. In 1990, the overall rate for 15-to-17-year-olds was 41 percent.

Whatever the reason for the decline in pregnancies, youngsters need to be counseled about both abstinence and contraceptives. Some teen-agers will respond to the first message; others to the second. Above all, teen-agers should be given good reasons to delay parenthood. Neither appeals to join the so-called "virgin movement" nor any amount of free condoms — useful in preventing pregnancies, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases — will deter sexual fecklessness if adolescents cannot see a rationale for responsibility.

# Rebuilding City Schools

The system of repairing New York City schools is badly mismanaged and inadequate to the task. That is the overwhelming conclusion of a special commission appointed by Schools Chancellor Ramon Cortines to recommend ways to overhaul the Board of Education's maintenance operation. The two most important needs are more innovation and more money. The prospects for significant amounts of new money are poor. But better management would make a stronger case for cost-effective new funding. As the commission points out, deferring maintenance now means more taxpayer dollars for capital improvements later on.

The first order of business is to shake up the board's Division of School Facilities, which, together with school custodians, has responsibility for maintaining and repairing the city's more than 1,000 school buildings. The division calculates that only 29 of the buildings are problem-free, with an estimated backlog of maintenance requests that will cost $227 million.

In June Chancellor Cortines proposed streamlining the division, cutting about 300 technical and administrative positions. He also proposed to make it more responsive by shifting some decision-making to the borough level. The commission would go even further. It would not only decentralize but privatize some repair operations. Local boards would be given more authority to solve their own needs. At the same time, the division would help set overall standards while improving its own capacity to monitor the work.

The intended result is more flexible maintenance arrangements. Selected local boards would, for example, be allowed to hire management companies that handle commercial properties to do maintenance and repairs. Custodians in those districts would step aside and fill vacancies elsewhere. Districts would have to earn the right to participate in this experiment by having a record free of fiscal improprieties or a history of patronage.

More flexible arrangements are essential. But ultimately, what is most essential is money. The commission notes that the system does not spend enough now on cleaning and maintenance. If the Board of Education proves that it can be more efficient, then the city and state should help find funds to keep schools from crumbling.

*THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994*

# A Manners Lesson for the Library

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

It falls to the Library of Congress to protect copyrights, not infringe on them. That's why some folks think a new magazine called Civilization, which is licensed by the Library, has a thing or two to learn about etiquette.

Seems there's a column in the magazine's first issue by "Ms. Manners." But **Judith Martin**, better known as "Miss Manners," knew nothing about it.

The Library of Congress, the writer's friend, protector of copyright and intellectual property? Stepping on a trademark?

Miss Manners was not pleased. Her lawyers tell her it is not only trademark infringement but a plagiarism of the format and fraud in passing it off as something she'd done. The magazine column has Ms. Manners responding to inquiries from a "Gentle Reader," much as Martin does. (The magazine's "Reader" wants to know about etiquette during China's Han dynasty.)

No matter that the magazine calls it "Ms. Manners," not Miss, Martin says. Some papers run her column as "Ms. Manners." And even "Mr. Manners," she says, would violate copyright law. "On the [magazine's] masthead it says everything is copyrighted by the Library of Congress," she says. "Who's going to protect us if not the Library of Congress?"

Civilization editor **Stephen G. Smith**, who got a letter from Martin's agent last week about this, says, hey, time to chill out.

"We're just having a little fun here," Smith said. "Parody is the sincerest form of flattery," he notes, and "this is parody of the mildest and most respectful kind." One of the new magazine's ideas is "to take pop features from newspapers and magazines and give a lighthearted twist and use historical information" instead of present-day issues.

"Nonetheless, I plan to do the gentlemanly thing and abide by Mrs. Martin's wishes," he said. "I thought she was a writer who believed in good humor and free expression," Smith said, but her agent's letter says "she's a 'Class 16 trademark.' "

## Housing Opportunity

■ Four years ago, former investment banker **C. Austin Fitts** was out of work, fired from her job as federal housing commissioner and assistant secretary for housing at **Jack Kemp**'s troubled Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Fitts was supposed to repair many of HUD's faltering programs, including the Federal Housing Administration, which was responsible for millions of dollars in bad-loan losses in the Reagan days. She advocated, among other things, that the government sell off bad mortgages and foreclosed properties at bargain rates.

These notions did not sit well with the Kemp folks.

But they sound perfectly good to **Henry Cisneros**'s folks, who are dealing with about 2,200 troubled multifamily housing projects that HUD either owns or holds the mortgages on. They've brought in Hamilton Securities Group Inc., a real estate investment bank and broker-dealer here, to advise them on the sale of multifamily housing notes.

And guess who's working on this for Hamilton? Of course, C. Austin Fitts.

## Dueling Prosecution Statistics

■ Republican Sens. **Robert J. Dole** (Kan.) and **Orrin G. Hatch** (Utah) took the Clinton administration to task last week, saying there had been a 5 percent decline in new federal criminal prosecutions when comparing the last full fiscal year of the Bush administration with the first full fiscal year of the Clinton administration.

In a letter to Attorney General **Janet Reno**, the senators demanded an explanation, noting that, in addition to the 5 percent overall decline, prosecutions for robbery, assault, larceny and even drug dealing declined more than 9 percent.

Reno pooh-poohed the bean counting, saying, "As a general rule, I believe that 'counting cases' is not a sound measure of our success" in these areas.

"However," she continued, "as you have asked about such statistics, I am pleased to provide them to you."

She then brought out a different set of numbers, based on U.S. Sentencing Commission figures, that showed a 3,000-person increase in those sent to prison during that period, and an increase in the average length of time served by prisoners. Also, the number of those given long sentences—more than five years—was up 9 percent.

Department officials note too that one reason the number of prosecutions decreased was the decision to choose more complicated cases focusing on higher-ups in the criminal chain—rather than the more numerous small fries who are easier to catch and put away.

Also, after Congress lengthened the terms of some sentences, more defendants wanted trials, which limited the number of new cases brought.

## Moving On . . .

■ **Samuel M. Hoskinson**, former vice chairman of the National Intelligence Council, has moved on to the world of international consulting.

**Sarah Flanagan**, a former top aide to Sen. **Christopher J. Dodd** (D-Conn.) as staff director for the Labor and Human Resources subcommittee on children, family, drugs and alcoholism, is vice president for government relations at the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities.

**Philip S. Kaplan**, longtime foreign service officer who has been deputy director of the policy planning staff and was deputy chief of mission in Manila back when **Imelda Marcos** was losing her shoes, has retired to practice international law here.

## . . . and Moving Up

■ Veteran federal prosecutor **Mary C. Spearing**, who heads the Justice Department Criminal Division's general litigation and legal advice section, is taking over the fraud section, the largest in the division.

At the National Park Service, **Barbara "B.J." Griffin** will run Yosemite National Park, the first woman to do so in the park's 104-year history.

Griffin, 52, has worked for the Park Service for 20 years, most recently as director of the Mid-Atlantic region, which includes Gettysburg battlefield and Shenandoah National Park.

## Highway Safety Counsel

■ Los Angeles lawyer **Philip R. Recht**, a former Hill aide who was chief counsel for the California Clinton presidential campaign, is now chief counsel of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

**FINAL**

# Republicans Capture the Senate, Close In on Controlling the House

## Republican Party Gains Nine New Governorships

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer A1

Republicans rode a tidal wave of voter discontent to capture control of the Senate last night and threaten a 40-year Democratic dynasty in the House in a historic election message of repudiation to President Clinton and his party.

The Republicans picked up eight Senate seats to assure their first majority there since 1986 and were moving toward winning enough seats to hold a majority in the House, although the votes in many of those races were still being counted early this morning.

The tide also hit the contests for governor as Republicans gained nine new governorships and toppled two Democratic icons, New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo and Texas Gov. Ann Richards, who lost to George W. Bush, the eldest son of former president George Bush. Republican governors will preside over seven of the eight most populous states.

House Democratic incumbents fell throughout the night, among them former House Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.), once one of the most powerful legislators in Washington who was indicted last spring on ethics charges.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) struggled to avoid being the first speaker since 1862 to be defeated for reelection.

But in an otherwise gloomy night for the Democrats, two embattled Senate incumbents, Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.) and Charles S. Robb (Va.) bucked the trends and won reelection, despite significant Republican challenges.

Last night's results signaled voters' frustration with Washington and their desire to shake up the status quo in a city where Democrats have controlled both chambers of Congress for most of the postwar era.

But the huge Republican gains also marked a clear shift to the right in voter attitudes, as attacks on big government and taxes and calls for a return to family values resonated for GOP candidates in races at all levels.

The results mean a dramatic change for Clinton, just two years after his campaign for change drove Bush from the White House. The Republican gains will force a change in Clinton's legislative agenda and his governing style over the next two years.

The president spent the night in the White House watching the returns but issued no statement as Democratic losses continued to mount. But White House Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta said Clinton was "obviously disappointed" by the results and administration officials said they were prepared to cooperate with Republicans the next two years.

Republicans too said they were willing to work with Clinton and the White House, but Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour said Democrats must accept the voters' decision.

"We have an obligation now to abide by the verdict of the people," Barbour said, "to adhere to the principles we ran on and to fulfill the promises we made."

Senate Minority Leader Robert C. Dole (R-Kan.) told CBS News that the results showed the public's desire to change the way Congress works and to alter Clinton's agenda.

"We intend to work with the president," Dole said. "We only have one president and that's President Clinton and we are going to do the best we can."

In Georgia, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, who would ascend to the speakership if Republicans captured control of the House, proclaimed the results of the midterm election "the most significant election in a generation" even before the polls had closed in many states.

But the confrontational Gingrich also tried to display a more temperate style last night, even suggesting that he would defer to Dole as the party's senior leader.

Democratic National Committee Chairman David Wilhelm acknowledged that voters were "frustrated with the pace of change" in Washington, but he insisted that in electing many new Republicans, the American people "ironically . . . have voted tonight for the very party that has frustrated the pace of change."

But Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.), chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, said the voting was a clear rebuke to the party in control of the White House and Congress.

"This isn't an anti-incumbent vote," he said. "It's an anti-Democratic vote."

Republicans posted their Senate gains by defeating two incumbents, Sen. Jim Sasser (Tenn.) and Harris Wofford (Pa.) and capturing six seats of retiring Democratic incumbents: Maine, Ohio, Michigan, Arizona, Oklahoma and the Tennessee seat once held by Vice President Gore.

In Minnesota, freshman Rep. Rod Grams (R) appeared to have defeated Democrat Ann Wynia for the seat of retiring Sen. David Durenberger (R).

In the California Senate race where money, immigration and negativism have been the issues, Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D) and freshman Rep. Michael Huffington (R) were in a close race.

Besides Kennedy and Robb, Democrats held Senate seats in Connecticut, Hawaii, Maryland, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Republicans held seats in Delaware, Florida, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington and Wyoming.

In governor's races, Republicans gained a majority for the first time since 1970. The one major state still in Democratic hands is Florida, where Gov. Lawton Chiles (D) battled back from a deficit two weeks ago to defeat Republican Jeb Bush, another son of the former president.

Republicans picked up governorships in Connecticut, Kansas, New Mexico, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas and Wyoming.

California Gov. Pete Wilson, once the most endangered Republican governor in the country, won his reelection contest against state Treasurer Kathleen Brown (D), who had hoped to follow her father and brother into the governor's mansion there.

While Democratic governors struggled, a host of Republican governors won reelection by landslides, including William F. Weld of Massachusetts, George V. Voinovich of Ohio, Jim Edgar of Illinois, Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin, John Engler of Michigan, Arne Carlson of Minnesota and Steve Merrill of New Hampshire.

In House races, Democratic incumbents who lost included Reps. Dan Glickman (Kan.), Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky (Pa.), David E. Price (N.C.), Dick Swett (N.H.), Bill Sarpalius (Tex.), Eric Fingerhut (Ohio) and Leslie L. Byrne (Va.).

Overall, voters split their votes almost evenly between Democrats and Republicans in House races, according to exit polls by The Washington Post and other news organizations. But there was a substantial gender gap. Women voted heavily for Democrats while men strongly supported Republicans.

Just over a quarter said their House votes reflected support for Clinton while about one third said they were voting against him. The rest said Clinton was not a factor.

Crime was by far the dominant issue in yesterday's elections, according to the exit polls, and those who cited it divided their votes evenly among Democrats and Republicans.

Democrats did much better among those voters who said health care and the economy most affected their votes, while Republicans scored best among those who said family values and taxes were important.

Nearly a third of all voters said a candidate's experience was crucial to their vote, and Democrats won them. But among those who said a candidate's character was important, Republicans won. Republicans won among those who said a candidate's stand on national issues were important to them.

About one in six voters said the "time for a change" theme most affected their vote, according to the exit polls, and they went heavily for Republicans. Roughly one-fourth of voters said they wanted new faces in office, and they overwhelmingly supported Republican House candidates. All 435 House seats were at stake yesterday, along with 35 Senate seats. There were also governor's races in 36 states.

Democrats began the day with a 56 to 44 majority in the Senate and a 256 to 178 majority (plus one independent) in the House. Democrats also held the edge in governorships with 29 to the Republicans' 20 (plus one held by an independent).

Republicans began the fall campaign with extraordinarily bright prospects.

As of Labor Day, Clinton's approval ratings stood around 40 percent nationally and were even lower in many battleground states, particularly those in the South and Rocky Mountain West.

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# Robb Surges to Victory Over North; Glendening, Sauerbrey in Tight Race

2/2

Clinton's health care plan, launched in 1993 with great expectations, died in Congress and never came to a vote on either the House or Senate floor. Opponents convinced the public that the president's prescription involved too much government and too much risk. The defeat represented a major embarrassment for the administration.

Clinton also suffered from perceptions of weakness and vacillation on foreign policy.

The Democrats found themselves in trouble despite the fact that the national economy continued to improve and the budget deficit was substantially below projections. Pollsters said it was rare for a president's approval rating to be so sharply at odds with the performance of the economy.

Democrats also were on the defensive for reasons that had nothing to do with Clinton.

The redistricting that followed the 1990 census resulted in new boundaries that were far less favorable to Democrats. Those changes alone threatened up to a dozen Democratic seats, Democratic campaign officials said. Democrats also were harder hit by retirements than were Republicans. In the Senate, six of the nine retirees are Democrats. In the House, 31 of the 52 seats where no incumbent was running are Democratic, with half of them in southern or border states.

Politically, September belonged to the Republicans. Buoyed by rising poll numbers, they blocked a number of bills, including lobby reform and campaign finance reform, in the final weeks of the 103rd Congress.

Democrats were demoralized. Many incumbents ran away from Clinton in their campaigns and made clear they did not want him to appear with them in their districts. Democratic Party leaders tried to boost the morale of their candidates, to little avail.

Throughout the month, Republican congressional leaders attempted to take advantage of their prospects by lobbying political action committees to shift more money into races where Republican challengers had a chance to defeat Democratic incumbents.

Gingrich privately told a group of lobbyists that Republican control of the House effectively would shut down the last two years of the Clinton administration and he talked about launching a series of ethics investigations against the administration.

Gingrich and others in the Republican leadership also began planning for a transition to power.

On Sept. 27, more than 300 House Republicans and Republican candidates held a ceremony on the steps of the Capitol to sign a "Contract With America." The contract pledged that Republicans, if they took control of the House in January, would bring to a floor vote 10 bills, including a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution and term limits.

More than anything, the Republican contract provided energy to the Democrats. After floundering for most of the year in search of a strategy for the campaigns, Democrats pounced on the contract. They said the proposed tax cuts and increases in defense spending in the contract would mean the Republicans would be forced to make drastic cuts in programs like Social Security to fulfill their pledge to balance the budget.

## VIRGINIA

# Senator Foils Challenger's Rural Strategy

By Kent Jenkins Jr.
and Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writers

U.S. Sen. Charles S. Robb of Virginia overcame his own scandal-scarred past and a determined, $20 million challenge from Republican Oliver L. North yesterday to win a second term, trouncing North in urban Virginia and scuttling his plan to dominate rural areas.

Robb confounded many preelection predictions and prevailed in what was arguably the country's most closely watched Senate race—despite a Republican tidal wave that appeared to sweep North's party into control of Congress. Robb bucked the national trend by focusing the final days of the race squarely on North, whose take-no-prisoners conservative rhetoric and role as architect of the Iran-contra scandal appeared to alienate many Virginia voters.

North tried to turn the election into a referendum on President Clinton, who is unpopular in Virginia, and portrayed Robb as a tool of the White House. Exit polls show that North's strategy appeared to fail and that voters feared him more than the president; a survey found half of those who opposed Clinton voted for Robb anyway.

With 99 percent of the precincts reporting in the Senate race, Robb had 46 percent of the vote to North's 43 percent. Independent J. Marshall Coleman, a former state attorney general who bolted the Republican Party to enter the race, trailed badly with only 11 percent of the vote. Robb attacked Coleman in the campaign's waning days because he feared Coleman would pull votes away from him, but that appeared not to happen.

In Northern Virginia's other congressional races, Republican Thomas M. Davis III defeated one-term Democratic Rep. Leslie L. Byrne in their 11th District race, and 8th District Democratic Rep. James P. Moran Jr. easily beat Republican Kyle M. McSlarrow. In the 10th District, Republican Rep. Frank R. Wolf claimed reelection early over two independent candidates.

Virginia voters also approved three state constitutional amendments by comfortable margins.

One proposal would retroactively allow victims of child molestation to take years longer to file lawsuits against their attackers.

The second amendment would curtail the powers of the governor to amend and veto bills, and the third would allow voter registration by mail and eliminate the purging of residents who haven't voted in four years.

A jubilant Robb—introduced as "the George Foreman of American politics"—claimed victory at a Tysons Corner hotel last night about 10 p.m. With his wife, Lynda, beside him, he shouted, "How sweet it is!" The delirious throng responded in kind. Husbands and wives hugged each other; friends exchanged high-fives.

In between chants of "six more years!" Robb thanked the groups that he said were were key to his victory, including African Americans, churchgoers and "honorary Democrats," the last in recognition of the Republicans and independents who backed him. "I am now pleased to accept your mandate," he added.

As Robb spoke, a giant TV in one corner of the room showed North conceding from Richmond. During his 15-minute speech, the defeated first-time candidate praised his supporters for their loyalty and steadfastness and told them that they had "forever altered the political landscape. You have successfully redefined political debate throughout the land. Henceforth, every race will be about the role of government in our lives."

North, who finally abandoned his trademark blue plaid shirt for a suit and tie, stood with his wife, Betsy, their children and Republican Gov. George Allen on stage at the Richmond convention center, against a backdrop of a huge American flag. The cavernous convention hall never had anywhere near the 5,000 loyalists that North officials had expected, and because the candidate's hopes dissipated so early in the evening, the party there never got going.

The epic Robb-North confrontation played to an international audience for months—the candidates collectively spent more than $25 million, at least $12 for each vote cast—and yesterday it drew intense interest among Virginia voters. Reports from around the state indicated heavy turnout almost everywhere, with participation far exceeding the customary level for a nonpresidential election.

Late returns indicated that total turnout would reach 2 million, about two-thirds of the state's 3 million registered voters. In some precincts, voters were standing in line in the pre-dawn darkness when the polls opened at 6 a.m. Robb said in an interview last night that "certainly, heavy voter turnout worked in our favor."

The incumbent's victory was sparked by a surge of support in the race's waning days after many had all but given him up for dead. North outspent Robb by almost a 4 to 1 ratio, an advantage that enabled North to dictate the tone of the campaign throughout the summer and early fall. Robb also was hampered early by a passive and halting style that had some of his own supporters privately questioning whether he truly wanted to win.

North, by contrast, had a brilliant summer but stumbled in the autumn chill. In October, he often found himself on the defensive, explaining a string of damaging misstatements and factual errors. He also was pummeled by a series of prominent Republicans who publicly described him as untrustworthy and unfit for high office.

North's strategy for winning was to hold down Robb's margin of victory in the state's urban areas and to roll up big margins in the countryside. Yesterday's returns show he failed to do both.

Robb amassed an 80,000-vote plurality in Northern Virginia, which more than offset the narrow lead North compiled in the rest of the state. The result echoed the victory won by Robb's fellow Democrat and sometime rival L. Douglas Wilder when he became the nation's first African American governor in 1989.

Robb also carried the state's second most populous metropolitan area, around Norfolk, and the Piedmont area around Charlottesville. And even in the state's rural areas, he performed better than North strategists had expected.

Exit polling revealed that women made the difference. Robb and North got equal backing from men, but women favored Robb by nine percentage points over North. Although abortion was not widely debated during the campaign, the difference between Robb and North on that litmus-test issue is stark: Robb supports abortion rights and North opposes them.

Coleman didn't come close to winning, but he took more votes from North than Robb, according to exit interviews. Only 14 percent of Coleman voters identified themselves as Democrats, compared with 44 percent who said they were Republicans and 38 percent independents. That result, which was at variance with preelection surveys, may have been affected by Robb's plea in the final days of the campaign that a vote for Coleman was a vote for North.

Coleman conceded defeat in a brief appearance at his headquarters in Tysons Corner, accompanied by his greatest political benefactor, Republican U.S. Sen. John W. Warner. Warner defied his own party and incurred the wrath of many GOP activists by supporting Coleman.

"The fact that we lost doesn't diminish our cause," Coleman said during a perfunctory, five-minute appearance. "We had a crusade, not so much for Marshall Coleman, as for principle and integrity and honor and public service." Warner said only that "Chuck Robb won fair and square tonight."

Unlike Republican candidates in many other states, North's attempt to make the election a referendum on the Clinton administration apparently didn't resonate with Virginians. Nearly half of the voters interviewed as they left the polls said their vote had nothing to do with their feelings about the president.

Both Robb and North spent millions trying to disparage the other's character, but voters appeared to be more influenced by ideology. In exit interviews, about 90 percent of North voters said Robb was too liberal, and nearly as many Robb voters found North too conservative.

Robb's admitted marital infidelity was a lesser, but important, factor with North voters, while Robb's experience as senator, governor and lieutenant governor was nearly as critical as his ideology to his backers.

Robb got help not only from Coleman's independent bid but from fellow Democrat Wilder, who ran his own short-lived Senate campaign this summer. Wilder, the senator's longtime arch-enemy, endorsed Robb last month in a highly publicized reconciliation. After that, Robb and Wilder, the nation's first black elected governor, campaigned together in black churches throughout the state, and last night, Wilder was quick to claim at least partial credit for Robb's success.

Wilder said a strong African American turnout was "absolutely important, and [Robb] recognizes that, and most people recognize that." He said that Republicans only had themselves to blame for the strong black vote, referring to comments by state GOP party chairman Patrick McSweeney that campaigning in the African American community was not cost-effective for North.

"You just can't write any segment of that vote off," Wilder said. "I think Pat McSweeney, in so doing that, enraged a lot of people."

Political science professor Robert D. Holsworth of Virginia Commonwealth University said "the C factors—character, Clinton and crime" contributed to Robb's win.

"Robb made North's character the issue, and North didn't respond in kind," Holsworth said. "And trying to pin Clinton on Robb only gave him a slight advantage. Finally, Robb was able to call North a felon for his role in Iran-contra, and North made a strategic mistake by not retaliating by pointing out that three top Robb aides had been convicted of crimes."



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THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994
FINAL

# *Sharp Move to Right Suggests Democrats Misjudged 1992 Win*

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer A1

The center of power in American politics moved sharply rightward yesterday. The massive Republican gains in the state capitals and Congress sent a message to Washington that the Democrats in power had misjudged the mandate of the 1992 election and needed to be constrained.

The endorsement of a host of Republicans who had staked out economic and social policy positions at least as conservative as those Ronald Reagan advocated in the 1980s, was a dramatic rejection of President Clinton's legislative agenda and a threat to his reelection hopes. By reelecting Republican governors in California, Illinois, Michigan and Ohio and turning over state houses in New York, Pennsylvania and Texas, the voters gave the GOP an expanded mandate to govern by its own principles.

NEWS ANALYSIS

White House Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta said, "There's no question the voters are sending the same message they sent two years ago. . . . They don't like the way Washington does business . . . and they take it out on the party in power."

But to many observers, the message was potentially much larger: Clinton's plurality victory in 1992 could be only a temporary interruption of the Republican dominance that began in 1978, in the middle of the term of the last Democratic president, Jimmy Carter. The operative question now becomes whether Clinton and the battered Democratic survivors of yesterday's Republican onslaught can find some way to reverse the conservative tide in the next two years.

Landslide victories for many of the incumbent GOP governors and such moderate-conservatives as Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.) showed the popularity of pragmatic Republicanism. But most of the Republican challengers taking over Democratic Senate and House seats espoused a harder-edged conservatism. Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), whose controversial Republican "Contract With America" embodied those conservative planks, called the results "the most significant election in a generation."

Led by Clinton, Democrats had tried to make "the Republican contract" a club to use against the GOP. They said its promise of early votes on a balanced-budget amendment, several tax cuts and a stronger defense meant a return to what they called "the trickle-down economics" of the 1980s. But voters in Arizona, Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma and Tennessee elected Republican senators to previously Democratic seats—the winners, in most cases, espousing many of those proposals.

The same pattern was developing in House contests, where the overwhelming majority of successful Republicans mixed calls for term limits, tax cuts and stringent welfare reform in a Reaganesque ideological blend.

Exit polls indicated that the push to the right was fueled both by the makeup of the electorate and by the issues that were uppermost on voters' minds. Those identifying themselves as born-again or Evangelical Christians accounted for more than one-quarter of the voters and went 3 to 2 for the GOP. Supporters of the National Rifle Association—which mounted a massive effort to punish Democrats who supported the Brady handgun law and the crime bill's ban on assault weapons—were even more numerous and more Republican.

Many of the prospects Democrats had seen with Clinton's plurality victory in 1992 went by the boards this year. They had hoped he could move beyond the traditional base of blacks, senior citizens and union members and capture a wider constituency. While all of those groups voted Democratic this year, white males voted Republican by a 3 to 2 ratio and middle-class Americans gave the GOP a slight edge.

Voters who supported Clinton and former president George Bush in 1992 stayed loyal to their parties, but exit polls indicated that 65 percent of Ross Perot's voters went Republican this year. That constituency has been described by strategists in both parties as the key to their hopes of building a stable ruling coalition. Republican pollster Richard Wirthlin said that their allegiance to the Republicans in 1994 raised his hopes that the "rolling realignment" which began with Reagan's election to the presidency in 1980 might be back on course after the setback Clinton administered in 1992.

The exit polls suggested that ideology was more of a force in the voters' decisions than the anti-incumbency that echoed so loudly on the talk-shows for the last year.

By almost a 3 to 1 ratio, those interviewed after voting said it was more important to have experienced people in office than to put new people in their seats. By a 5 to 3 ratio, they said they wanted the same party to control the White House and Congress rather than have divided government.

But the decisive factor was the debate about the competence of government—reflecting Reagan's famous dictum that "government is not the answer to our problems; government is the problem." Half of yesterday's voters expressed some confidence in government's ability to deal with the country's major problems, and among them, Democrats prevailed 3 to 2. The Democratic margin was even larger among the 12 percent who profess a great deal of confidence. But 35 percent of the voters took Reagan's side of the argument and among them, Republicans won 3 to 1—enough to tip the balance of many races.

In attacking the Republican contract as "recycled Reaganism," the Democrats invited that debate, and now they will face it again—under much altered circumstances—in Washington. Clinton will have to decide soon whether to shrink his legislative agenda to match his much-reduced corps of congressional supporters or challenge the emboldened Republicans. Looking ahead to 1996, he will have to figure out how to make the case for activist government against a Republican nominee who will likely take his cues from this midterm conservative movement.

While the main focus was on the Senate and House contests, many Republican strategists were waiting for the state legislative returns to trickle in, believing that they would tell how far the realignment had gone and how strong a GOP base was being laid for 1996 and beyond.

"Governors get a chance to govern," Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour said. "They are the ones who can set the direction for our party."

Wisconsin Gov. Tommy G. Thompson (R), one of several Midwest Republican governors who won easy reelection victories that would provide down-ballot coattails, said in an interview that "people two years ago were hoping that Bill Clinton and the New Democrats would provide the change he talked about. But when they saw what happened in Washington, they said, 'That is not what we meant.' What they saw was a lot of herky-jerky politics, not going in one direction or another."

A strikingly similar analysis came from Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, a Democrat who won a landslide second-term victory in Connecticut. He attributed his support to his "willingness to be open to new ideas. I am open to school-choice experiments," he said. "That and my support for NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement] almost cost me endorsement from labor, but eventually they came along.

"I am a Democrat and I don't hide from it," Lieberman said. "I voted with the president on the budget and on the crime bill. But during the Bush administration, I was one of six Democrats who supported his efforts to reduce capital-gains taxes. And I supported him on the Gulf War. The defining moment with Clinton came when I refused to support his health care bill and . . . instead went with the 'mainstream group' trying to frame an alternative. I think people want a more centrist, more independent kind of person in government."

Lieberman was one of many moderate Democrats suggesting that the message to Clinton from the voters is "to govern from the center . . . be aggressively bipartisan."

While Democrats were trying to absorb the lessons of the setback the voters handed them, some Republicans were looking ahead to the responsibilities—and divisions—they faced.

"I think this will be a time of peril for the Republicans," said Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), a moderate who is retiring this year and being replaced by the much more conservative former governor John Ashcroft (R). "Identification with the political right gets a party only so far," he said. "The Democrats have veered to the left and the Republicans have veered to the right, so the middle is pretty uncontested. That is dangerous to both parties."

Other Republicans lost little time in staking out ground for future intra-party battles. Gary Bauer, the former Reagan White House domestic policy adviser and advocate on family issues, faulted Republicans—including party chairman Barbour—who he said "won't acknowledge that values questions were at the center of this election and want to pretend that it was all taxes and economics. If they try to steer the 1996 platform away from the social issues, they will prove again we are the stupid party."

"The battle for the soul of the Democratic Party is far from over," said Al From, president of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council. "But the battle in the Republican Party is just beginning."

**THE SENATE**




1 Undecided

■ *Senate results*, **Page A24.**

**THE HOUSE**




■ *House results*, **Page A26.**

**GOVERNORS**

**Sweeping Changes**

- Republicans picked up 10 governorships, including seven of the eight largest states.
- **NEW YORK:** George Pataki (R) defeats Mario Cuomo (D).
- **TEXAS:** George W. Bush (R) beats Ann Richards (D).
- **FLORIDA:** Lawton Chiles (D) wins.
- *Stories and nationwide results*, **Pages A21, A27.**

# Clinton May Try to Go Solo

## *President Is Poised to Talk Bipartisanship But Pursue Independent Executive Action*

By Ann Devroy and Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writers

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FINAL

Resigned to seeing his domestic agenda overwhelmed by a conservative Republican one, President Clinton is prepared to talk bipartisanship even as he and his aides now try to construct a presidency defined by executive action, foreign policy tours and a search for "bold strokes" that he alone can make.

As Clinton barnstormed through the nation the last eight days, campaigning for what turned out to be mostly losing Democrats, a team of aides, known as the 472 Club after the room in which they held Saturday meetings, chewed over remaking the Clinton presidency. They considered a number of election scenarios, all of them bad.

"Think relaunch. Think relaunching this presidency," said one official involved in the discussions. Another called it "repositioning," making the case that the country wants Washington—not just Clinton and the Democrats—to change the way it does business.

A senior official said this week, "The first two years it was substantively necessary, but politically disastrous, to be lashed to Congress," a tie made necessary because of Clinton's ambitious domestic campaign promises. "With Republicans in effective, if not actual, control, we can't be lashed to Congress anymore. We will make the case that we put the economy on the road to long-term recovery and now we will work in making government more effective and work at other things."

The "other things" include a strong emphasis on foreign policy. Clinton leaves for the Far East on Friday; he is likely to visit Haiti before Christmas; he is considering a trip to Budapest in December; and will direct a summit of Latin American nations in December. He has at least five foreign trips on his schedule in 1995. Despite Democratic mockery of George Bush as the "anywhere but America" president, Clinton will have spent nine more days overseas his first two years than Bush did at midterm.

And although his aides have pledged a half dozen times the past two years that Clinton would go to the nation to talk about his beliefs and exert moral leadership, they say that this time he really means it. "The less you can do in Congress, the more the bully-pulpit side of the presidency means," said one official.

CLINTON, From A21

Said another, "Either he decides what animates his presidency and talks to the country about that, or he never recovers from this."

One official pointed to Ronald Reagan's firing of air traffic controllers early in his first term, and Richard M. Nixon's visit to China, as the kind of presidency-defining events that Clinton will be in search of as he surveys a grim new Republican landscape. "This will be a test on whether Clinton can define himself by who he is rather than what he does in Congress," said a Clinton aide.

In a rare move for a president prone to have a comment on everything, Clinton remained silent last night. But senior advisers gave a clue to what his message will be in a news conference set for this afternoon. White House Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta, senior adviser George Stephanopoulos and Tony Coelho, adviser to the Democratic Party and the White House, all appeared on television last night to say that the president is prepared to work with Republicans if they are prepared to work with him and to interpret the election as a call for a change in how Washington works.

Stephanopoulos made the case that some bipartisan agreements—on trade, education and national service—had been possible when Democrats were in total control of Congress and some bipartisanship should still be. All defined the election as a continuation of the 1992 call for change—even though it was primarily Democratic, not Republican, seats that changed hands yesterday—and none suggested that Clinton is prepared to state his direction has not been the right one.

Panetta said the message Clinton took from the elections was that voters want Washington reformed and on that basis, if on nothing else, the Republicans and Democrats might find some agreement. He said Clinton was unprepared to accept shifts in his economic policy, several officials noted that Clinton had a veto he would be prepared to use with a Republican Congress, as had George Bush with a Democratic Congress.

Another senior official said Clinton is prepared in his news conference to "reposition his presidency a little" based on yesterday's vote but said "we really are divided and uncertain about what to do." This official was fearful that the losses will mean "there is going to be a revolution in the Democratic Party" that will make life doubly difficult for Clinton.

Some Republicans doubt the president can disengage much from Congress. "It's certainly an option . . . but the fact of the matter is that it's hard not to deal with Congress," said Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.). Sheila Burke, chief of staff for Senate GOP leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.) who has worked on a transition plan for GOP control, said: "I think it would be a mistake. It prejudges there's no willingness by Republicans to govern, which is not true."

Dole has emphasized that Republicans will move immediately to extend a hand of cooperation. But he and others, particularly more conservative senators, have made clear their agenda is sharply at odds with Clinton's: a balanced-budget amendment, a pale version of Clinton's health care reform, a far more conservative version of his welfare reform and a redone crime bill that would eliminate some prevention measures—what Republicans call pork—and toughen penalties.

House GOP Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.) has outlined a revolutionary agenda by Washington standards and has made little pretense of working with the Clinton White House on anything but traditional GOP trade issues and some foreign policy matters. His speeches to lobbyists in the closing days of Congress outlined the House GOP's worst-case scenario, in which Republicans engage in a discharge-petition strategy—a procedural device that would allow them to circumvent Democratic leaders in moving onto the floor controversial legislation that would be difficult for Democrats to vote against. Whether Clinton likes it or not, one GOP official said last night, "he can't disengage from a Congress that sends him totally unacceptable legislation. He's got to fight."

Brookings Institution scholar Thomas Mann said this week that "it is a near certainty that Clinton will find engagement with Congress unproductive and politically counterproductive. I do think he will make an initial effort to find policies that do not coincide with ideological and partisan cleavages and when he finds little success there, will try to operate as much independently from Congress as he can."

Mann, like many Republicans, considers Clinton's slashing campaign rhetoric in recent weeks against the GOP an impediment to much cooperation—or to public belief in his desire for cooperation.

Moderate Republicans say there is some hope if Clinton is willing to pursue the kind of "new Democratic agenda" he espoused in the presidential campaign. They suggest that if he is willing to work with moderate Republicans, he could get a genuine compromise on welfare reform, at least some small health care reform and strong bipartisan support for political reform, including lobbying, campaigns and other institutional reforms. Some cite environmental legislation as a hidden opportunity for Clinton, and the White House sees that as a possibility.

But confrontation is just as likely in a Senate with both Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) and Dole possibly seeking their party's presidential nomination and in the House with Gingrich in charge. "What the American people will have is two competing agendas and the American people will force the president to accept ours," Gramm said this week.

To avoid that scenario, the White House has spent recent weeks searching Cabinet departments and agencies for executive actions Clinton can take without congressional acquiescence that would illuminate the centrist Democratic theme he rode into office. One official cited, as an example, a drive to accelerate waivers to states seeking federal permission to pursue experiments in welfare, health care and other areas.

And if all else fails, some in the White House are pushing the Harry S. Truman scenario, sending up legislation and then attacking Congress for doing nothing, as Truman did in 1948. Clinton said this week he had no intention of following that path but Panetta said last night that the "shadow of Harry lurks" in the Clinton White House and its emergence depends on the next few weeks.

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# Gingrich Vows Cooperation

## *House Republican Whip Makes Pledge To Seek Common Ground to Push Goals*

By Dale Russakoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

MARIETTA, Ga., Nov. 8—House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), planning a transition from partisan bomb-thrower to speaker-in-waiting, told a cheering crowd of suburban supporters here to stop yelling "Give 'em hell" and to think about finding common ground with Democrats to achieve his goals.

"This is not a Republican victory, it's not a Democratic victory, it's about the American people making a set of choices," Gingrich said, echoing Thomas Jefferson in the 19th century era of good feeling.

With the GOP capturing control of the Senate and apparently headed toward a similar victory in the House, as well as making major gains in the nation's governorships, Gingrich echoed Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) in offering an olive branch to President Clinton. Dole, who is set to become Senate majority leader, said on CNN "the American people don't expect us to block the president at every opportunity . . . they expect us to work with the president."

Both Dole and Gingrich said they expected to call Clinton this morning.

Gingrich said they would like to work with the Democrats to find elements of the GOP "Contract With America" that they could work in a bipartisan manner to make into law.

He suggested, for example, the line-item veto and welfare reform as items from the contract that Clinton also supports, and added that the "overwhelming" support for a balanced-budget amendment may win Clinton over on that issue, too.

"Every day we fail to act, children are at risk," Gingrich said. "Everyday we fail to change things, people literally die. There will be a presidential campaign in 1996 but let's postpone that. Let's spend 10 to 11 months actually trying to do good things for the children of America."

Not all senior Republicans were in the mood for conciliation, however.

Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.), a likely contender for the 1996 GOP presidential nomination, quickly threw down the gauntlet, saying

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# Gingrich Vows to Work On Agenda for Nation

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a new Republican majority would "begin with a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution" followed by their versions of welfare and health care reform.

"So, I think we have an agenda," Gramm told CBS News. "I think the American people have rejected government tonight. They have asked for more freedom and I think now the burden is on the Republicans. Can we give them a coherent program? I believe the answer is yes."

As Gingrich's ascendancy to the speakership became more and more certain last night, he shed more and more of his partisan garb. He told CNN he felt "a sense of sadness" learning of the defeat of Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), whom Gingrich often had skewered as an out-of-touch Washington insider.

"It's speaker of the House, not speaker of the Republican Party," he said, explaining his restraint. "Newt Gingrich, Republican whip," his current position, "is not the pattern in style in speeches and aggressiveness that you would want to see in the speaker of the House."

Gingrich promised a brave new world of Congress—not only televised but plugged into the Internet. Every bill or committee report filed in Washington will be available instantly on computer, he said. But lest he seem to have his moorings, Gingrich vowed to steer his 10-point "Contract With America" through Congress in the first 100 days, as promised. "That, in itself, will be a revolutionary experience for the American people, to watch a party actually do, in detail, what it said it would do before the election."

Gingrich waxed on about Dole, a man he once characterized as the "tax collector for the welfare state," but last night referred to as "an older man of great experience." "I think Bob Dole is a tremendous leader," he said last night. "I have a lot of energy, but his energy is unbelievable. I have never seen a more disciplined, energetic personality than Bob Dole."

Gingrich said that his so far little publicized feelings of warmth toward Dole began last year when they collaborated to help pass the North American Free Trade Agreement and accelerated with their joint assaults on the Clinton administration's health legislation, crime bill and numerous other initiatives killed in the final weeks of Congress through solid Republican opposition. "We developed a terrific relationship, a very practical relationship," as the session progressed, Gingrich said. "We had a genuinely integrated bicameral team."

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# GOP Takes Big Strides Toward Majority

## *Partial Returns Give Party 32-Seat Gain; Senior Democrats Lose*

By Kenneth J. Cooper and Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writers

Energized Republicans, riding a crest of anti-Washington sentiment, early this morning appeared on the way to wresting control of the House away from Democrats for the first time in 40 years, based on partial returns and national projections.

GOP candidates picked up more than three-quarters of the 40 seats needed for a long-awaited House majority and swept from office several big-name Democrats, including former Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.), Intelligence Committee Chairman Dan Glickman (Kan.) and Rep. Neal Smith (Iowa), a senior member of the Appropriations Committee. Other GOP gains came at the expense of freshman Democrats and in open seats, largely in southern and border states.

One of the freshman victims was Rep. Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky (D-Pa.), who cast the decisive vote last year for President Clinton's budget and deficit-reduction package. Republicans condemned the package as the largest tax increase in history and turned it into a major campaign issue.

The GOP's bid for majority control of the House was engineered by House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and a new generation of conservative Republicans who capitalized on Clinton's low popularity and voters' growing contempt for Congress. Gingrich, a confrontational partisan elected in 1978, would become the first GOP speaker since Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts in 1954 and succeed Speaker Thomas S.

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HOUSE, From A21

Foley (D-Wash.), who trailed in early returns in his race.

The normally brash Gingrich told a cheering crowd in Atlanta last night that "it is a very sobering and very humbling experience" to be on the verge of assuming the speakership of the House. "You really have an obligation to think through how you represent the House," he said. "It's a very serious and solemn obligation."

For nearly two years, Republicans have mounted a campaign to block or discredit Clinton's legislative agenda, fuel anti-Democratic sentiment among voters and nationalize the election. In September, nearly all House GOP candidates signed a a "Contract With America" that promised a return to Reaganomics.

With Republicans in control of the Senate and at least a closely divided House, Clinton could face a choice of building bipartisan majorities for his legislative agenda or relying heavily on veto powers he did not use once in his first two years.

Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), an 18-term incumbent who was Ways and Means chairman until he was indicted earlier this year, was defeated by Republican lawyer Michael Patrick Flanagan. "I'm going to Washington to clear out my desk," Rostenkowski told supporters in Chicago last night.

Incomplete returns gave Republicans a net gain of 32 seats, but CNN and the Associated Press were projecting Republicans would win more than the 40 needed to take control of the House. Republicans picked up a total of four seats in North Carolina, defeating Democratic Reps. David E. Price and H. Martin Lancaster and winning two open seats.

Foley was the most prominent of several House barons in danger of losing their seats. Acting Ways and Means Chairman Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.) was struggling to hold his seat as was Judiciary Chairman Jack Brooks (Tex.).

In Kentucky, Rep. Tom Barlow (D) lost to former legislator Edward Whitfield (R), who becomes the first Republican to hold the western Kentucky seat. In Northern Virginia, Rep. Leslie L. Byrne (D) was defeated by Thomas M. Davis III (R), chairman of the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors. Rep. Don Johnson (D) lost to dentist Charlie Norwood (R) in northeastern Georgia.

In Oklahoma, Republicans scored a coup by electing former college football star J.C. Watts to the seat of Rep. Dave McCurdy (D), who lost a Senate race. Watts will join Rep. Gary A. Franks (R-Conn.), who was reelected, as the second black Republican in the 104th Congress.

The strength of those political sentiments left House Democrats on

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**Michael Patrick Flanagan talks to reporters after voting in Chicago. He went on to defeat Rostenkowski in Illinois.**

the defensive and endangered an unusually large number of senior members, including Foley, who would become the first sitting speaker defeated for reelection since 1862 and the only one to lose since the speakership acquired its power and prestige in the modern era.

In stark contrast, only a handful of Republicans were considered in trouble, nearly all freshmen.

Going into Election Day, Democrats knew they would have big trouble competing for 52 open seats. Their candidates trailed in most of the 31 Democratic-held seats and few had realistic prospects of capturing any of the 21 seats being vacated by Republicans.

In midterm elections since World War II, the party in control of the White House has lost an average of 26 seats. Since the mid-1960s, a new president's party has lost an average of 13 seats in the first midterm election.

If Republicans fall short of a House majority, Gingrich has laid plans to woo a number of conservative Democrats to switch parties and make up the difference—an outcome that Democrats regard as unlikely. Even if Democrats hold on to a slender majority, Clinton would be unable to move legislation without a level of bipartisan cooperation Democrats are not accustomed to.

Voters who have expressed a desire for change in Congress were bound to get it in the House. The number of open seats and strong possibilities of incumbent defeats almost guaranteed that come January about half the House's 435 members will have been elected in the 1990s. A total of 160 were elected in 1990, 1992 or special elections since then.

The 1992 elections produced the most diverse House ever, with record numbers of women and African Americans. A total of 111 women were running this year, up from 106 the last time. There were 64 black candidates, including a record 24 Republicans.

Republicans held an advantage in House races headed into the midterm elections because of Clinton's unpopularity, the last redistricting and the disproportionate number of Democratic seats open because of near-record retirements.

Also, the most mobilized constituencies—Christian activists, gun owners and congressional term-limits advocates—have favored Republicans and stood to make the most difference in House districts with their smaller electorates compared to statewide contests for governor and Senate.

Redistricting that created black majority districts in the South after the 1990 census rendered districts in surrounding areas less Democratic and created opportunities for Republican pickups.

Several threatened Democrats who managed to survive in 1992 decided not to try again this year. Of 31 Democratic-held open seats, almost half are in southern and border states, including two apiece in North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee and Oklahoma. Redistricting also leveled the political playing field and posed problems for Democratic incumbents outside the South in Michigan, Ohio and California.

The 48 voluntary retirements—four other lawmakers were defeated in primaries—amounted to the third-highest number of open seats since World War II.

Surveying the political landscape, Gingrich plotted for most of the year a strategy to win the first Republican House majority in 40 years and fulfill his driving ambition to become speaker. House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) has announced his retirement after 38 years representing prototypical Peoria.

Michel's departure almost assures that Gingrich, who was reelected, will ascend from the House's second-ranking to top Republican. The transition marks an end to accommodating House Republican leaders who identified with the institution and tried to work cooperatively with Democrats to pass legislation.

Gingrich filed an ethics complaint that led to the 1989 resignation of former speaker Jim Wright (D-Tex.), the biggest victim so far of his running battles with Democrats. This year, his late-session maneuvers to deny Democrats credit for legislative accomplishments killed a bill to curb lobbyists' activities and temporarily sidetracked a $30 billion crime bill and a world trade agreement.

In September, more than 300 Republican candidates signed the Gingrich-inspired "Contract With America," which made appealing Reaganesque promises of votes on tax cuts, defense buildups, balanced budgets and term limits within the first 100 days if Republicans won control of the House.

Democratic candidates denounced the GOP contract as a return to Reaganomics that would again boost the federal budget deficit or force budget cuts in Social Security and Medicare, popular programs for the elderly. Republicans denied they would make such cuts but did not spell out how to implement a proposed balanced-budget amendment.

Foley's prospects looked grim going into yesterday's election. Only two House speakers have been defeated for reelection, both Republicans who lost amid the political turmoil of the Civil War era. The last, Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, fell victim in 1862 to redistricting that added immigrant Democrats in Wilkes-Barre to his district, according to biographer Robert D. Ilisevich. In 1860, William Pennington lost in northern New Jersey by less than 400 votes out of 32,000 cast, House historian Raymond Smock said.

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# Resurgent Republicans Take Control

## *Democrats Sasser, Wofford Ousted as GOP Sweeps Open Seats*

By Helen Dewar and Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writers

Republicans yesterday took control of the Senate and pointed it in a more conservative direction, sweeping all of the open seats and knocking off two Democratic incumbents, including veteran Sen. Jim Sasser (Tenn.), who had hoped to become majority leader of a Democratic-led Senate.

Rejected along with Sasser was Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa.), who, in a special election three years ago, opened the national debate over health care and contributed to President Clinton's formula for winning the White House. Wofford was defeated by Republican Rep. Rick Santorum.

In early returns, GOP challenger Michael Huffington was leading Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D) in California.

While Republican leaders pledged to cooperate with Clinton, they described the Senate returns as a repudiation of his policies and promised a new direction that included cutting taxes and curbing the kind of governmental activism that Clinton espoused.

"There are a lot of people out there who do not support the Clinton agenda," said Republican leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.), who is expected to return to the post of majority leader that he relinquished in 1986 when Republicans lost control of the Senate after six years in power. Republicans could block or drastically rewrite Clinton's legislative agenda for the last two years before his reelection bid, shaping it to their interests in

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committee and determining what bills go to the floor for votes.

They would have a veto power over nominations and could stage hearings embarrassing to the president on issues such as Clinton's involvement in the Whitewater real estate development. Some new committee chairmen are the administration's worst nightmare, including Sen. Jesse Helms (N.C.) for the Foreign Relations Committee and Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (N.Y.) for the Bnking Committee.

In addition to toppling Sasser and Wofford, Republicans picked up a second seat in Tennessee, formerly held by Vice President Gore, and took seats held by retiring Democrats in Arizona, Maine, Michigan, Ohio and Oklahoma.

They also kept Minnesota, depriving Democrats of what they hoped would be a gain to offset losses in other states. Rep. Rod Grams defeated Democrat Ann Wynia for the GOP-held seat.

But Democrats held the seat that Republicans once saw as their most prized prospective trophy when Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) defeated Republican Mitt Romney in what appeared to be the Senate comeback of the year. And, in perhaps the toughest and most closely watched race of the year, Sen. Charles S. Robb (D) defeated Iran-contra figure Oliver L. North in Virginia.

With Democrats controlling the Senate 56 to 44, Republicans needed to capture seven Democratic seats—and hold all their own—in order to oust the Democrats from power.

Dole said he intends to work with Clinton when Republicans think he is right. "Where we support the president, where we think he is right, he will have our cooperation; where we think he's wrong, he'll have our opposition." Dole told CBS News last night.

Sasser succumbed to a strong anti-incumbent challenge from Republican heart surgeon Bill Frist, a political neophyte who did not even vote until 1988. In addition to attacking Sasser's 18 years in Washington, including his rise on the Democratic power ladder in the Senate, Frist made a major point of portraying Sasser as a "water boy" for Clinton, who was not popular in Tennessee.

In the second Tennessee race, Republican lawyer-lobbyist-actor Fred Thompson, who gained early fame as minority counsel in the Watergate hearings two decades ago, defeated Rep. Jim Cooper (D), a leader in congressional efforts to trim back Clinton's health care bill in the last session of Congress.

In Michigan, a state Democrats hoped to retain even after losing hope for many others, former state Republican chairman Spencer Abraham defeated Rep. Bob Carr (D).

In Maine, as expected, Rep. Olympia J. Snowe (R) outpolled Rep. Thomas H. Andrews (D) for the seat of retiring Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine).

In Ohio, Lt. Gov. Mike DeWine (R) trounced Democrat Joel Hyatt, the legal services mogul, for the seat being vacated by Hyatt's father-in-law, Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D).

In Oklahoma, Rep. James M. Inhofe (R) rode a strong anti-incumbent, anti-Clinton tide to sideline Rep. Dave McCurdy (D), a moderate who tried in vain to shake his ties to the president but got caught in the same angry undertow that trapped many of his more liberal colleagues. They were running for the seat of retiring Sen. David L. Boren (D).

In Arizona, Rep. Jon Kyl (R) defeated Rep. Sam Coppersmith (D) for the seat of Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D), who also is retiring.

In one of the few races where Republican incumbents were vulnerable, Sen. James M. Jeffords (Vt.) beat his Democratic challenger, Jan Backus. In another, Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (R-Del.) turned back a challenge from Democrat Charles M. Oberly.

Rep. Craig Thomas in Wyoming and former governor John Ashcroft in Missouri held for the GOP seats being vacated by retiring Republicans.

Sasser's defeat leaves Sen. Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) as the only contender for the party's top post in Congress's upper house—majority leader in a Democratic Senate, minority leader in a Republican one.

Other competitors are possible, although no other senator indicated an intention to get in the race if Sasser lost. Democrats will choose their new leader after the special lame-duck session at the end of this month to consider a new world trade agreement.

Despite the perils faced by Sasser and some of his colleagues, some incumbents of both parties cruised toward early and easy reelection from the minute the first votes were counted.

Sens. Frank R. Lautenberg (D-N.J.) and Jeff Bingaman (D-N.M.), who had been targeted by Republicans as possible upsets, turned out to have no real trouble at the polls. Other Democratic incumbents who defied the Republican tide and won new terms included Sens. Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (N.Y.), Bob Kerrey (Neb.), Kent Conrad (N.D.), Herb Kohl (Wis.) and Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.).

Despite Republican victories in Tennessee, former Tennessee senator William Brock (R) lost a chance for a Maryland comeback when Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes (D) easily won a fourth term.

Many Republican incumbents coasted to easy victories, including Connie Mack (Fla.), who handily defeated Democratic Hugh E. Rodham, brother of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Also reelected were Trent Lott (Miss.), Kay Bailey Hutchison (Tex.), Orrin G. Hatch (Utah), John H. Chafee (R.I.), Conrad Burns (Mont.) and Richard G. Lugar (Ind.).

With the Democrats defending 22 of the 35 Senate seats at stake in this year's elections, they were at a disadvantage from the start because they had more seats to lose than the Republicans did, by a ratio of almost 2 to 1.

And it only got worse as Republicans capitalized on the anti-Washington, anti-incumbent mood of a dispirited and often angry electorate, which only two years ago put Democrats in charge of everything in Washington.

By the end of the campaign, which was marked by a deluge of slashing attack ads and dearth of serious debates, as many as a dozen races—nearly a third of the total—were in serious doubt. Most were being fought over Democratic-held seats.

At the center of the struggle for control of the Senate were nine open seats being vacated by six Democrats and three Republicans, an unusually high number that was attributable to age in some cases, advance indications of vulnerability in others, and a desire for another life on the part of still others.

The retiring Democrats were Boren, Metzenbaum, Mitchell, DeConcini, Harlan Mathews (Tenn.) and Donald W. Riegle Jr. (Mich.). Mathews had been appointed to fill the seat held previously by Gore.

The retiring Republicans were John C. Danforth (Mo.), Dave Durenberger (Minn.) and Malcolm Wallop (Wyo.).

By not having to face Democratic incumbents in a number of swing states, Republicans started one step ahead in their bid to take back control of the Senate, which they won in Ronald Reagan's sweep of 1980 but lost in 1986 when the Democrats bounced back.

The Democrats' plight was underscored by the fact that Mitchell was majority leader and a sure bet for election to a third term—until his unexpected decision to pursue another career made the state an instant target for the Republicans.

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# California Braces for Protests Against Immigration Measure

By Roberto Suro
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 8—With tensions in Southern California's huge Latino community mounting over a ballot initiative to cut public services to illegal immigrants, police across the region prepared for street protests should the measure be approved in voting today.

After days of demonstrations and marches against Proposition 187, the Los Angeles Police Department went on a state of "maximum deployment" for today and Wednesday, meaning days off were canceled for the entire force.

With the extra officers, police patrols formed a highly visible presence around high schools and parks where protests have taken place recently, said Officer Lorie Taylor, a department spokeswoman. Almost all of the protests have been peaceful so far.

As of late this afternoon, Taylor said, there had been only scattered demonstrations in Los Angeles involving a few hundred high school students, but she said police expected that the largest potential for trouble would come after the polls closed and the results became known.

Police in the San Diego area today arrested 19 high school students on truancy charges during demonstrations against the initiative, and an additional 40 students were suspended for leaving campuses to join the protests, the Associated Press reported.

Elsewhere in California, student marches were reported in several cities today from Calexico on the Mexican border to Modesto, at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley, where some students threw rocks at police officers, according to the Associated Press.

In Mexico City, between 40 and 50 hooded vandals denouncing the measure trashed a McDonald's restaurant, kicking windows, overturning cash registers and trash cans, and hurling hamburgers and Happy Meals. No one was injured and no money taken, police told the AP.

Proposition 187 would expand laws prohibiting illegal immigrants from receiving public services, most notably by barring children illegally in the country from attending public schools.

The measure received strong support from California Republicans led by Gov. Pete Wilson and was opposed by Democrats, including Wilson's challenger, state Treasurer Kathleen Brown, and President Clinton, who criticized the divisive "racial energy" that he said lay behind the proposition.

"Emotions are running extremely high in our community, and people are very afraid that stuff is going to go down if it passes," said Antonio Gonzalez, president of the Southwest Voters Registration and Education Project, a Latino advocacy organization.

"We want Pete Wilson to know that we are here to stay," said Eddie Bedoy, the 17-year-old student body president at Benjamin Franklin High School, where regular protests have been held in recent weeks.

"We pick their food," he said, referring to California's non-Latino majority, "we make their clothes, we take care of their children, we build their houses, and they tell us that we don't deserve what society owes us."

Although the proposition ostensibly is directed at illegal immigrants, many Latinos who are U.S. citizens or legal residents have expressed concern that it will produce discrimination against them. Much of their anger focused on a provision that would require public officials to report anyone suspected of being an illegal immigrant to federal and state authorities.

"In electoral terms, the protests have hurt us as much as they have helped us," said Gonzalez, "but in social terms we are seeing the birth of a new Latino civil rights movement here, and the issue is going to be the rights of noncitizens."

# Republicans Capture Majority of Nation's Governorships

By Tom Kenworthy and Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writers

Republicans, burying some of the Democratic Party's most revered and popular political figures in an avalanche of voter dissatisfaction, yesterday captured a majority of the nation's governorships for the first time in almost a quarter century.

From New York—where Democratic Gov. Mario M. Cuomo lost his bid for a fourth term—to Texas—where George W. Bush defeated popular Democratic Gov. Ann Richards—the GOP swept to a stunning series of victories and a net gain of nine seats. Not since 1970, when Republicans took control of 32 of the nation's 50 governorships, has their party enjoyed such a fruitful election night.

The Republican victory streak extended to the West Coast, where California Gov. Pete Wilson (R) overcame enormous unpopularity a year ago to win a second term over state treasurer Kathleen Brown. That gave the GOP control of seven out of the country's eight largest states—California, Texas, New York, Florida, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan—and solidified a formidable Republican base heading into the 1996 presidential election. Before this election, Democrats had controlled 29 governorships and Republicans 20.

Only in Florida did a high-profile Democrat retain control of one of the nation's largest states on a night when 36 governorships were in play. There, incumbent Gov. Lawton Chiles beat back a vigorous challenge from Republican Jeb Bush, a Miami developer and son of former President George Bush.

In Maryland, Democrat Parris N. Glendening and Republican state Rep. Ellen R. Sauerbrey were running neck—and—neck late into the night in a race that could be decided only after some 50,000 absentee ballots are counted.

Also falling to the Republicans was Pennsylvania, where Rep. Tom Ridge (R) narrowly defeated Lt. Gov. Mark S. Singel. Republicans also captured Democratic seats in Kansas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, New Mexico and Wyoming and an independent seat in Connecticut.

Tennessee Rep. Don Sundquist (R) defeated Nashville Mayor Phil Bredesen to take the governorship which had been held by retiring Ned McWherter (D). Kansas Secretary of State Bill Graves (R) easily defeated Rep. Jim Slattery (D).

In Oklahoma, former U.S. attorney Frank Keating (R) defeated Democratic Lt. Gov. Jack Mildren. In Wyoming, Republican state Sen. Jim Geringer defeated secretary of state Kathy Karpan for the seat that had been held by Democratic Gov. Mike Sullivan. In New Mexico, incumbent Gov. Bruce King (D) was denied a fourth term with the victory of Republican Gary E. Johnson, an Albuquerque construction company owner.

In Connecticut, former Rep. John G. Rowland (R) narrowly defeated state comptroller Bill Curry for the seat vacated by retiring independent Lowell P. Weicker Jr. in a race featuring two strong independent candidates.

The only Republican loss of a seat came in Maine, where businessman and public television commentator Angus King, running as an independent, defeated former Democratic Gov. Joseph E. Brennan and Republican Susan M. Collins.

The contests in the largest states were among the most pivotal of the 36 gubernatorial campaigns waged this fall, as Republicans in many states ran hard-edged, conservative races based on cutting welfare benefits and taxes and getting tough on crime.

Nothing better illustrated the Democrats' woes than the defeat of Cuomo, whose personal magnetism and soaring rhetorical skills have made him a Democratic icon for more than a decade. He was beaten by George E. Pataki, who prior to his challenge of Cuomo was a little-known state senator from Garrison.

Cuomo launched a tenacious comeback from an early deficit, characterizing the Republican as a puppet of Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R), but ultimately fell short.

To the south, in Florida, Chiles had to contend with one of the toughest challenges of a 32-year political career in which he has never been defeated. In Jeb Bush, Chiles faced a hard-nosed and ideologically conservative opponent who promised to go to Tallahassee and "club this government into submission."

In Texas, George W. Bush, in his first run for office, managed a disciplined, focused campaign that exploited the feelings of many Texas voters that Richards has no cohesive vision for her state. "A like-minded Texan," Bush called himself. Conceding defeat, Richards said: "It is not the end of the world. It is the end of a campaign."

Elsewhere in the South, Georgia Gov. Zell Miller (D)—a key ally of Clinton—narrowly won a second term over Republican Guy Millner.

Republican incumbents in the industrial Mid-

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west fared extremely well, as had been expected throughout the campaign in the traditionally Democratic region.

In Michigan, Gov. John Engler (R) handily turned aside a challenge from Rep. Howard Wolpe to win a second term. Ohio Governor George V. Voinovich (R) also won a second term, easily beating Democratic state senator Robert L. Burch Jr. And in Illinois, Gov. Jim Edgar (R) cruised to a second term against state comptroller Dawn Clark Netsch.

In Minnesota, as expected, incumbent Republican Arne H. Carlson held on to his seat, defeating a challenge by state Sen. John Marty. Carlson's neighbor, Wisconsin Gov. Tommy G. Thompson (R), won a third term, defeating Madison state Rep. Chuck Chvala (D). Iowa Gov. Terry Branstad (R), held off a vigorous challenge by Democratic attorney general Bonnie J. Campbell to win a fourth term.

To the Northeast, in New Hampshire, Republican Gov. Steve Merrill coasted to victory over Wayne D. King, a Democratic state senator. Merrill's GOP neighbor, Massachusetts Gov. William F. Weld, had an easy time holding onto his seat for a second term, turning aside a challenge from state Rep. Mark Roosevelt.

Another New Englander, Democrat Howard Dean of Vermont, had little trouble defeating Republican David F. Kelley, a Montpelier lawyer. In Rhode Island, state Sen. Myrth York lost to former U.S. attorney Lincoln C. Almond in a formerly Democratic seat.

Down in Arkansas, incumbent Jim Guy Tucker (D) handily beat Little Rock lawyer Sheffield Nelson.

Western Democratic incumbent Roy Romer (D-Colo.), who had been considered vulnerable early in his campaign for a third term, defeated Bruce Benson, a former chairman of the state GOP. Romer's neighbor to the east, Nebraska Democratic Gov. Ben Nelson, won a second term over Republican Gene Spence.

As expected, Republicans held on to seats in South Carolina and South Dakota and Democrats to seats in Hawaii, Oregon and Nevada.

Democrats entered this election facing considerable risk, due in part to their past success. They controlled 29 of the nation's governorships, and had to defend 21 of them. Republicans, by contrast, held 20 chief executive jobs, and had 14 at risk. One seat, in Connecticut, was held by an independent, who is retiring. Alaska's Gov. Walter J. Hickel, who is retiring, was elected as an independent but switched while in office to the Republican Party.

There were eight races, an unusually large number, where independent candidates were projected to exert a strong effect on the outcome: Alaska, Connecticut, Maine, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, New Mexico, New York and Hawaii.

Ten of the 36 gubernatorial contests featured women running either as major party nominees or strong independents, the highest number of women candidates in recent history. The previous high was eight women in 1990.

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# Sarbanes Holds Off Brock for a 4th Term

## *Strength in Baltimore, D.C. Suburbs Clinches Race for Democrat*

By Charles Babington
Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland voters elected Democratic Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes to a fourth term yesterday, embracing his low-key and unapologetically liberal politics despite well-financed attacks by Republican William Brock.

The victory by Sarbanes, who has never lost an election in his 28-year political career, was a bright spot for Democrats nationally in a year in which liberal incumbents fared poorly in many states. His triumph was dimmed, however, by the likelihood that Democrats will lose control of the Senate, costing Sarbanes his chance to chair the banking committee.

With 99 percent of Maryland's precincts reporting, Sarbanes led Brock by 59 percent to 41 percent.

At his victory party in a Baltimore hotel, Sarbanes said he would make the best of being the ranking minority member of the banking committee rather than the chairman.

"I've been there before," he said, refering to GOP control of the Senate in the 1980s. "There will be an opportunity to turn it around. These things aren't forever."

Sarbanes told supporters: "I will continue to fight for opportunity and fairness in society, for jobs, educational opportunities and to rid the country of discrimination."

In his concession speech, Brock told supporters: "Marylanders have now made their choice for representation in the Senate. I respect that decision and will work with the people of Maryland."

Early election returns and exit-poll interviews showed Sarbanes rolling up big margins in Baltimore City and the Washington suburbs and among female and black voters. Morning returns from Montgomery County, Maryland's largest jurisdiction, showed Sarbanes leading Brock by 3 to 2. Partial returns from Prince George's County showed him with a 2 to 1 edge.

Meanwhile, questionnaires completed by 552 Marylanders who voted in the morning showed Sarbanes leading Brock by a 3 to 2 ratio among female voters; by 9 to 1 among blacks; and by nearly 2 to 1 among those who consider themselves political moderates.

Brock did best among white men, carrying them by a narrow margin, according to the questionnaires. Brock was leading by a few thousand votes in his home county of Anne Arundel, with 100 percent of the county's precincts reporting, a lead in the Republican-leaning county that was not big enough to overcome Sarbanes' numbers in Baltimore and elsewhere.

Brock, a 63-year-old heir to a Tennessee candy company fortune, poured $1.8 million of his own money into his campaign. That enabled him to match the spending of Sarbanes, 61, who raised money largely from fellow Greek Americans and from labor unions and banking interests.

Brock, who represented Tennessee in the U.S. House and Senate from 1963 to 1977, used the money to portray Sarbanes as an aloof, diffident incumbent who was soft on crime and fond of taxes.

But Sarbanes reminded voters that Brock maintained a home in the District until recent years and did not begin paying Maryland income taxes until 1990. Sarbanes did not refer to Brock as a "carpetbagger," but many of his supporters did.

Sarbanes defended his 18-year Senate record as one of "integrity, intelligence and independence." He shrugged off most of Brock's attacks and made spirited counterattacks in his TV ads and in two televised debates.

He harped on Brock's failure to show up for 20 percent of the recorded votes during his 14 years in Congress. He also reminded voters that Brock had voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the original Clean Air Act and the creation of Medicare.

Brock said he was wrong to have voted against the Civil Rights Act, but the topic tended to keep him on the defensive, especially in a state where one in four residents is black.

Brock failed to captivate swing voters the way that Republican gubernatorial nominee Ellen R. Sauerbrey did with her emphasis on cutting income taxes. The morning exit-poll questionnaires found that 27 percent of those who voted for Sauerbrey also voted for Sarbanes. By contrast, nine percent of those voting for Democratic gubernatorial nominee Parris N. Glendening voted for Brock.

Enid Holibaugh, a retiree from Wheaton, said she voted for Sauerbrey because "I want a change in government."

Brock's message often seemed unfocused. He initially said he would not attack President Clinton, then did so anyway, only to drop the theme later. He often gave complex responses when asked to summarize his reasons for running.

Brock emphasized education reform in the campaign, but the exit polls suggest that voters paid little heed. Eighty percent of voters who said education was their number one issue supported Sarbanes.

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THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

FINAL

# Voters in Several States, D.C. Want Term Limits for Office

By Dana Priest and William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writers

Mirroring the mood that swept so many incumbents out of office yesterday, voters in Nebraska, Nevada, Maine and the District of Columbia approved term limits, which also appeared headed for approval by healthy margins in Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Massachusetts.

Term limits, which were on ballots in eight states and the District, were approved by more than a 2-to-1 ratio in Nevada, nearly that in Nebraska, and with 63 percent of the vote in Maine and 62 percent in the District. Few results were available from Alaska, where term limits had been favored in polls.

There were more than 70 citizen-sponsored initiatives on ballots this year, the most in any year in six decades.

In Florida, voters decisively rejected a gambling initiative that casino and parimutuel interests spent more than $16 million to promote. It was the third time in 15 years that voters there had been asked to legalize gambling, which is permitted on Indian reservations and a limited number of riverboats. Concern about crime and lifestyle changes played heavily in the campaign, but so did industry spending, which outpaced opponents' 10 to 1.

With nearly 80 percent of the votes counted, the measure trailed 3 to 2.

Voters in Rhode Island also turned down measures that would have permitted casinos in five cities, including the state capital. Meanwhile, a Missouri gambling measure was winning 53 to 47 percent.

Very early returns from California showed the incendiary Proposition 187, which would deny most social services to illegal immigrants, winning 64 to 36 percent. A universal health care initiative there that would have created a tax-financed system similar to Canada's was defeated 75 to 25 percent. And a tobacco-industry sponsored measure to loosen local and state smoking restrictions was losing by nearly 2 to 1.

In Oregon, early returns showed a slim majority—51 percent to 49 percent—favoring an initiative to give doctors permission to assist in patients' suicides.

In one of a handful of anti-crime measures on the ballot, voters in Georgia were headed toward approving a "two strikes and you're out" law that would impose a sentence of life without parole for criminals convicted of a second violent crime. Early returns showed it leading 3 to 1.

Two states, Idaho and Oregon, voters were rejecting anti-gay measures, but by only slim margins in early returns. Wyoming voters were to decide whether to subject doctors who perform abortions to felony charges in certain situations.

Voters in as many as a dozen states yesterday were poised to impose new limits on the power of elected officials through ballot initiatives.

In six states—Colorado, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, Nevada and Oregon—voters considered imposing limits on how political campaigns are financed. It is uncertain whether this issue will become the second wave, following term limits, of a general voter revolt against politics.

Initiatives in three states—Missouri, Montana and Oregon—would restrict elected officials from imposing some new taxes without prior voter approval. These measures have proved popular in other states. Initiatives in Montana and Nevada would require super-majorities in state legislatures to approve new taxes.

Twenty-four states allow citizens to circumvent Congress and state legislatures and to place initiatives on the ballot.

As usual, California outpaced most other states on ballot initiatives and referenda—measures that are referred to voters by the legislature. California voters decided on 10 major propositions, upholding what critics of the escalating number of initiatives there have branded as a system of "super-majority anarchy," which they say has helped bring the state to the edge of fiscal collapse through anti-tax and other measures.

As happened in the mid-1960s with the state's controversial open-housing law and again in 1978 when voters waged a property tax revolt around Proposition 13, this year's statewide election in California was overshadowed by how candidates campaigned on one highly emotional ballot initiative—Proposition 187.

Dubbed by its sponsors as the "Save Our State" initiative, Proposition 187 was aimed at cutting off benefits such as education, nonemergency health services and welfare to illegal immigrants. The measure also would require doctors, teachers and police to report those they suspect of being in the country illegally.

Another conservative-inspired ballot initiative that appeared headed for adoption was Proposition 184, a "three strikes and you're out" measure aimed at lengthening prison sentences for habitual offenders but which is virtually identical to a habitual offender law passed by the legislature and signed into law by Gov. Pete Wilson (R) in March.

The smoking initiative, drafted by cigarette manufacturers and funded almost entirely by the tobacco lobby, would have reversed a decade-long trend in the state by repealing local smoking bans and a new statewide one to go into effect next year. Instead, it would substitute a more relaxed, statewide smoking policy.

The health care proposition would have created a Canadian-style universal, tax-financed health program—at an estimated cost of up to $100 billion a year. It would virtually eliminate the insurance industry, which was a heavily involved in its defeat. Critics said the plan placed too much power in the hands of state government and that its defeat was another sign that the nation is in mood for sweeping, radical changes in health care.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994
FINAL

# Chiles Edges Jeb Bush In Florida Governor Race

## *'We'll Be Back,' Says Ex-President's Youngest Son*

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, Nov. 9 (Wednesday)—Veteran Gov. Lawton Chiles (D) defeated Republican challenger Jeb Bush, the youngest son of former president George Bush, in a close race for the Florida governorship.

"Oh Jeb, this is killing me inside!" shouted a supporter after Bush conceded defeat to Chiles.

"It's over, but it was a good campaign about good ideas," said Bush, the conservative firebrand who vowed to dismantle government if elected.

"It's always tough to lose, but we'll be back," said Bush. His running mate for lieutenant governor, Tom Feeney, said, "It's possible we were just a little ahead of our time."

The governor told supporters in Tampa, "We could've lost this race easily." With 90 percent of the vote counted, Chiles led Bush, 51 percent to 49 percent.

Moments before Bush conceded the election, his campaign spokesman was telling reporters that Bush might only announce that the race was too close to call. But Chiles was boosted by a large turnout, especially among blacks and some Republican women turned off by Bush's antiabortion stance.

Chiles has said that this is the last race of his political career. In Tampa, he said, "This campaign was different from any I can remember. . . . There's a feeling loose in the land of utter frustration and anger—stronger than I've ever seen it."

In a suite at a downtown Miami hotel, Republican strategists and activists spent the evening with faces close to a TV monitor, watching the minute-by-minute returns, letting out moans and hurrahs as each precinct's results appeared.

Republican state Chairman Tom Slade, after conceding that the race was lost, added that the Republicans "had a lot to be thankful for."

"We can't win them all," said Yolanda Garza, a real estate saleswoman. "But we almost did. Jeb will be back."

Election officials said that at least two-thirds of Florida's registered voters went to the polls, a huge turnout for a midterm election year. The heavy turnout appeared to be driven as much by the hard-fought governor's race as by a controversial bid to bring casino gambling to the state. (The gambling referendum was defeated.)

In some heavily Hispanic districts, more than 80 percent of registered voters cast ballots. Chiles, who lagged in the polls until mid-October, went into the election in a dead heat against Bush, but the high voter turnout and Chiles's negative campaign against Bush appeared to give him the edge he needed.

# Bush Defeats Richards For Texas Governorship

By Sue Anne Pressley
Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN, Tex., Nov. 8—Republican George W. Bush, a part owner of the Texas Rangers and the son of a former president, won his first political victory tonight—the governorship of Texas. In keeping with an apparent national trend, Bush easily defeated Democratic Gov. Ann Richards, one of the leading female politicians in the country, with 54 percent of the vote to Richards's 45 percent.

In one of the costliest and most closely watched campaigns in the nation, Bush apparently rode high on the wave of conservatism and anti-incumbent sentiment that was sweeping the state, despite a stable economy and Richards's personal popularity.

"Texas is ready for a new generation of leadership," Bush said at his victory celebration at the Capitol Marriott, as supporters cheered wildly. "I have heard from Texas tonight and I hear the call of constructive change—change of our juvenile justice system to save a generation of our young, change of our welfare system to end a dependency on government and change of our education system."

By denying the flamboyant and frank-talking Richards a second term, Texans kept intact their recent record of not returning an incumbent governor to office. Richards, in her concession speech at another local hotel, graciously thanked her supporters, saying, "I don't want anyone here to feel like they've lost a thing.

"All of us wish him the very best in taking office in January because he is taking on the responsibility of Texas," she said of Bush.

Although Richards continued to draw heavy support from her traditional Democratic strongholds, such as Hispanic voters in south Texas, it became clear the old political rules were being rewritten here tonight.

Although the Bush-Richards race had grown increasingly caustic in the final days—with Bush accusing Richards of breaking promises and Richards accusing Bush of distorting her record—the campaign, by Texas standards, was relatively free of mud-slinging. What apparently struck voters was Bush's conservative viewpoint, his railing against "the status quo," and a feeling in some quarters that Richards, even with her crowd-pleasing personality, had also become complacent, her liberal leanings out of touch with her constituents.

At the same time, Democrats, who have gradually been losing their stranglehold on the state, apparently did not marshal the voters as energetically as the Republicans, who were hungry for a governorship to go along with their two U.S. Senate seats.

"What this means is that Texas has become a conservative state," said Chuck McDonald, a spokesman for Richards. "And if that's the way the voters feel about it . . ."

*Special correspondent Elizabeth Hudson contributed to this report.*



ASSOCIATED PRESS
**George W. Bush gestures to reporters at his Dallas polling place.**

# Pataki Defeats Cuomo in Race Called at the Wire

## *Light City Turnout, Defectors From Independent Contribute to GOP Victory*

By Malcolm Gladwell
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Nov. 9 (Wednesday)—Mario M. Cuomo, an icon of American liberalism over his 12 years as governor of New York, was defeated Tuesday night by relatively unknown state senator George E. Pataki.

With over 80 percent of the votes counted, Republican challenger Pataki led Cuomo 48 percent to 46 percent and just before midnight, Cuomo conceded defeat.

"It was a long and tough struggle," Cuomo said, in a short, emotional speech to his supporters. "We will all respect [Pataki]. We will work with him. . . . I let you down. You deserved another four years."

Pataki's victory comes as something of a surprise, because in the final weeks of the campaign, the Republican had slipped behind Cuomo in the polls and his campaign appeared in disarray. But on Election Day, at least two factors appeared to have worked in Pataki's favor. The first was that voter turnout in New York City, a stronghold of Cuomo support, was very light, with less than 50 percent of the city's eligible voters going to the polls. The other was that B. Thomas Golisano, a Rochester millionaire running as a Ross Perot-style independent, received just 4 percent of the vote—less than half of the support he had shown in preelection polls. Virtually all of that lost Golisano support, political experts said, almost certainly went to Pataki. In the end, it appears that Cuomo was unable to overcome the strong sentiment among New York voters that he had been in office too long.

Pataki's victory makes him the first Republican governor of New York since Nelson A. Rockefeller held the office more than two decades ago. Perhaps more importantly, because Pataki ran on a promise to cut state income taxes by 25 percent, it shows that the wave of conservative, tax-cutting politics that has swept state capitals in recent years has now come to New York state, one of the last bastions of liberal Democratic politics.

At the same time, the victory represents a blow to the fortunes of New York Republican Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who crossed party lines and risked his own political career to endorse Cuomo in the campaign's final weeks.

The narrow victory for Pataki capped a campaign that saw wide swings in the popularity of both candidates. Early in the campaign, with Cuomo's popularity ratings at an all-time low, Pataki—who represented the upstate New York city of Peekskill—had a commanding lead in the polls. But little by little, Pataki's lead began to fade and by late in the campaign, after Giuliani's surprise endorsement, Cuomo had actually surged ahead in the polls.

STATE-BY-STATE

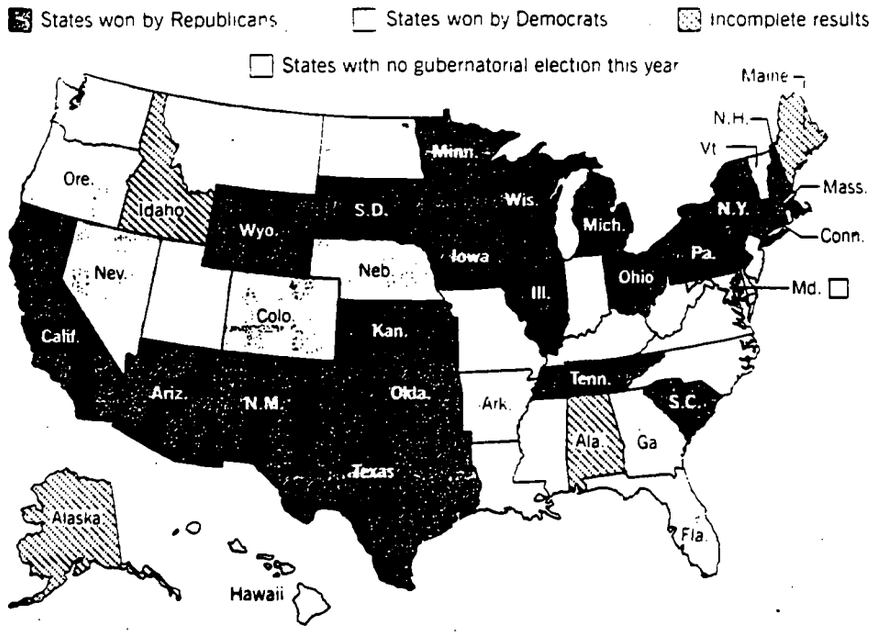
# GOVERNORS

**FINAL**

■ Here are returns from the Associated Press as of 1:15 a.m. yesterday. The first column of numbers is total votes; the second column is the percentage of vote received.

■ Percentages of votes received may not total 100 because independent candidates are not shown in all races.

✔ Winner * Incumbent
(D) Democrat (R) Republican (I) Ind.




**ALABAMA** (89% OF VOTES COUNTED)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jim Folsom* (D) | 536,302 | 50% |
| Fob James Jr. (R) | 543,503 | 50 |

**ALASKA** (0%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tony Knowles (D) | 0 | 0% |
| James Campbell (R) | 0 | 0 |
| John Coghill (I) | 0 | 0 |

**ARIZONA** (44%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Eddie Basha (D) | 222,773 | 44% |
| Fife Symington* (R) | 267,931 | 53 |

**ARKANSAS** (81%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Jim Guy Tucker* (D) | 362,231 | 60% |
| Sheffield Nelson (R) | 245,088 | 40 |

**CALIFORNIA** (20%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kathleen Brown (D) | 560,091 | 36% |
| ✔ Pete Wilson* (R) | 948,171 | 60 |

**COLORADO** (89%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Roy Romer* (D) | 444,274 | 55% |
| Bruce Benson (R) | 314,856 | 39 |

**CONNECTICUT** (96%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bill Curry (D) | 356,539 | 33% |
| ✔ John Rowland (R) | 391,432 | 36 |
| Eunice Groark (I) | 204,641 | 19 |
| Tom Scott (I) | 124,109 | 11 |

**FLORIDA** (96%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Lawton Chiles* (D) | 2,064,375 | 51% |
| Jeb Bush (R) | 1,964,401 | 49 |

**GEORGIA** (97%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Zell Miller* (D) | 751,862 | 51% |
| Guy Millner (R) | 715,411 | 49 |

**HAWAII** (69%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Ben Cayetano (D) | 94,534 | 39% |
| Patricia Saiki (R) | 71,978 | 29 |
| Frank Fasi (I) | 70,952 | 29 |

**IDAHO** (54%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Larry EchoHawk (D) | 87,997 | 45% |
| ✔ Phil Batt (R) | 102,024 | 52 |

**ILLINOIS** (92%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dawn Clark Netsch (D) | 965,859 | 34% |
| ✔ Jim Edgar* (R) | 1,837,083 | 64 |

**IOWA** (95%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bonnie Campbell (D) | 396,956 | 42% |
| ✔ Terry Branstad* (R) | 543,735 | 57 |

**KANSAS** (97%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jim Slattery (D) | 282,836 | 36% |
| ✔ Bill Graves (R) | 500,567 | 64 |

**MAINE** (72%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Joseph Brennan (D) | 108,439 | 34% |
| Susan Collins (R) | 72,792 | 23 |
| Angus King (I) | 112,565 | 36 |

**MARYLAND** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Parris Glendening (D) | 683,995 | 50% |
| Ellen Sauerbrey (R) | 677,804 | 50 |

**MASSACHUSETTS** (77%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mark Roosevelt (D) | 465,580 | 28% |
| ✔ William Weld* (R) | 1,162,789 | 71 |

**MICHIGAN** (60%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Howard Wolpe (D) | 705,853 | 38% |
| ✔ John Engler* (R) | 1,139,165 | 62 |

**MINNESOTA** (68%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Marty (D) | 408,966 | 34% |
| ✔ Arne Carlson* (R) | 773,334 | 64 |

**NEBRASKA** (86%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Ben Nelson* (D) | 355,681 | 74% |
| Gene Spence (R) | 123,584 | 26 |

**NEVADA** (54%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Bob Miller* (D) | 127,483 | 54% |
| Jim Gibbons (R) | 92,746 | 40 |

**NEW HAMPSHIRE** (98%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wayne King (D) | 77,229 | 26% |
| ✔ Steve Merrill* (R) | 209,729 | 70 |

**NEW MEXICO** (95%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bruce King* (D) | 156,892 | 40% |
| ✔ Gary Johnson (R) | 190,890 | 49 |
| Roberto Mondragon (I) | 41,481 | 11 |

**NEW YORK** (93%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mario Cuomo* (D) | 2,145,316 | 46% |
| ✔ George Pataki (R) | 2,265,748 | 48 |
| Blase Golisano (I) | 196,460 | 4 |

**OHIO** (99%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Robert Burch Jr. (D) | 814,414 | 25% |
| ✔ George Voinovich* (R) | 2,358,138 | 72 |

**OKLAHOMA** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jack Mildren (D) | 294,946 | 30% |
| ✔ Frank Keating (R) | 466,740 | 47 |
| Wes Watkins (I) | 233,336 | 23 |

**OREGON** (36%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ John Kitzhaber (D) | 199,490 | 53% |
| Denny Smith (R) | 152,513 | 41 |

**PENNSYLVANIA** (98%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mark Singel (D) | 1,397,994 | 40% |
| ✔ Thomas Ridge (R) | 1,583,586 | 45 |
| Peg Luksik (I) | 448,309 | 13 |

**RHODE ISLAND** (99%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Myrth York (D) | 151,861 | 44% |
| ✔ Lincoln Almond (R) | 164,130 | 47 |

**SOUTH CAROLINA** (95%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Nick Theodore (D) | 424,435 | 48% |
| ✔ David Beasley (R) | 446,852 | 50 |

**SOUTH DAKOTA** (73%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jim Beddow (D) | 101,041 | 41% |
| ✔ William Janklow (R) | 134,457 | 55 |

**TENNESSEE** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Phil Bredesen (D) | 657,870 | 45% |
| ✔ Don Sundquist (R) | 796,972 | 54 |

**TEXAS** (86%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ann Richards* (D) | 1,824,508 | 46% |
| ✔ George W. Bush (R) | 2,118,993 | 53 |

**VERMONT** (78%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Howard Dean* (D) | 91,337 | 69% |
| David Kelley (R) | 25,979 | 20 |

**WISCONSIN** (84%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chuck Chvala (D) | 417,582 | 32% |
| ✔ Tommy Thompson* (R) | 881,724 | 67 |

**WYOMING** (82%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kathy Karpan (D) | 67,848 | 42% |
| ✔ Jim Geringer (R) | 92,759 | 57 |

STATE-BY-STATE

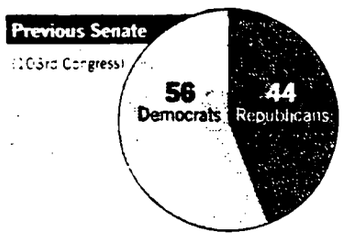
# U.S. SENATE

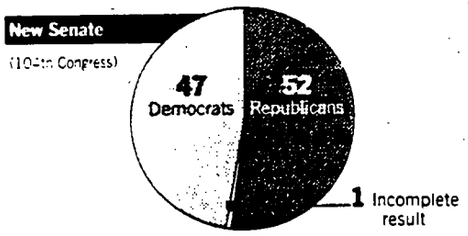
■ The results in the map, charts and table in this graphic are from the Associated Press as of 1:15 a.m. today.

■ The first column of numbers is total votes received; the second column is the percentage of vote received.

■ Percentages of votes received may not total 100 because independent candidates are not shown in all races.

✔ Winner * Incumbent
(D) Democrat (R) Republican
(I) Independent

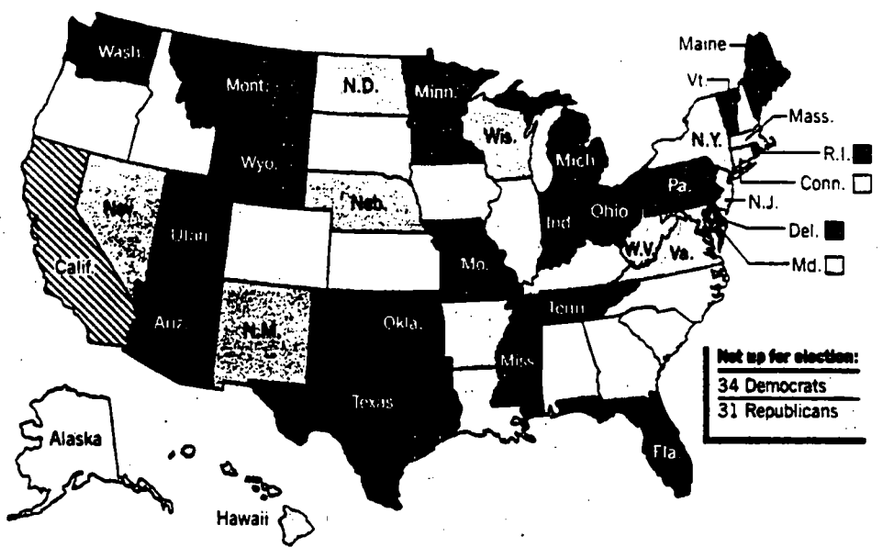



■ Race won by Republican ☐ Race won by Democrat ▨ Incomplete results

☐ States with no Senate election this year

Tennessee: Both seats up for election. Both seats won by Republicans.




**ARIZONA** (44% OF VOTES COUNTED)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sam Coppersmith (D) | 195,580 | 39% |
| ✔ Jon Kyl (R) | 272,188 | 54 |

**CALIFORNIA** (20%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dianne Feinstein* (D) | 665,890 | 27% |
| Michael Huffington (R) | 1,690,343 | 68 |

**CONNECTICUT** (87%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Joe Lieberman* (D) | 632,177 | 67% |
| Jerry Labriola (R) | 296,778 | 31 |

**DELAWARE** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Charles Oberly (D) | 84,465 | 42% |
| ✔ William Roth Jr.* (R) | 110,886 | 56 |

**FLORIDA** (96%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hugh Rodham (D) | 1,175,735 | 30% |
| ✔ Connie Mack* (R) | 2,753,394 | 70 |

**HAWAII** (67%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Daniel Akaka* (D) | 171,933 | 73% |
| Maria Hustace (R) | 55,255 | 23 |

**INDIANA** (95%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| James Jontz (D) | 443,562 | 31% |
| ✔ Richard Lugar* (R) | 976,629 | 67 |

**MAINE** (72%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thomas Andrews (D) | 118,642 | 37% |
| ✔ Olympia Snowe (R) | 189,401 | 59 |

**MARYLAND** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Paul Sarbanes* (D) | 788,032 | 59% |
| William Brock (R) | 538,351 | 41 |

**MASSACHUSETTS** (77%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Edward Kennedy* (D) | 967,231 | 58% |
| W. Mitt Romney (R) | 674,276 | 41 |

**MICHIGAN** (60%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bob Carr (D) | 765,941 | 42% |
| ✔ Spencer Abraham (R) | 937,366 | 52 |

**MINNESOTA** (68%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ann Wynia (D) | 562,403 | 45% |
| ✔ Rod Grams (R) | 595,629 | 48 |

**MISSISSIPPI** (89%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ken Harper (D) | 169,860 | 31% |
| ✔ Trent Lott* (R) | 385,787 | 69 |

**MISSOURI** (84%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Alan Wheat (D) | 496,353 | 36% |
| ✔ John Ashcroft (R) | 825,381 | 59 |

**MONTANA** (51%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jack Mudd (D) | 66,613 | 39% |
| ✔ Conrad Burns* (R) | 102,352 | 61 |

**NEBRASKA** (86%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Bob Kerrey* (D) | 266,025 | 55% |
| Jan Stoney (R) | 218,681 | 45 |

**NEVADA** (54%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Richard Bryan* (D) | 122,366 | 52% |
| Hal Furman (R) | 93,440 | 40 |

**NEW JERSEY** (98%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Frank Lautenberg* (D) | 999,842 | 50% |
| Chuck Haytaian (R) | 934,124 | 47 |

**NEW MEXICO** (95%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Jeff Bingaman* (D) | 211,505 | 55% |
| Colin McMillan (R) | 173,905 | 45 |

**NEW YORK** (95%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Daniel Moynihan* (D) | 2,426,597 | 55% |
| Bernadette Castro (R) | 1,815,894 | 41 |

**NORTH DAKOTA** (90%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Kent Conrad* (D) | 119,344 | 59% |
| Ben Clayburgh (R) | 83,584 | 41 |

**OHIO** (99%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Joel Hyatt (D) | 1,316,361 | 39% |
| ✔ Mike DeWine (R) | 1,790,605 | 53 |

**OKLAHOMA** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dave McCurdy (D) | 392,488 | 40% |
| ✔ James Inhofe (R) | 542,387 | 55 |

**PENNSYLVANIA** (96%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Harris Wofford* (D) | 1,612,180 | 47% |
| ✔ Rick Santorum (R) | 1,689,596 | 49 |

**RHODE ISLAND** (99%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Linda Kushner (D) | 118,411 | 36% |
| ✔ John Chafee* (R) | 213,896 | 64 |

**TENNESSEE, Seat A** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jim Sasser* (D) | 616,151 | 42% |
| ✔ Bill Frist (R) | 829,043 | 56 |

**TENNESSEE, Seat B** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jim Cooper (D) | 559,358 | 39% |
| ✔ Fred Thompson (R) | 878,456 | 61 |

**TEXAS** (86%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Fisher (D) | 1,486,259 | 39% |
| ✔ Kay B. Hutchison* (R) | 2,339,877 | 61 |

**UTAH** (44%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Patrick Shea (D) | 59,864 | 30% |
| ✔ Orrin Hatch* (R) | 135,478 | 67 |

**VERMONT** (83%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jan Backus (D) | 58,700 | 42% |
| ✔ James Jeffords* (R) | 70,882 | 50 |

**VIRGINIA** (99%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Charles Robb* (D) | 920,606 | 46% |
| Oliver North (R) | 867,139 | 43 |
| J. Marshall Coleman (I) | 230,318 | 11 |

**WASHINGTON** (40%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ron Sims (D) | 258,379 | 44% |
| ✔ Slade Gorton* (R) | 328,975 | 56 |

**WEST VIRGINIA** (100%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Robert Byrd* (D) | 288,313 | 69% |
| Stan Klos (R) | 129,310 | 31 |

**WISCONSIN** (85%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✔ Herb Kohl* (D) | 789,204 | 59% |
| Robert Welch (R) | 531,256 | 40 |

**WYOMING** (82%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mike Sullivan (D) | 66,199 | 41% |
| ✔ Craig Thomas (R) | 93,450 | 57 |

## MARYLAND

# Governor's Race Is Closest In 3 Decades

By Richard Tapscott
Washington Post Staff Writer

The campaign for governor of Maryland ended dramatically early this morning with Democrat Parris N. Glendening leading Republican Ellen R. Sauerbrey by fewer than 7,000 votes, neither candidate conceding defeat and 50,000 absentee ballots to be counted tomorrow.

The mood at both campaign victory parties was upbeat, though neither candidate was able to claim an uncontested victory.

"We're going to have to wait a few days before we can declare victory. I am confident that right is going to prevail and we are going to win," Sauerbrey told supporters in Timonium.

Glendening, the Prince George's county executive, appeared before hundreds of supporters in College Park and said, "It looks like we're ahead."

He said he expected a recount and attributed the close vote to the national wave of unhappiness with government. "I understand the frustration. I understand the changes that need to be made but I tell you we're up to it," he said.

Voters in predominantly Democratic and liberal Maryland sent a clear signal of displeasure by pushing to the brink of victory a Republican who was a political unknown until she offered to trim the personal income tax by 24 percent.

Sauerbrey swept rural areas and the increasingly Republican ring of Baltimore suburbs to build up her margin over Glendening, the Prince George's county executive, who had to depend for his votes largely on his home county, neighboring Montgomery and Baltimore.

Glendening, 52, had been battling an anti-government tide in hopes of becoming the first Maryland gover-

MARYLAND, From A1

nor from the Washington suburbs in more than a century. But Sauerbrey's promise of a 24 percent income tax cut was proving popular across the state and could make her the first female governor and the first Republican in the State House since Spiro Agnew.

Though not claiming victory yet, Sauerbrey told supporters there was a message in her strong showing.

"I think it's a repudiation of government that is too big and too intrusive and taxing too much," Sauerbrey said as she waded through a crowd at the Exhibition Hall at the Timonium Fairgrounds in Baltimore County.

In other Maryland races yesterday, most Democratic incumbents were headed for victory in statewide races, and it appeared that the U.S. House delegation from Maryland would remain split, with the Republicans and the Democrats holding four seats each.

Bucking the national Republican tide, Democratic U.S. Sen. Paul S. Sarbanes defeated former Tennessee senator William Brock in his campaign for a fourth term. Comptroller Louis L. Goldstein defeated his Republican challenger, Timothy Mayberry. In the Attorney General's race, incumbent J. Joseph Curran Jr. narrowly defeated Republican Richard D. Bennett 54 percent to 46 percent.

In the governor's race, Glendening faced an unexpectedly potent conservative surge embodied by Sauerbrey's call for an income tax cut and a smaller state government. Glendening had the advantage of superiority in party registration and campaign funding, but it may not have been enough in his campaign to become Maryland's 59th governor.

Although the race offered Maryland voters a chance to elect their first female governor, exit polls showed a deep gender split in the electorate, with the conservative Sauerbrey getting nearly six of 10 votes from men and Glendening winning the same strong level of support among women voters. Among black voters, Glendening was the choice of eight of every 10 voters, according to an exit poll conducted by Election News Service.

Nearly one-third of the voters surveyed, the largest segment, said crime and the role of government were the two issues that mattered most in their decision in the governor's race. But Glendening and Sauerbrey split those voters about evenly.

Sauerbrey, whose campaign relied heavily on her proposed income tax cut, was favored by nine of every 10 voters who said taxes were the most important issue. Glendening won six of every 10 voters who said the state's economy and jobs were paramount.

Glendening was the overwhelming favorite of the half of voters who said things in the state generally are going in the right direction, winning seven of every 10 votes. But among those who said things are on the wrong track, Sauerbrey won nearly seven of every 10 votes.

This fall's contest was notable both for the ideological chasm between the two candidates and their dramatically different electoral strategies.

Sauerbrey's candidacy—and to some respect, the entire campaign—was defined by her call for a massive cut in state personal income taxes. Appealing in its own right, the tax cut was also a symbolic cure for much of what ails the state. Sauerbrey cast the campaign as a broad struggle against a big and intrusive government that has stifled business and promoted the disintegration of families and the work ethic.

Her pledge to cut income taxes 24 percent over four years—made halfway through her underdog primary campaign—was designed to broaden her appeal to Democrats, who outnumber Republicans by a 2-to-1 ratio statewide. She also advocated limits on welfare and a school voucher program, stands that appealed to people disgruntled with government and skeptical of its ability to solve social problems.

Glendening's message, by contrast, sprang from the state's liberal Democratic tradition of giving government an active role in people's lives. He offered no dramatic policy prescriptions akin to Sauerbrey's tax cut. Instead, he made modest proposals for job creation and greater state aid for schools and emphasized his 12 years of experience running the Prince George's County government.

In many respects, the debate was over the primacy of economic concerns versus social issues. Glendening portrayed Sauerbrey as a right-wing zealot who would roll back the state's commitment to abortion rights and gun control. Sauerbrey tried to marginalize Glendening on the left, calling him a tax-and-spend liberal who thinks big government is the solution to most problems.

Glendening raised close to $6 million—a record for a Maryland governor's race—giving him the ammunition to outgun her on television. He gathered a wide array of endorsements in the traditional Democratic fold, including labor, environmental and women's groups. And he hoped to beat Sauerbrey by amassing big margins in the Democratic strongholds of Baltimore and Prince George's County and claiming vote-rich Montgomery County.

Sauerbrey, by contrast, hoped to score a victory with a suburban and rural base, winning traditionally conservative counties in Western Maryland, the Eastern Shore and the Baltimore suburbs and holding down Glendening's numbers in Montgomery.

Unlike Glendening, Sauerbrey accepted state public financing, which limited her to spending slightly less than $1 million. But the limit also had a liberating effect, allowing her to campaign nonstop without siphoning away her attention for fund-raising. Her candidacy had a spirited volunteer corps, and several independent groups spent money on her behalf, including one that produced a blistering attack on the increase in crime in Prince George's County during Glendening's tenure.

After saying that he planned to run a "very positive" campaign, Glendening was forced to go negative to blunt the popularity of Sauerbrey's bumper-sticker message: "Vote Yourself A 24 Percent Tax Cut."

Such a tax cut would reduce the $13 billion state budget by $800 million a year at the end of four years. The Democratic nominee said Sauerbrey's plans either would devastate state aid programs, including local school funding, or shift the burden to property taxes as counties scrambled to make up lost revenue.

"I don't believe the citizens of Prince George's and Montgomery and Baltimore County want their property taxes to go up," Glendening said as the general election campaign began.

Sauerbrey responded by noting that Maryland's income taxes are third highest in the nation: "I think the people of Maryland are fed up with bloated budgets and high taxes. "People don't want more government programs that . . . they'll probably never use."

Glendening's own financial proposals weren't immune from attack. In gathering endorsements from interest groups and local political leaders during the primary, he promised to restore state funding for teacher Social Security payments, to take over the cost of Circuit Courts and resume some aid for police in Baltimore. Glendening's promises were calculated to cost at least $300 million over a four-year term.

Sauerbrey took aim at those promises, saying Glendening also would have to cut the state budget to fulfill them without raising taxes, as he insisted he would. She said the difference was that she would return the money from her budget cuts to taxpayers, while he would spend his savings on new programs.

"If you're not going to invest in education, public safety and jobs, why would anyone want to be governor?" Glendening replied.

While taxes were the primary issue, the candidates differed sharply on almost every subject. Glendening spent much of the campaign attacking Sauerbrey as "out of touch" with Maryland because of her opposition to abortion, gun control and many environmental regulations. A Washington Post poll in October found that while a majority of voters liked her tax and welfare proposals, they sided with Glendening on abortion, gun control, aid to poor school systems, Sauerbrey's voucher proposal and several other issues.

Sauerbrey soft-pedaled her conservative views. Although she consistently voted against abortion-rights measures in the legislature, she said she would abide by the results of the 1992 referendum incorporating the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision into Maryland law.

# Barry the Once-Fallen and Future Mayor

# Barry's 4th Term Won Without Help Of White Voters

By Nell Henderson and Yolanda Woodlee
Washington Post Staff Writers

Marion Barry Jr. was elected mayor of the District yesterday, completing his dramatic climb back to the pinnacle of D.C. political power only four years after he left office humiliated by his drug arrest.

With complete returns from all 140 precincts, Barry had 56 percent of the vote to 42 percent for Republican Carol Schwartz.

It was the closest general election mayoral result in the 20-year history of home rule. The vote divided significantly along racial lines, as it had in the Democratic primary, with overwhelmingly white Ward 3 west of Rock Creek Park giving Barry little support.

The mayor-elect immediately issued a call for unity. "It doesn't matter who you voted for . . . join me," he told cheering supporters at the Washington Convention Center. "Whether you live in Wards 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and yes, Ward 3, join me in rebuilding Washington. Washington is our home."

D.C. Council Chairman David A. Clarke (D) and Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.) won reelection yesterday, as did all of the Democratic council incumbents and Kathy Patterson, the Democratic nominee for the Ward 3 council seat.

At the same time, however, the city's voters were giving a wide margin of approval to an initiative that will limit city officeholders elected yesterday and in the future to two consecutive terms in office.

Council member Hilda Mason, the longest-serving D.C. elected official and a standard-bearer of the Statehood Party, was locked in a battle with Board of Education member R. David Hall for the second at-large council seat on the ballot. Mason has held that seat since 1977.

In the races for the posts of unpaid statehood lobbyists, Florence Pendleton (D), the city's "shadow" senator, won reelection. John Capozzi won the contest for "shadow" representative to the U.S. House.

At-large school board member Jay Silberman won another term, as did Ward 8 representative Linda H. Moody, the current board president. In Ward 2, where incumbent Hall stepped down to run for council, Ann C. Wilcox won election.

Ward 4 incumbent Sandra Butler-Truesdale was locked in a tight battle with challengers Nathaniel "Nate" Sims and Wanda A. Oates. Terry Hairston won the seat in Ward 7, where incumbent Nate Bush had resigned to take a job as the board's executive secretary.

Schwartz conceded the mayor's race about 11:20 p.m., telling her supporters: "I thank each and every one of you for having faith in the face of cynicism, for having commitment in the face of intimidation. We have sounded a wake-up call that will ring throughout our city for years to come."

She then traveled to Barry's victory party to embrace him. "I'm glad to see Carol Schwartz, who fought a tough fight, but that fight only built my character better, brought the best out of me, brought the best out of you," he said, calling on the crowd to join him in applauding her.

Yesterday's vote suggested that Barry had failed in his effort to unify the city behind his candidacy. After his primary victory, he told white voters to "get over it" if they had personal problems with him. He later attempted to attract white support, but it went heavily to Schwartz yesterday.

"That, 'get over it,'—I'm not going to get over it," said Marie Terova, 50, an office administrator and resident of Ward 3. She said she had voted for Barry twice before, but voted Republican for the first time yesterday. "This isn't his city, it's my city. I was born here. . . . He is an alcoholic, a drug addict, a sex addict and no example for our young people."

Barry supporters saw things differently. "As a believer in the Lord, I can feel it, I can sense it and I can see that the man has risen above the crack and the deception," said Leonard R. Washington, 61, a homeless man who said he has supported Barry in every one of his mayoral races. "But some people still have not forgotten, or he would have run away with the election. . . . He will have to wear his past out in the open for a while to come until people have studied the man and his soul and see for themselves that he is a changed human being."

Barry thanked the voters for giving him a second chance after his fall from grace in January 1990, saying he knew they were taking a chance.

"You had faith in me," he said. "It took courage from time to time to put my signs in your windows. Didn't it? But you stood up and said, 'I think Marion Barry is the best and brightest for Washington, D.C.' "

Barry said he understood there were many reasons that some people feared voting for him, including that he hadn't recovered fully, did not have the courage to cut the budget or they didn't think someone who had been in prison should be mayor.

"But now that the people have spoken, I want you to come on home and help me rebuild Washington, together," he said.

Barry's final tally of 101,200 votes was the highest he had ever received in a November mayor's race—but his portion, 56 percent, was his smallest.

He won 80,666 votes, or 61 percent, in 1986, his last mayoral race and his first match-up against Schwartz, who then won 33 percent; in 1982, he won 93,364 votes, or 81 percent; and in 1978, he won 69,888, or 69 percent.

According to the D.C. Board of Elections, 50.4 percent of registered voters took part in yesterday's elections. A total of 179,972 voters cast ballots in the mayoral race; Four years ago, 169,066 residents voted. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly won 144,701 votes, or 86 percent, in that race.

Ward 3 showed the heaviest morning turnout in yesterday's balloting, with 32 percent of registered voters going to the polls; the lowest was in Barry's Ward 8 stronghold, where 17 percent had voted by noon. That is a traditional pattern, with affluent residents tending to vote early and working-class voters often going to the polls later in the day.

The two wards, at opposite ends of the city, voted as mirror images. Ward 3, the largest and most affluent of the city's subdivisions, gave Schwartz 92 percent of its morning ballots; Ward 8, the smallest and poorest, gave Barry 91 percent of its early vote.

Barry was running strong yesterday in the predominantly African American neighborhoods east of Rock Creek Park, among middle- and working-class residents, as he had in the primary. He did pick up some support in the predominantly white neighborhoods that had rejected him in the primary. Barry won 602 votes in Ward 3 in the primary, or 3 percent; yesterday he had won 1,054 of the morning ballots in Ward 3, or 6 percent.

Barry's operation for getting voters to the polls was visible, but did not appear to be as strong as it was on the day of the primary vote, some poll watchers said.

A record 361,890 residents had registered, in part reflecting Barry's four-year effort to expand the electorate among the poor, young and dispossessed, who had embraced him after he completed a six-month prison sentence for misdemeanor drug possession.

One supporter said last night that the showing by Schwartz sent a strong signal to the new mayor.

"It is a great and clear message to Barry that he did not get a mandate and we are not going away," said Charles Reynolds, 62, a retired federal employee.

Schwartz had hammered at Barry's record throughout the campaign, contending that his failures left the city in crisis and struggling with fiscal problems, crime and poverty.

But many who voted for Barry recalled his 12 years in the mayor's office, from 1979 through 1990, as better times. "He's a good administrator, and you can't take that away from him," said Renee Smith, a distributor of skin-care products who lives in Ward 4.

Smith and others also said Barry is better able to connect to D.C. residents, particularly black residents who have had similar troubles.

"He's got the city, he's got the peoples' hearts," said Barbara Walters, 49, an Adams-Morgan resident. "He's got labor. The people in business, they love him. . . . He gives these children hope."

Jeff Henig, director of the George Washington University Center for Washington Area Studies, said he was not surprised that Schwartz did better than expected because some people are still skeptical of Barry's recovery.

For Schwartz to poll so well in a city that is two-thirds African American and where Democrats outnumber Republicans 10 to 1 shows that she won substantial numbers of black and Democratic votes, he said.

"It puts more pressure on him to reach out to those who voted against him and not hunker down and protect his own constituency," Henig said, "to show that he's going to be the mayor of all this city."

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FINAL

# Many Republicans' Votes Came From Those Who Distrust Government

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

The dramatic Republican gains in yesterday's elections were fueled in large part by overwhelming support from the most alienated Americans, who have little or no confidence in Congress and say the country is off track.

Exit polls at voting precincts across the country showed that about one-third of the electorate does not believe the government can solve the nation's problems, and those voters chose Republican candidates by more than 3 to 1.

By a 2-to-1 ratio, the quarter of the electorate that felt it is more important to have newcomers rather than experienced politicians in government voted for GOP candidates—and produced a somewhat contradictory outcome on the issue of incumbency. These voters, the most anti-incumbent in the nation, not only voted for Republicans against Democratic incumbents and in open-seat contests, but also voted strongly for GOP incumbents.

In effect, the anti-incumbent surge was directed mostly at Democrats. That helped to explain the few losses yesterday for Republican incumbents.

Almost 60 percent of voters said they think the country is "off on the wrong track," and they voted for Republicans 2 to 1. Among the almost 40 percent satisfied with the country's direction, Democratic candidates enjoyed a 3-to-1 advantage.

The exit polls showed that President Clinton was a factor in yesterday's voting but that partisan views of Clinton are so sharp that they may have negated each other, having relatively little impact on the outcome of individual races.

About 60 percent of voters said Clinton played a role in how they how they voted in House races. But they were almost evenly split between those who wanted to show support for the president and voted overwhelmingly Democratic, and those who wanted to cast a vote against Clinton and just as strongly backed Republican candidates.

Democratic candidates held a slight edge among the about 40 percent of the electorate that said Clinton was not a factor in their voting.

The exit polls confirmed that crime was the foremost issue on voters' minds when they went to the polls yesterday, but neither party enjoyed a strong advantage on the subject. About a third of the electorate listed crime as one of the two most important issues, and a narrow majority of these voters supported Democratic candidates.

Democrats also were narrowly favored by voters most concerned about jobs and the economy and, by more than 2 to 1, by voters for whom health care was a top issue.

Republican candidates were favored by a more than 2-to-1 ratio by voters most concerned about taxes and about "family values and morality."

Republicans also did well among supporters of the 1992 presidential campaign of Ross Perot and among evangelical Christians. A little more than 10 percent of yesterday's voters identified themselves as Perot supporters, and they backed GOP candidates by almost 2 to 1.

Evangelical Christians made up about a quarter of the electorate, and more than 60 percent of them voted Republican.

The exit polls showed the country split geographically, with Republicans winning a majority of votes in the Midwest and South, while Democrats led in the Northeast and West.

Democrats continued to retain the overwhelming support of African Americans and, to a lesser extent, older voters. As in most recent elections, a majority of women supported Democratic candidates, but this was only because of the votes of black women. A slight majority of white women, as well as whites overall, voted for Republicans.

The exit polls also showed that the Democrats continue to be seen as the party of activist government and enjoy the support of those voters who have the most faith in the government's ability to resolve the nation's problems.

Democratic candidates also were the choice of voters who said it is more important to have experienced politicians in government rather than newcomers.

The 30 percent of voters who considered a candidate's experience among the two most important factors in the election favored Democratic candidates by about 2 to 1. By a smaller ratio, Republicans were the choice of the 25 percent of voters who considered a candidate's character and ethics one of the key factors.

After all the campaign rhetoric about the public's disgust with the failures of government, voters yesterday rendered a divided judgment on the question of who is to blame. About a quarter of the electorate blamed special interest groups, and these voters generally supported Democratic candidates. About equal numbers blamed either Democrats or Republicans in Congress and voted accordingly. And the largest category, who said all of these groups shared blame equally, were almost equally divided between Democrats and Republicans.

Voters indicated their attitudes were deeply affected by how they see their own future, what they think about the general direction of the country and how they judge Clinton.

Among those who said their personal standard of living was rising, Democrats held about a 2-to-1 advantage. It was just the opposite for those who have experienced a declining living standard. And among the half of the electorate that said its living standard had stayed about the same, the party split was 50-50.

The public's sharply partisan divisions over the Clinton presidency were confirmed throughout the exit poll data. For example, among the quarter of the electorate that thinks Clinton did more during his first years than most presidents did, Democratic candidates held an overwhelming lead. But GOP candidates enjoyed a similar advantage among the third of the electorate that thinks Clinton has done less than his predecessors.

The interviews of 5,353 voters at polling places across the country were conducted by Mitfosky International, a New York exit polling firm, for The Washington Post and other major newspapers and TV stations.

# Tennessee Debacle Is Emblematic of a Long Night for Democrats

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two years ago, Tennessee's Democrats were riding high. They had the governor, two senators, six of nine House members and a favorite son who became vice president of the United States. On Tuesday, the party banner turned to ashes.

In a debacle emblematic of a nationwide Republican resurgence, Tennessee's GOP nearly swept the board. Sen. Jim Sasser (D), the early front-runner to succeed retiring Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine), lost in his bid for a fourth term to Bill Frist, a transplant surgeon who voted for the first time in his life six years ago.

In the other Senate race, Rep. Jim Cooper (D), the policy wonk who developed an alternative to President Clinton's health plan, lost to lawyer-lobbyist-actor Fred Thompson, another neophyte.

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Phil Bredesen, Nashville's mayor, lost to Republican Rep. Don Sundquist, and late last night, returns indicated that the Tennessee Democrats' 6-to-3 advantage in the House could turn into a 4-to-5 deficit.

"It really is hard for me to put my fingers on the reason for it," state Democratic Chairman Jane Eskind said. "I really think there's so much anxiety and unrest and concern that people have decided that changing the messenger is going to change the message."

But the message remained unclear. Frist, who spent $2 million of his personal funds on his campaign, hammered Sasser as a liberal in lock step with Clinton who, as majority leader, would drift even farther from Tennessee.

Cooper, however, took his beating, in part, because he lost touch with state Democrats by bucking the Clinton health plan and by voting against the crime bill.

Labor turned its back on him, and black voters were less than enthusiastic about his conservatism.

Eskind blamed "incumbency." Cooper was a six-term congressman, and "the fact that Sasser had been in Washington 18 years was the worst thing you could say about him."

"It's a year in which all of the things we thought were etched in stone no longer apply," Eskind said. "The power of incumbency, past popularity, ability and the record—none of it seemed to matter."

For the GOP, however, it was an epic victory.

Republicans hadn't won statewide office in 12 years.

They turned the tables in 1994, in part, by trusting in rookies.

Frist, 42, started out far below Sasser in the polls but clawed his way into the race with a barrage of ads attacking the incumbent as a "career politician" who had lost touch with voters.

He favored term limits and the death penalty for career criminals, and at one point suggested that "Tennesseans can't trust Jim Sasser to represent their interests unless they are murderers."

Thompson, a lawyer and occasional actor whose film credits include "In the Line of Fire" and "The Hunt for Red October," toured the state wearing a plaid shirt and driving a leased pickup truck. "I think the people spoke," a jubilant Thompson said late yesterday. "Not only that, but I think they yelled at the top of their voice."

But if nonpoliticians were the rule in Tennessee's Senate races, Sundquist, a six-term rural congressman, defied the rule. Here, Eskind said, Republicans had a man who could steal the hearts of conservative Democrats while proving the old Tennessee dictum that mayors of large cities, like Bredesen, never win the statehouse.

Tuesday's wipeout left Thompson as the Democrats' best hope to recover in the near future. In finishing out Gore's term, the new senator will have to run again in two years, and, Eskind, said, "in politics, nothing is forever."

Sasser concurred: "I don't intend to go gently into the good night," Sasser said. "Believe me, as long as there are battles left to fight, for economic progress, for fairness, you're going to have Jim Sasser around to fight them."

And in the congressional wars to come, the GOP will be defending, and yesterday's disaster, Eskind said, "certainly proves you don't need term limits—you've already got them."

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# Speaker Fights For His Life In Washington

## *30-Year Veteran Foley Tries To Head Off Biggest Challenge*

By Kevin Merida
Washington Post Staff Writer

SPOKANE, Wash., Nov. 8—In the most-watched congressional race in the nation, House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D) tried to weather the toughest challenge of his life and avoid being the first speaker booted from office since 1860.

His opponent, George Nethercutt, a 50-year-old lawyer and former Republican county chairman, promised to make history—aided by strong anti-Foley auxiliary campaigns waged by the term-limits movement and the National Rifle Association.

The 5th Congressional District in eastern Washington is conservative in political outlook and typically leans Republican. Here, Foley, 65, who rode the 1964 Lyndon B. Johnson landslide to beat a 22-year Republican incumbent, is an anomaly.

Both candidates predicted victory today, but the challenger appeared more ebullient than the often-reserved incumbent. "I think it will be a bigger victory than predicted," Nethercutt boasted.

Both campaigns were watching closely the returns from Spokane, Walla Walla and Whitman counties—areas where Foley traditionally has been strong but where there were thought to be cracks in his support. Another key was the record number of absentee ballots mailed from some of the district's 11 counties. Not all of those ballots were expected to be counted tonight, potentially throwing a close race into doubt.

Foley was the first of the two candidates to vote, arriving with his wife, Heather, at a high school gymnasium on the edge of downtown at about 7:30 a.m. The Foleys were the 11th and 12th voters at their polling location, where early turnout was light. The speaker's ballot initially got stuck in the voting machine, and he had to be assisted by an election monitor. He took it in stride and quickly left the school, speaking to reporters only briefly.

"Good day, good weather; I think we'll have a good result," said Foley, who spent most of the day making phone calls to supporters, stopping at restaurants to shake hands and checking in on other House races.

Asked whether he was confident voters would return him to office, Foley responded: "I have ultimate and absolute faith in the voters of this district. . . . They've been very generous and supportive of me all the times I have sought public office and I'm confident they'll give me their confidence again."

But underneath that public confidence was a quiet unease among Foley loyalists. The campaign mounted an unprecedented get-out-the-vote effort on Election Day, summoning 500 volunteers, including 200 "poll watchers" who were stationed at precincts to track Foley's support. In addition, 175 volunteers called previously identified Foley supporters to make sure they voted; 100 other Foley supporters—dubbed "honk-and-wavers"—drove around blowing car horns and waving signs to drum up enthusiasm for the speaker.

But it was uncertain late in the day whether the effort would be enough to save the speaker's job. As a sign of just how endangered Foley was perceived to be, his closing campaign rally Monday night featured a Dixieland jazz band, which played the theme of the movie "Rocky," an uplifting tune normally trotted out for underdogs.

At St. Mark's Lutheran Church, one of the heaviest-voting precincts in Spokane, Nethercutt and wife, Mary Beth, cast their ballots at about 9:30 a.m. Looking relaxed and confident, Nethercutt predicted not only his victory but a toppling of the Democratic majority in the House. "I think there's a feeling that the Democrats haven't performed," he said. "Give the Republicans a chance. . . . I think people motivated to change the system will get out to vote and that's in our favor."

As an illustration of how intense the contest has been, a Foley supporter confronted Nethercutt in the church parking lot. James Ott said his 74-year-old mother had sent a letter to the local newspaper supporting Foley and subsequently had received anonymous phone calls and angry letters harassing her.

Interviews with voters exiting polling locations indicated a pattern of voting along two lines: Those backing Foley generally said they had voted for him because of his integrity and his ability as speaker to deliver for the 5th District. Those supporting Nethercutt generally spoke of a frustration with government.

"He hardly spends any time here anymore," said Mary Murphy, 41, a Democrat who said she was voting against Foley for the first time. Asked whether she wasn't worried about the 5th District's losing clout in Congress by turning out a sitting speaker, Murphy said: "I don't think we need the pork he's promised us. I don't think that's the issue anymore."

But Carlos Alden, a 41-year-old part-time family therapist who voted for Foley, said: "Many people who say throw the rascals out are naive to what our system is all about. It takes a lot of experience [to get things done]. It's not so simple."

# Unusually Heavy Vote Ends Florida Contest

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI, Nov. 8—Cuban American political activists shouted their support today for John Ellis "Jeb" Bush outside of Radio Mambi, a Spanish-language station here, as former president George Bush's youngest son went on the airwaves to get out the Hispanic vote in the final moments of his 18-month campaign for Florida governor.

Election officials said it looked as if two-thirds of Florida's registered voters were going to the polls, a huge turnout for a midterm election here, driven as much by a nasty governor's race as by a controversial bid to bring casino gambling to the state. In some heavily Hispanic districts, such as nearby suburban Hialeah, more than 80 percent of registered voters cast ballots.

Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles (D), who lagged in the polls until mid-October, went into the election in a dead heat against Republican Bush. Yesterday, the governor donned a T-shirt that showed Chiles with a bullwhip and the taunt "Bushwhacker."

The campaign's spin doctors differed on whom the high turnout would help most. Many outsiders believed the big vote would help Chiles, who could benefit from Republican women turned off by Bush's antiabortion stance. But voters also could reject Chiles, a 34-year political veteran widely seen as the safer but more boring candidate.

Chiles, who has also been heavily (and often inaccurately) negative in his ads against Bush, voted early in Tallahassee, then headed to Tampa to monitor the election returns. Bush spent the day urging Spanish-speaking voters in South Florida to vote for him, repeatedly stressing that he is the man who will attack the "crisis" of bad government, bad schools and bad criminals in Florida.

At Radio Mambi today, Bush said he was happy to finish the campaign "on a positive note." Chiles continued to attack Bush's ads that showed the mother of a slain daughter and accused the governor of being soft on crime and slow to see death-row inmates executed.

Today, in Garry Trudeau's "Doonesbury" strip, the cartoonist took a stab at the Jeb Bush ad. Trudeau's "invisible" George Bush, watching the commercial, exclaimed, "Just marvelous! Takes me back! Willie Horton City!"

Jeb Bush, usually smiling, looked stone-faced when asked about the cartoon. First he said he did not see it, then added, "He's not registered to vote in Florida."

The two candidates' positions presented Florida voters with a clear choice. Chiles says he believes government needs to be made smarter and more efficient. Bush contends government needs to be "dismantled." He has urged that welfare recipients be removed from the rolls after two years and parents be given vouchers that could be used for either public or private schools.

# Democratic House Incumbents Locked in Tight Races in N. Va.

By Eric Lipton and Charles Hall
Washington Post Staff Writers

With Virginia's U.S. Senate race boosting area turnouts, two Democratic U.S. House incumbentswere locked in fights yesterday to preserve their seats in Northern Virginia.

Early returns showed Republican Thomas M. Davis III with a slight lead over Rep. Leslie L. Byrne in the 11th District with about one-third of Fairfax County's precincts reporting. In the 8th District race, Rep. James P. Moran Jr. (D) took an early lead over challenger Kyle M. McSlarrow with 38 of the district's 132 precincts reporting.

In the 10th District, Republican incumbent Frank R. Wolf was on his way to reelection to his eighth term, easily overcoming two independent candidates.

The campaign between Byrne and Davis, considered one of the most competitive House races in the country, featured candidates with divergent leadership styles and differing philosophies on the role of government.

Davis sold himself as a nonpartisan consensus-builder who as Fairfax County board chairman was able to bring together Democrats and Republicans to eliminate an anticipated $200 million county budget deficit without significant tax increases. He also emphasized his efforts to restore the county's reputation as an attractive place to do business by citing cuts in some corporate taxes and the repeal of land-use restrictions that his Democratic predecessor had pushed through.

Explaining his view of government, Davis spoke of what he called the "law of unintended consequences." He said even the best intentioned federal laws often resulted in a bureaucratic mess once they reached the local level.

Byrne, the first woman elected to Congress from Virginia, expressed more confidence in government's ability to help the public. During her four terms in the Virginia House of Delegates and two years in the House of Representatives, she said, she had pursued legislation that had benefited Northern Virginia residents, such as requiring covers on debris-filled trucks and creating a low-cost immunization program for children without health insurance.

She also told voters that unlike Davis, who she described as a waffler, she was not a "go-along-to-get-along kind of a gal."

In the final week of the campaign, Byrne tried to convince voters that Davis was not the moderate Republican he claimed to be. She suggested that he opposed gun-control measures and abortion rights.

Davis dismissed those claims as lies. He sought to cast Byrne as a politician who was beholden to Democratic leaders and labor unions, which contributed more than $150,000 to her reelection campaign. He also criticized her votes last year against the North American Free Trade Agreement and in favor of tax increases in the Clinton deficit-reduction plan.



BY JAMES A. PARCELL-THE WASHINGTON POST



BY TOM MORAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Kyle M. McSlarrow, left, and Rep. James P. Moran Jr. (D), who is hugging his daughter, Mary, before voting in Alexandria, were in a rematch of their 1992 battle for the 8th Congressional District seat.**

No independent polls were taken, but political analysts gave Davis the advantage because of the anti-Clinton, anti-incumbent fervor sweeping the nation. His positioning as a conservative on fiscal issues and a moderate on social issues also seemed to mesh well with the 11th District, some observers said.

Byrne spent election day outside polling centers, where she mingled with voters. Again and again, she repeated the same line: "I hope we can count on you today."

One man at a precinct in Burke refused to shake hands or even acknowledge her. A good-humored Byrne turned and mouthed "I guess that's a nope" as he walked away. But many of the 1,021 voters who had arrived there by about 10:30 seemed more supportive.

Davis, who also bounced from polling place to polling place, said he sensed that his campaign was "clearly the beneficiary of a lot of ticket splitting"—that is, people voting for Davis and Democratic Senate candidate Charles S. Robb.

The 8th District race was a rematch from 1992, when McSlarrow and Moran staged one of the nastiest local races in recent years. Although both candidates aired negative ads in recent weeks, this year's campaign never reached the same level of vitriol.

McSlarrow, 34, an environmental lawyer, attacked Moran on several fronts.

He said Moran had failed to adequately defend the district's large federal and military work force from assaults by the Clinton administration. He also said Moran was soft on crime, and he attacked Moran's support of the Clinton budget by saying the measure subjected Social Security recipients and small-business owners to unfair taxation.

Moran, 49, a former Alexandria mayor seeking his third House term, cited his superior experience and noted that McSlarrow had never held local elected office.

From the start, McSlarrow's race was seen as uphill because the 8th District, which takes in Arlington, Alexandria and much of southern Fairfax, is among Virginia's most liberal House districts.

But McSlarrow sought throughout the campaign to capitalize on Clinton's nationwide unpopularity by noting that Moran had voted with Clinton 90 percent of the time. In the final weeks before the election, his staff cited polling data that suggested Moran was vulnerable.

Moran professed confidence. His staff privately predicted a stronger victory than in 1992, when Moran won by 56 to 42 percent.

Both candidates crisscrossed the 8th District yesterday, and both campaigns took heart from high voter turnouts. Moran said local hostility toward Republican Senate candidate Oliver L. North had boosted turnout in Arlington and Alexandria, a trend they said would help Moran and Robb.

McSlarrow's campaign workers noted that polls also were crowded in normally Republican precincts.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# Battle for Open Seat in Baltimore Caps Congressional Races

By Eugene L. Meyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland voters went to the polls yesterday to decide the fate of seven congressional incumbents and to choose between two Princeton University classmates for the eighth open seat in the Baltimore suburbs.

With most of the incumbents favored to win reelection, the big question was whether the Republicans would hang onto the seat vacated by outgoing Rep. Helen Delich Bentley.

A Republican victory in Bentley's 2nd District, encompassing most of Baltimore County, would preserve the even party split in the eight-member delegation, if all the incumbents won.

Maryland's three-term senator, Paul S. Sarbanes (D), was expected to survive a challenge by Republican William Brock, a former U.S. senator and representative from Tennessee who now lives in Potomac.

In the metropolitan areas of Washington and Baltimore, incumbent Democrats Albert R. Wynn, Benjamin L. Cardin and Kweisi Mfume and Republican incumbent Constance A. Morella appeared headed for reelection victories.

Democratic Rep. Steny H. Hoyer, attempting to solidify his base in the redrawn 5th District, was in a spirited contest with former Reagan administration official Donald Devine.

In 1992, Hoyer won with 54 percent of the vote, his lowest majority since his election to Congress 11 years earlier, and he lost the three Southern Maryland counties to his Republican challenger, Larry Hogan Jr.

This year, Devine sought to portray Hoyer as too liberal to represent the district, which includes all of St. Mary's, Charles and Calvert counties, a part of Anne Arundel County and most of Prince George's County outside the Capital Beltway.

As the fourth-ranking House Democrat, Hoyer, of Mitchellville, stressed his ability to protect the district's economy, heavily dependent on federal jobs and military bases.

Although Devine's campaign was boosted by national party figures such as House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), his fund-raising fell far short of Hoyer's. Hoyer collected $649,652 this year compared with $190,534 for Devine.



BY JUANA ARIAS—THE WASHINGTON POST

**Republican Rep. Constance A. Morella appeared to be headed for a sixth term in Maryland's 8th District.**

In the 4th District, which includes the inner Beltway communities of Prince George's and southeastern Montgomery counties, Wynn was in a rematch with Republican Michele Dyson, a Silver Spring businesswoman he overwhelmingly defeated in 1992. Wynn also raised substantially more money than his Republican challenger, much of it from political action committees.

In the neighboring 8th District, Montgomery voters were expected to send Republican Morella back to Congress for a sixth term. Morella, among the most liberal in her party and one of only five Republicans endorsed by the American Federation of Government Employees, faced lawyer and former one-term Rockville mayor Steven Van Grack.

Van Grack, who said he agrees with Morella on most issues and likes her personally, attacked her for signing the Republican "Contract With America," along with more than 300 other Republican congressional candidates.

Wynn also criticized his opponent for signing the document, which promised increased defense spending and a balanced budget without tax increases. Both Dyson and Morella said they disagreed with parts of the document they had signed.

In Western Maryland's 6th District, which also includes much of Howard County, Rep. Roscoe G. Bartlett (R), of Frederick, was facing a strong challenge from Hagerstown Democrat Paul Mundowney, a concrete company owner and former delegate to the Maryland General Assembly.

Both men hold generally conservative views. But Bartlett's strict adherence to ideology stirred controversy when he refused to seek federal aid for snow removal in his district after a March 1993 blizzard. Bartlett's first term also was marked with controversy over his remark that a list of Asian American scholarship winners lacked "normal names," a comment for which he later apologized.

However, Republicans hold a slight edge in the district, which would help Bartlett, a former college professor.

In the 1st District, encompassing the Eastern Shore, northern Anne Arundel County and a small piece of Baltimore County, two-term Rep. Wayne T. Gilchrist (R), a former high school history teacher, was pitted against Democrat Ralph T. Gies, a little-known conservative lacking support from his own party.

The most hotly fought contest was to replace five-term representative Bentley, who gave up what was considered a safe seat in the House in her unsuccessful bid to become the Republican gubernatorial nominee.

The campaign to succeed her pitted Republican Robert L. Ehrlich Jr., of Timonium, against Democrat Gerry L. Brewster. The district is nearly 2 to 1 Democratic but has tended to reject liberal candidates. Both men are lawyers in their mid-thirties who attended the same private school in Baltimore—Gilman—and Princeton University.

In Baltimore city's 7th District, with 10 Democrats for every Republican, Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D), the outgoing chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, was facing a challenge in his bid for a sixth term from Republican Kenneth Konder, who owns a dental lab.

Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin, whose 3rd District extends from Baltimore's Inner Harbor into the northwestern suburbs, was facing a little-known Republican challenger, Howard County lawyer Robert Ryan Tousey. Cardin, who got 76 percent of the vote in 1992, is completing his fourth term in the House, where he holds a seat on the powerful Ways and Means Committee.

# Tribunal Set On Rwanda War Crimes

## *Kigali Votes No On U.N. Resolution*

By Julia Preston
Washington Post Foreign Service

UNITED NATIONS, Nov. 11—The Security Council established an international tribunal today to prosecute the killers of more than a half-million people in Rwanda. The government in Kigali voted against the resolution, even though its Tutsi followers were the principal victims.

The 15-nation council, on which Rwanda holds a temporary seat this year, agreed that the slaughter in Rwanda was so vast and so clearly inspired by tribal hatred that it requires a special court authorized to judge genocide, like the post World War II Nuremberg trials and the international court in The Hague that is now hearing war crimes cases from the communal fighting in the Balkans.

A U.N. experts' commission reported in September that extremist militias from the majority Hutu tribe attempted in a three-month campaign to exterminate the Tutsi minority, before they were defeated by a Tutsi-led guerrilla force.

The Rwandan government voted against the resolution because it does not allow the death penalty, although Rwanda said it will cooperate with the court's work. Rwandan officials argued that the United Nations is creating a double standard by which small-time triggermen will be tried in Rwandan courts, where they can be condemned to death, while top-level organizers and commanders could end up serving life sentences.

Many Security Council countries' charters outlaw the death penalty and could not accept it at the tribunal. The council also rebuffed the Kigali government's efforts to have a say in the choice of judges.

Rwanda's opposition to the resolution also reflects increasing resentment against the international community, which did not act to stop the killing when it was underway and is now denying the new government wide control over the tribunal.

The Security Council adopted the measure, sponsored by the United States and New Zealand, by a vote of 13 in favor with Rwanda voting against, while China abstained.

To speed things up, the council borrowed from the tribunal in The Hague dealing with war crimes in the former Yugoslav republics. South African jurist Richard Goldstone, the chief prosecutor in that court, will serve in the same role for Rwanda, and the two tribunals will share the same appeals judges.

Human rights observers said that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of followers of the fallen Hutu regime could be accused of crimes against humanity. The international tribunal, with its extraordinarily careful procedures, will be able to hear at most a few dozen cases a year.

Unlike the defendants in the Yugoslav cases, most Rwandans likely to be accused are no longer in the country. Many former Hutu officials sought refuge in U.N. refugee camps outside Rwanda, mainly in Zaire, where they have reasserted control over hundreds of thousands of Hutu refugees.

# Big Turnout Brings Big Smiles in Texas

By Sue Anne Pressley
Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN, Tex., Nov. 8—As their deadlocked, increasingly caustic race drew to a close, Gov. Ann Richards (D) and Republican George W. Bush were all smiles today, each speaking graciously of the other and each claiming an advantage from the surprisingly heavy turnout of Texas voters.

"It's a tight race and it will be till the last vote is counted," said Richards, 61, in her only public appearance of the day, a stop to thank volunteers at her headquarters here. As she spoke, a passerby shouted, "We love you, Ann."

"I think I'm going to win," she said. "But regardless of what occurs, I'm going to do something wonderful."

The matchup between the flamboyant, frank-talking Richards and Bush, 46, son of the former president who is seeking his first public office, did not provide the constant fireworks that longtime politicos here had hoped. But in recent days, as polls continued to indicate a neck-and-neck race, the strain was evident as Bush accused Richards of leaving a "trail of broken promises" and Richards countered that Bush had "played the game of half-truths and manipulation and distortion until you want to scream."

The most recent statewide poll, announced Sunday by the Dallas Morning News and the Houston Chronicle, showed Bush with 46.6 percent and Richards with 44.3 percent; the margin of error was plus or minus 3 percentage points. Political analysts say Richards benefited greatly from an endorsement last week by Dallas billionaire Ross Perot, apparently bringing a new group of male voters into her camp.

Both Richards and Bush, whose only daytime appearance today was to cast his vote at a Dallas elementary school, said they are optimistic about their chances of winning. Richards, certainly, has a history of snatching victory in the final minutes; in her first gubernatorial race, in 1990, she beat Clayton Williams 51 percent to 49 percent, after trailing the millionaire oilman by as much as 15 percentage points in the polls. Williams lost a great bloc of undecided women voters with his ill-chosen remarks about rape.

The critical factor this time may be voter turnout, which was expected to be 50 percent to 55 percent of the eligible voters, unusually high for a non-presidential year. Voting appeared particularly heavy in largely Hispanic south Texas, long considered a Richards stronghold, but the crucial votes may come from traditionally Republican Dallas and other areas of central Texas. Another unknown factor is just how well-organized the emerging Republican Party in Texas will be in corraling votes for Bush.

For her part, Richards said she has no hard feelings about the past campaign year. "Personally, I wish him well," she said of her opponent. "Politically, I don't wish him so well."

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# NRO Purchased 14 Superfluous Acres for $304 Million Complex

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

The nation's spy satellite agency, the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO), bought almost 14 acres more than needed for its controversial new $304 million, four-building headquarters complex in the Westfields development near Dulles International Airport, documents and interviews with sources show.

NRO, which designs, procures and manages intelligence satellites, planned to use the surplus Westfields acreage to build two additional office buildings that could be sold or leased to its contractors. The only way the NRO could buy the land it wanted was to purchase additional land, so the developers who owned it could get the profit they wanted.

At the time the 68-acre, $24 million land purchase took place on Nov. 15, 1990, NRO did not tell its two managers, the CIA and Defense Department, or Congress, about adding 25 percent more acreage to its "master plan" in Fairfax County.

As previously reported, a CIA-Pentagon investigation begun in August found that the NRO had failed to disclose the cost of the headquarters to Congress and found it was 30 percent bigger than the organization needed for its 2,190 employees and nearly 1,000 contractor personnel.

The Westfields developer got NRO to purchase roughly eight additional acres because the spy satellite agency planners insisted they had to build and own the complex themselves. They refused to allow the developer to construct and rent the buildings to NRO under a long-term lease. Therefore, selling the land was the only way the developer would make money from the NRO deal.

Another six acres were included in the purchase after the developer said a high-rise motel was planned for the land that overlooked the NRO site.

In a letter to Congress seeking support for its 1990 land purchase, NRO said the site "will allow for additional collocation up to and including all of the NRO and some of our supporting contractors." That was the only hint that the agency was also planning to have the option of developing additional office buildings on its Westfields land for some of its major contractors.

NRO warned in the letter that its strategy of purchasing "both land and buildings" has "the greatest near-year costs" but "provides the most flexibility regarding additional collocation decisions."

Another NRO decision questioned by congressional auditors but not raised publicly involves eliminating three vast military-owned spaces in the Washington metro area as prospective sites for the headquarters complex: Fort Meade in Maryland, and Fort Belvoir and the Quantico Marine Base in Virginia.

Fort Meade was dropped because it was too far from the Pentagon, the proposed site contained many protected wetlands and the soil reportedly contained contaminants that would have to be cleaned up.

Fort Belvoir was eliminated because other military operations were transferred there and occupied available land. Moreover, the Army did not seem interested in getting another tenant.

At Quantico, a 150-acre site was explored but the costs of paving roads and putting in sewer, water and other facilities drove up the price.

NRO officials believed all three government-owned sites posed an unusual security problem. Planners felt that building on one of the military bases would indicate government involvement at a time when the NRO's very name was classified.

The fact that its own headquarters, now and at that time, was in the Pentagon and more than half its then-employees worked at NRO facilities located on other military bases did not seem to influence that attitude.

The roots for the NRO's construction of the Westfields complex go back to 1988. At that time, NRO was a super-secret Cold War agency looking at the headquarters consolidation as a way to limit the long-standing program competition among the CIA, Air Force and Navy, all of which operated separate and sometimes competing satellite intelligence collections.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, each wanted to secure continuation of its own billion-dollar programs in the face of looming budget cuts.

Against that backdrop, NRO planners asked each group for its office space requirements in the consolidated facility being planned.

In May 1989, with each of the three providing its own figures, planners determined that 800,000 square feet or less of office space was needed to house 2,259 permanent NRO employees.

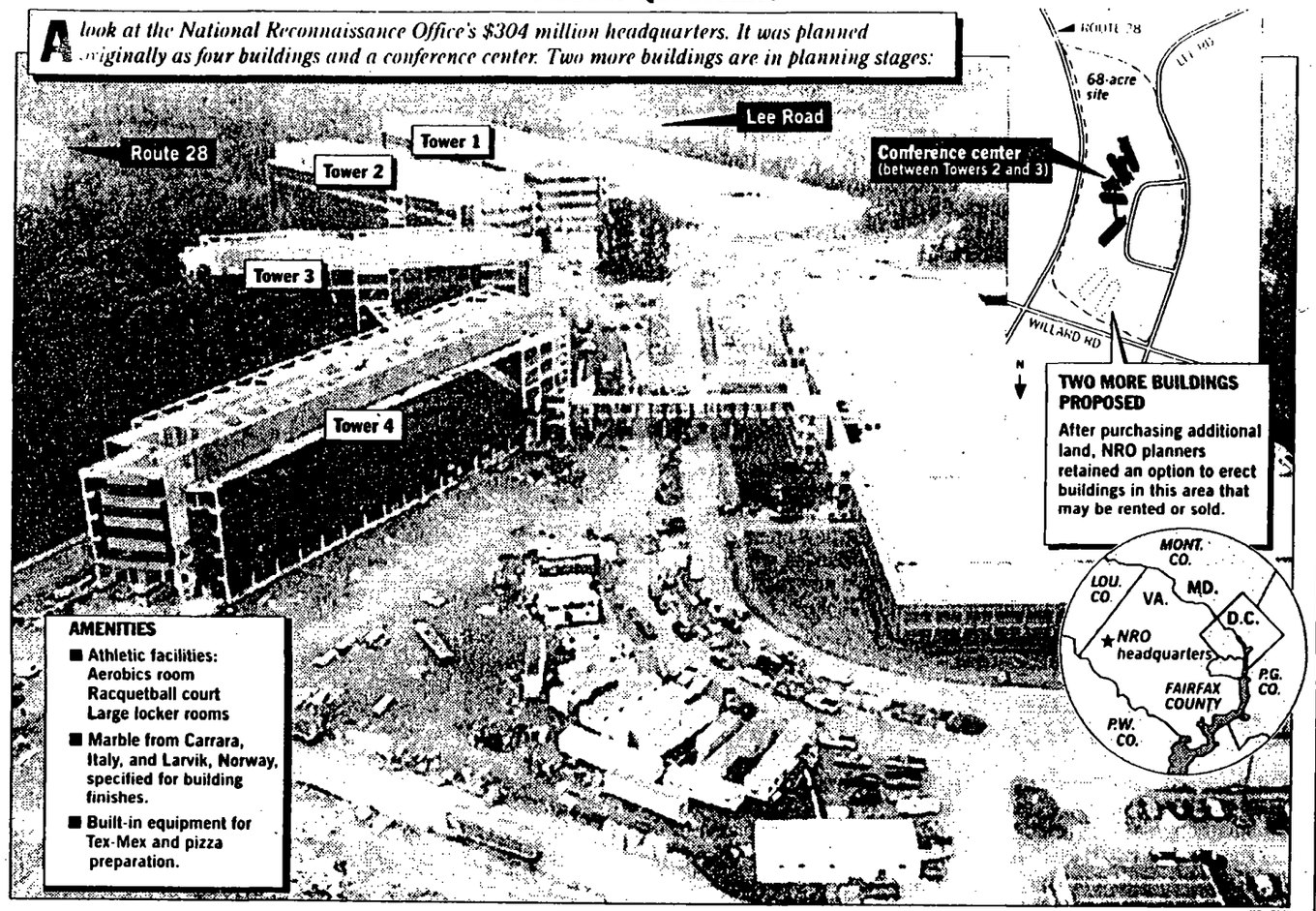
By the time the NRO planners eliminated the military properties and had held two competitions among Maryland and Virginia business developments, the space requirement had grown to 1 million square feet to handle 2,000 NRO employees and 1,000 contractors.

After selecting Westfields, NRO originally planned to purchase about 54 acres. But after negotiations, it actually bought 68 acres. That parcel would accommodate almost 1.5 million square feet of office space, but the master plan used only 1.3 million square feet.

The additional acres were to be used in the future to construct two additional buildings with 400,000 square feet of office space under a plan put together inside NRO to justify the added land.

## PLUSH QUARTERS

*A look at the National Reconnaissance Office's $304 million headquarters. It was planned originally as four buildings and a conference center. Two more buildings are in planning stages.*




REUTER

SOURCES: Fairfax County Plans Review Office and staff reports

—Compiled by Barbara J. Saffir

THE WASHINGTON POST

# Smith's Kin Apologize To Blacks

## *Accused Mother's Tale Sparked Resentment*

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

The family of Susan Smith, the 23-year-old mother accused of killing her two sons, apologized yesterday to the black community in Union, S.C., saying the incident should never have become a source of racial tension.

The family statement was issued by Scott Vaughan, Smith's brother, outside the Union County Courthouse.

"On behalf of my family, I would like to apologize to the black community. It is really disturbing to think that this would be a racial issue. It is a terrible misfortune that all this happened," Vaughan told reporters.

Before she confessed to police, Smith had said a black man forced her at gunpoint from her car and kidnapped her children, 3-year-old Michael and 14-month-old Alexander. Using a composite sketch of a black man described by Smith, law enforcement officials launched a nationwide search. Several black men in the Union area were detained and questioned as a result of Smith's concocted story.

When Smith confessed to the murders, some in the African-American community expressed resentment that a black man had been falsely accused.

After the family's statement yesterday, African-American leaders said they were grateful for the apology and expected it to help heal remaining racial wounds in the community.

"I think the family did the right thing, since some had suggested that the family . . . should apologize," said the Rev. Samuel Farr, a black minister living in Union who is a pastor at the nearby New Bedford Baptist Church.

Farr, president of the Ministers' Fellowship of Union, said he had not been among those calling for an apology but said the family's statement would help the small textile town move beyond any remaining racial tensions caused by the event.

David Smith, Susan's estranged husband and father of the two boys, had scheduled a news conference at the courthouse. But his father, Charles Smith, spoke instead, saying that David "is recovering from this tragedy in a very painful way. It's going to haunt him for the rest of his life," according to the Associated Press.

In the meantime, Susan Smith remained under a suicide watch at the Women's Correctional Institution in Columbia, S.C. Corrections officials are scheduled to reevaluate her psychological status today to determine whether she can be moved out of the high-security cell, where she was placed after psychologists determined Friday that she may attempt suicide. She is kept under scrutiny by a camera in her cell, where she is allowed to have only a Bible and a blanket.

Smith has told police she was depressed and considering suicide Oct. 25 when she drove her boys to an isolated lake. But, unable to kill herself, she sent the car rolling into the water with her children strapped in safety seats in the back.

Yesterday, the Rev. A.L. Brackett, pastor of St. Paul Baptist Church in Union, said he did not feel personally that an apology was necessary.

"I'm sure they wanted to do it to make them feel better," he said of the Smith family. "The black community appreciated it, especially with so many making something of the black man in the mind of Susan Smith."

Brackett said he saw Smith's accusation as an isolated incident. He was proud of Union, he said, because "black and white were in search of those children. . . . From the beginning, it's been a concern of the entire community, even though a black man was accused."

Now, he said, the town "is in the process of recovering."

About 200 townspeople gathered Monday night for an interracial community service, where they gave Union County Sheriff Howard Wells a standing ovation.

Wells had appeared Sunday at a prayer service at St. Paul Baptist Church, where he said he had carefully avoided referring to race during the search for the fictitious kidnapper.

# University Reverses On-Line Ban

## *Sex-Oriented Network Won't Be Blocked*

By John Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Administrators at Carnegie Mellon University have backed down from a decision to ban all sexually oriented on-line discussion groups from the campus computer network.

The discussion areas are found on Usenet, a global network of "news-groups," where thousands of topics ranging from philosophy and literature to sexual techniques are discussed. Some of the news-groups are dedicated to exchanging computer-readable photographs, some graphically sexual in nature.

The Pittsburgh-based university announced last week that it would block local access to all sexually oriented news-groups because of fears about violating Pennsylvania statutes regulating distribution of pornography.

The announcement drew fire from the civil liberties community, which compared the restriction to banning books from the school library. Mike Godwin, staff attorney of the Electronic Frontier Foundation, said that the restriction might be defensible in the case of the photographic news-groups, which have drawn legal fire. But he said the discussion groups are constitutionally protected under the First Amendment, and that any attempt by the state to prosecute the university for carrying them would fail.

According to an e-mail announcement by the president of CMU's student body, Declan B. McCullagh, students and administrators met on Monday and agreed to create a standing committee made up of faculty, staff and students to decide what news-groups to remove or reinstate. The news-groups containing pictures were removed yesterday, but that decision will be reviewed by the new committee. The school has decided not to remove the text news-groups for now. "In my opinion, this is a good start," McCullagh said in his e-mail message.

"This is a good-faith effort to comply with the law, but also to recognize academic freedom and freedom of speech," said Erwin Steinberg, CMU's vice provost for education. "Somehow we're going to have to navigate between the shoals."

# Postal Service Pledges to Impose 10% Rate Hike in Early January

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Postal Service promised yesterday to impose higher stamp prices "as early as practical in January," an increase that the agency hopes would boost the price of a first-class stamp from 29 cents to 32 cents.

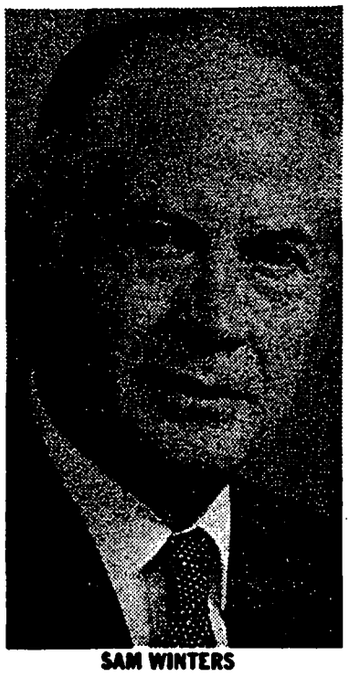
That pledge by Postal Board Chairman Sam Winters was designed to end uncertainty among commercial mailers over whether the agency would delay its requested 10.3 percent increase until later in January.

The Postal Rate Commission, an independent agency, is currently reviewing the request and is expected to rule later this month on the service's unprecedented request for a uniform, across-the-board increase in the price of all classes of mail.

The price hike would give the Postal Service an additional $4.7 billion in revenue, money that it urgently needs to eliminate an operating deficit that reached about $1.3 billion in the just-ended fiscal year.

Postal spokesmen said Winter's statement, delivered at the opening of the monthly board of governors meeting, means that the agency plans to implement the new rates on Jan. 1. The governors must formally vote to endorse the rate increase after it is approved by the commission and set the date when the increase takes effect.

Winter's announcement is vital to the huge third-class, or advertising, mail industry. It will probably mean that mailers will move up mailings planned for January into the days immediately after Christmas to take advantage of the cheaper postage.



SAM WINTERS
*. . . pledge ends uncertainty*

Postmaster General Marvin T. Runyon, who has been under fire for the decline of service, cautioned the governors that the agency may see a further drop in its customer satisfaction index next year as the higher prices are implemented. Declines of 3 percent to 4 percent are common after rate increases, he said.

The index fell last year, partly a result of poor delivery service. Ann McK. Robinson, the agency's consumer advocate, told the board that the index currently shows 85 percent of postal customers rank the agency's service as excellent, very good or good. She said it will probably remain at its current level until after several quarters of sustained improvement.

The governors were given assurances by Henry A. Pankey, vice president of the Arlington-based Mid-Atlantic postal area, that mail service in the Washington-Baltimore region is continuing to improve. The region has been ranked as having the nation's worst on-time delivery rate in the past year, provoking anger from the governors and Congress.

"I'm still walking and still smiling about mail service in Washington," Pankey said. He said the region's mail service still has "a long way to go" and blamed a 12.4 percent growth in mail volume locally for part of the problem. He said that the agency has hired 755 new Washington-area employees to help handle the surge.

Susan E. Alvarado of Alexandria, one of the governors who has sharply criticized Washington's mail service, applauded the improvement but added it was "a shame" that the governors had to get involved to correct such a basic problem.

# Nuclear Sub's Periscope Damages Another U.S. Ship

Reuter

SAN DIEGO, Nov. 8—The Navy today reported a nuclear submarine accident off the Pacific Coast and said it was investigating the incident, the second involving a nuclear-powered submarine in the area this year.

The accident occurred about 14 miles out to sea Monday evening, when the periscope of the submarine USS La Jolla struck a torpedo retriever boat, causing minor damages to both craft, the Navy said.

There were no injuries, said a Navy spokeswoman, Cmdr. Barbara Burns. She said both vessels returned to a base in San Diego under their own power after crews repaired damages.

While the USS La Jolla was nuclear-powered, Burns said it was not carrying nuclear weapons at the time of the accident.

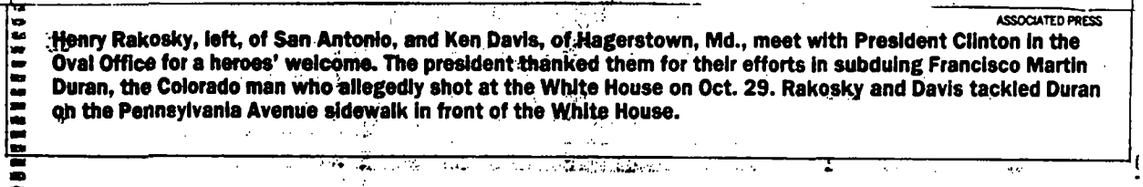
She said she could not say whether the vessels were involved in training exercises when the accident occurred. "Accidents with submarines are unusual, but they do happen," she said.

The incident comes eight months after the USS Jefferson City, also based in San Diego, scraped the ocean bottom but suffered just minor damage. The craft's commander was later relieved of his duties.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

## A Big Thanks From the White House

ASSOCIATED PRESS



**Henry Rakosky, left, of San Antonio, and Ken Davis, of Hagerstown, Md., meet with President Clinton in the Oval Office for a heroes' welcome. The president thanked them for their efforts in subduing Francisco Martin Duran, the Colorado man who allegedly shot at the White House on Oct. 29. Rakosky and Davis tackled Duran on the Pennsylvania Avenue sidewalk in front of the White House.**

# Toy Weapons Will Be Incinerated To Make Electricity, Retailer Says

By Christopher B. Daly
Special to The Washington Post

BOSTON, Nov. 8—Prodded by the tragic slaying of a child bearing a toy gun, a Massachusetts-based retailer has decided not just to clear its shelves of all realistic-looking toy guns but to turn them into something positive.

The fake weapons, weighing about 120 tons in all, will go up in smoke. They are being sent to an incinerator, where, officials estimate, they will produce enough electricity to light 48 homes for a month.

The toy gun disposal campaign was launched by the Kay-Bee Toy Stores company of Pittsfield, Mass., a nationwide retailer with outlets in the Washington, D.C., region, on the initiative of president and CEO Ann Iverson. The policy was announced Oct. 14, shortly after a 13-year-old boy in New York City was mistakenly shot and killed by a police officer who thought his toy gun was real.

The action is in keeping with recent decisions by other major retail toy outlets to stop selling guns in response to public concerns about children and gun-related violence.

"We're very pleased with our decision to remove and discontinue the sale of 'realistic'-looking toy guns from our stores and equally pleased to know their destruction will serve the purpose of providing electricity to homes through the recycling process," Iverson said.

The voluntary withdrawal drew praise from gun control advocates.

"We absolutely applaud this effort," said Richard Aborn, president of Handgun Control Inc. "There are plenty of things that can fill the very active minds of kids that are not violent."

Aborn said he was particularly impressed that the company decided to take the step before the Christmas season, which is the major selling period for toy retailers.

*"I must say I love the idea that they are generating electricity," he said. "Maybe there's a metaphor in the fact that they are generating light."*

— Richard Aborn, Handgun Control Inc.

The withdrawal and recycling is a sizable undertaking. Kay-Bee Toy Stores operates about 1,150 retail outlets, mostly in shopping malls, in all 50 states and Puerto Rico, according to the company. A division of Melville Corporation, Kay-Bee had net sales of $1.3 billion in 1993.

In all, about 290,000 toy weapons in more than two dozen varieties were involved, ranging from small pistols to elaborate police sets, according to Kay-Bee spokeswoman Michelle Healy. She said she could not put an exact figure on the lost sales, nor on the cost of recycling.

The weapons are being incinerated by Springfield Resource Recovery Inc., in Agawam, Mass., in a process that Healy said would take "a couple of weeks" to complete.

Kay-Bee also donated $20,000 worth of toys to the "Goods for Guns" program, which offers gift certificates to people who surrender real firearms to authorities. Last year, the program collected 3,000 guns from New York City residents and prompted other cities to offer similar programs.

"People ask me if the tide has turned in the gun control movement," Aborn said. "The tide is turning. But this is another indication of the growing consciousness that we have to do something about violence on every level and that everybody has a role to play."

Aborn also applauded Kay-Bee for deciding to recycle the toys rather than dump them in the ground or sell them abroad. "I must say I love the idea that they are generating electricity," he said. "Maybe there's a metaphor in the fact that they are generating light."



C06

# Justices Question Honoraria Ban

## *Limits on Federal Workers' Speech Criticized in Oral Arguments*

By Joan Biskupic
Washington Post Staff Writer

In spirited oral arguments yesterday, Supreme Court justices expressed skepticism that a law barring federal workers from taking money for outside speeches and articles is constitutional.

The justices voiced concerns that the 1989 ethics law that bans honoraria was too broadly written and violates free speech rights, because it would affect activities having nothing to do with a federal worker's job.

Drawing on examples in a brief submitted by workers, justices noted that the law effectively bars compensation for a Nuclear Regulatory Commission lawyer who writes on Russian history, a mail handler who speaks about the Quaker religion and a labor lawyer who lectures on Judaism.

"These are civil servants," said Justice Stephen G. Breyer. "They don't go around having thousands of freebies thrown at them." Breyer added that it might be in government's interest to have federal workers write about their subjects of expertise.

> *"Civil servants .... don't go around having thousands of freebies thrown at them."*
>
> — Justice Stephen G. Breyer

All the justices, including Clarence Thomas, joined in the hour-long arguments. Thomas, who had not posed a question for more than a year, asked lawyer Gregory O'Duden, who represented federal employees, whether the government would be able to ban all moonlighting.

Thomas, who chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from 1982 to 1990,) said his employees often took on after-hours jobs, such as driving a cab. Thomas suggested that if Congress had tried to stop all outside employment of federal workers, rather than only speaking or writing engagements, it would not breach the First Amendment.

O'Duden agreed, saying a general anti-moonlighting statute that did not target speech activities would not have the same First Amendment problems.

About 3 million civilian employees would be covered by the honoraria ban, which has been suspended pending the outcome of litigation. The National Treasury Employees Union and other government workers challenged the law before it was to take effect in January 1991.

The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals last year said the ban was constitutionally flawed because it covered speeches and articles unrelated to a worker's job. The law did not require a connection between the worker's job and the subject matter of the expression or who would be paying the worker. Without such a connection, the court said, no actual impropriety or appearance of impropriety would arise.

Deputy Solicitor General Paul Bender told the justices yesterday that a broad-based ban was more practical. He said it would be an unreasonable administrative burden to expect the government to assess whether the subject of each speech or article was job related.

Bender gave an example of a government lawyer who might be asked to speak about roses at a garden club. How would an oversight panel know, Bender asked, whether the head of the garden club wanted a professional favor from the government lawyer?

He said the purpose of the ban is to help prevent outsiders from seeking to influence government decisions through compensation to individual workers. He said Congress has a compelling interest in preventing actual or apparent impropriety.

Some of the justices noted seeming inconsistencies in the law. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor pointed out that the law bars workers from being paid for individual speeches but not for a "series" of speeches. "This doesn't make sense," she said. Bender said Congress might have been trying to permit workers to teach courses.

O'Duden, who represented a class of government workers, said the administration's interest in administrative efficiency should not outweigh the free-speech rights of workers.

When a government employee is speaking on a topic unrelated to his job, he said, he should be treated as a member of the general public. The case is *United States v. National Treasury Employees Union.*

Separately yesterday, the court heard arguments over whether Congress infringed on the domain of the states when it banned the possession of guns within 1,000 feet of a school. In that case too, the justices' comments suggested they would find that Congress had acted unconstitutionally. O'Connor asked, if federal lawmakers can reach out and ban gun possession at schools, "What is left of ... [state] powers?"

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# Denny's Says Black Firm Will Own 47 Outlets

## *Restaurant Chain Responds To Allegations of Racial Bias*

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Nov. 8—Denny's restaurant chain tried to take another step away from the public furor over its alleged discrimination against black customers by today announcing plans for African American ownership of at least 47 new outlets.

Chairman Jerome J. Richardson, who last year sought help for his company's image problem from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said Denny's Inc. had selected a black-owned video-store franchise owner based in Atlanta to lead a major expansion in the Northeast.

Denny's President C. Ronald Petty praised NDI Inc., which owns 23 Blockbuster Video franchises, as an "experienced operator" with solid capital backing and good management. He said, "We expect to add more minority franchisees to the Denny's system."

At a press conference here, NDI President James Holden shrugged off several attempts by reporters to coax him into a discussion of past complaints that Denny's mistreated minority customers.

The failure of a Denny's restaurant in Annapolis last year to promptly serve a group of black Secret Service agents sparked lawsuits and a Justice Department investigation that ended with Denny's paying $45 million in damages and promising to seek more minority owners. The complaints included two class-action suits involving dozens of cases of alleged mistreatment.

"The past, in our minds, has driven us to this opportunity," Holden said. "For us, we're focusing on making a difference in the future."

Denny's has just two other restaurants owned by African Americans and promised in a 1993 agreement with the NAACP to have 53 new minority-owned restaurants by 1997. The chain of casual, sit-down family restaurants has 1,500 company and franchise restaurants.

# $395 Million Bid for Area Paging Rights

## *Minority, Women-Owned Firms Among Winners*

By Mike Mills
Washington Post Staff Writer

Federal regulators pulled in pledges of $395 million after bidding ended yesterday in auctions of 30 regional licenses to provide advanced two-way paging services.

After two weeks of bidding, the Federal Communications Commission auctioned off six licenses in each of five regions. In July, the FCC received bids totaling $617 million for 10 nationwide paging licenses.

Nine groups of bidders won the regional licenses, including four that are firms owned by women and minorities.

The results helped to meet a goal set by the FCC and Congress to increase women and minority ownership of communications licenses. Small businesses, women and minorities were given discounts on bidding and the option of making installment payments on their licenses.

PageMart Inc. and PCS Development Corp. were big winners in the auction, each offering to pay more than $90 million for five regional licenses, enough to gain nationwide coverage.

PCS Development is a minority-owned consortium that includes Arch Communications Corp., A+ Communications and USA Mobile Communications Inc.

"It went a little higher than we expected it to go, and took a little longer," said PCS Development Chairman Maceo K. Sloan. "We think it was worth it."

Sloan said it would take another $300 million to $500 million to build the nationwide paging network.

American Paging Inc., MobileMedia Corp., AirTouch Communications, Benbow PCS Ventures and individual investor Lisa-Gaye Shearing also captured several licenses each. Ameritech Corp. and InstaCheck Systems Inc. won a single license.

# Denny's Picks Black Firm to Be Franchisee

DENNY'S, From B1

It also said it will provide special training beginning next year for 15 first-time franchise candidates to prepare them for taking over restaurants under a fast-track program.

NDI's chairman is Leon Wright, head of the Levmark Corp. investment company in New Rochelle, N.Y., and one of the nation's most aggressive black entrepreneurs. He is a former food industry executive who sees the Denny's agreement as a chance for a major expansion of his business, said NDI board member Richard Venegar.

NDI has brought in Charles Davis, who has 25 years of experience as an executive at Kentucky Fried Chicken Corp. and other food franchisers, to be chief operating officer of the new venture. Venegar said the Denny's expansion eventually would expand NDI's annual revenue from $25 million to $50 million.

"NDI seeks to be a global competitor in the casual dining market," Holden said. "To do this we must provide high-quality food at a good value, served promptly and politely."

Holden said he planned to make NDI the largest Denny franchise operator, and thought the New York-New Jersey area was a good place to start because "you often have to go a long way here to find a Denny's."

Under the agreement, NDI will purchase 17 company-owned Denny's restaurants in 1994 with rights to purchase five more next year. NDI also has permission to build 25 new Denny's restaurants in the same territory over the next five years.

The parties did not disclose the purchase price, but said NDI agreed to remodel each of the old restaurants to a new contemporary look that one Denny's official described as "just not looking like a Denny's."

Fred Rashee, director of economic development for the NAACP, congratulated the Denny's chain, which is owned by the Spartanburg, S.C.-based Flagstar Cos., for its "firm commitment to minority economic development" and "its aggressive approach."

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**BIG MONEY**
*How to Deal With the Deficit*

# We Have the Blueprints in Hand for a Balanced Budget

By James K. Glassman
Special to The Washington Post

With the election over, it's time for both parties to get serious about the federal deficit. Congress and the White House can follow two excellent blueprints, both viciously attacked during the campaign and both moving in the same direction—the Republicans' "Contract With America" and the Democrats' "Rivlin memo," an Oct. 3 option paper by budget director Alice Rivlin that was leaked to the press.

COMMENTARY

The similarities between these documents are striking. They agree that, despite last year's budget agreement, there's a fiscal crisis ahead. While the deficit this year is expected to drop below $170 billion, it will start rising again next year and hit a record $319 billion by 2002.

See BIG MONEY, B4, Col. 1

**BALANCING ACT**
HOW THE DEFICIT WOULD RESPOND TO VARIOUS COURSES OF ACTION

| PLAN | DEFICIT, IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS | | | | | | SPENDING CUTS OR TAX HIKES NEEDED | NAT'L SAVINGS RATE* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | '95 | '96 | '97 | '98 | '99 | 2000 | | |
| Current baseline budget | $168 | $184 | $194 | $192 | $219 | $235 | $0 | 3.7% |
| Hold deficit at $168 billion | 168 | 168 | 168 | 168 | 168 | 168 | 184 | 4.3 |
| Continue modest deficit reduction | 168 | 160 | 155 | 150 | 145 | 140 | 274 | 4.5 |
| Steeper cuts | 168 | 155 | 140 | 125 | 110 | 95 | 399 | 5.1 |
| Balanced budget | 168 | 135 | 100 | 65 | 35 | 0 | 689 | 6.1 |

SOURCE: Oct. 3 memorandum by Alice M. Rivlin * Fiscal year, 2000

THE WASHINGTON POST

# With Cooperation, We Can Balance the Budget by 2000

BIG MONEY, From B1

Both documents see a balanced budget by the year 2000 as a sensible target. With cooperation between the parties, it's really not so hard to achieve—and, if you want, you can do it without touching Social Security.

The Rivlin memo estimates that if the budget is balanced within five years, the national savings rate will rise to 6.1 percent. That will almost certainly mean a higher standard of living as private investment increases. But if the budget continues on its current path, the savings rate will be a mere 3.7 percent—a disaster for the United States in a competitive global economy where other nations save far more.

The first step toward a balanced budget is to scrap the "baseline" language that makes it seem as though spending will rise inexorably, and start using numbers the way every business and household in America does.

For example, Rivlin presents a chart that shows the "path" to a balanced budget by 2000. On the way to this balanced budget, the government would incur deficits over the next five years totaling $335 billion. The baseline, in contrast, assumes continued upward spending and deficits of $1.024 trillion. So she concludes that a combination of $689 billion in spending cuts and tax increases is required.

But, by using plain old arithmetic without "baseline" assumptions, you'll find that the government doesn't have to cut spending or raise taxes at all to follow Rivlin's golden path. Here are the key numbers:

■ This year—fiscal 1995, which runs through Sept. 30, 1995—the budget calls for spending of $1.525 trillion and revenues of $1.363 trillion, for a deficit of $162 billion. (These are Congressional Budget Office figures; the Rivlin memo uses administration figures, which project a slightly higher deficit now and a slightly lower one later.)

■ By the year 2000, spending is budgeted at $1.97 trillion and revenue at $1.713 trillion, for a deficit of $257 billion.

In other words, the government proposes to spend about $450 billion more in the year 2000 than it is spending today—even though the Treasury will take in only $350 billion more. So the deficit will rise by about $100 billion.

But correcting it isn't too difficult. If the revenue projections by the CBO are right, the government in the year 2000 can spend roughly $200 billion *more* than it's spending this year and still balance the budget.

Half this $200 billion in additional spending could be eaten up by Social Security outlays, which are expected to rise by $100 billion over the next five years. But even so, the government still would have another $100 billion to spend.

So if we assume that Social Security remains untouched, federal outlays can still rise an average of $20 billion annually—instead of the $70 billion that's currently budgeted—and we'll get the deficit down to zero by the year 2000.

No "cuts"—as that word is generally used by anyone outside the Beltway—are needed. As a Republican memo correctly concludes: "The average annual rate of growth in planned spending would be reduced . . . between 1995 and 2000 from 5 percent a year to 2 percent."

Of course, 2 percent growth in federal spending would be lower than inflation, so, while the government would not have to cut its total cash outlays, it would have to trim programs.

The Rivlin memo, meant to be privately circulated among top administration officials, lays out some of the options, including cutting Medicare, deferring cost-of-living hikes for federal retirees until age 62 and reducing agricultural supports. The "Contract With America" proposes such steps as denying welfare to non-citizens and rewriting the crime bill.

The Rivlin memo caused trouble for Democrats because it was too frank about entitlements, such as Social Security and Medicare. Those programs will represent 60 percent of federal spending by the year 2000, compared with 30 percent in the 1960s.

The memo discussed holding increases in Social Security and federal retirement pay to the cost of living minus 1 percent, or skipping cost-of-living adjustments for one year. A CBO study, published in September, presents broader choices, including a limited tax on entitlements that would bring in $60 billion annually.

Many analysts think such a tax on entitlements is a good idea. But if Democrats and Republicans don't want to touch Social Security (or even Medicare) and if revenue-raisers are ruled out, they can still balance the budget by the year 2000—as an amendment to the Constitution may require them to do anyway.

But both sides will have to give up something. The Republicans will have to abandon hopes for major tax cuts. The Democrats will have to forget about the "$50 billion investment program" cited in the memo.

And both parties will have to get serious about limiting the role of the government. That was one message of yesterday's election. At the very least, the fun stuff—lower taxes, more spending—will just have to wait until the next millennium.

# To More Businesses, Credit Is Due

## *Economic Growth, Competition Fuel Loans, but Regulators Worry About Risks*

By Jonathan D. Glater
Washington Post Staff Writer

When Hussey Seating Co. tried to borrow money two years ago, its bank was wary and insisted on tough loan terms. But when Hussey went back to renegotiate a line of credit last February, the bank was eager to lend, on less stringent terms.

Hussey's experience suggests that the alleged "credit crunch" of the early 1990s is over. As their balance sheets improve, banks are easing their lending requirements and making credit more available. This is a boon to economic growth, but regulators and analysts fear it may prove to be bad news for the banks.

"In the most recent year, in the last 12 months, I would say that terms and availability have eased," said Stephen Kolkhorst, chief financial officer for Hussey, which is based in North Berwick, Maine.

Hussey, a privately held company that makes stadium seats and has about $50 million in annual sales, is not alone. Anecdotal evidence suggests that businesses have found it less difficult to borrow in recent months than in prior years.

"There clearly has been a rise in availability," said William Dennis, a senior research fellow with the National Federation of Independent Business Foundation. But "to what extent that can be attributed directly to better economic conditions and to what extent it can be attributed to differential [loan] policy" is unclear, he said.

Some analysts argue that the credit crunch was never that severe, and that few creditworthy firms were denied loans. A survey by the National Federation of Independent Business, whose members are mostly small firms, shows that 18 months ago, three of four of would-be business borrowers said they could obtain all the credit they wanted. Now, that figure is up slightly, with five of six companies saying they have access to credit.

Some banks say that they are indeed lending more. For example, at Bank of New York, commercial and industrial lending increased 13 percent over the past year, from $11.4 billion in June 1993 to nearly $13 billion in June 1994.

Economists say there's a "virtuous cycle" at work: Banks are encouraged by the growing economy to make new loans, which in turn spur more economic growth. "The loans are the key ingredient [for] new capital spending. If you can't borrow, you can't build," said Lau-

See CREDIT, B2, Col. 4

# Competition Helps Boost Lending to Business

CREDIT, From B1

rence H. Meyer, president of Laurence H. Meyer and Associates, a St. Louis economic forecasting firm. If "a builder comes along and wants to start a project and can't get financing, he can't start the project."

But regulators worry that more credit could also be a sign that banks are taking chances on borrowers: If banks make imprudent loans, they run the risk of loan defaults, which strain the banking system.

"We have been seeing for months now . . . an easing of the price and nonprice terms of credit for business loans . . .," Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan told executives at for the annual convention of the American Bankers Association in New York last month. "I am not in the least suggesting that business credit standards are today inadequate . . . but there are enough questions to be raised about industry loan practices to give a central banker and supervisor pause."

Banks can make credit more accessible—even too accessible—by changing the size and number of payments borrowers must make:

- They can lower the rates they charge borrowers.
- They can require less collateral for a loan.
- They can stretch out the repayment period, giving a borrower more time to repay.

Each form of easing creates risks to banks' health, regulators worry. When banks lower the rates they charge borrowers, but the banks' cost of lending does not fall, the interest rate spread—where banks make money—shrinks.

Requiring less valuable collateral increases the risk that the bank will suffer losses if the borrower defaults. And when a bank gives a company more time to repay a loan, the bank prolongs the period in which it is vulnerable to market risk—that interest rates might change, for example, or that the borrower's business could collapse.

The loosening standards are a sign of greater competition in the industry, said Martha Klessen, an analyst at Loan Pricing Corp., a New York-based financial database company that tracks the commercial loan market. "A lot of banks there are willing to lend money, [and] they're competing on pricing and now they're competing on [loan terms] as well."

Competition has led banks to lend too readily in the past, said Karen Shaw, president of ISD/Shaw Inc., a consulting firm that tracks the banking industry. "In the late 1980s, when banks found decreased credit demand in commercial markets, they went into real estate," and when real estate values fell, many banks lost money and some failed as borrowers walked away from loans, Shaw said. "That was not a really cool thing."

Bankers say that they are not taking too many chances. "What usually gets banks in trouble is that they concentrate" in particular types of loans, and banks are making all kinds of loans today, said Robert Dederick, chief economist at Northern Trust Co., based in Chicago.

"Remember, banks are in the business of taking risks," he said. "If banks didn't take risks, what is the point of having banks? The trick, of course, is not to overdo it."



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# Power Shift To Arafat Accelerated

## *Rabin, PLO Leader Hold Talks at Border*

By Barton Gellman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Nov. 8—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin promised today to speed the shift of power to Yasser Arafat in the self-rule territories in what aides described as an effort to boost the Palestinian leader.

By next week, Rabin said, Palestinians will take control of tourism and welfare as part of their limited self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. By the end of the month, Israel also will cede power over health care and direct taxation.

In a meeting at the Erez crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip, Rabin told Arafat he will issue 10,000 more work permits for Palestinians to come to Israel, further easing a border closure imposed after a suicide bombing by an Arab militant in Tel Aviv Oct. 19 that killed 22 Israelis.

Rabin also agreed to begin simultaneous talks on three subjects he had previously insisted must be negotiated one at a time: elections in Gaza and Jericho, withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestinian population centers and the transfer of additional administrative powers to the fledgling Palestinian Authority. Although the two men are said by aides to heartily dislike each other, Israeli officials said Rabin believes he needs Arafat as a partner and fears the Palestinian leader may be losing ground to Islamic militants.

Stepped-up terror attacks in Israel by the Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas, and a crackdown by Israel on the militants, have squeezed Arafat from both sides. Although the militants reject Arafat's chosen path of peace negotiations with Israel, he has been reluctant to confront Hamas as Israel demands.

Israeli officials said Arafat promised in the private session to take new steps against the militants. He made no such statement in public, however.

Both sides praised today's encounter. Arafat thanked Rabin for "a positive and fruitful meeting." In a news conference, Arafat sidestepped a question on whether he believed Israel was responsible for a car bomb last week that killed Hani Abed, a reputed leader of Islamic Jihad. Angry mourners drove Arafat out of Abed's funeral, accusing him of collaborating with Israeli authorities.

Even as the peace talks seemed to accelerate, Israeli troops killed another Palestinian in the occupied West Bank. Soldiers opened fire on a group of stone-throwers in Ramallah, killing a 32-year-old man. There were conflicting reports from witnesses on whether he was a bystander or was throwing stones.

Rabin's concessions represented a rare victory for Foreign Minister Shimon Peres over Lt. Gen. Ehud Barak, the army chief of staff, Israeli officials said. Barak and other senior officers have sought to delay withdrawal of troops from Palestinian population centers, arguing that the security of Jewish settlers would be jeopardized. Peres, Rabin's longtime political rival, convinced the prime minister that he needed to shore up Arafat.

In an apparent sign of the military's disagreement, Israeli radio reported that "a senior army intelligence officer" told the parliament today that Arafat remains in firm control and is trying to give an impression of weakness in order to extract Israeli concessions.

In another development, the government announced today that Jordan's King Hussein will make his first open visit to Israel on Thursday. Israeli officials said he will go to Beit Gabriel on the Sea of Galilee, in northern Israel, and exchange treaty ratification documents with Rabin.

# Cholera Kills 1, Sickens 15 in Gaza

Associated Press

JERUSALEM, Nov. 8—A 2½-year-old child has died from cholera and 15 people have contracted the disease in the Gaza Strip, Palestinian Health Minister Riyad Zanoun said today. He told a news conference 14 others with cholera symptoms are being tested.

Wafa Jabber of Gaza City died Monday five hours after falling ill with the intestinal disease, which is rare in the West but has caused widespread deaths in developing countries. Cholera is usually transferred by food or water contaminated with the feces of infected people.

Israel banned the import of food from Gaza and the occupied West Bank and asked residents not to buy food from unknown sources. Farmers in Gaza protested the loss of an estimated $300,000 a day from the sale of tomatoes, cucumbers and peppers. Gaza exports about 2,600 tons of those vegetables to Israel each week.

# Canada Abortion Doctor Shot at Home by Sniper

By Anne Swardson
Washington Post Foreign Service

TORONTO, Nov. 8—A Vancouver abortion doctor was in serious condition after being shot in the leg early this morning through a window of his home in what police called a carefully planned attack, probably with an AK-47 assault rifle.

Vancouver police said gynecologist Garson Romalis suffered a wound to the upper leg and damage to the femoral artery. His wife and daughter, also home at the time, were unhurt.

The Romalis house has been picketed by antiabortion groups in the past, according to police and neighbors. Police said they did not have a suspect.

The shooting was by far the most violent antiabortion incident in Canada, a country where crimes of violence involving firearms are rare. The only other serious abortion-related crime was the destruction by firebomb of an abortion clinic in Toronto in 1992. No one was arrested in that case.

Today's incident seemed likely to increase calls for tougher gun-control laws in Canada. Already, controls are much stricter here than in the United States, but Justice Minister Allan Rock is in the process of drafting a package of additional restrictions for Parliament to consider.

"I'm absolutely shocked that somebody would be shot," Mark Schonfeld, president of the British Columbia Medical Association, told the Canadian Press. "It's just so foreign to our way of life and our thinking."

Romalis was shot while eating breakfast in his kitchen in an affluent neighborhood on the west side of town. Two bullets pierced a sliding glass door, police said. They apparently were fired from a lane behind the Romalis home.

Abortion has been legal in Canada since 1988, and more than 100,000 abortions are performed here each year. Several Canadian provinces have tried to stop abortion doctors from setting up clinics within their borders, but they generally have been defeated in court.

The weapon that police said may have been used in the shooting, a semiautomatic AK-47, is legal in Canada, though Rock has said he would like to propose banning semiautomatic weapons in his anti-crime package if he can get enough colleagues in the cabinet to agree.



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# Political Stability, Economic Reforms Spurring Recovery in Philippines

By William Branigin
Washington Post Foreign Service

MANILA, Nov. 8—For years, the Philippines was known as the sick man of Southeast Asia, an economic deadbeat among the prospering states of the world's fastest-growing region. Investors tended to write it off as a place of coups, chaos and, last year, power cuts of up to 10 hours a day.

No longer. Now economic analysts are calling this island nation of nearly 66 million people the new "tiger cub" of Asian economies. With gross national product growing this year by 5 percent, capital flowing in and power lines humming, the Philippines has become a land of opportunity for trade and investment, with bright prospects for sustained economic growth.

Many chronic problems remain, including shoddy infrastructure, widespread poverty, ingrained bureaucratic corruption, high unemployment, grandstanding politicians and a torpid, serpentine justice system. But there is a new feeling of optimism about the Philippines born of political stability, expanding economic reforms and rising competitiveness among the dynamos of East Asia.

This is the new Philippines that awaits President Clinton when he makes a brief visit here this week, the first by a U.S. president since 1975. Clinton is scheduled to arrive Saturday and fly to Indonesia the following day to attend an Asia-Pacific summit meeting next Tuesday. While here, he plans to meet with President Fidel Ramos and American businessmen and pay homage to U.S. servicemen who fought and died in the Philippines during World War II.

As the United States looks increasingly to Asian countries other than Japan as markets for American products and services, the Ramos administration is promoting the Philippines as a "gateway to Asia and the Pacific." Ramos sees the country as a regional hub for companies seeking access to the area's dynamic markets, and he hopes to capitalize on the Philippines' long association with its former U.S. colonial patron, its relatively well-educated and largely English-speaking work force and its familiarity with U.S. institutions and business practices.

In a recent assessment, Salomon Brothers reported that "1994 marks a year of economic recovery, record capital inflows, improved public finances and political stability in the Philippines."

"The Philippines is now standing on the threshold of an economic miracle," said Michel Camdessus, director of the International Monetary Fund, during a visit here last month. To achieve it, he urged the government to take "bold action" to rein in inflation—now running at nearly 10 percent—reform the bloated bureaucracy and pass additional tax reforms and deregulation measures.

"We are poised for takeoff," Ramos said in an interview. He predicted that the economic milestone would be reached "in the next six to 12 months" and noted that foreign investors and international organizations have begun describing the Philippines as Asia's new tiger cub. In any case, he said, "I claim it's better to be a tiger cub . . . than an old tiger."

Clinton's visit comes as "an affirmation of U.S. interest in the Philippines, not just as a place for military bases but as a country that's striving very hard to grow under the framework of a democratic system," Ramos said.

The Philippine Senate's 1991 rejection of a military bases agreement, which ended nearly a century of American military presence by obliging U.S. forces to leave Subic Bay Naval Station two years ago, may have left "some hurt feelings," Ramos said. But he has worked tirelessly to put the U.S.-Philippine relationship "back on track" since then, and he believes it is "probably stronger now than before."

Ramos, 66, came to office in June 1992 for a six-year term after winning a seven-candidate presidential election with barely 24 percent of the vote. Now, however, the cigar-chomping former general enjoys an approval rating of more than 60 percent. By battling monopolies run by the country's traditional oligarchy, promoting privatization, creating a more hospitable investment climate and pushing through a number of private-sector power-generating projects, Ramos has helped pull the Philippines out of the economic doldrums.

A 1950 graduate of West Point, Ramos earned a master's degree in civil engineering from the University of Illinois before serving with Philippine units in the Korean and Vietnam wars. He rose to become armed forces chief of staff and played a key role in ousting dictator Ferdinand Marcos during the "people power" revolt that brought President Corazon Aquino to office in February 1986. He served as her defense secretary, helping to put down several coup attempts by rightist military rebels.

The military rebel movement has since withered, and its leader, former colonel Gregorio Honasan, is considering a run for senator in elections next year. A communist insurgency also has weakened considerably, in part because of a major split in its ranks.

"The fundamental point is that political stability has been restored here," said U.S. Ambassador John Negroponte. "The threat of coups, dissident movements and all that has virtually disappeared." Although the Philippines has been a "laggard" in the region in recent years, he said, the changes and economic reforms lately "make it worthwhile for American business to take a look."

The opportunities, Negroponte said, include up to $50 billion worth of infrastructure projects—largely in the energy, communications and transportation sectors—that the Philippine government wants to initiate by the year 2000, mostly through private-sector arrangements such as "build-operate-transfer" deals.

The latest survey by the American Chamber of Commerce here shows that U.S. companies in the Philippines plan to invest $600 million in expansions over the next three years.

In May, Procter & Gamble broke ground for a new $100 million plant in Laguna south of Manila. Enron Corp. of Texas and California Energy are among companies that have signed agreements on at least 30 private-sector power projects in the Philippines, more than any other developing country.

Overall, approvals of foreign direct investment rose to $1.4 billion in the first nine months of this year—well below the levels flowing into neighboring countries but nearly five times higher than foreign investment here during the same period last year. Similarly, gross domestic product growth of 4.1 percent this year still lags behind the 7 percent average of the rest of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations but is more than double the Philippine growth rate of 1993.

In other economic indicators, industrial output grew by 6.1 percent in the first half of this year compared with a decline of 0.7 percent during the same period in 1993. Exports, led by garments and semiconductors, were up 20 percent in the first seven months of 1994, and labor strikes have dropped to their lowest level since 1980, when the Philippines was under martial law.

The Ramos government has deregulated foreign exchange, opened the telecommunications, shipping and banking sectors to greater competition, and encouraged private-sector involvement in development projects. With the increased economic activity, demand for skilled employees appears to be growing.

"We've had to raise entry-level salaries to attract people," one U.S. company manager said. "In the past, they genuflected and ran in the door. Now we have to compete for them."

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# African Leaders Blast Mitterrand at Summit

## *French Leader Denied Rwanda Seat at Meeting*

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Foreign Service

BIARRITZ, France, Nov. 8—French President Francois Mitterrand, seeking to defend his record on "the world's most fragile continent," ran into sharp criticism from African leaders today for refusing to invite Rwanda's new government to a French-African summit being held here.

Several African leaders, including heads of state from Zaire, Mali and Burundi, complained bitterly about the French decision to keep Rwanda away from the 34-nation French-African conclave for the first time since 1975.

"Their presence could have helped Rwanda's leaders and given them an opportunity to express themselves," said Zaire's dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko.

Mobutu's own presence at the summit has generated controversy. After being treated as a pariah in recent years because of his reputation as a brutal and corrupt dictator, Mobutu was welcomed back this year because of his support for Paris's Rwanda policy. When 2,500 French troops were dispatched there during tribal fighting that killed an estimated half-million people, Mobutu allowed them to establish their base in Goma, a border town that became the main haven for refugees from the Hutu tribe.

Human rights groups said Mitterrand's decision to invite Mobutu, along with other notorious, long-reigning leaders, such as Gabon's Omar Bongo and Togo's Gnassingbe Eyadema, was a betrayal of his promises at the 1990 summit in La Baule to terminate the autocratic rule of "Africa's dinosaurs."

But French officials defended Mobutu's attendance on the grounds that he has accepted some modest political and economic reforms that warrant an end to his ostracism by Western nations.

The snub of Rwanda's new rulers has revived controversy over France's role in backing what many believe are the perpetrators of one of the century's worst genocides. [See story, Page A44.] It also has marred what was supposed to be a triumphant valediction for Mitterrand, who has prostate cancer and will retire next May after 14 years in office.

Making his farewell address to an audience that included two dozen African heads of state, Mitterrand declined to mention Rwanda's absence from the summit. Instead, he offered a glowing assessment of France's special ties with onetime colonies that form perhaps the last area of the world where Paris remains a dominant power.

Mitterrand said that since he became president in 1981, France has utilized military intervention "with discretion and with respect for the sovereignty of all countries." He noted that as in the case of Rwanda, neither France nor others could salvage peace if "local chiefs deliberately decide to conduct adventures at the point of a bayonet."

The new Tutsi-led government in Rwanda has accused France of trying to destabilize it by blocking European aid and refusing to help arrest leading members of the former Hutu regime, which is blamed for the vast majority of this year's killings.

Foreign Minister Alain Juppe said France was "waiting to see how the situation evolved" in Kigali, the Rwandan capital, and whether the Tutsi leaders would take proper steps in integrating the Hutus into responsible positions of power.

Other African delegates said the spurning of Rwanda was carried out in a fit of pique because the Tutsis are mainly English-speakers who were exiled in Uganda and are seen as a cultural threat because they may try to sever Rwanda from the family of Francophone nations.

A senior French official confirmed this motive, saying that "this is a family summit, and we see no evidence on the ground that the new rulers in Kigali want to be part of our family."

Besides looking for ways to contain current conflicts in Angola, Chad and Sudan, French and African leaders also held discussions on the continent's economic plight and the consequences from a 50 percent devaluation carried out earlier this year by the 14-state African Financial Community.

A surge in commodity prices has given rise to optimism that African economies may soon start to benefit from robust growth after suffering a steady decline over the past decade.

Mitterrand said that while France could not do everything for its former colonies, it should sustain its role as the primary foreign power there by serving as a reliable protector and generous benefactor.

Noting that France now spends more than twice as much as the United States in aid to Africa, he said, "I am telling you this fact just to let you know who your true friends are."

# The Pleasure Of Suffrage

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

A funny thing about those angry, surly, foul-humored voters: They smiled.

They did not rage, spit, fume or vituperate. They did not have glassy eyes and anti-incumbent drool on their chin. They just smiled. Their gait was lively. You could see it in every precinct. People looked as though they'd just been awarded a merit badge—which they had, in the form of those little "I voted" stickers.

The whole thing was so . . . civil.

Listen to this: "I still get a little bit excited, after walking here for 35 years, at seeing people up early and coming here and voting." The speaker is Bruce Harrison, who's been voting at the same precinct in North Arlington since the Eisenhower administration. "It's a right that I don't take for granted. It's just the process, the right, the thrill of participating in an election."

The thrill of voting! This is what people talk about. They love the smell of democracy in the morning. Voters love to vote. They take this democracy thing seriously. They come out of the booth and practically start saluting strangers at random. They throb with the glory of civic duty well performed. Sure, the candidates may be filth, but the act of voting is eternally noble.

"It's part of being a citizen. Of being an American. If you read about Haiti, it should make everybody run to the polls," said Katharyn Higgs. She was coming out of

See WASHINGTOLOGY, D11, Col. 1

WASHINGTOLOGY, From D1

the Bowen Elementary School precinct in Southwest Washington. She's a retired schoolteacher. Her great-great-grandfather came to the city as a freed slave. She has an appreciation of suffrage, and wishes everyone did. "We don't realize how fortunate we are, how *free* we are."

A polling site is one of the few places in America where you can get people to talk about grand concepts like liberty and justice and freedom. They cast a ballot and catch a buzz, a democracy buzz.

"I went in and felt good about it. There was a baby crawling on the floor, and our son came in with us," said Sara Rau. She's a freelance writer, lives near Tysons Corner. "I felt that here's the democratic process, it's still working. A shred of patriotism left at the voting booth. Everyone was smiling, instead of scowling at each other through our car windows."

Along came another smiling person. It was Clara Pescetto, a Peruvian immigrant who became a U.S. citizen in 1989. Do people like to vote in Peru? she's asked.

"You have to vote. You don't have a choice. It's your duty," she said. If you don't vote in Peru you are fined.

"Here, everybody complains, but they don't vote. How can you complain if you don't vote?"

Older people seem to take these things especially seriously. They volunteer to run the polling sites. They'll cast a vote even if they have to show up in an iron lung. In all fairness one might conclude that, relative to old people, young people are not quite, well, Americans.

Or you could make the counter-argument that the ultimate exercise of freedom is not voting at all. One might decide to boycott the whole enterprise. By and large Americans do not like government, don't trust it. Most people don't have a social worker assigned to their "case." They do not ask for a farm subsidy or a defense contract. Why should they legitimize the system by participating in it?

You could go on to make the argument that there is something peculiarly American about being a blithering idiot. If you can't voluntarily live your life as a stupid, silly, inconsequential person, then this just isn't America anymore. President Clinton earlier this year said Americans did not storm the beaches at Normandy in 1944 so that subsequent generations could sit around being cynical about everything. He was wrong. The cornerstone of freedom is that no one can force you to be something more than a ding-dong.

One reason we don't vote is that we're soft. Other nations of the world have been through horrible wars in recent memory, have suffered invasions, have had their homes bombed, have lived with terrorism as a fact of daily existence. People in other countries vote like crazy. But roughly every other American just blows off the whole enterprise. Can't be bothered. Without fear we muster no passion for politics. We can't even worry about the Russians anymore. Maybe that's why a lot of voters are so negative toward our own leaders—the fury is a way of staying hard, an aerobics exercise for the spleen.

For many people, voting is an act of great generosity, even courage. It takes time in a society where no one has any time anymore. The ballot is always kind of weird, with lots of obscure races full of candidates you've never heard of. The D.C. mayor's race included a candidate named Faith—just Faith, nothing else. You sit there in the booth and wonder, does everyone else but me know who (what?) Faith is?

For some people voting is intimidating. In the District you have to stick a card in a slot and use a sliding punching device. Careful! Don't slip three millimeters and vote for the Stalinist!

There is also a make-believe factor in voting. The D.C. ballot included a contest labeled United States Senator. Another race was for United States Representative. There was no effort to point out that the District is constitutionally prohibited from having either senators or representatives. Next year maybe the D.C. ballot will include a contest for Imaginary Friend.

One of the most poignant parts of voting is that you are constantly in the position of voting for losers. Everyone knows that feeling: Your person has a lock on second place. You vote anyway. Why? Because you are a decent damn American, is why. Because you stand on principle. Because you want your candidate's humiliation to be merely crushing rather than abject.

There are people who argue that you should never vote strategically. That you cannot throw away a vote so long as you stick to your conscience. This is the kind of person who erected a large, sturdily built, neatly painted sign in his front yard on a quiet street in North Arlington. It said:

*Write In for Senate*
*Patrick McCracken*
*I have never lied to Congress, the President, or my wife . . .*

The sign glowed in the golden morning sun early yesterday. Nearby a group of suburbanites were assembling for a car pool into the District. Suddenly a man emerged from the house behind the sign. He wore a bathrobe and boat shoes. His smile was sleepy. Could it be? Yes! It was Patrick McCracken himself!

"It's a protest sign in a sense," he said. Chuck Robb, Oliver North, Marshall Coleman—"they aren't very well qualified," McCracken said sincerely. He said he's an auditor in the State Department. He put up the sign a week ago. He has a philosophy: "If you vote for someone you don't like, that's wasting your vote." In other words, it is better to vote for a loser than vote for a complete pustule whose only merit is being less pustular than someone else.

One last thing: Is it true he never lied to his wife?

"That's a stretch," he said.

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THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# *Joy in Mudville: The Republicans Ponder Victory*

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

For the entertainment at last night's Republican victory party, operatives Susan Tyndall and Chris Chrysler produced a short, snappy video in which thirty-odd Democratic House incumbents are shown "morphing" into the satanic visage of William Jefferson Clinton.

Tyndall watched as Chrysler, at the controls of a darkened editing room inside the Republican National Committee headquarters, manipulated the images of two old, nerdy-looking bald guys (i.e., hapless Democrats) to turn them into a somewhat younger man with pink cheeks and big hair. This was the favorite theme of dozens of GOP attack ads aired during the 1994 campaign.

"Chris," Tyndall asked Chrysler as she looked at the video monitor, "do you love your job?"

"Sure do," Chrysler replied with a smirk. "Where else can you get paid to trash Congress?"

That was yesterday afternoon. By sundown, as voters across the country rendered their verdicts, it seemed increasingly likely that Congress—the entity that Republicans have spent at least the past eight years beating to a rhetorical bloody pulp, was about to become a Republican-run institution—or at least half of one. The 1994 midterm elections were shaping up as a quintessential Pogo moment, as in the famous line from the beloved cartoon strip, "We have met the enemy and they are us." It was also an illustration of the wise old dictum, "Be careful what you wish for because you might get it."

So was the Grand Old Party in line to become the "Congressional Party"?

RNC Executive Director Scott Reed, for one, sniffed at the question as if he suddenly smelled something rotting.

"That," he said with a tiny smile, "is not the terminology I would use."

"Oh, I don't think so," said Reed's boss, RNC Chairman Haley Barbour, gliding away from the notion as he lounged jacketless behind his big desk (a photocopy of an article with the headline "ANGRY VOTERS" among the papers strewn across it). "We'll be 'the governing party.' We're not content just to have control of Congress. For us, if we get control of Congress, the next step to being the majority party is the responsibility of governing. . . .

See GOP, D3, Col. 4

GOP, From D1

If we don't do any better than the Democrats did with it, the people will kick us out—and they ought to."

Will the Democrats, finally at one with the "angry voters," start mounting vicious attacks on the so-called "Imperial Congress"—which before last night, was a nasty Republican epithet?

"Depends whether or not we'll be imperial," said Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, after a statesmanlike news conference yesterday at which the likely presidential candidate smiled a lot and made charming self-deprecating remarks about his looks. "Just because you control the Senate doesn't mean I'm going to defend it. The voters didn't just reject Bill Clinton, they rejected big government. So it's an obligation for us as well as an opportunity."

But it was probably too early to entertain such serious thoughts. After all, the votes had yet to be counted. For some of the GOP faithful, like Leigh Ann Metzger, gobbling Mylanta was a desperate pastime. They could barely stand the suspense of wave after wave of network exit polls—the political equivalent of crack—and the swirling of unconfirmed gossip about voter turnout.

Don Fierce, Barbour's personal counselor, spent much of his day bouncing from toe to toe and clicking his heels together, to the accompaniment of the equally abrasive noise of his rubbing together a pair of shirt-collar stays, like worry beads. His eyes were wild with apprehension, notwithstanding that he claimed he was in a great mood.

"Of course I'm nervous," Fierce said. "I'm hearing moderate to heavy turnout, and traditionally that's not good for Republicans."

Yesterday was that rare day in politics, said Dan Leonard of the National Republican Congressional Committee, "when the voters get to spin, and the spinners get to listen."

Some of the wiser operatives spent much of the day at that Republican pastime, golf. Others obsessed on the exit polls.

"Goat food," was what Metzger called them, never mind that she was bingeing on them.

"We really have nothing to do," said RNC staffer Paula Nowakowski. "There's nothing to do except pace. The exit polls at least give us something to talk about."

"We're all sitting around lying to each other about what we think turnout's like," said Gary Koops, communications director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Scott Reed, meanwhile, claimed that "the Democrats have a lot different attitude about losing than the Republicans. They're much more relaxed; jovial, I guess, because they're used to getting whacked around in the press."

Reed was snickering that Clinton, at his Monday night campaign appearance in Delaware, had twice referred to Bob Dole as "the majority leader."

Yesterday afternoon, Haley Barbour treated his personal staff to an Election Day lunch at the Palm (where, one day, perhaps, the walls will be graced with his caricature). In a gesture of goodwill, Veteran Democratic strategist Mike Berman sent over a bottle of Moet & Chandon, but Barbour declined to uncork it just then. "I thought it might be bad luck to celebrate before the results are in," the chairman said. Later Berman explained his largess thusly: "I see Republicans as people. There are some I hate a lot, and some I feel are perfectly decent people, and Haley happens to be in the second category. I thought, here's my old friend who's done well—it was no more complicated than that."

Berman's other sentiments as a loyal Democrat were equally uncomplicated.

"I feel like horse[bleep]," he said.

THE WASHINGTON POST

*Bruce Chapman*

# Just When You Thought It Was Over ...

And now for the 1996 elections. Yes, believe it or not, the race for the presidency is about to push itself in your face, if not tomorrow at least a lot earlier than it ever has before. In a little over a year you are going to be amazed to see presidential candidates vying for space with Santa Claus in the tinseled aisles of shopping centers.

It's not just that prospective candidates for president already are putting their campaign organizations together. We're used to that. What is brand new is a radically revised presidential primary schedule resulting from a political arms race that has been conducted among the states in

*The new and elongated 1996 campaign schedule.*

recent years. To achieve more influence on candidate selection than somebody else, one state after another has moved its primary forward in the election season calendar. In 1996 we are going to suffer the cumulative consequences: an earlier primary season and a painfully elongated final election drive.

Whereas, not long ago, the first presidential primary campaign was held in New Hampshire in March and then used to lead in a simple, elegant progression to April in Wisconsin, May in Oregon and June in California, we now have approaching us a mad bunching of primaries and caucuses in two late winter months. New Hampshire's primary, for example, will move forward to February. Giant California and New York are moving to March, where they will join such a large cluster of states that roughly 80 percent of delegate decisions will have been made before the spring thaw in Wisconsin.

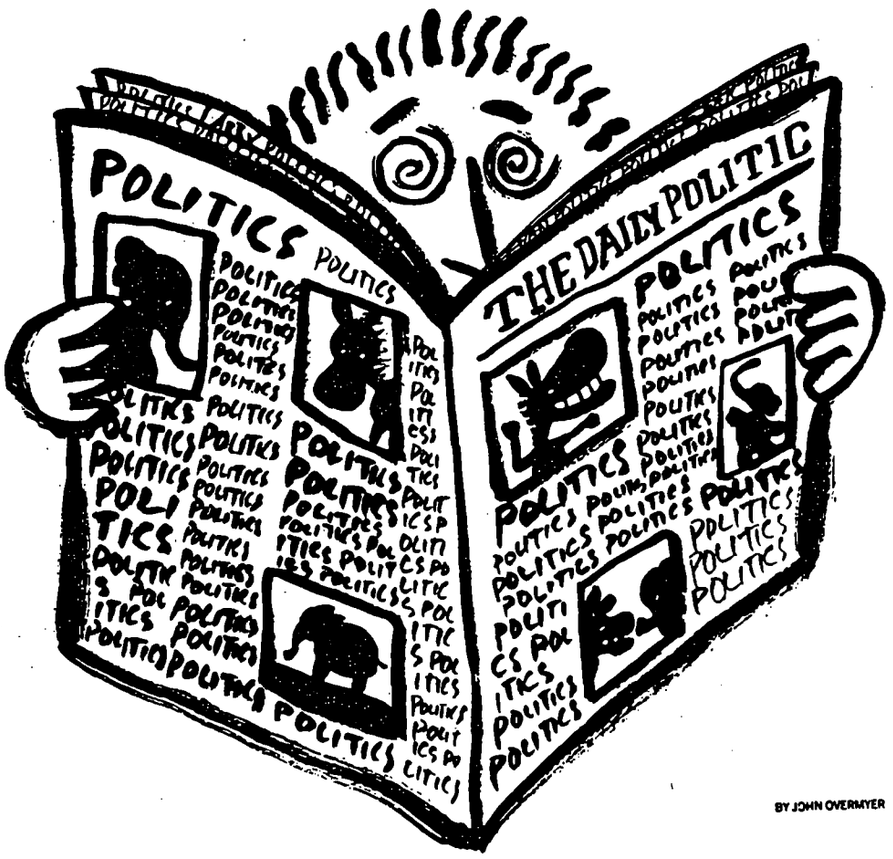
The public's participation in this political orgy probably will be intense but brief, seriously beginning after New Year's hangover and ending about April Fool's Day. By that time we should know the identity of both parties' nominees.

The chance for voters to get to know candidates and ponder their claims will be gone. Decisions will be pressured, and buyers' remorse is inevitable. Most primaries now lock in at least first-ballot choices of delegates, so if it turns out that the anointed winners were too hastily selected, or that they don't wear well, or that formerly unnoticed skeletons start wobbling out of the closet, there will be no remedies.

Once the likely nominees are known, the public will have to bear up under what effectively will become a six-month-long final election campaign. Yet the three-month marathons that follow the late summer conventions, and with which we are familiar, already are a torture unparalleled in the civilized world.

There is no knowing, furthermore, how much this elongated process will cost the candidates, the parties and the taxpayers. In what promises to be a short, wild spending spree in February and March, it is hard to see how any candidate without a big lead or a personal fortune behind him can hope to explain his case. And meanwhile, in Congress, there will be little to keep the legislative process, which now usually stiffens into unredeemed partisanship by August, from becoming paralyzed as early as April.

This strange scenario into which the republic is tumbling is so counter to what any sane person—politician or voter—might consciously design that it would be funny if we all didn't have to live with it. The added incentive to gridlock and the further demoralization of the electorate that it will encourage are hardly the medicine our system needs. The new campaign calendar is sure to lead to still more attacks on representative democracy and upon everybody in politics.




Several solutions are available, though all of them at first seem improbable. Just as no one seems to have seen this new election order developing, it is unlikely that the electorate will demand change until after it has experienced the strain and boredom ahead.

One partial answer, in any case, would be to leave the new schedule alone, despite its flaws, but change the date when the president takes office, setting it also forward—say, to July—and holding the final election in the balmy days of May. That still would leave us with a primary season that was too early, but at least it would spare us from a final campaign that was too long. (It also would give us an inauguration in good weather for a change.) The election date, last set in 1877, could be changed by law, while the change of inauguration date, last moved in 1933, would require a constitutional amendment.

Congress, alternatively, might call upon the states to move all their primaries back two months, and try to encourage this recommendation by prohibiting presidential candidates from receiving federal matching funds until at least March of the election year.

Yet again, the two major political parties might decide to cooperate in meeting this problem, since they are both going to be hurt by it. Early next year they would tell the states' legislatures that they would refuse to seat any national delegates selected before, say, late March of 1996, and urge the states to set their primaries back accordingly. This again would tend to push the process into something like its old channels.

The parties also could decide to designate in advance of the primaries a third share of each state's delegates from the parties' elected officials and state party officers. The Democrats already embrace this principle, though only to a modest degree. If the states refused to accept this prior designation, the parties could add national delegates from among local and state party and elected officials. Designation of such delegates in advance of primaries would ensure that each party's continuing leadership would be represented at national conventions. It also would provide potential flexibility in choosing nominees at the conventions; and it would restore interest, if not suspense, since the elected officials and party officials who were delegates could retain their neutrality long enough to adjust to late-breaking events. This actually would be a service to primary voters, who now are going to be rushed into early—and perhaps premature—decisions. They would have someone to represent the judgment that they might have made if they had been allowed time to reflect.

As is, the presidential election process of 1996 is likely to produce an electorate that will make the angry voters of 1994 seem, in comparison, like purring political pets.

*The writer is president of the Discovery Institute.*

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

*Robert J. Samuelson*

# Avoidance Anxiety

The widespread contempt that most Americans feel for their government—the defining mood of the 1994 election—goes beyond discontent with President Clinton. It springs ultimately from a bipartisan pattern of political avoidance that prevents us from dealing seriously with continuous budget deficits or debating major programs like Social Security. It prevents us, in short, from deciding what we want government to do for us and to us.

As abstractions, budget deficits don't outrage ordinary voters. If it were otherwise, the deficits would have vanished. But the deficits are not merely abstractions. They signal that, sooner or later, somebody's government benefits will be cut and somebody's taxes will be raised. In this sense, the deficits are personal and worrying. Whose benefits? Whose taxes? How much? When? Government has no answers. Avoidance breeds anxiety. People can't plan; political indecision clouds the future.

It is pointless to argue that public opinion is itself undecided on whose taxes to raise or benefits to cut. So? In a democracy, elected officials are supposed to mediate between public opinion and the national good. When they don't, avoidance becomes—in the popular mind—abdication. Practical politicians, by striving not to threaten anyone's benefits or taxes, have offended almost everyone by creating almost universal uncertainty. The whole system is brought into disrepute. This is the story of the 1994 campaign. It evaded choices.

By now, most Americans grasp that the budget deficits involve a continuing mismatch between the public's demand for services and its willingness to be taxed. The basic pressures are those of an aging society. Already, one-third of federal spending goes to the over-65 population. The graying of the "baby boom" means that the ratio of 18-to-64 population to the over-65 population will drop from today's 5 to 1 to about 2.8 to 1 by the year 2030. Under present policies, federal spending could rise almost 50 percent as a share of national income by the year 2030.

We will ultimately have to adjust to these changes. Yet discussion of them was almost absent from the campaign. Social Security couldn't be broached, except to deny that anything needed to be changed. Democrats particularly regard Social Security as a trusty tool with which to trash Republicans. Desperate in the campaign's final weeks, Democrats aired commercials saying Republicans might cut Social Security 20 percent. President Clinton chimed in with similar charges, implying that benefits should never be changed. Republicans replied that these accusations were blatant "lies." They were.

But Republicans exposed themselves to attack by their own brand of avoidance. The Republican approach to budget balancing is to endorse a balanced budget constitutional amendment—not to discuss specific choices. Well, asked the Democrats, how would the budget be balanced? Their answer: by devastating Social Security. The arithmetic was contrived to terrify. Avoidance has that effect. It exaggerates the pain of possible change.

Consider present budget deficits. In 1996 the deficit is projected by the Congressional Budget Office to be about $200 billion on spending of $1.6 trillion and taxes of $1.4 trillion. Suppose the deficits were ended with a package consisting two-thirds of spending cuts ($132 billion) and one-third of tax increases ($68 billion). The spending cuts and tax increases would be 8 percent and 5 percent respectively. These are not crushing changes, especially because some unneeded programs (farm subsidies, for instance) ought to be canceled anyway.

Should Social Security be touched? Of course. It's the government's largest program. In 1996 projected spending of $350 billion would exceed defense outlays by $70 billion. A one-year suspension of the existing cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) would, at present inflation, cut estimated spending about 3 percent. There's also a good case for making annual adjustments slightly less (perhaps one half percentage point) than the official inflation index, because the index is thought to overstate inflation. Again, these changes would not be crushing.

Dealing with the long-term problems of aging would be harder. But here, too, changes need not be jarring if they are introduced gradually. Americans ought to work longer, because they are living longer. On average, someone 65 now lives another 17 years; in 1970, that was only 15 years. Who knows what it will be in 2010? The normal retirement age, scheduled to reach 67 in 2027, should be raised more quickly to age 70 by the year 2015: Two decades is ample warning for workers. The age of Medicare eligibility should also be raised. And wealthier retirees should receive less generous benefits than now; the fairest way to do this would be to treat all Social Security income as taxable.

The longer changes are postponed, the more disruptive they will be. Avoidance politics perpetuates paralysis by preying on peoples' fears and presuming that government benefits, once given, can never be modified or revoked. That was the campaign's tone. President Clinton's statements on Social Security were especially shameless and irresponsible. They may have sabotaged any chance of the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform—a group he established to deal with these issues—to craft meaningful proposals. If the president is already repudiating major changes, why would others embrace them?

What everyone should realize is that this strenuous avoidance is a root cause of public cynicism. In a democracy, change occurs through consensus or crisis. Elected officials are supposed to prevent crisis by creating consensus. If they are incapable, their constituents will dismiss them as inept. It is a plague on both parties and all politicians. Drift replaces governance. Uncertainty feeds unease. Confidence erodes. Sound familiar?

It is a good bet that there is today a broad (but latent) constituency for candor: a grouping that cuts across generations and political parties and finds common ground in the hope that government can act without a crisis. But this sort of coalition won't coalesce spontaneously. It must be mobilized by someone who can articulate choices that seem sensible, fair and compelling. In 1994 there was no such someone.

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*William Raspberry*

# Automatically Suspect

I wish the top public officials of Union, S.C., would do what Susan Smith's brother has just done: apologize for the slander against that community's black men.

I know they think they don't have anything to apologize for, and, in truth, they don't. After all, it wasn't *their* lie that had law-enforcement officers and volunteers looking for the black guy who supposedly hijacked Smith's Mazda and drove away with her two children. It was the mother who lied to the authorities.

What were they to do? Here was this distraught woman, her little boys missing and possibly murdered—but

***"Black people really do feel specially violated by Susan Smith's lie."***

maybe there was still time if they moved quickly . . . Until they found some reason to doubt Smith's story, how could they *not* proceed on the basis of her description of the alleged carjacker?

We are all blessed with semi-perfect hindsight now. The woman's story couldn't have been true. Would she just stand there while some menacing stranger drove away with her boys? (And what else might she have done?) What fool of a black man would try to make a getaway with two white kids in the back seat? (Who is to say he didn't lock the kids in the trunk or toss them into a ditch?) It's hard for an amateur to sustain a lie for long, and Smith's story soon started coming apart. But I, for one, can't blame the authorities for believing, at first, that her children had been kidnapped. And if they believed that, why should they have doubted her description of the kidnapper?

So why on earth do I say the authorities should apologize?

Because it could promote healing in a community that badly needs it.

This may be difficult for non-minorities to accept, but black people really do feel specially violated by Susan Smith's lie—just as we felt violated in 1990 when white Bostonian Charles Stuart murdered his wife and told the cops a black guy did it. (In that case, the police actually had arrested a suspect and had him identified by Stuart before Stuart, whose story started to fall apart, jumped off a bridge and killed himself.)

Until that dramatic resolution, virtually all black men in Boston—particularly in inner-city Roxbury and Mission Hill, where police tactics got a little rough—will tell you they were made to feel, at least tentatively and momentarily, like murder suspects. It angered us hundreds of miles away that a man would do his wife in and then gratuitously exacerbate racial tensions by blaming it on a black guy.

And it angered us that Susan Smith would do it again in Union, S.C. It doesn't relieve the anger to reflect that Smith was only trying to concoct a story that would be believable. Would it have been better if she had said it was a white guy with long hair and a gold tooth? A Chinese guy? A Sikh? I mean, here is a woman suspected of killing her own children, and we want to chastise her for racial insensitivity?

But, to repeat: This particular lie has special effect that an opposite lie couldn't have. Tawana Brawley said she was kidnapped and raped by six white men, including a law-enforcement office, on Thanksgiving Day 1987. There's hardly anyone now who doubts that her story was a hoax, but does anyone believe that white men—or even white law officers generally—deserve an apology either from Brawley or from those of us who at first believed her story?

What's the difference?

The difference is that, in America, an accusation against a white man is still pretty much an accusation against a white man; an accusation against a black man—particularly an accusation involving the sort of brutishness that already has too many white people fearful of us—can seem an accusation against black *men*. Some of us already feel accused much of the time—by clerks who follow us around the store, by cops who are "just checking," by white women who seem ready to give up the entire sidewalk to keep from coming too close to us. Who needs to be suspected of carjacking and abduction as well?

Maybe our minds are playing tricks on us. We seldom feel libeled when we learn that police are looking for black suspects in crimes that we think actually took place. Is it only the questionable accusation (or the demonstrably false one) against one of us that we imagine defames all of us? I don't know. I do know that I wouldn't have wanted either me or my son to be stopped even for jaywalking in Union while they were still looking for a black kidnapper of two white kids.

And I know it would help if the powers that be in Union, S.C., could find the grace to echo what Smith's brother, Scott Vaughn, said in a statement Tuesday: "On behalf of my family, I would like to apologize to the black community. It is really disturbing to think that this would be a racial issue. It is a terrible misfortune that all this happened."

His words make it a little less terrible.

## *For the Record*

***From remarks yesterday by Deputy South African President F. W. de Klerk at a South Africa Business Council luncheon in Washington:***

We have a small business sector which is growing at a breathtaking rate. Already we have 620,000 (more or less) small black businessmen . . . who have established themselves successfully. In the more informal sector, it ranges from shoeshiners to fairly wealthy owners of taxi fleets. There's a very active small-business sector.

And we have a very stable and strong medium-sized business sector, supplying manufacturing according to needs with a good track record. Basically, our economy is inherently sound and it has a tremendous growth potential, given the influx of capital, given new investment, given new risk investment. . . .

It is on the other two tests that we have failed in the past. We did not have political stability—and I don't want to go into a deep analysis as to why we did not have it—you all know the history. Fact is that we had a government which was not fully representative of all the people. Fact is that we had a political struggle which manifested itself in political conflict and in violent conflict and in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people.

We have now restored political stability, and I am glad to be able to inform you that the implementation of our new transitional constitution is going well. We have, after the election in the government of national unity, established a good working relationship between the three parties represented there. Between those of us who serve in the presidency—President Mandela, Deputy President Mbeki and myself—we have established a very open relationship.

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THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

*Richard V. Allen and Daryl M. Plunk*

# To Strengthen the Deal With North Korea

The Clinton administration is hailing the Oct. 21 agreement between the United States and North Korea as the beginning of the end of a perilous nuclear crisis that has dogged President Clinton since his inauguration. But this is a crisis that Washington may very well be forced to revisit before long. That's why it would be worthwhile for the American people to take a closer look now at the unprecedented arrangement that has been struck between the United States and the hostile, heavily armed North Korean regime.

To begin with, they should consider the highly unusual personal pledge quietly made by President Clinton that went far beyond the formal agreement signed in Geneva: a commitment to spend billions of U.S. tax dollars if need be to supply the communist dictatorship with fuel assistance and nuclear power technology.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher is visiting South Korea this week. While there, he should take steps to shore up America's precarious standing in this deal.

The North's past behavior suggests that Americans should consider this agreement as tentative at best. Its complex, quid pro quo requirements assume good faith and reciprocity on the part of Pyongyang. But North Korea has a long and consistent track record of reneging on promises made to Washington.

For the most part, the deal appears "front loaded" in favor of North Korea. For the long term, a consortium of nations is responsible for constructing two light water reactors for North Korea that would be less capable of producing weapons-grade fuel than Pyongyang's existing technology. The construction project's price tag conservatively is estimated to be about $4 billion, with South Korea and Japan paying most of the bills.

For the short term, the same consortium will assist North Korea's faltering economy by providing very large quantities of free oil. In addition to leading the international energy assistance consortium, Washington has pledged to ease its longstanding trade embargo and move toward diplomatic relations with the North.

Apparently at the urging of North Korean negotiators, the Clinton administration went even farther. In an unusual Oct. 20 letter to North Korean strongman Kim Jong Il, President Clinton pledged that American taxpayers would pick up the multibillion-dollar tab for both the reactors and the fuel aid in the event the consortium fails to do so—"subject to the approval of the U.S. Congress."

The administration tried to minimize press, public and congressional attention to this unusual letter. It was not released to Congress, the press and the public until Oct. 26—as media focus on the agreement began to fade.

According to the agreement, Pyongyang promises to freeze its nuclear program immediately and allow for limited scrutiny by the United Nations' International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). This is a plus, since, under the IAEA's watchful eye, the North's Yongbyon reprocessing facility could not be used to turn spent fuel into weapons-grade nuclear material undetected. Still, it is notable that, under an agreement ratified by North and South Korea in 1992, both sides pledged not to possess reprocessing facilities. Thus, Pyongyang currently is in violation of that accord.

In phase two of the deal, the North pledges to move its large cache of spent fuel rods out of the country, precluding any chance to reprocess them. Pyongyang would then also allow for "special inspections" by the IAEA. However, these pledges would not be fulfilled until key nuclear components are delivered for the first reactor—a point in the construction project estimated to be at least five to eight years away.

North Korea already is obliged to allow special inspections as a signatory of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). When the IAEA first surveyed key North Korean nuclear facilities in 1992, it found evidence the North was lying about its production of enriched plutonium and requested special inspections of two suspect sites. Caught red-handed, Pyongyang defied the U.N. body and threatened early last year to pull out of the NPT. Mounting tensions led to talks with the Clinton administration and the Oct. 21 agreement.

In the final stage of the deal, and once the second reactor has been completed, the North promises to dismantle all its nuclear facilities that exist today. This phase is estimated to be at least 10 years into the future.

To sum up: Over the past two years, Pyongyang has concluded nuclear agreements with both the IAEA and Seoul that it has failed to fulfill. Now the Clinton administration has offered it attractive economic and political benefits and granted the North up to 10 years to fulfill pledges it has already refused to honor.

More important, the agreement allows the North to keep its nuclear leverage, strengthening Pyongyang's hand both diplomatically and militarily. And for the coming decade or longer, North Korea's ability to build nuclear weapons will remain intact, so it can, at any time, turn its back on the agreement and move to build bombs.

Given all this, Washington should move swiftly to strengthen its hand in the agreement. During Secretary of State Christopher's visit to Seoul he should:

- Announce the appointment of a respected and experienced American as a presidential envoy who will soon be dispatched to Pyongyang to deal directly with the leadership there. Had this been done months ago, perhaps the United States could have crafted a better agreement. The Geneva accord was signed by representatives of the U.S. State Department and the North Korean Foreign Ministry. Washington should move quickly to deal directly with the small circle that monopolizes virtually all power and decision-making in Pyongyang.
- Call on the North to resume substantive, high-level talks with Seoul immediately.
- Reaffirm the importance of close U.S. coordination with the South Korean government. There is a growing popular belief in South Korea that the North has outmaneuvered Washington and marginalized the South's role. This could cause needless frictions in an alliance that has been very close and productive for many years.

*Richard V. Allen, who was national security adviser to President Reagan, is chairman of the Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center. Daryl M. Plunk is a senior fellow at the foundation.*

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JUDY MANN

# A "Strange Justice" for All

Until last week, fence-sitters in the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas controversy could try to explain away the rampant contradictions in their Senate testimony by chalking them up to ordinary workplace miscommunications, wrong signals between the sexes and so forth.

It was a way out for people who believed both Hill and Thomas were telling a version of truth, or who were reluctant to believe that either of them would lie under oath to the Senate Judiciary Committee about whether Thomas was fit to sit on the U.S. Supreme Court. The way Hill's accusations of sexual harassment were handled by the committee worked out very poorly for Hill and very nicely for Thomas, who was confirmed by a 52 to 48 vote largely because the case turned on her word against his, and the Republicans had clearly set out to destroy her.

As a result, many of us despaired of ever learning the truth. That changed last week, with the publication of "Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas," by Wall Street Journal reporters Jane Mayer and Jill Abramson, who conducted a much more thorough investigation, not only of Hill's allegations but of other women's, than was performed by the Senate committee or its investigators. The two reporters talked to people who were unwilling to get involved in the uproar that occurred when Hill's allegations were made public, including a fifth witness whom Hill had forgotten even talking to about Thomas's lewd and explicit sexual talk while they worked together. They found three other lawyers who were with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and who remember Thomas's statement about pubic hair on his can of Coke—a remark Thomas denied under oath ever making to anyone.

The reporters have confirmed the rumor sweeping newsrooms at the time of the hearings that Thomas had a longstanding interest in pornography. The rumor became important when Hill testified that Thomas had called her into his office at the EEOC and began discussing a pornography star named "Long Dong Silver." Sen. Howell Heflin (D.-Ala.) asked Thomas if he'd ever heard that name, and Thomas replied no.

"It is entirely possible that Thomas was telling the truth," the authors write. But they also quote Barry Maddox, the proprietor of Graffiti, a video store, as saying that Thomas was a regular customer of "adult movies" after they began renting pornographic videos in 1982. The store stocked "freak of nature" movies, including the series that made Long Dong Silver a well-known performer. The authors also quote Frederick Douglass Cooke Jr., a lawyer and former D.C. corporation counsel, as saying that he ran into Thomas at the Graffiti check-out counter in the late 1980s with another "freak of nature" film, which sounded very much like the kind of film Hill said Thomas discussed with her.

The authors found at least four women who worked for Thomas at the EEOC who provided stories supporting Hill's version of events.

Much has been made of why Hill followed Thomas from the Department of Education (which had been targeted for extinction by the Reaganauts) over to the EEOC. Her decision was molded by ambition, certainly, but also by the fact that, according to her, Thomas had temporarily stopped harassing her. She also felt a certain naive loyalty: She was only 25 years old, and he'd given her a break.

"Strange Justice" should shed a lot of light on why people are feeling so angry at the political system. From the moment President Bush delivered himself of the whopper describing Thomas as "the best man for the job on the merits," to the conservative attacks on Anita Hill, the principal victim in this sorry saga has been the truth. Thomas's credentials for a position on the Supreme Court were a joke. So was Bush's statement that race had nothing to do with his nomination.

What Mayer and Abramson have succeeded in nailing down is that the Thomas nomination was a part of a deal between the Bush administration and some of the most powerful conservative organizations in the country such as Paul Weyrich's Free Congress Foundation. These organizations also provided front men and front money for the "grass-roots" campaigns that were designed to make it appear as though Thomas was a popular nominee among blacks.

Cynicism and contempt for the welfare of the country surrounded this nomination from the start. At last some unbiased history of this episode may allow us to learn who told the truth and who didn't. The outcome ought to make us ponder what kind of political monster we've created in a process that makes truth the victim of our political holy wars.

THE FEDERAL DIARY

# Voluntary Contributions

By Mike Causey
Washington Post Staff Writer

Federal workers looking for a super-safe place to park their extra after-tax investment dollars should check out the little-known voluntary contributions plan. Next year, it will pay a guaranteed 7 percent.

The perk, which has been described as the equivalent of a government-guaranteed certificate of deposit, is open to workers in the old Civil Service Retirement System. About half the work force—nearly everyone hired before 1984—is in the old pension plan.

Some workers use the voluntary contributions plan and also invest in the better-known tax-deferred thrift savings plan. Voluntary contributions are made in after-tax dollars. For that reason, only earnings on the plan are tax-deferred.

Thrift savings plan contributions are made with pretax dollars by regular payroll deduction. That means all contributions (from the employee plus any government match, as well as earnings on the stock, bond or Treasury securities funds) are tax-deferred. Obviously, the thrift savings plan is a better deal since workers get a tax break and, if they are in the new Federal Employees Retirement System, matching contributions from the government.

The thrift savings plan is open to nearly all federal employees. Retirees and nonfederal workers cannot join either plan.

Under the voluntary contributions plan, eligible workers can put up to 10 percent of their lifetime federal pay into the plan and get a rate of return guaranteed by the government for a 12-month period. The Treasury Department sets that rate each year for the upcoming year. This year, 1994, the rate is 6.25 percent. Next year, it will be 7 percent.

Employees who invest in the voluntary contribution program can do two things: use it to increase (slightly) their monthly pensions, or treat it as if it were a certificate of deposit, withdrawing the entire amount when they are close to retirement or whenever they need it. Interest earned in the plan is tax-deferred, but the original investment amount is made in after-tax dollars. Interest on plan earnings can be rolled over into an individual retirement account or otherwise deferred from taxes.

Unlike contributions to the tax-deferred thrift savings plan, the voluntary contributions can be made any time—as in a savings account—in increments of $25 or more. Money from the voluntary contributions plan can be withdrawn only once and it must be for the full amount. Workers cannot withdraw money and later rejoin the program.

Total contributions to the plan "may not exceed 10 percent of the total basic pay you received during all your federal service. The 10 percent limit test applies at each point of time that a deposit is made and is not based upon a projection of lifetime earnings," the Office of Personnel Management says. OPM runs the program, and contributions—once an employee has signed up and been approved—are made to OPM via check.

Many federal personnel offices are unaware of the voluntary contributions program. But details on it can be found in OPM's pamphlet "Retirement Facts 10—Voluntary Contributions Under the Civil Service Retirement System." To sign up, workers need to get a copy of Standard Form 2804 (Application to Make Voluntary Contributions) from their agency personnel office.

**Events**

**Nicholas Nolan**, executive director of the Federal Government Service Task Force (the congressional civil service caucus), is scheduled to speak at Tuesday's business meeting of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees Gaithersburg chapter. The meeting will begin at noon at Asbury Methodist Village. Call **Roma Diehl** at 301-869-7348 for information.

The Federal Executive Institute Alumni Association will have its 25th anniversary luncheon Tuesday at the Fort McNair Officers Club. The Office of Management and Budget's **John Koskinen**, head of the Presidents Management Council, is the speaker. Call 202-828-1985.

THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# Bosnia on the Brink

BOSNIA'S Muslim-led government has surprised almost everyone—most of all its Bosnian Serb foes—by mounting its biggest offensive in three years of war. Partly through an American-sponsored accommodation with Croatia, it got access to arms otherwise denied it by international embargo. Now it is racking up some battlefield successes. Bosnia's Serbs, already facing global censure and Serbia's blockade, suddenly must deal with a military assault too.

But of course every Balkan sword has two blades. The Muslims richly deserve the opportunity for some redress of the military odds to help them reclaim lands and homes lost to Bosnian Serb "ethnic cleansing." The greater the Muslim success, however, the harsher the nationalist pressure on Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic to loosen the blockade that he had imposed on his beleaguered Bosnian Serb cousins in order to win Serbia itself relief from Western sanctions. So the Muslims may be gaining ground but at the risk of restoring Serb fuel and arms to the Bosnian Serbs and expanding the war.

That's not all. In the new surge, U.N. peacekeepers are coming under fire from both sides. Lonely American efforts to bring NATO air power to bear to protect these forces are foundering on the paralyzing fear—among the foreign governments that have provided the troops (no American troops are there)—of retaliation against them. Their withdrawal would remove an important support for the now-sidelined international peace plan and for humanitarian aid to several million people with no other source of sustenance. Their withdrawal would also signify the collapse of a flagship U.N. peace-keeping mission.

It is hard for countries that abandoned the Muslims in their hour of agony to tell them they should apply restraint in their moment—will it be more than that?—of revival. But those who wish the Muslims well do them no service by withholding their best judgment of where events are leading: to a return to an all-out war whose costs will be as large as its consequences are unpredictable. Nor can reports of Muslim attacks on the United Nations and Muslim mistreatment of Serb civilians be ignored. Perhaps the new offensive will contribute to a military equilibrium in which Bosnia's warring communities somehow reach out for a political equilibrium. That will take extraordinary leadership and luck.

# Health Care Reform, Up Close

NEXT TIME it talks about health care reform, perhaps the White House will consider the experience of a local organization, Health Services for Children with Special Needs, in trying to set up an experimental, D.C. government-approved managed care program for several thousand poor and disabled District children. Health Services has been waiting eight months for federal approval while spending an estimated $2 million of its own money gearing up for the experiment. The approval has yet to come despite a supposed policy of quick response by the administration in such matters. Meanwhile, the organization is running out of money and could soon have to fold, the cost of D.C. Medicaid continues to soar, and the chronically ill children the experiment was—still is—intended to help remain entangled in a fractured, uncoordinated and in some respects wasteful health care system. This couldn't be what the Clinton administration had in mind.

In fact, it's not. President Clinton has made a point of saying that Medicaid waivers for state experiments should be approved by the Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA) within four months. There is a good reason for tilting toward expeditious handling of state experiments. The inability of Washington to produce health care reform has not prevented several states from seeking to achieve incrementally what Congress and the president couldn't accomplish. The Health Services experiment, which would span three years, is designed to achieve a 2.5 percent savings in Medicaid spending while delivering quality care and cost-effective services. When you consider that the District's Medicaid program has ballooned by two-thirds since 1990 to $668 million, and how hard-pressed the city is generally for funds, it's understandable that the Department of Human Services would be interested in exploring a more efficient alternative. The District government, however, isn't alone.

Close to 200 District health care providers, including Columbia Hospital for Women, D.C. General Hospital, Howard University Hospital, the Medico-Chirurgical Society of D.C., the Edward C. Mazique Parent Child Center, along with Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton and D.C. Council member Linda Cropp, have endorsed this project. There are dissenters, to be sure. Just about every state that has attempted to introduce managed care has encountered resistance in one form or another, especially where providers found themselves confronted for the first time with pressure to compete for business by holding down costs. But change is an integral part of health care reform, so opposition from a small segment of the provider community comes as no surprise. Less understandable, however, is the pace at which the federal authorities respond to legitimate, worthwhile local and state initiatives. A provider shouldn't have to sink to the point of almost going under to get the government's prompt attention. HCFA should say yes or no. Eight months is too long a time to tread water.

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THE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# *NATO: Russian Policy ...*

THERE IS A bit of a man-bites-dog quality to the stiff warning Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev has just issued against NATO enlargement. As a leader of the post-communist Russian tendency to look West, Mr. Kozyrev would not normally be out in front criticizing Alliance proposals to take in new Central European members. A year ago his own boss, President Boris Yeltsin, was saying Russia would not object. But Russia's sour rightward drift has induced liberals to take a hard line on tucking Poland and some others into NATO. It could "seriously destabilize the situation in Europe," the minister now says.

He needn't worry. Already things go slowly. This isn't just because Moscow objects and NATO is divided but because NATO expansion poses tough questions. Can prospective joiners afford and perform the serious military role that membership would entail? How, politically and operationally, will NATO handle the extension of its core nuclear guarantee? What further architecture is needed to accommodate Russian interests?

Poland, the NATO candidate most nervous about the weight of Russia, is especially eager to get moving. Its eagerness has produced a diplomatic dispute with Moscow and even a brawl between Polish police and Russian tourists. But it will be at least a couple of years before even favored Poland gets close. As for contenders that are also graduates of the Soviet bloc and also democratic but which, unlike Poland, have ethnic or irredentist cares, it will no doubt take longer.

Meanwhile, there is a need for stability in Europe. Stability doesn't mean, as it used to, a military equilibrium between hostile blocs. It means a condition of confidence in neighbors and friends in uncertain circumstances. Russia needs and deserves this sort of stability as much as anyone. And NATO's extension into Central Europe brings this condition to Russia. This is the sensible and true response to Mr. Kozyrev's complaint that NATO's advancement eastward would be an "unfriendly step." It would be a settling and confidence-building step. But it will take time and diplomatic care to bring many-mooded Russia along.

The Clinton administration got NATO to set up a halfway house, Partnership for Peace, offering the old Soviet clients participation but not membership in the Alliance. The new device reassures them but also unnerves them. Washington has moved on to say, as it should, that NATO will in fact admit new members. The who and the when remain to be decided. At this point the right course is to work systematically to expand NATO, for whatever time it takes, and to deepen the special balancing tie the United States must have with Russia at the same time.

# *... And a Russian Visitor*

VLADIMIR ZHIRINOVSKY, the hypernationalist Russian, would probably not be your first choice as a dinner guest. He has said a lot of wild and dangerous things since he emerged a year ago as a force in Russian politics. But the Clinton administration was right to give him a visa to come to this country, and the World Affairs Council of Northern California was right to offer him a podium. Whether the Californians learned a great deal from hearing him is open to question. But it was extremely important to give Mr. Zhirinovsky a firsthand look at this country, which in his mind had swollen to the proportions of a demonic adversary.

A visa is not a stamp of moral approval. It is only permission to come here, look around and get at least a traveler's sense of the place. Presumably he will have been here too short a time to realize that the truth is precisely the opposite of his fears—that people care less about Russia than they ought for the sake of both countries. Like other visitors before him, perhaps Mr. Zhirinovsky will go home with pictures in his mind that serve to diminish the nightmare vision of American hostility that earlier possessed him.

In San Francisco he took the occasion to deny, with great indignation, that he or his party are antisemitic. If the indignation survives the trip home, that will constitute progress. Similarly, he waved away as mere speculation his earlier talk about expanding Russia to the Indian Ocean and denied demanding the re-annexation of Alaska.

Mr. Zhirinovsky's sudden rise in Russian politics, in the parliamentary elections last December, was the expression of many Russians' painful sense of loss of national status in the world. Few would willingly return to the Soviet regime, and many were delighted to see the non-Russian republics go their separate ways. But even among those voters, there remain feelings of diminished respect abroad, emotions that are amplified by all the turbulence and uncertainty in their daily lives. When Mr. Zhirinovsky reacts by seeing the malign hand of the United States in everything that goes wrong in Russia, he is not alone. Suspicion and anxiety are inevitable in Russian views of this country, and Americans are going to have to deal with them.

One useful response is to let the anti-Americans come and see for themselves. A short trip, or even a long one, is hardly likely to convert a convinced Russian nationalist into a friend of the United States. But it can at least introduce an element of realism into his estimation of this country's purposes. Realism is not so common a commodity in politics that the opportunity to disseminate a bit of it can safely be wasted.

S-2

*By Lois Romano*





From far left: Simpson, hungry; Leno (and Calvert), pulling a punch line; Lawrence, engaged; Eastwood, efficient; Monroe, museum subject?





## WE'VE HEARD THAT...

O.J. Simpson's lead defense counsel, **Robert Shapiro**, told reporters yesterday that the accused is just not getting enough chow in the slammer, sometimes receiving only a sad sandwich with one piece of "mystery meat" for dinner at the Men's Central Jail after a day in court. "He's losing weight, he's getting sick and he's not properly fed," Shapiro said, adding that he was trying to get the jail to make alternative arrangements for Simpson as well as for other inmates who miss regular meals.

■ "Tonight Show" host **Jay Leno** was none too pleased when he discovered that a California congressional candidate used one of his monologues in his campaign. For a radio ad, **Mark Takano** had a tape of Leno joking about police catching Rep. **Ken Calvert** in a car with a prostitute last year: "He says he had no idea she was a prostitute or he wouldn't have done it. And today the prostitute said, 'Hey, I didn't know he was a congressman or I wouldn't have done it either.' " Leno personally asked Takano to pull the ad, which the candidate did. Joked the late-night host: "I try to humiliate and degrade all candidates equally."

■ There's yet another update on that **Barbra Streisand-Prince Charles** tea last week. The singer's spokesman has let us know that the prince was late for his dinner engagement not because he and Babs were having so much fun, but because his evening got a late start when he slipped in an unscheduled visit with **Ronald Reagan**. And one more thing: Streisand was not still in Charles's Bel-Air Hotel suite when he changed into his evening clothes, says Dick Guttman. She had already taken off with songwriter **Richard Baskin**.

■ In a rare public appearance, retired Supreme Court justice **William Brennan** will be the honored guest at a luncheon here tomorrow to launch a campaign to eliminate the death penalty. Other celebrities lending a hand to the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty include actors **Susan Sarandon, Tim Robbins** and **Mike Farrell**.

■ TV comic **Martin Lawrence** (of Fox's "Martin") is engaged to marry **Patricia Southall**, of Chesapeake, Va., the runner-up in this year's Miss USA pageant, who was once an aide to former Virginia governor **Doug Wilder**. Lawrence, 29, and Southall, 23, are expected to marry in Virginia Beach on Jan. 7, his publicist confirmed.

■ **Clint Eastwood's** no slowpoke when it comes to making movies: He just finished directing and starring in "The Bridges of Madison County" in only six weeks—10 days ahead of schedule. Most major films are shot in 10 to 14 weeks.

■ The four-bedroom house where **Marilyn Monroe's** nude body was found 32 years ago has been sold. The buyer, director **Michael Ritchie** ("The Bad News Bears," "Fletch"), denies a report that the secluded house in Brentwood, Calif., will be demolished and says he will turn it into a museum.

■ Potential jurors in the trial of alleged "Hollywood Madam" **Heidi Fleiss** have been asked this week to articulate their thoughts on prostitution and undercover police work as part of a 15-page questionnaire.

■ **Mother Teresa** and **President Clinton** share a new fame—both have been proposed as honorary members of Spain's new chastity clubs, being set up to preach purity to fight AIDS and teen pregnancies. Physics teacher **Marcos Gutierrez**, who founded the first club, explained to Reuter: "We do not discriminate against anyone for their past, present or future. We just want people who will defend our ideals. Anyway, you don't have to practice what you preach. After all, Goethe was a womanizer but his masterpiece, 'Faust,' is heavy on the chastity message."





Hasselhoff, left, filming without Fergie.

■ Despite "Baywatch" star **David Hasselhoff's** prediction, **Fergie** will not be appearing on the sun-sand-and-sex show, according to a spokeswoman for the Duchess of York. Fergie turned down the invitation, Reuter reported yesterday.

## Singing a Song for the Children

■ **Judy Collins** has just taken on what she believes will be one of the more important gigs of her career: UNICEF spokeswoman, replacing the late Audrey Hepburn.

A few days after returning from a visit to several bombed-out cities in the former Yugoslavia, the legendary singer-songwriter tells us, "It was a very moving, very distressing experience."

"The kids look all right," she says, "but the drawings [made by children as part of a UNICEF awareness project] are very disturbing." Similar pictures and writings had inspired Collins to pen "Song for Sarajevo," which she will perform at the Kennedy Center tonight in a Veterans Day concert for the VA National Medical Musical Group.



UNICEF/94-0541/ROGER LEMOYNE

Collins visiting Zupa, Croatia.

While she's in the middle of an 80-city concert tour, Collins hopes to visit her friend Bill Clinton (as we know, daughter Chelsea was named for her "Chelsea Morning") to drop off Yugoslav children's drawings and letters.

She's also eager to alert the public to what she's calling "the flowers of destruction"—the unexploded, camouflaged, anti-personnel bombs that litter such countries as Yugoslavia and Vietnam and attract unsuspecting children. "If people know about this," she tells The Post's Sandra Fleishman, "they will do something."



Campbell, calling on a friend.

## The Senator's Trip to Hog Heaven

■ There was at least one elected official who wasn't worried about his public image this week: Colorado Sen. **Ben Nighthorse Campbell**, who attended a party in California Sunday celebrating the end of parole for Hell's Angels founder **Ralph "Sonny" Barger** (who did five years on federal firearms charges related to a plot to kill members of a rival motorcycle club).

Campbell, a motorcycle enthusiast who doesn't face the voters until 1998, is quoted by the Associated Press as saying that some might find attendance at a Hell's Angels event politically damaging, "but if this nation can't give a person a second chance, then it's not my idea of a democracy."

Besides, "this is the only crowd I ever go around where they are not on my case as an elected official."

The Democrat's office said Campbell was on vacation and could not be reached for comment.

*With Mary Alma Welch*

## DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



# A1 What's News—

* * *

## *Business and Finance*

**UNION PACIFIC STAGED** a fresh maneuver in its effort to beat Burlington Northern in the battle for Santa Fe Pacific. Union Pacific gave Santa Fe the choice of accepting its current bid or taking a lower offer that would put Santa Fe's rail operations into a trust, intended to ease investor concerns about whether regulators might block the takeover.

(Article on Page A3)

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**Business-related litigation** will be significantly affected by a high court ruling that a party to a lawsuit can't get a lower-court defeat erased from the law books merely by settling the dispute while the case is on appeal.

(Article on Page A2)

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**Boston Scientific agreed** to acquire SciMed Life Systems for $865 million in stock, creating one of the largest makers of precision medical devices used in reduced-incision surgery. The transaction continues a wave of mergers in the health-care field.

(Article on Page A3)

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**U.S. bank and thrift regulators** are expected to announce soon that they have dropped a proposal to require that the capital calculations of financial institutions reflect the current market value of their securities.

(Article on Page A2)

* * *

**Kemper has attracted** two more potential bidders in Dean Witter and SunAmerica, which may seek all or part of the financial-services concern. However, they would have to overcome the agreement Kemper now has to be acquired by Conseco.

(Article on Page A3)

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**Flagstar's Denny's chain**, long beset by charges of racism, agreed for a black-owned franchisee, NDI of Atlanta, to operate as many as 47 restaurants over the next six years.

(Article on Page B1)

* * *

**Bear Stearns must pay** damages to a client after actively peddling a Nasdaq stock while its analysts had a "hold" recommendation on the shares, an arbitration panel ruled.

(Article on Page C1)

* * *

**Stock prices surged** in anticipation of a solid Republican election showing, with the Dow Jones industrials gaining 21.87 to 3830.74. Bond prices also rose. The dollar weakened.

(Article on Page C1)

* * *

**Major U.S. steelmakers** are close to signing 1995 supply pacts with Ford Motor that call for a 7% to 8% price increase in the first year of three-year contracts. The boosts would represent big increases over past agreements.

(Article on Page A2)

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**Barnett Banks won** approval from the U.S. comptroller for the acquisition of Florida thrift operations.

(Article on Page A4)

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**EMC will announce** that it is entering the new market of storage products for the generation of computers known as client-server systems.

(Article on Page B9)

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**McDonnell Douglas expects** to save over 25% on development costs for its proposed MD-95 jetliner through new partnerships with suppliers internationally. The plane will cost about $1 billion to develop, the company said.

(Article on Page A4)

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**Markets—**

Stocks: Volume 289,056,630 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3830.74, up 21.87; transportation 1491.82, off 0.24; utilities 179.41, up 0.59.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 4924.89, up 26.94.

Commodities: Oil $18.58 a barrel, up 19 cents. Dow Jones futures index 153.34, up 0.45; spot index 145.34, up 0.54.

Dollar: 97.13 yen, off 0.20; 1.5093 marks, off 0.0072.

## *World-Wide*

**THE GOP SCORED historic, sweeping victories in elections across the country.** Republicans sent a jolt to the Clinton administration as waves of new conservatives were elected to the Senate and the House. Republicans were virtually assured of picking up the seven seats they needed to take control of the Senate. More stunning, network projections showed that Republicans were on the verge of taking control of the House for the first time in 40 years. GOP governors in industrial states also were big winners. The results ensure a rightward tilt in the debate over welfare, health care and tax cuts. (Related articles in Columns 1 and 6 and on Pages A16 and A24)

*Georgia's Gingrich, who more than anyone else set the tone of the 1994 races, is poised to wield his clout as the most powerful Republican in the House.*

* * *

**Sniper fire and shrapnel killed** two teenage girls, a nine-year-old boy and a woman in Sarajevo. It was too early to say who was responsible for the attacks in the Bosnian capital, but Serbs have threatened to avenge battlefield losses by tightening their grip on Sarajevo. (Article on Page A18)

* * *

**The FAA said it will consider** "on an urgent basis" a recommendation to prevent the type of plane that crashed in northern Indiana last week from flying in any icing conditions. The agency also announced that it is assembling a "certification review team" that will conduct a safety analysis. (Article on Page A5)

* * *

**Prime Minister Rabin** met with PLO leader Arafat and said Israel planned to complete its handover of administrative authority to Palestinians by the end of this month. Rabin also announced a further easing of Israel's closure of Gaza and the West Bank, imposed after an Oct. 19 bus bombing in Tel Aviv.

* * *

**Yeltsin named** Yevgeny Yasin as Russia's new economics minister, maintaining the balance of reformers in the president's cabinet. Yasin was head of Yeltsin's center for economic analysis and has taken part in the preparatory work for most of Russia's economic-reform programs. He succeeds Alexander Shokhin, who quit last week.

**The World Bank will lend** Russia $110 million for environmental projects, including money to spur increased private investment in cleanup programs. The loan is the bank's first environmentally focused aid to Russia, which has a history of lax and ineffectual environmental policy.

* * *

**The State Department is ruling out** any easing of U.N. sanctions against Iraq, even if the Iraqi government formally recognizes Kuwait's border. The U.S. took the tough stance even before receiving details of a Russian Foreign Ministry announcement that Iraq is ready to accede to the key U.N. demand on border recognition.

* * *

**A Vancouver sniper fired** a high-powered rifle into the home of a doctor who performs abortions, striking the gynecologist in the leg, police said. Dr. Garson Romalis, a target of Canadian antiabortion protests, was hospitalized in critical condition. The Justice Department said the FBI is aiding in the investigation.

* * *

**The Clinton administration urged** the Supreme Court to reinstate a federal ban on possession of guns within 1,000 feet of schools. Separately, administration attorneys said the court should revive a former federal law that barred federal employees from being paid for speeches or articles unrelated to their government work.

* * *

**France arrested** 95 people in its biggest sweep yet against Islamic militants who are accused of killing foreigners in Algeria. French officials, meanwhile, warned that clandestine support networks for the fundamentalist guerrillas could be spreading across Europe and North Africa.

* * *

**Haiti's new prime minister took** office during a ceremony in Port-au-Prince and urged the Haitian people to be patient as the government tries to resolve the country's political crisis. Smarck Michel, a progressive businessman, was installed along with his cabinet. President Aristide called the event "a step further toward progress."

* * *

**The Security Council voted** to set up a tribunal to try people accused of genocide in Rwanda. But the country's Tutsi-led government objects that the U.N. panel wouldn't be empowered to use the death penalty for those who killed up to one million people. The victims were mainly Tutsis and opponents of the former Hutu-led regime.

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*Shift in Power*

# Big Republican Gains Bring the Party Close To Control of Congress

## GOP Also Scores Heavily In Statehouses as Voters Turn Ire on Incumbents

## A Blow to Clinton's Agenda

By GERALD F. SEIB and JOHN HARWOOD
*Staff Reporters of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Just two years after losing the White House, Republicans rose up to stage a political revolution.

The GOP made historic gains, and dealt a severe blow to the Clinton administration, by electing waves of new conservatives who will remake the face of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Republicans were virtually assured last night of picking up the seven seats they needed to take control of the Senate, exit polls indicated. More stunning, initial network projections showed that Republicans were on the verge of taking control of the House for the first time in 40 years. They also made advances in gubernatorial contests.

Yesterday's Republican uprising wrested ideological control of Congress away from the Democrats, and the GOP has amassed more congressional power than at any time since they last controlled both houses in 1952.

**Weighing the Results**

**As the dust settles from the election, political analysts will seek to determine whether what happened was something merely interesting or something truly historic. Article on page A16. In other political coverage on page A24:**

- **In a nasty campaign season, "push-polling" was a weapon of choice.**
- **Yesterday kicked off the race for the 1996 GOP presidential nomination.**

The election results will reshape the Washington landscape dramatically, guaranteeing a rightward tilt in the debate over such issues as welfare reform, health care and tax cuts. A crucial question now is whether the results open the way for bipartisan agreement on such an agenda or merely usher in a new wave of intense partisan warfare in the next two years.

In fact, with more conservative Republicans winning, and many moderate Democrats leaving, President Clinton may find that the political center has been washed out.

Republicans immediately hailed the Election Day results as a resurgence by their party, just two years after they lost control of the White House. "This election is historic in nature," said GOP pollster Frank Luntz, who works closely with Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich, who will become the House Republican leader. "If you look at where Republicans won and how they campaigned, it's a new Republican Party. It's a more youthful and more personal party."

**Senate Swings**

Large changes in past elections

| YEAR/ PRESIDENT | CHANGE |
|---|---|
| 1986 Reagan | Democrats gain **8** seats |
| 1980 Carter | Republicans gain **12** seats |
| 1958 Eisenhower | Democrats gain **17** seats |
| 1948 Truman | Democrats gain **9** seats |
| 1946 Truman | Republicans gain **13** seats |

*Source: Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections*

### Angry Electorate

But angry and disillusioned voters may have been casting votes against the status quo as much as for any particular agenda. "It's a rejection of government that doesn't work," said pollster Mark Mellman, who represents many Democratic congressional candidates. The negative nature of the campaign, on top of the acrimonious congressional session, simply left many voters unhappy with the system.

For President Clinton, the election results represent both a personal blow and an enormous strategic problem. He had thrown himself into the campaign's final week, hoping to turn around poll numbers that had moved against the Democrats. Though he seems to have helped some Democrats, he couldn't turn the overall tide.

His razor-thin victories for his key initiatives in the last Congress – particularly his deficit-reduction plan and the Democrats' version of the crime bill – showed that he didn't have much control of Congress even when his party had superior numbers. Now, obviously, his hold is even looser. And just as ominous to the president, Republicans may find that their new power in the Senate gives them a platform to mount additional investigations of the president on such controversial matters as his Whitewater real-estate investments and his family's personal finances.

### 'Assume Responsibility'

Presidential adviser George Stephanopoulos pledged last night that the White House would "reach out" to the new Republicans coming to Congress in hopes of finding bipartisan agreement on over-

*Please Turn to Page A16, Column 1*

*Continued From First Page*

having b[illegible]he welfare and political systems. Bu[illegible]e also asserted: "Republicans are going to have to assume responsibility for governing."

The Republican surge in the House will bring "bold, dramatic and immediate change," predicted Rep. Bill Paxon of New York, who led the GOP House campaign committee. He said it would start with reforms of congressional operations as well as fulfillment of the terms of the Republican "Contract With America," which pledged swift floor votes on issues such as term limits, a balanced-budget amendment, a line-item veto and welfare overhaul.

The political firmament began shaking last night as Republicans swept in to take over Senate and House seats that were vacated by battle-tested Democrats who retired. Republicans Jim Inhofe in Oklahoma, Olympia Snowe in Maine, Fred Thompson in Tennessee, Spence Abraham in Michigan, Jon Kyl in Arizona and Michael DeWine in Ohio all took over open Democratic seats, according to network projections.

But Democratic fortunes in the Senate also sustained a setback in Vice President Al Gore's home state of Tennessee when Jim Sasser, a potential leader of his party's Senate contingent, also was swept from office. He lost to wealthy surgeon William Frist. Meanwhile, vulnerable Republicans such as Delaware's William Roth held on to win.

A rare bright spot for Democrats came relatively early last night, when the TV networks projected Democratic incumbent Sen. Charles Robb defeating the spirited conservative challenge of one-time Iran-Contra figure Oliver North in Virginia. And Sen. Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts, a three-decade veteran, won a tough re-election race.

Meanwhile, tall Democratic timber was shaking in the House of Representatives. Former Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, under indictment for using taxpayer funds for personal matters, lost his Chicago seat.

The stunning loss of two Senate seats and the governor's chair in Tennessee confirmed that Republicans have completed a generation-long transformation of that region from a Democratic stronghold into a Republican bastion of congressional strength. "The Republicans have turned the corner on Southern realignment," declared political analyst Stuart Rothenberg.

And while the Republicans were eroding the Democrats' strength in the Senate, they were crushing the Democrats in crucial governor's races. GOP Govs. William Weld of Massachusetts, John Engler of Michigan, George Voinovich of Ohio and Jim Edgar of Illinois all cruised easily to re-election.

Vin Weber, a former GOP House member from Minnesota, said the returns underscored the lesson stamped earlier this year by the failure of Mr. Clinton's health-care plan. "This represents the death of welfare-state liberalism," Mr. Weber said. "What voters are really saying to the political class is we want you to find a new way of dealing with problems."

But Kenneth Duberstein, White House chief of staff under President Reagan, cautioned that the results sent a message to Republicans as well as to Democrats in Washington. "I think the mandate is clear: govern," Mr. Duberstein said. "Stop the finger-pointing, stop the blaming. The message also is, in '92 we decided to place our government in the hands of one political party and to hold them accountable. Today's vote says that didn't work. . . . The warning shot is if this doesn't work, we're liable to try a different way."

### Initial Test

Whether such a new approach could emerge from Washington isn't clear, despite pledges from President Clinton, Rep. Gingrich and GOP Senate leader Robert Dole to reach out to one another. The first test will come when Congress faces a decision on ratifying a new global-trade agreement in a lame-duck session later this month. Then, early in 1995, the White House and Congress must attempt to craft a budget that reconciles the competing goals of deficit reduction and tax relief.

But Mr. Clinton and his GOP antagonists must overcome not only the lingering bitterness of the last congressional session, but also the residue of a nasty autumn war in which many Republican House and Senate candidates campaigned on their unyielding opposition to the president. And to do business with the administration, House Republicans in particular would need to modify their combative, confrontational style.

"That transition sometimes takes a little while," says retiring Republican Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina, a former House member. "The question is the coordination of that talent and ability to govern."

The newly empowered Senate Republicans will have their own coordination problems, growing out of the fact that at least three of them will probably be jockeying for their party's 1996 presidential nomination. Kansas Sen. Dole is a likely candidate, as is Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, who led the Senate campaign committee this year and will claim personal credit for the Election Day advances. And Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter, who is far more ideologically moderate than Sen. Gramm, also is signaling that he intends a presidential run. Each will have a personal agenda that may or may not mesh with his party's Senate agenda.

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On top of that, there is long-running tension between the two congressional leaders, Sen. Dole and Rep. Gingrich. Sen. Dole is a more traditional Main Street Republican who tends to believe legislative accomplishments are more important than scoring ideological points. Rep. Gingrich pushes a more hard-edged conservative agenda and often seems to prefer winning the ideological debate to fashioning a legislative compromise.

As a result of last night's returns, Mr. Gingrich "wins bragging rights in the fight between confrontationalists and accomodationists," says Jack Pitney, a political scientist at Claremont-McKenna College in Claremont, Calif., and author of a recent book on House Republicans. At the same time, Mr. Gingrich could spark new tensions within the GOP caucus if he follows through on calls for procedural and political changes just as Republicans get their hands on the levers of power.

### Statehouses in Focus

Where Americans will certainly be able to examine the GOP's governing agenda—and perhaps foreshadow the themes of the 1996 presidential campaign — is in the swelling ranks of Republican governors. Indeed, some of the most striking election results came in the re-election bids of popular Republican governors in Midwestern battleground states.

"Those are the incumbents [voters] want," said Gov. Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin, who won a third term, in large part on the strength of popular changes in welfare programs. Gov. Engler in Michigan was similarly well-positioned months after his state's revamping of education funding. Both men are potential contenders for the vice-presidential slot on the 1996 GOP ticket, as are Ohio's Gov. Voinovich and Massachusetts's Gov. Weld.

Moreover, potential Republican gains lower down the ballot in state legislative races held out the prospect that those GOP governors will wield even more power. And those gains, most conspicuously in the South, represented another step forward in the long-running political realignment that not only has shattered Democratic hegemony but also is making the GOP competitive from top to bottom. "We have reached parity" in South Carolina, Gov. Campbell said, with other Southern states like Florida and Virginia following in line.

Former Rep. Weber said the challenge for the Republicans will be "to figure out how to devolve power" to state and local levels and decentralize the provision of government services. And while that resembles the "New Democrat" agenda that Mr. Clinton has sometimes claimed as his own, his political troubles and his party's deeply ingrained image as the advocate of a larger government bode ill for Democratic attempts at repositioning. Two of the highest-profile Democratic centrists—Reps. Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma and Jim Cooper of Tennessee — were themselves defeated in Senate races last night.

## Bellwether Races

Winners based on television-network projections

### Senate Winners

| DEMOCRATS | | REPUBLICANS | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Frank R. Lautenberg• | New Jersey | Olympia J. Snowe | Maine |
| Charles S. Robb• | Virginia | Spencer Abraham | Michigan |
| | | Mike DeWine | Ohio |
| | | James M. Inhofe | Oklahoma |
| | | Rick Santorum | Pennsylvania |
| | | Bill Frist | Tennessee |
| | | Fred Thompson | Tennessee* |

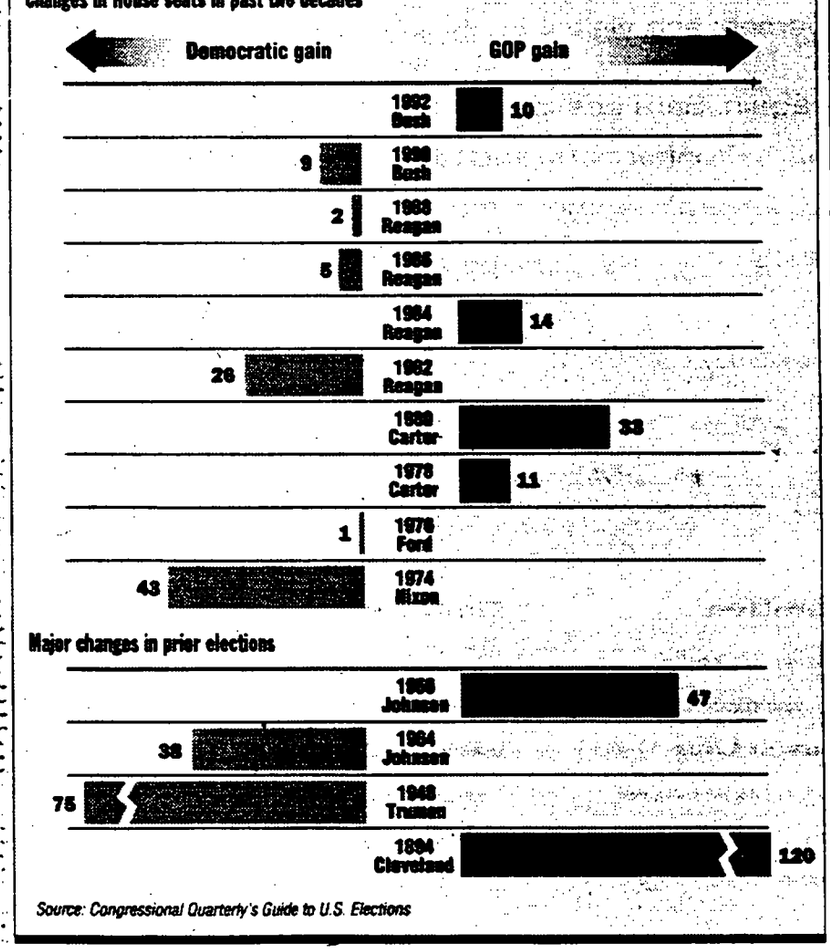
### Gubernatorial Winners

| DEMOCRATS | | REPUBLICANS | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | George E. Pataki | New York |
| | | Tom Ridge | Pennsylvania |
| | | George W. Bush | Texas |

• Incumbent
* Race is to fill remainder of Vice President Al Gore's term

## Waves of Change

Changes in House seats in past two decades




Source: Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

## *Newt's House*

# Republicans' Wins Put Their Attack Tactician In a Position to Lead

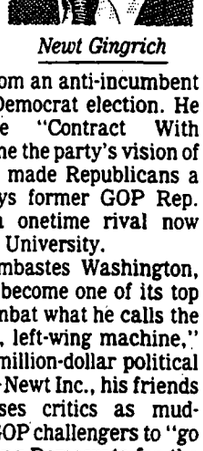
## Gingrich, Having Led Assault On Capital Ways, Faces Unfamiliar Role: Builder

## 'This Is a Brand New World'

By JACKIE CALMES and PHIL KUNTZ
*Staff Reporters of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON – "Be nasty" if you work in political campaigns. When you vote, "you do not want to elect politicians who say 'trust me,' because you can't trust anybody."

Newt Gingrich has followed this advice, which he gave in 1978 to a group of college Republicans in Atlanta. Sixteen years later, the combative Georgian is poised to wield his clout as the most powerful Republican in the House of Representatives – and, arguably, in the nation. More than anyone else, the 51-year-old Mr. Gingrich set the tone of the 1994 campaign, and he is the big winner in yesterday's election, which saw the GOP score huge gains.



*Newt Gingrich*

It was Mr. Gingrich who helped show candidates how to capitalize on voter cynicism and how to relentlessly attack opponents' weaknesses. He led the way in turning the national focus from an anti-incumbent election to an anti-Democrat election. He also initiated the "Contract With America" that became the party's vision of governing. "He has made Republicans a national force," says former GOP Rep. Mickey Edwards, a onetime rival now teaching at Harvard University.

Mr. Gingrich lambastes Washington, even though he has become one of its top practitioners. To combat what he calls the Democrats "corrupt, left-wing machine," he has built a multimillion-dollar political machine of his own—Newt Inc., his friends call it. He dismisses critics as mudslingers, but trains GOP challengers to "go negative" by attacking Democrats for the same incumbency advantages that he enjoys.

### Sweeping Gains

Yesterday, Mr. Gingrich's hardball political strategy bore fruit, enabling the Republicans to win sweeping gains in both houses of Congress. Network projections last night had the Republicans winning control of the House for the first time in 40 years, and Mr. Gingrich would be in line to become its speaker. More than any other Republican, the master strategist – once dismissed as a "gnat" by former House Speaker Jim Wright – will command the opposition that confronts President Clinton from here on out.

Just what he will do with that newfound power remains to be seen. In the past two years, Mr. Gingrich has shown he can work with the Clinton administration, helping the president win major victories on the North American Free Trade Agreement and, ultimately, on the crime bill. But in the last month of congressional action, he also showed his zeal and skill at obstructing legislation.

In an interview yesterday, Mr. Gingrich spoke of cooperation. "This is a brand new world for everybody," Mr. Gingrich said. "My first instinct is going to be to reach out to the Democrats."

But others who have worked with Mr. Gingrich wonder whether his combative temperament and his skills at obstructionism will enable him to bridge the divisions within his party and to work with the administration to enact legislation. "That is one of the biggest hurdles Newt will have," says Rep. Fred Upton of Michigan. "To have our party actually pass legislation that makes some sense."

### Call for Action

The clearest signal of Mr. Gingrich's intentions is the Contract With America, which he proposed this year to dramatize what Republicans stand for and to make elections against Democrats a national issue. It calls for action on a balanced-budget amendment, further anticrime measures, deep welfare cuts, tort reform, term limits and a variety of tax cuts.

Within that document, however, are some painful contradictions. The cornucopia of tax cuts it offers—a capital-gains tax cut, a $500-per-child tax credit, expanded depreciation write-offs, expanded individual retirement accounts – would cost the government some $200 billion over five years, and it is far from clear how the party would make that square with the goal of a balanced budget.

Mr. Gingrich and his allies argue for a return to the supply-side notion that tax cuts would expand the economy, and thus would help reduce the deficit. But that argument is controversial even within Mr. Gingrich's own party. An aggressive push for tax cuts could quickly cause defections from those Republicans who are more concerned about the deficit.

Asked about those key budget decisions, Mr. Gingrich declines to get into details, saying his colleague, Rep. John Kasich of Ohio, "has that assignment." But he says he has told Republicans on the House Budget Committee that they "have five to eight years to get to a balanced budget." He says spending cuts should

*Please Turn to Page A16, Column 4*

*Continued From First Page*

come from entitlement programs, "but not Social Security."

Perhaps an even bigger goal for Mr. Gingrich is to change the way the House itself operates. He has complained bitterly that Republicans there have been treated as a harassed and humiliated minority, deprived of their right to push their alternatives to Democratic proposals or to open up the committee system so the public can see what is happening to legislation. He now talks, for example, of making computer-transmitted copies of legislation available instantly to the public.

One challenge for Mr. Gingrich will be working with the likely new Senate majority leader, Robert Dole of Kansas – a man he once referred to as "the tax collector for the welfare state." Now, he says, "We are the most integrated House-Senate team in modern times."

Mr. Gingrich says his goals are clear. "I have consistently favored what I favor. I think we need a Republican majority, I think we need less government. We need to decentralize back home. I believe in replacing welfare. I believe in locking up criminals. Most of these things have not changed in my career."

But much has changed since Mr. Gingrich first emerged in Georgia politics as a Rockefeller Republican. Just 30 when he began his first campaign against Democratic Rep. John Flynt in 1974, Mr. Gingrich had the dual disadvantage of being a Republican in a region still hostile to the party and running amid Watergate. Yet his inner circle was full of liberal-leaning Democrats drawn to the charismatic young man and his idealism.

"Newt came to me and said, 'We're going to build a new Republican Party. We're going to bring in blacks and women and be a moderate-conservative voice in American politics,' " recalls Lee Howell, who became his press aide. In his first three campaigns, he drew support from labor, the liberal National Education Association and environmental groups.

The 1978 campaign marked a turning point. After two defeats, Mr. Gingrich and his wife, Jackie, were drained and broke. Unemployment loomed, as Mr. Gingrich that year was denied tenure as a history professor at West Georgia College; campaigning had kept him from publishing the required academic papers.

Then Rep. Flynt decided to retire, and national GOP leaders saw in Mr. Gingrich – with his familiar name and base of support – a chance to capture a Southern seat. "The shift of influence was unmistakably from the local townfolk to the people who'd flown in from D.C. with their $1,000 suits," says Mary Kahn, who covered Mr. Gingrich's 1974 race as a reporter and then married his campaign manager.

Followers saw Mr. Gingrich adopt a harder edge and lose his moderate-conservative idealism. In his run against conservative Democrat state Sen. Virginia Shapard, Mr. Gingrich, the race liberal, played the race card: A brochure showed Mrs. Shapard with black leader Julian Bond and blamed them for killing a GOP welfare bill. "If you like welfare, you'll love Virginia Shapard," it read.

Family values also were a big issue in the Gingrich campaign. Ads noted that he would take his wife and two daughters with him to Washington if elected, while Mrs. Shapard would commute and leave her family "with a nanny." Privately, however, Mr. Gingrich's close associates had grown troubled by his behavior toward his wife. Before the end of his first term, he filed for divorce.

Former Gingrich campaign treasurer L.H. Carter says Mr. Gingrich called him to an Atlanta restaurant weeks beforehand to tell him of the decision to divorce his wife. Mr. Carter says that when he protested, Mr. Gingrich retorted, "The bottom line is, Jackie isn't young enough or pretty enough to be the wife of the president of the United States." Besides, Mr. Carter says Mr. Gingrich added, "She's got cancer."

"That is a lie," responds Mr. Gingrich, who says that he doesn't recall any such meeting. Mel Steely, another aide who was present and who is now writing an authorized biography, denies the exchange. Mr. Carter stands by his account.

Jackie Gingrich had met Mr. Gingrich when she was his high-school math teacher, and they married in 1962 just after his 19th birthday. She started treatments for uterine cancer during the 1978 race. Two years later, a day after cancer surgery, Mr. Gingrich came to her hospital room with a briefcase of papers to discuss divorce. She says she threw him out of the room.

The two were divorced in 1981, and Mr. Gingrich that year married his current wife, Marianne. Jackie Gingrich declines further public comment about her former husband. "I have two lovely young daughters," she says (Kathy, 31, and Jackie Sue, 27), "and I don't jeopardize those relationships for anything. Let's face it—he is their dad." Mr. Gingrich today cites his own relationships with his daughters to defend his character.

The combination of his behavior toward his first wife and Mr. Gingrich's rightward political turn left some of his friends feeling betrayed. "I respect him like you respect a snake," says Mr. Howell today.

"Newt is amoral when it comes to politics," contends the Rev. Brantley Harwell, formerly Mr. Gingrich's Baptist minister and an early supporter in Carrollton, Ga. "He's not a builder, and that's what I

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thought he would be – a man so brilliant. It's so easy to tear down."

Mr. Gingrich declines to talk about his personal life, and he angrily dismisses the critics from his early days as disgruntled former employees "who didn't get the job they wanted" once he was elected.

After Mr. Gingrich arrived in Washington, he railed against the majority Democrats for various corrupt acts. By 1989, Mr. Gingrich's persistent ethics crusade would claim the House Speaker, Mr. Wright, and catapult Mr. Gingrich to the House Republicans' No. 2 leadership post.

By then, Newt Inc. was in place – and growing.

Mr. Gingrich has tapped business interests and like-minded conservatives for upward of $35 million for his own projects and for other Republicans – more than $15 million in the past two years alone. "Nobody in the House can or is raising more than Newt," says Eddie Mahe, a political consultant and an old friend.

Lately, Mr. Gingrich has expanded his reach by hosting a television show and teaching a college class, thanks to the nonprofit Progress and Freedom Foundation. The result of all this, according to former GOP Rep. Vin Weber, another friend: "His views have been disseminated more widely than anybody's since Reagan, if not more so."

Mr. Gingrich has castigated Democrats for taking money from political-action committees and helped sponsor a House GOP effort to ban them. But today, not only is he one of the top recipients of PAC contributions in the House, he has turned his own political committee, Gopac, into one of the biggest such committees in the country, with a $1.9 million-a-year budget.

When he joined the Washington money chase, however, his first several deals flopped, costing investors and vendors more than $150,000 in losses.

In 1984, he and Marianne persuaded 21 investors—mainly campaign contributors, some with legislative interests – to invest $105,000 in a book on his political philosophy in exchange for a share of the profits. The couple earned some $40,000 in partnership management fees and royalties, but the publisher, Jim Baen, and the investors never saw any profits.

## House Ethics Inquiry

To Gingrich critics, all this later looked like the same sort of sweetheart arrangement that Mr. Gingrich highlighted to force Mr. Wright from office for his own unusual book deal. The House Ethics Committee decided that Mr. Gingrich's promotion effort was legitimate, but it accused Mr. Wright of using bulk book sales to evade speaking-fee limits.

Mr. Gingrich's fund-raising luck changed in 1986 when former Delaware Gov. Pierre du Pont put him in charge of Gopac, which was created in 1979. Gopac is different from most PACs because it focuses not on contributing to candidates but on training them. Moreover, because most of its direct contributions go to nonfederal candidates, much of its activity falls outside federal limits and disclosure laws.

A recently leaked list of its big donors shows that some have given upward of $50,000 in a year, a few much more. Gopac officials say their members are motivated by ideology. Still, the list includes lobbyists and key players in a host of corporations with interests before Congress, including some who also give to Democrats.

## Gopac Training

The money goes to a variety of enterprises, many featuring Mr. Gingrich: seminars, training videos, motivational cassette tapes, polls, focus groups and "Newt Gingrich Wants You" posters. Gopac's main training manual was written by Mr. Gingrich's top political adviser, Joseph Gaylord, and reflects the lawmaker's tactics. The book suggests attacking incumbents for various alleged sins – including some that could be attributed to Mr. Gingrich. On tape, Mr. Gaylord counsels: "Expose the special-interest money your opponent has taken," especially "if Congress fails to pass any kind of campaign-finance bill."

"I am very happy to live in a world that has no PAC money," Mr. Gingrich adds. But "to suggest that I should live by artificial standards while every Democrat in the country tries to defeat me I think is just naive." Mr. Gingrich says he will recommend that Gopac go public with its contributors later this month.

Mr. Gingrich has a reputation among supporters for being the Republican Party's idea man. For the most part, his ideas focus on tactics; he delegates to others the nitty-gritty of formulating policies. While nothing in the Republicans' Contract With America is new, it was Mr. Gingrich's innovation to package the proposals into a fresh manifesto to give the party a national platform.

Mr. Gingrich's own allies once poked fun at him, back when he was peppering the National Republican Campaign Committee with grandiose schemes to take over the House. In a spoof video, the camera panned a wall of filing cabinets. Each drawer was labeled "Newt Ideas" except the last one: "Newt Good Ideas," recalls Steve Stockmeyer, the former NRCC director.

He adds: "Everybody but Newt laughed."

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# Tax Report

## A Special Summary and Forecast Of Federal and State Tax Developments

**TAX-EXEMPT HOSPITALS should take a new look at deals with doctors.**

In a rare move, the IRS stripped a North Miami hospital of its tax-exempt status for allegedly overpaying for medical practices and then selling them to hospital insiders for their personal gain. The IRS also said the hospital gave excessive pay, perks and loans to insiders. The hospital, LAC Facilities Inc., denies the allegations and is challenging the revocation in federal claims court. Separately, tax-exempt Hermann Hospital in Houston worked out a voluntary agreement to pay the IRS more than $1 million for having recruited and retained physicians in an overly generous way.

As part of the agreement, the IRS details pay incentives Hermann can use to recruit new doctors; it also forbids payments to retain existing doctors. These two actions are "powerful" messages for hospitals to review how they buy practices and recruit doctors, says Michael W. Peregrine of Gardner Carton in Chicago. Hospitals should get sound fair-market-value appraisals when buying medical assets, says Elizabeth Mills of McDermott Will in Chicago.

*And the board should oversee all deals with doctors, experts say.*

**SIERRA CLUB hasn't entered the credit-card business, the Tax Court rules.**

Many supporters of the Sierra Club use a credit card picturing the San Francisco group's tree-and-mountain logo. The issuing bank, Chase Lincoln First Bank, pays the club a percentage of sales. Thousands of nonprofit groups have similar "affinity-card" deals. Sierra says the income it gets is tax-exempt royalties, or payments for the use of "intangibles" such as the club's name, logo and membership list.

The IRS argued that Sierra's income came from what amounted to a credit-card business venture. As such, the income would be deemed unrelated to Sierra's tax-exempt purpose of environmental conservation, and taxable at corporate income-tax rates. The Tax Court disagreed, ruling that the income wasn't "unrelated business taxable income." The IRS is considering whether it will appeal.

**TAX-REFUND LOANS will be costlier and harder to get in 1995, tax firms say.**

The IRS, trying to curb electronic-filing fraud, announced it will no longer tell lenders making short-term loans to taxpayers expecting tax refunds whether the person has a federal lien that would hold up or block his refund. Lenders relied on that data to decide whether to make "refund anticipation loans." An estimated 10 million taxpayers received such loans last year, often for $25 to $35 fees.

Now lenders will find new ways to check a taxpayer's credit, such as contacting credit bureaus, asking borrowers for credit-card numbers, or verifying employment, says Ozzie Wenich, vice president of finance at tax-preparers H&R Block in Kansas City, Mo. And some banks may limit loans to no more than $1,500 to $2,000 per taxpayer, says John Hewitt, president of Jackson Hewitt tax preparers in Virginia Beach. He predicts as many as 40% of those who got loans last year won't qualify this year.

*Fees could rise to $50 or more, many lenders and tax firms warn.*

**STOP IT!** Six senators and two state groups asked the Federal Trade Commission to halt ads by stores and mail-order companies telling buyers they don't owe sales tax on out-of-state or catalog purchases. The groups want buyers to know they likely owe "use tax," equal to their state and local sales-tax rate.

**DIVIDENDS MAY DROP** for investors in some mutual funds. The IRS says funds must deduct "12b-1" fees from earnings, not from total share values. Most funds already comply, but some funds take fees from assets to keep dividends and other distributions higher.

**FREE ELECTRONIC FILING** and volunteer tax help for workers are such minimal fringe benefits employees don't owe tax on them, the IRS told an employer in a private letter ruling. But if the boss repays off-site workers for professional tax help, it's a taxable perk.

**CHARITIES STRUGGLE to handle details of new record-keeping requirements.**

Thanks to a law that took effect Jan. 1, taxpayers can no longer deduct charitable gifts of $250 or more unless the charity sends a receipt and an estimate of the value of anything, such as a dinner or a gift, that the donor got in return. The value of such items is subtracted from the deduction. Charities now also face fines if they don't disclose the value of any such gifts or services given to people who donate more than $75.

But charities complain that they give out many rewards that are hard to value. Say someone bids $15,000 at a charity auction for dinner at the home of Luciano Pavarotti, the opera tenor. The dinner itself might be worth $500, but "how do you value Pavarotti's time for having dinner?" asks Patricia Lewis, president of the National Society of Fund Raising Executives in Alexandria, Va. And if someone bids $500 for a cheap trinket, knowing the excess goes to charity, is the trinket's value now $500?

*Such questions are expected to come up at an IRS hearing tomorrow.*

**BRIEFS:** To staple or not to staple: New IRS instructions tell taxpayers to "enclose but do not attach" their tax checks to their tax forms. It's OK to staple W-2s, however. . . . Answered prayers? After an overwhelming number of written requests, the IRS now asks those seeking its tax guide for churches to call 800-829-2437 for copies of Pub. 1828.

—DEBORAH LOHSE

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

**CAPITAL JOURNAL**
**BY GERALD F. SEIB**

# *Campaign of '94 Is Only a Prelude To the '96 Race*

PERHAPS YOU thought yesterday's election ended a campaign. Ah, but that would be the simple, logical conclusion.

Yesterday's vote was but a beginning – the beginning of the race for the Republican presidential nomination in 1996. That campaign begins today, and it will build on what the various presidential wannabes have done for themselves in this year of Republican ascendance.

So this is an apt time to hand out prizes for the way the various contenders have handled the 1994 warm-up act:



**Most Improved Position:** Tie between Sen. Phil Gramm and former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander. A year ago, most Americans wouldn't have thought of those two and the word "president" in the same sentence. They'll have to start. "Gramm and Alexander have advanced the ball more than anybody else this year," says Charles Black, a longtime warrior in GOP presidential campaigns.

Nobody has done more to improve his tactical position this year than the openly ambitious Texas Sen. Gramm, who as chairman of the Republicans' Senate campaign committee spent the year fertilizing the ground for GOP wins and lining up big-time money. Lots of people think Sen. Gramm can't be elected because of his hard edges and prickly personality, but they'd better get used to seeing a lot of him.

Mr. Alexander has taken an outsider's route to reach the same spot. He has used a new satellite-fed television program, a tour of the country and a populist theme of cutting congressional pay and power to endear himself to the party faithful. He also has some big-league Tennessee fund-raisers working on his behalf. He's still unknown to many, but that will change.

**Good News Is Bad News Award:** Sen. Robert Dole. As Republican leader in the Senate, Sen. Dole is more powerful this week than last. That's the good news for him. The bad news is that, if he chooses to remain GOP leader, he has new responsibility for what does or doesn't happen, and a tougher time keeping his ambitious charges in line. That isn't the easiest way to run for president, particularly when one of your competitors (see Sen. Gramm above) is free to swing from the heels whenever the mood strikes.

**National Book Award:** Dan Quayle. The good news for the former vice president is that he re-emerged from the shadows with an autobiography and high-profile speeches that succeeded in endearing him to the conservative religious right as the most unabashed champion of their social values. The bad news is that his book alienated other Republicans who were blamed for various failings of the Bush-Quayle administration. The further bad news is that another book, produced by Newsweek writers, reports that many atop the Republican party wanted him dumped from the 1992 presidential ticket.

**Least Predictable Candidate:** Jack Kemp. The former congressman and housing secretary performed the single most courageous act of this crowd by coming out forcefully against California's Proposition 187, the ballot initiative to end health and education services to California's illegal aliens and their children. The quick conventional wisdom was that he thereby undermined his natural conservative base in his native California. Here's a bet that he has actually helped himself in the long run, by showing conviction and a belief that Republicans shouldn't turn nativist or isolationist. Still, many party faithful aren't sure his lesson of economic opportunity and outreach to urban minorities is in tune with the GOP's social conservatism of the 1990s.

**Don Quixote Award:** Sen. Arlen Specter. While the Republican Party appears to move to the right, Sen. Specter is testing how the waters would feel for a moderate Republican who favors abortion rights. This counter-trend candidate may even be the first to formally announce.

**Most Mysterious Candidate:** Tie between Dick Cheney and James Baker. Mr. Cheney, the widely respected former defense secretary, spent most of the year operating below the political radar cover, beating the bushes for Republican candidates and contemplating whether he really wants to run. He has earned respect, but hasn't much excited the insiders. The question is whether he's carefully prepared the groundwork, or slipped behind in the race for attention and money.

And while other Republican luminaries were busy in the hustings last week, picking up chits from GOP candidates and preparing to run victory laps after the election, Mr. Baker, the former secretary of state and Treasury, was off in Asia. He has persuaded big, friendly potential donors to keep their options open until he decides whether to run, but as usual it's hard to read much in the shrewd Mr. Baker's poker face.

**The Clint Eastwood Strong, Silent Award:** Colin Powell. Who else could outperform other Republicans without even saying whether he's a Republican? Watch this space.

# *Election May Have Been First Draft Of History, but Be Ready for Revisions*

By GERALD F. SEIB
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON – As the dust settles from the election over the next few days, the biggest question analysts will be straining to answer is this: Has what happened merely been something interesting, or something truly historic?

Certainly many of the elements of historic change seem to be in place. An entire chapter of U.S. history generally has ended with the evaporation of the Cold War. The traditional two-party system is in obvious decay. Voters are more willing than they have been in two decades to try something different.

Electoral history suggests, though, that it may take two elections, this one and the 1996 presidential race, to figure out whether what the political scientists call a "realignment" is taking place. Congressional races such as this year's often cock the trigger for an explosion of historic change, but sea changes in U.S. political sentiments usually become clear in presidential election years.

## Takes Two to Triumph

In 1930, for instance, Democrats picked up 53 House seats because of voter anger at Republicans because of the Depression. But it wasn't until 1932, the presidential election year in which Franklin D. Roosevelt took power, that the truly historic shift took place. In that year, Democrats picked up another 97 House seats, cementing the Democratic control that has held for all but four years since then.

What's more, a true realignment of the political scene usually implies that voters are highly energized to mobilize *for* something. This year's races have suggested that voters are against many things, such as tax increases, rising crime, incumbent Democrats and the status quo, but they haven't signaled very effectively what they are for. Indeed, political theorist Kevin Phillips notes that "realigning" elections, which signal a clear new direction toward new political philosophies, usually are marked by highly motivated voters. This year has been marked more by voter apathy.

Thus, what many analysts think is happening is an outbreak of confusion drifting toward chaos, rather than some new political alignment. "I don't think realignments are in the cards," says Mr. Phillips. "I think you will have a slow disintegration of the two parties."

In fact, the breakdown of party loyalties, and the absence of clearly defined rallying points, was illustrated by the 1992 election itself. While President Clinton won the White House, Democrats actually lost 10 seats in the House and saw no change in their strength in the Senate.

"I think we're not talking about redefining," adds Republican analyst Kenneth Duberstein, a former White House chief of staff. "It's not about reinventing government. It's about governing."

## Volatility May Be the Norm

It's possible that what's happening is a return to the kind of volatility in electoral behavior that actually has been the norm for much of U.S. history. The most striking thing about congressional elections over the past 20 years is how little change there has been in the party balance. And it is that stability of recent years, rather than the volatility that may be emerging now, that is a historical aberration.

The average change in party balance in House elections from 1976 through 1992, for instance, has been just 12 seats. The average swings between Democrats and Republicans for a similar period from 1910 through 1926 was 43 seats. During that 16-year period, Democrats went from a 66-seat majority in the House to a 42-seat minority.

All this suggests that events of the next two years, and the 1996 presidential election, will determine whether 1994 has brought some significant, clearly defined realignment in U.S. politics.

In the meantime, Democrats can console themselves that any problems they encounter over the next few years will probably pale in comparison with the worst debacle in their party's history. That came exactly a century ago, in 1894, when Democrats lost a whopping 116 seats in the House under President Grover Cleveland, thereby losing control of the House for the next 16 years.

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# *In Waning Campaign Hours, Candidates Turn To Phone 'Push-Polling' to Step Up the Attack*

By JOHN HARWOOD
And DANIEL PEARL
*Staff Reporters of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The question, in the midst of a telephone poll, was as shocking as it was designed to be: Would you still favor Rudy Silbaugh, a Republican candidate for the Wisconsin state assembly, if you knew he voted to give guns back to juveniles who had used them in crimes?

Mr. Silbaugh and other Wisconsin Republicans filed a lawsuit because of that damaging assertion, which the GOP said was made recently by a telemarketing firm calling on behalf of Democratic candidates. But they recognize the campaign tactic, having used it themselves.

It's known as "push-polling," and it has increasingly become a weapon of choice to finish off a nasty election season. More discreet than broadcast advertising and also easier to aim, push-polling is particularly useful at the last minute when the airwaves have grown saturated with political messages.

"A lot of campaigns do it," said Neil Newhouse, a pollster for Republican candidates. "It's a very effective tactic to communicate with voters late in a campaign when you have nothing left to turn to."

For years, campaign pollsters have conducted surveys of a few hundred voters to test the potency of negative information for later use in broad-gauge attacks, such as television advertising. What's different about push-polling, though not easy to trace, is the use of phone calls as the means of disseminating attacks to thousands of voters at a time. But unlike the case with TV ads or direct-mail brochures, federal law doesn't require congressional campaigns to identify who's paying for the calls.

"If people want to lie, cheat and steal, they should be held accountable," said Rep. Tom Petri, (R., Wis.), who complains that anonymous callers in 1992 told constituents that he was a tool of Japanese auto dealers and responsible for the savings and loan mess.

By historical standards, to be sure, push-polling is a relatively mild form of electoral abuse. Campaign lore is thick with tales of political machines from New York to Chicago turning out "the cemetery vote," a reference to stuffing election boxes with votes cast in the names of the dead. Election officials remain vigilant as states increasingly move to permit voting by mail and as well as in person in advance of Election Day. During Texas primaries earlier this year, for example. some 30 people mailed in ballots from a single one-bedroom apartment, said Mark Bell, a spokesman for the secretary of state's office. The case was turned over to federal investigators.

Mr. Newhouse said Democratic-leaning labor unions originated push-polling, and that Republicans are just recently catching on. He insists there's nothing wrong with the practice when it's done "correctly and aboveboard," with phone solicitors identifying who they're working for. In the closing days of the Connecticut governor's race, for example, Mr. Newhouse helped design a push-poll for Republican candidate John Rowland that urged a targeted group not to waste votes on Tom Scott, a second GOP candidate on the gubernatorial ballot.

But Wisconsin isn't the only place where campaigns have alleged abuses of the practice. In Colorado, the campaign of Democratic Gov. Roy Romer complained to the state attorney general that opponent Bruce Benson's campaign used push-polling in violation of a Colorado statute forbidding anonymous campaigning.

The advocacy in question, according to a script obtained by the governor's aides, asked voters if they'd be more or less likely to support Mr. Romer if they knew that "there have been nearly 1,300 murders in Colorado since Romer was elected and not one murderer has been put to death." Follow-up questions informed voters that the state parole board "has granted early release to an average of four convicted felons per day every day since Romer took office," that Mr. Romer spent "one out of every four days outside of Colorado" during his four-year term and "is being sued for mismanaging the state's foster-care system."

The attorney general declined to prosecute, but Romer campaign manager Alan Salazar complains the lack of accountability of push-polling, as well as the enhanced credibility of an attack delivered personally to voters, makes the practice worrisome. Katy Atkinson, Mr. Benson's campaign manager, offers no apologies.

"We were asking people questions about the truth," said Ms. Atkinson. Besides, she said Democratic operatives conducted "very sleazy" push-polling against Mr. Benson, too.

The practice also has drawn fire this fall in campaigns in Alaska and Maine as well as in Nebraska, where Republican House candidate Jon Christensen accused Democratic incumbent Peter Hoagland of push-polling against him. The "underhanded" Nebraska phone attack, Christensen campaign manager Steve Thomlison said, falsely informed voters that the GOP candidate wants to cut Social Security benefits and jail doctors who perform abortions.

Mr. Hoagland's pollster, Paul Harstad, calls the accusation of push-polling "totally false." He said anti-Christensen messages were disseminated to just 200 voters as part of a survey to research potential advertising themes, while a slightly larger sample of voters received anti-Hoagland information for the same purpose.

That's just what the Wisconsin Education Association, which paid for the telemarketing that angered Mr. Silbaugh and other GOP assembly candidates, said it was doing for state Democrats. Still, David Prosser, Republican leader in the Wisconsin Assembly, plans to pursue a reform bill to require pollsters to file scripts for their telephone advocacy calls. For his part, Rep. Petri said he'll move to force campaigns to identify who's paying for phone solicitations.

"It's kind of silly to require all this disclosure on billboards and TV ads and not do it on mass telephone calls," Mr. Petri said.

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# Steelmakers Near Accord With Ford To Raise Prices 7% to 8% in First Year

By Erle Norton
*Staff Reporter of* The Wall Street Journal

Major U.S. steelmakers are close to signing 1995 supply agreements with **Ford Motor Co.** that call for a 7% to 8% price increase in the first year of three-year contracts.

While the annual price increases in the Ford contracts would drop to about 2.5% to 3% in the third year, they still would represent fat increases over past agreements, which offered steelmakers essentially flat prices, according to people familiar with the negotiations.

A Ford spokeswoman said, "The negotiations are not complete and we can't discuss details at this time."

Discussions are continuing with **General Motors Corp.**, the largest buyer of automotive steel. In August, most major domestic steelmakers reached one-year agreements with **Chrysler Corp.** that called for price increases averaging as much as 10%, people familiar with those agreements say.

Ford is believed to have negotiated a smaller price increase than Chrysler because it agreed to multiyear supply contracts. Analysts expect contracts with GM to call for price increases similar to those negotiated with Ford if GM also agrees to multiyear pacts.

## Spot-Market Price to Rise Also

Combined with a spot-market price increase set for Jan. 1, higher contract prices with automotive and appliance makers should boost steelmakers' per-ton operating profit by about $30, said Thomas M. Van Leeuwen, an analyst with CS First Boston Corp. For instance, **Inland Steel Industries Inc.**'s per-ton operating profit should jump 67% to $70 in 1995's first quarter from a projected $42 in the fourth quarter, said Mr. Van Leeuwen.

"That's a very hefty increase," he said of the Ford contract.

Steelmakers close to agreements with Ford include **AK Steel Holding Corp.**, **Bethlehem Steel Corp.**, Inland, **LTV Corp.**, **National Steel Corp.** and **USX Corp.**'s U.S. Steel Group, people close to the negotiations said.

Contracts cover about half the flat-rolled steel sold in the U.S. Flat-rolled steel is used in automobiles and appliances, among other products. And most steelmakers have invested millions in equipment that churns out specialized steel for cars and trucks.

## Focus to Move to GM

With the Ford talks essentially complete, steelmakers will turn their attention to GM. The No. 1 auto maker started talks with steelmakers as early as May in an effort to make sure it secured enough steel for 1995 in light of surging demand. But faced with demands for stiff price increases, GM opted to look abroad first in a bid to find greater bargaining leverage. Yet after meeting with steelmakers in

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Europe, Japan, South Korea and Brazil, GM reached an agreement with only **Kawasaki Steel Corp.** to buy 50,000 metric tons, or roughly 1% of its annual steel needs. A metric ton is 2,204.62 pounds.

Peter Marcus, a steel industry analyst with PaineWebber Inc., said he expects that GM will agree to price increases in the same ballpark as those negotiated with Chrysler and Ford. "With a pattern set, it's not going to break that much for GM," Mr. Marcus said.

# Bank Regulators Expected to Drop Plan Pegged to Market Value of Securities

By Albert R. Karr
*Staff Reporter of* The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON — Federal bank and thrift regulators are expected to announce soon that they have dropped a proposal to require that the capital calculations of financial institutions reflect the current market value of their securities.

The regulators had previously proposed such a requirement, alarming the banks. Financial institutions are required to keep a minimum level of capital, based on a percentage of assets. Volatile markets could cause their reported capital — and therefore their assets — to gyrate wildly, banks said.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., Office of the Comptroller of the Currency and Office of Thrift Supervision have already agreed to back off from an earlier plan to require financial institutions to "mark to market" unrealized gains and losses on their securities holdings, agency officials said. The Federal Reserve Board is expected to vote to approve the change today, they added.

For regulatory reporting purposes, the agencies will still require, under Financial Accounting Standard 115, that the market value of securities "available for sale" be reflected separately from investment-oriented securities being held to maturity. But for capital calculations, the regulators have decided not to require that the unrealized gains or losses be shown, officials said.

The Independent Bankers Association, a trade group of community banks, welcomed the regulators' change of heart. As interest rates rose this year, many banks witnessed big declines in the value of their "available for sale" bonds, said Kenneth Guenther, the association's executive vice president. Using FAS 115 for capital accounting would mean that "perfectly healthy banks may have faced serious and unwarranted regulatory restrictions," he said.

Many banks say they have been forced to hold shorter-term maturity bonds, which are less volatile but generally bring in smaller returns than long-term debt. A study by the accounting firm Ernst & Young found that nearly 60% of the banks surveyed said they have or will change their investment strategy as a result of the new policy.

The new policy was hinted at in a recent speech by Eugene Ludwig, the comptroller of the currency, at the American Bankers Association convention. "Market-value ac-

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counting principles may give investors better insight into the financial condition of banking companies, but they also make more volatile the amount of capital banks report," Mr. Ludwig said. "Banks should not face sanctions as a result of transitional market movements."

The regulatory reversal is a setback for proponents of "mark-to-market" accounting practices. They argued the accounting method was needed in order to keep large potential losses from being kept in the dark by banks.

This is an especially sensitive issue in times of rising interest rates. FDIC data show that the value of collateralized mortgage obligations and mortgage pass-through securities owned by banks fell $16.3 billion in the first half of the year, constituting about 60% of the losses such institutions suffered on securities holdings.

*—John P. Hughes in New York contributed to this article.*

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# *FAA Studies Urgently a Possible Curb On Plane Used in Fatal Indiana Crash*

By Josh Chetwynd
*Staff Reporter of* The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON – The Federal Aviation Administration said it would "consider on an urgent basis" a recommendation to prevent the type of plane that crashed in northern Indiana last week from flying in any icing conditions.

Based on recommendations by the National Transportation Safety Board, the FAA also said it has begun assembling a "certification review team of engineers, test pilots and specialists in aircraft performance," to analyze the safety of the ATR-42 and the ATR-72 in icing conditions and will require modifications if necessary. The two ATR models are twin turboprop planes that are made by Avions de Transport Regional Inc., a consortium of French and Italian companies.

On Oct. 31, American Eagle Flight 4184, an ATR-72-210, crashed while waiting for landing clearance at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport. All 68 people on board were killed.

**FAA Issues Warning**

American Eagle is a commuter airline affiliate of AMR Corp.'s American Airlines. Following the accident, the FAA issued a warning that pilots should take measures to avoid wing ice, including avoiding "prolonged operation in freezing rain." The bulletin also said pilots shouldn't use the autopilot in icing conditions.

The safety board, which conceded that the cause of the American Eagle crash hasn't been determined yet, said at the time that it was "concerned that these measures may not be adequate." Citing possible flaws in the plane's current design, the board, an independent agency that investigates major airline crashes, called for extensive testing and modifications as necessary, as well as grounding the aircraft in icing conditions. Yesterday, the FAA responded.

**Builder Assails Proposal**

The FAA also said it would "aggressively review" its air-traffic-control procedures to provide expedited service to ATR-42 and ATR-72 planes.

Greg Bradford, president of Aerospatiale Inc., a co-owner of Avions de Transport, based in Chantilly, Va., and builder of the two ATR planes, said: "We would regret it if the FAA takes the extraordinary step of grounding our fleet of ATRs." He also criticized the board's recommendation.

"The NTSB's recommendation seems to be an overreaction, particularly in light of the fact that the [FAA] hasn't announced and won't announce the results of its accident investigation for some time," Mr. Bradford said.

In 1989, the ATR-42 and the ATR-72 were slightly redesigned to address concerns of the FAA about their flying safety in icing conditions. But the board said that since the modifications, it is aware of at least one instance when an ATR-42 "experienced roll-control difficulties while operating in icing conditions." This has caused overall concern about the "amount of ice that can be accumulated under some flight conditions encountered during winter line operations," the board said.

# Racial Remark Leads To Brief Suspension For White Professor

By a Wall Street Journal *Staff Reporter*

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. – Administrators at the historically black Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University have decided to suspend a white professor for two weeks without pay for using a racial pejorative while teaching a class of black students last year. The university earlier had tried to fire him over the remark.

Assistant professor Gerald Gee says his suspension will begin on Nov. 21 and end Dec. 2. Mr. Gee, who has taught public relations at the university in Tallahassee for 17 years, says he made the remark to try to motivate students who complained that FAMU had not given them opportunities to practice their major. Mr. Gee says he warned the students that he was going to use an "offensive" term, but that he wanted to give them something "to think about."

Then he said, "Anyone who doesn't take advantage of opportunities that are there, or who doesn't make opportunities for themselves, may be guilty of having what some would call a 'nigger mentality' – the sort of thinking that can keep us all on the back of the bus forever." Six of the 14 students in class complained. Later, 50 journalism students came to his support. The incident was the subject of a recent Page One article in this newspaper.

"I recognize that people have been hurt by this, and that was never my intention from the start. And if this is something that I must do to relieve that hurt, then I would gladly do it," Mr. Gee says. "But in doing so, I'm not admitting any guilt over misuse of language. I've got a right to use terms that other people use. The intent makes all the difference."

# Court Ruling To Have Impact On Businesses

## Justices Say Lower-Court Defeat Can't Be Erased If an Accord Is Reached

By PAUL M. BARRETT
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court said that a party to a lawsuit can't get a lower-court defeat erased from the lawbooks merely by settling the dispute while the case is on appeal.

Yesterday's unanimous high court ruling will significantly affect business-related litigation because some federal appeals courts have been willing to automatically eliminate lower-court decisions when a losing company agrees to settle a case. Because this sort of litigation frequently involves commercial interests suing each other, the justices' ruling can't be neatly categorized as helping or hurting business in general.

Still, consumer advocates applauded the ruling. These advocates contend that some companies sued repeatedly for wrongdoing have tried to manipulate the judicial process by settling suits and then seeking to get court decisions erased.

"This decision is an enormous victory for the public interest," said Mary Parker, president of Trial Lawyers for Public Justice Foundation, a liberal Washington group. "The court's decision effectively means that wealthy litigants will no longer be able to control the development of the law by buying and selling judicial opinions."

One industry that has sought to eliminate rulings it doesn't like is the insurance business, according to Jill Fisch, a Fordham Law School professor who filed a brief with the Supreme Court on behalf of the trial lawyers' organization. Specifically, some insurers that were often sued over standard pollution-damage policies have used the practice to wipe out precedents

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that favor policyholders, Ms. Fisch said.

The case before the high court began as a bankruptcy-law dispute between an insolvent Idaho real estate partnership and one of its creditors, U.S. Bancorp Mortgage Co. After considerable litigation, U.S. Bancorp suffered a defeat before the federal appeals court based in San Francisco. The appeals court upheld a rule that allows owners of an insolvent partnership or company to retain ownership — and prevent a foreclosure sale sought by creditors — by promising to invest additional money in the troubled entity.

U.S. Bancorp asked the Supreme Court to review the propriety of this so-called new value rule. But shortly after the high court agreed to take the case, the company reached a settlement with the real estate partnership, making the Supreme Court case moot. The lender nevertheless urged the justices to "vacate," or erase, the ruling by the San Francisco appeals court. U.S. Bancorp wanted to see the lower-court opinion eliminated as a precedent. Otherwise, the new-value rule would remain binding law that could be used against lenders in Idaho, California and seven other states.

U.S. Bancorp Mortgage is a subsidiary of U.S. Bancorp, Portland, Ore.

The Supreme Court said yesterday that lower-court decisions shouldn't be expunged in this manner. Writing for the high court, Justice Antonin Scalia said that a losing party shouldn't be able to excise an unfavorable lower-court ruling that could have broad application simply by settling with its opponent in one suit. Court rulings aren't "the property of private litigants" and therefore can't be disposed of by a party willing to pay for a settlement, Justice Scalia explained.

The Clinton administration had backed U.S. Bancorp in asserting that automatic elimination of lower-court rulings would encourage litigants to settle more quickly, easing the burden on courts. But Justice Scalia rejected this argument, pointing out that some parties may resist settlement at an early stage of a case if they think they have a chance of later getting any unfavorable rulings automatically erased. Justice Scalia held out the possibility that under exceptional circumstances it may be fair to nullify a lower-court ruling, but he didn't provide an example. *(U.S. Bancorp Mortgage Co. vs. Bonner Mall Partnership)*

# World Bank to Lend Russia $110 Million For Cleanup Projects

*By a* WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — The World Bank will lend Russia $110 million for environmental projects, including money to spur increased private investment in cleanup programs.

The loan, which is the bank's first environmentally focused aid to Russia, will be combined with $9.8 million from the Russian government and $75 million from Russian enterprises and banks to create the Environmental Management Project.

The goals of the project are to strengthen environmental policy, improve hazardous-waste and water-quality management, create pollution-abatement projects and build a national pollution-abatement center. The project will focus on the Upper Volga, the Urals and North Caucasus regions.

Roger Batstone, the World Bank's task manager for the loan, said he believes that $5 million earmarked for feasibility studies for private economic investment could be the most important part of the loan in the long run. "The greatest constraint for environmental improvement is getting money up front," Mr. Batstone said. "These studies will show local firms that it is technically and financially feasible to invest in environmental projects."

Russia has a history of poor environmental protection. Among other problems, less than 12% of the country's industrial waste is disposed of safely, and more than 30 million acres suffer from soil erosion. Recently, the Russian government has been criticized for a slow response to an oil spill near the Arctic Circle.

A Russian spokesman said the loan is "very important" for the country's environmental protection and shows "the world community is very concerned" about Russia's environmental future.

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# *Barnett's Thrift Purchase Is Approved, But Bank Faces Lending-Practice Probe*

By ALBERT R. KARR
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Office of the Comptroller of the Currency approved **Barnett Banks** Inc.'s acquisition of thrift operations in Florida, but the bank still faces Justice Department action over allegations of lending discrimination.

While the regulatory agency sanctioned the takeover, Deval Patrick, assistant attorney general for civil rights, said at a news conference with the comptroller that his department has found evidence that Barnett illegally denied loans to qualified applicants in 1991-1993 for reasons "entirely related to race."

Mr. Patrick said the Justice Department sent a letter on the matter to Barnett, a holding company based in Jacksonville, Fla., and is engaged in "settlement talks" with the banking concern.

Nevertheless, Comptroller Eugene Ludwig announced that his agency approved the takeover by four of Barnett's nationally chartered bank subsidiaries. The subsidiaries are to acquire 34 Florida branches of Glendale Federal Bank. Glendale Federal, a unit of **Glenfed** Inc., is a thrift based in Glendale, Calif.

## Comptroller's Investigation

Mr. Ludwig said his office conducted a review, under the Community Reinvestment Act, of Barnett's lending from July 1993 to July 1994, finding no pattern of lending bias on the basis of race. He said the agency "draws no conclusion" about Barnett's lending practices in the 1991-1993 period being investigated by the Justice Department. And Mr. Patrick said his department is "comfortable that the comptroller's office has made a fair ... analysis" of Barnett's lending in the year ended in July.

The two agencies had cut a deal that will avoid any clash over the Justice Department's probe of alleged violations of fair-lending laws. The bifurcated reviews represent the two executive-branch agencies' agreement to coordinate their fair-lending enforcement efforts. The Justice Department, becoming more aggressive under the Clinton administration, has been criticized as going too far in its lending-bias crackdown, not only by banking groups but by some federal regulators.

The Federal Reserve Board recently approved state-chartered Barnett Banks' acquisition of some thrift and mortgage-loan operations, including 26 other Glendale Federal Florida branches. In doing so, the Fed rebuffed an apparent Justice Department request to hold up those approvals because of the department's investigation. The Fed said Barnett believes its lending complies with anti-bias laws. The Fed also said it has given Barnett banks high Community Reinvestment Act ratings, and that Barnett in the past two years has put into effect a comprehensive fair-lending compliance program.

## 'Effort to Cool the Flames'

Under the compromise between the comptroller and the Justice Department, "there seems to be some effort to cool the flames" that have arisen because of regulators' concerns about the departmental actions, said Edward Yingling, chief lobbyist for the American Bankers Association.

Mr. Patrick said his department wouldn't ordinarily exclude a bank's most recent year in an investigation of possible lending discrimination, but that this time it "tried not to duplicate" the comptroller's review. Mr. Ludwig said that analyzing only the most recent year is "reasonable" for his office.

But banking industry officials said the agencies' agreement doesn't significantly weaken the considerable leverage that the Justice Department can exert over lenders, when its investigations threaten to disrupt plans for mergers or other business activities. Often, lenders cannot rely on the possibility that their regulator will cut a similar deal with the Justice Department. Instead, they frequently face the prospect that the regulator will agree with the department, or even refer cases to it, the officials said.

Robert Bennett, a Washington attorney for Barnett, the largest bank-holding company in Florida, said he hopes the Justice Department declines to file any complaint against Barnett. "We have thoroughly examined the period of 1991 and 1992, and the evidence is clear that Barnett was in full compliance with the fair-lending laws and did not engage in any discrimination," he said in a statement.

Mr. Bennett said all the regulators imposed "a very high burden of proof on Barnett," due to concerns expressed by the department. Barnett said it expects to complete the acquisition of the Glendale Federal branches by the end of this year.

While the Comptroller's review of Barnett coincided for only several months with the Justice Department probe, the comptroller's ruling is "troubling," said Rep. Joseph Kennedy (D., Mass.), chairman of the House consumer credit subcommittee. "The fact that two federal agencies could come to diametrically opposed conclusions about Barnett's fair-lending record raises serious concerns about the consistency with which our nation's anti-discrimination laws are being enforced."

*—Martha Brannigan in Atlanta contributed to this article.*

**FOOD**

# Denny's Tries To Alter Image With New Deal

By EMORY THOMAS JR.
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Denny's restaurant chain, long beset by charges of racism, has contracted with a black-owned franchisee to operate as many as 47 stores over the next six years.

Under terms of the agreement, NDI Inc. will buy 17 restaurants in New York and New Jersey from Denny's parent, Flagstar Co., this year. In addition, Atlanta-based NDI has the right to buy five more company-owned stores in 1995 and has agreed to build 25 new Denny's under a five-year expansion plan. The price of the transaction wasn't disclosed.

The agreement with NDI, which also operates 23 Blockbuster Video stores, is the most tangible evidence of Flagstar's attempt to boost minority ownership of its stores. Two African-American franchisees began operating individual restaurants earlier this year.

Denny's has been the subject of numerous lawsuits alleging that it discriminated against black customers by, for example, requiring them to prepay for meals or to pay cover charges. In addition, the U.S. Justice Department investigated the matter and helped negotiate a $54 million agreement to settle the bulk of the lawsuits in May.

But the company continues to battle the damage done by publicity over the lawsuits, and some industry observers said the agreement with NDI represents a highly visible step in the right direction.

"It's another opportunity for [management] to put some distance between the old Denny's and the new Denny's," says Allan Hickok, analyst with Piper Jaffray Cos. in Minneapolis.

In return for its commitment to Denny's, NDI, which was founded in 1991, appears to be getting a group of healthy restaurants in highly populated territory. Average sales per restaurant at the 17 stores is $1.4 million a year, well above the company-wide average of $1.2 million, says James K. Holden, president and chief executive officer of NDI.

Notwithstanding these advantages, NDI clearly has a substantial marketing challenge ahead. In addition to its race-relations problems, Denny's has found that its food and ambience are seen as less than exciting by many customers.

As a result, Flagstar this year began to dress up its more than 1,500 stores. Known for years as a coffee shop whose staff sported green polyester uniforms, Denny's has started dressing employees in button-down shirts and decorating its interiors in sharp reds and blues. As part of its deal, NDI has agreed to "re-image" each of its stores, a commitment that will cost it $180,000 to $200,000 per restaurant.

Mr. Holden insists Denny's – and its new team of managers led by C. Ronald Petty – is now on the right track. "It's a sleeping giant," says Mr. Holden, noting Denny's massive market penetration and broad name recognition. "Here's an opportunity to get behind someone who's going to turn Denny's around."

Moreover, Mr. Holden argues that the new arrangement was motivated as much by economics as by racial sensitivity. He cites Bank of Boston Corp.'s participation in the transaction – it's contributing half the equity capital – as evidence of the business potential of the accord.

For Flagstar, based in Spartanburg, S.C., the NDI transaction helps fulfill a previous commitment to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In a July 1993 pact with the group, Flagstar pledged to increase the number of minority franchisees to eight by the end of 1994 and to 53 by the end of 1997.

The company says it now is in "the final stages" of signing on more minority fran-

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is trying to encourage rookie franchisees through a program called Fast Track. The program includes individualized academic and in-restaurant training. Fast Track graduates, the company said, will be offered a franchise opportunity with possible financial assistance.

NDI, whose 47 stores would make it the third-largest Denny's franchisee, has its sights set high. With aspirations to become Denny's largest franchisee, Mr. Holden says he ultimately hopes to enter New York City with "a 24-hour restaurant in Times Square."

For NDI, which has 350 employees working at its Blockbuster operations, the Denny's agreement represents a planned departure. Some months ago, the company brought in Charles Davis, who worked for 13 years at PepsiCo Inc.'s Kentucky Fried Chicken chain and later with a franchisee of Checkers Drive-in Restaurants Inc., to head new food operations.

Mr. Holden says NDI considered several other franchise chains before settling on Denny's. "We saw the chance to participate in the upswing of this brand," he says.

# Industrials Gain 21.87; Bonds Rise

## Stocks Move Higher As Market Anticipates Outcome of Election

**TUESDAY'S MARKETS**

By DAVE KANSAS
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Stock prices surged in anticipation of a solid Republican showing in midterm elections. Bond prices also gained, and the dollar was weaker.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average gained 21.87 to 3830.74, the blue-chip indicator's first double-digit gain since Oct. 28. The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index added 2.58 to 465.65, the New York Stock Exchange Composite Index climbed 0.99 to 255.28 and the Nasdaq Composite Index jumped 5.23 to 767.54.

"It's a Republican victory celebration, but a strong Republican showing will be a near-term negative for the stock market," said David Shulman, chief market strategist for Salomon Brothers. "For one, it would make the president look extraordinarily weak, and that's not good for the market."

Mr. Shulman also expressed worry that the bond market might see a Republican victory as the precursor to a dangerous tax-cut derby of sorts between the two parties, leading to large budget deficits. Such a scenario would likely send bond prices lower, with stock prices following suit, Mr. Shulman argued.

Yesterday, though, bond prices rose, bolstering the stock market's gains. Bond traders expressed only mild interest in the election, instead crediting the Treasury's relatively successful auction of $17.1 billion of three-year notes for helping improve the market's recent dim tone.

Analysts said bond investors remain intensely focused on inflation and interest rates, rather than electoral issues. Tomorrow's producer price report for October should provide more clues about inflation, and on Tuesday the Fed's policy-making committee meets. The Fed is expected to boost short-term rates at the meeting.

World-wide, stock prices rose in dollar terms. The Dow Jones World Stock Index gained 0.32 to 117.05.

**Stock prices rose.** Volume totaled 289.1 million shares on the New York Stock Exchange, where 1,118 issues advanced and 1,061 issues declined.

**Bond prices rose.** The Treasury's benchmark 30-year bond gained more than ⅜ point, or more than $3.75 for each $1,000 amount, to yield 8.12%.

**The dollar was weaker.** In late New York trading the currency was quoted at 1.5093 marks and 97.13 yen, compared with 1.5165 marks and 97.33 yen on Monday.

# Four Bidders Awarded Paging Licenses; Each Gets Enough for National Network

By Mary Lu Carnevale
*Staff Reporter of* The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON – The Federal Communications Commission's auction of 30 regional licenses for advanced paging services ended with four companies each able to cobble together nationwide coverage.

**PageMart** Inc., the rapidly growing Dallas-based paging company, and **PCS Development** Corp., a minority-owned consortium based in Greenville, S.C., won the choicest licenses. Each won the most important licenses in five regions, with PageMart agreeing to pay $92.6 million, and PCS Development $90.9 million. PCS Development's actual bids on the five licenses totaled $151.5 million, but it received a 40% discount as a minority-owned company.

**Metromedia PCS** Inc. and **Advanced Wireless Messaging** also were top bidders on licenses in each region, creating the equivalent of one nationwide license. The FCC had auctioned 10 nationwide licenses in July for a total of $617 million. The four companies that assembled the equivalent of nationwide licenses ended up paying a premium of about 10% over the nationwide licenses. PageMart also was a high bidder for one of the 10 nationwide licenses.

The latest auction was for 30 regional licenses – six in each of five large regions. Each license covers a slim slice of the airwaves, enough to offer two-way voice messaging services such as voice mail to a device about the size of an ordinary pager, but not nearly enough to handle actual conversations.

The final round – the 104th – ended with winning bids totaling $488,772,800. Including the hefty discounts offered to woman- and minority-owned businesses on two licenses in each region, the bids totaled $394,835,784. As it turned out, four minority- or woman-owned companies were the top bidders on 11 licenses: PCS Development with five licenses; **Lisa-Gaye Shearing**; **Benbow P.C.S. Ventures** Inc.; and **Insta-Check Systems** Inc. After all minority bidders ended up dropping out of the July auction, the FCC changed its rules for the regional auctions to increase the odds that woman- and minority-owned companies would succeed in the auctions.

The major factor in their success, however, wasn't so much the deep discounts that were adopted after the July auction, but the FCC's decision to let them pay off their bids in installments over 10 years.

With installment financing, which wasn't available for the nationwide licenses, "a number of minorities were able to raise the money they needed to bid," said Maceo Sloan, chairman of PCS Development and head of Sloan Financial Group in Durham, N.C. "There are not that many financial institutions that will lend a minority firm $100 million."

# GM, Chrysler to Speed Up Sales Reports; Ford Balks

*By a* Wall Street Journal *Staff Reporter*

DETROIT – Most of the auto industry plans next year to accelerate the reporting of monthly new-vehicle sales – a closely watched economic indicator – with the glaring exception of No. 2 **Ford Motor** Co.

**General Motors** Corp. and **Chrysler** Corp. – Nos. 1 and 3, respectively, in the U.S. – both have disclosed plans to start reporting vehicle sales on the first business day of each month, starting with the January sales report on Feb. 1. In the past, sales were reported on the third business day. **Nissan Motor** Co., No. 6 in the U.S., said it would follow suit, and other leading vehicle makers are expected to do the same.

However, Ford still thinks it needs the extra time to adequately analyze sales reports from dealers and present an accurate picture, a spokesman said.

Ford's reluctance could mean headaches for economists and securities traders who watch the monthly car-sales reports as barometer of the economy and car-company health. In particular, until Ford reports, it won't be possible to calculate an accurate seasonally adjusted annual sales rate for the industry – a snapshot figure that indicates how good or bad a given month's sales were.

Ford has 25% of the U.S. market for cars and light trucks. GM has about 33%, Chrysler about 15% and Nissan 5.2%.

**Honda Motor** Co., No. 5, and No. 7 **Mazda Motor** Co. are weighing the change. No. 4 **Toyota Motor** Corp. and No. 8 **Mitsubishi Motors** Corp. couldn't be reached.

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# Yeltsin's Choice of Economics Minister Reflects Russia's Commitment to Reform

A WALL STREET JOURNAL *News Roundup*

MOSCOW – Russian President Boris Yeltsin named Yevgeny Yasin as his new economics minister, maintaining the balance of reformers in his cabinet.

Mr. Yasin was head of the president's center for economic analysis and has taken part in the preparatory work for most of Russia's economic-reform programs. He succeeds Alexander Shokhin, who quit last week in protest over the naming of a Soviet-era politician, Vladimir Panskov, as finance minister.

By choosing Mr. Yasin, whose reform credentials date back to the late Soviet period, Mr. Yeltsin appeared to underscore the government's commitment to continuing reform.

However, Mr. Yasin isn't as radical a reformer as some others who might have gotten the job. The president, for instance, passed over Yakov Urinson, now first deputy economics minister and a protege of Yegor Gaider, one of the country's most outspoken advocates of severe reform.

The 60-year-old Mr. Yasin is a professional economist. In 1990, he headed the Soviet government's commission on economic reform, where he contributed to the development of the "500-day" shock-therapy reform program, a radical attempt—later abandoned – to quickly create a market-economic-system in the then-Soviet Union. He isn't affiliated with any Russian political party.

According to Russian news reports, Mr. Yasin backs the government's anti-inflation budget plan for 1995 but has called for greater government support for the country's high-technology industry. In an interview with the Russian Itar-Tass news agency this week, he underlined the importance of government support for high-tech industries with export potential such as aviation, space and biotechnology. In that regard, Mr. Yasin's views appear to echo those of the more conservative finance minister, Mr. Panskov, who has called for greater government support for industry.

In a Russian newspaper interview published Nov. 2, speaking of the government's program to combat inflation, Mr. Yasin said: "If we stop inflation now, we'll have growth in one-and-a-half to two years. If we don't stop it, we can't avoid further contraction."

(The Cabinet has proposed to Parliament a tight budget for next year that aims to cut inflation to 1%-2% a month by the end of 1995 from the recent pace of about 15% a month.)

Also in the interview, Mr. Yasin said the government must work to support investment, but by creating the conditions necessary to mobilize private capital, not by issuing unbacked credits.

Mr. Yasin's appointment is the latest in a broad cabinet shake-up set off by the Oct. 11 collapse in the ruble currency. Mr. Yasin will report to Anatoly Chubais, newly appointed first deputy premier for economics and finance.

## States Face Push to Change Telephone-Monopoly Rules

*By a* WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON – Representatives of cable-television companies, long-distance carriers and alternative local phone companies plan a major push at the state level to lift legal and regulatory barriers that protect local phone monopolies.

The states initially targeted are Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas and Virginia, and the list is expected to grow as cable companies and others plan and build networks capable of carrying phone calls. The group plans to announce its initiative today, launching a campaign to change state regulations or state laws to require local phone companies to open their networks to competitors.

With the failure this fall of federal legislation to revamp telecommunications regulations and stimulate competition, companies have been focusing their efforts on state public-utility commissions and state legislatures.

The group includes the National Cable Television Association, AT&T Corp., MCI Communications Corp., Sprint Corp., and the Competitive Telecommunications Association, which represents smaller long-distance carriers. **Teleport Communications Group** and **Metropolitan Fiber Systems**, which operate fiber-optic networks in major cities serving big business customers and long-distance carriers, also plan to participate, along with **American Personal Communications**, a company that plans to offer an advanced wireless telephone service that will compete with cellular and ordinary telephone service.

The cable industry was the first to focus on the six states, primarily because companies in each of the six are ready to compete.

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# *Some Fear South Korea May Be Loser In 100-Seat Jetliner Venture With China*

By STEVE GLAIN
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SEOUL, South Korea — An ambitious venture by China and South Korea to jointly develop a 100-seat jetliner is likely to leave Korea with a large bill and little new technology to show for it, Korean aerospace engineers say.

"It doesn't make sense to help China build this expensive toy," says a former government aerospace official, the Seoul representative for a foreign aerospace company. "We have an old saying in Korea: We are like a dancing bear that does the trick and China is the ringmaster who gets the money."

Such cynicism contrasts with the euphoria when Beijing and Seoul normalized diplomatic relations two years ago, and Korean industrialists expected to trade their technology for vast slices of China's market. Such long-term demand, they hoped, would help refuel Korea's flagging export-driven economy.

But China is already demanding technology that is too sophisticated for Korean industry to supply. That spells bad news for Korean manufacturers, but opportunity for others. Aircraft maker **Boeing** Co. of the U.S., for example, is said to have the inside track for the lead foreign role in the aircraft consortium, which only a few months ago was an exclusively bilateral enterprise.

## Phoenix Program

The proposal to develop the 100-seat jet formalized in Seoul this week during a summit meeting between Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng and Korean President Kim Young Sam has its roots in a Korean plan to build a 50-seat turbofan commuter plane. Dubbed the Phoenix Program, the plan was promoted as a way to enhance Korea's aerospace capability, currently limited to building parts under license for foreign aircraft makers.

In March, that program was employed to help strengthen Sino-Korean relations at a time when Seoul was wooing Beijing to play a more constructive role in the dispute over North Korea's nuclear program. At a summit meeting in Beijing, Mr. Kim unveiled a commitment to help China develop such capital-intensive industries as telecommunications, semiconductors and high-definition television.

The gesture included an offer to turn the Phoenix Program into a Sino-Korean venture to develop the 100-seat jet. In return, China guaranteed domestic orders of 300 to 350 of the aircraft.

Korean aerospace engineers moaned. "We can do a 50-seater turbofan," said an official at one of Korea's top aerospace companies. "But not a 100-seat jet. We just don't have the support industries."

But policy makers applaud the accord. "This venture will benefit some 30 local companies and greatly improve . . . our local aerospace industry," said a spokesman for the Korea Aerospace Research Institute, a government-sponsored think tank.

Local companies, sniffing fat government contracts, lined up for a share of the consortium. Korea's trade ministry says lead contractor **Samsung Aerospace Industries** Ltd. has already broken ground for an aircraft-assembly factory that eventually may cost as much as $500 million. **Daewoo Heavy Industries** Ltd., an affiliate of the Daewoo conglomerate, and Korean Air have been chosen as subcontractors.

## Foreign Partner

Yet China, unimpressed with South Korean aerospace know-how after a tour of several local factories, insisted on help from a foreign partner. The Korean government and industrialists say Boeing, which confirmed that it is involved in tentative negotiations with the Chinese, appears to be the strongest candidate. A decision is expected in March.

A year ago, Boeing acknowledged it was discussing developing a commuter aircraft with Japan and China that could conceivably compete with the Sino-Korean model. A Boeing spokesman in Seattle said the company was "continuing discussions" with Beijing and Tokyo but nothing conclusive had resulted.

A U.S. Embassy official in Seoul says **United Technologies** Corp. and **AlliedSignal** Inc. are close to signing contracts to provide engines and avionics, respectively, for the Sino-Korean project. Other foreign companies vying for a role include France's state-owned **Aerospatiale** SA and Deutsche Aerospace AG, a unit of Germany's **Daimler-Benz** AG.

**Soaring Orders**

Commercial aircraft purchases by China and South Korea

| | 1993 (billions) | 1994-2013* (billions) |
|---|---|---|
| China | $2.7 | $65.9 |
| Korea | 1.3 | 24.0 |

*Projected

*Sources: Korea Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, China Aviation Supplies Corp., Boeing Corp.*

## Budget Is Questioned

Under the agreement signed at this week's summit meeting, China and Korea will finance 70% of the enterprise and third parties will finance the rest. But some aerospace experts are already dismissing as unrealistic the project's $1.2 billion budget. Attendees at a June seminar hosted by **Korean Air** estimated the total price at $3 billion to $4 billion.

For the Koreans, foreign participation is a two-edged sword. An established aerospace company would help make the consortium a commercial success and provide expertise in sales, marketing, and systems integration. But some engineers say Korea could have developed such skills through the much-cheaper Phoenix Program. Most significantly, they say, a foreign partner will leave Korea, which boasts neither China's huge market nor advanced technology, with little leverage over operational decisions.

Beijing is already demanding, for example, that final assembly of the aircraft and thus the prestigious rolling out ceremony, be done in China. Should Korea concede on that symbolic issue, experts say, its role in the consortium would be reduced to little more than financier.

China, meanwhile, could use the venture to generate enough aerospace expertise to significantly narrow its technology gap with its smaller neighbor.

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# The Grandkids Can Relax

By Robert Eisner

"Every newborn baby starts out with a debt of over $50,000 because he or she will owe that much more in taxes than he or she will ever receive in government benefits."

*—Warren Rudman and Paul Tsongas, for The Concord Coalition*

"If there is no change in the net taxes paid by current generations, future generations will have to pay net taxes equal to 71% of their lifetime incomes."

*—Laurence Kotlikoff, in "Generational Accounting"*

There's a new hot topic in the economics profession that's receiving considerable attention in policy-making circles. It has great appeal to those gloom-and-doomers who don't find the conventional budget-deficit paranoia sufficiently extreme. Such people can be found in both political parties.

It's called generational accounting. It is grounded in the idea that debts piled up by the current generations are being passed wholesale to future generations. Assuming that government will eventually pay all its bills, the proponents of this view measure how much the burden on each generation will be in "net taxes." If those alive now are paying less, those yet to be born will have to pay more.

And the numbers that the generational-accounting economists come up with—people like Mr. Kotlikoff of Boston University and Alan Auerbach of the University of Pennsylvania and Jagadessh Gokhale of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland—are indeed shocking. Mr. Kotlikoff argues that the prospective net tax rate for future generations is up to 82%; it would have been 93.7% without the Clinton deficit-reduction package. Even with the package, future generations will pay 126% more in taxes than those currently alive!

## Technical Problems

Generational accounting figured in the political debate that culminated in yesterday's election, at least implicitly, since the deficit hemmed in electioneering claims about taxes and benefits. The GOP's Contract With America proclaimed support for a balanced-budget amendment, while promising to cut taxes and raise military spending. The Democrats charged that its fulfillment would require huge sacrifices in Medicare and retirement benefits for the elderly. Budget Director Alice Rivlin's "Big Choices" memo specifically mentioned the possibility—later rejected by President Clinton—of curbing elderly benefits to hold the deficit in check.

As economics, though, generational accounting has a lot of technical problems. And it leads us away from some real issues, especially the amount of saving and investment that will determine how big a pie the economy will produce for our children and grandchildren.

A true look at generational accounts would have to offer a much fuller picture than its advocates currently provide. It would have to tell us what we are providing each generation in the real capital—public and private, human and nonhuman—on which each generation's total production and earnings will depend. The narrow government accounts presented by Mr. Kotlikoff and his associates might then play a role, although one that is far from obvious. Those accounts do not show what government is doing to provide public investment and, in its financing or taxing, what government is doing to encourage or discourage private saving and investment.

Consider the basic "finding" of the generational accountants, that future generations—those born from now on—will have to pay enormously more in taxes than those already living. That is based on the assumption that, given projected expenditures, taxes will have to be increased and all such increases will be borne by those yet to be born; everyone now alive, including one-year-olds, will have no increase in taxes.

This indeed is a strange scenario. At some point in the future, one or 10 or 20 years from now, we will be forced to see the error of our ways and raise taxes or cut benefits. But at that point, it is posited, we would impose these burdens only on those coming into the world after 1994. We would presumably put our birth dates on our tax returns and have a surtax if we were born too late, and we would similarly be denied entitlement benefits still enjoyed by those born a bit earlier.

If, more realistically, an increase in net taxes—either higher taxes or lower government benefit payments—were at some point implemented for all, regardless of age or generation, the difference between generational tax burdens would largely disappear, and with it most of the dramatic conclusions of "generational accounting."

Further, generational accountants arrive at large prospective tax rates in part because they take the present value of all net taxes plus the existing government debt and divide the sum by the present value of only labor income, which is perhaps two-thirds of total gross income (which also includes investment income and other things). All this is sensitive to interest rates, which the authors project out at a real rate of 6%. At lower rates (which are likely)—corresponding to what might be applied to service of the government debt—the tax rates and differentials are markedly less.

*The political paranoia about budget deficits and government debt, and the dire numbers produced by so-called generational accountants, lead us in the wrong direction.*

Another problem: The projections of large increases in taxes depend on uncertain forecasts well into the 21st century of what will be happening to population, productivity and health costs. The possibility that in 2050 we would need higher taxes to finance Social Security payments to retirees then is hardly any reason to raise taxes now. Retirees in 2050 will be living off the production of those working in 2050, and their benefits will have to be financed by them. Higher taxes now might just stifle the economy and slow our long-run growth, thus raising future tax burdens.

But most troublesome is the very concept of "net taxes" as a measure of the net burden imposed by government, let alone of the relative welfare of generations. Suppose, as is likely, future generations are paying taxes to finance interest payments on the federal debt. To whom are those interest payments going? Only a small portion of the debt is held by foreigners. Will it not be those same future generations that are receiving the interest payments? Are not the interest receipts an offset to the taxes that finance them? If we are looking for a measure of the net burden imposed by government, do we not want a comprehensive measure of the net amounts government takes from the public and not, as Mr. Kotlikoff himself has described them, the government's arbitrarily classified receipts and "benefits" or transfers?

Suppose further that we levy taxes on the old to pay for the education of the young, as in fact we do. Is that not a transfer to new and coming generations? Suppose the government spends for roads, bridges and airports or in support of research, public and private. Are those expenditures not creating benefits and income for future generations? Take even outlays for defense, which I find particularly excessive in this post-Cold War world. To the extent they are necessary, are not we of the present generation who pay for them providing benefits of security and freedom for those who come after us?

Of course, wasteful expenditures may provide no benefits to our children. But does even the most ardent opponent of "government spending" believe that it is all wasteful?

In fact, neither the "debt" with which each infant is born nor the "net taxes" he can expect to pay tells us anything about how well off he will be in any absolute sense or compared with his parents. The government debt may be better viewed as an *asset* of the American public, its predominant owners. We might say that each infant born today is given a nest egg of government saving bonds, or Treasury bills, notes, and bonds equal to $50,000. Is that a burden? And the net taxes, even if correctly projected and calculated, tell us nothing about either the total net benefits the public will receive from its government or, more important, how well it will be living.

To get at that we need comprehensive measures of what we as a nation are saving and investing for the future. These have little directly to do with entitlements or government debt, deficits or net taxes. The new measures would count the construction of new housing and the level of investment in new plants, equipment, research and technology. These measures would include government investment in infrastructure and the vital, intangible capital of basic research, health, education and the provision of a safe, secure society. They would include all of the investment, public and private, in human capital, in the formation of new generations well-trained and well-equipped for productive jobs in a technologically advancing economy.

## Deficit Folly

Unfortunately, much of the political posturing and paranoia about budget deficits and government debt, and now the dire numbers from the so-called generational accounts, lead us in a different direction. Money that might go to expanded and better health care, we are told by many in the Congress, must instead be used to reduce the deficit. Money to prevent crime, to get people from welfare to work, to salvage much of a generation growing up functionally illiterate and outside of the productive economy—all such spending must be curbed to hold down deficits or future net taxes.

Proper, comprehensive generational accounting might help protect us from such folly. What we have so far only compounds the confusion about the vital issue of providing for our future.

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*Mr. Eisner, professor emeritus at Northwestern University and a past president of the American Economic Association, is the author of "The Misunderstood Economy: What Counts and How to Count It."*

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# Who's in Jail, and Why They Belong There

The Justice Department has just announced that America's prison population has topped the one million mark. There are now nearly 920,000 offenders serving time in state prisons and 94,000 criminals incarcerated in federal facilities. The total prison population has more than doubled in the past 10 years alone, and it is expected to grow at this same pace or even faster over the next 15 years.

The news of this milestone was accompanied by the predictable calls for abandoning current incarceration policies and

## Rule of Law

By Paul J. McNulty

pursing "a better way." Critics point to high crime rates as evidence of the futility of prisons as a response to the problem of crime. They urge policy makers to stop building prisons and establish more alternatives to incarceration, despite the fact that three-fourths of all offenders in the criminal justice system are out of prison on probation or parole and approximately 40% of those convicted of violent crimes are not even sent to prison.

The public, of course, continues to move in exactly the opposite direction, in favor of stiffer punishment. Should political leaders feel squeezed? Are the current incarceration policies part of the solution or part of the problem?

To answer these questions, we must turn to another recently released Department of Justice report, one that received little media attention. Entitled "Comparing Federal and State Prison Inmates, 1991," it is the most comprehensive survey ever undertaken of who is in prison. The report provides a valuable compilation of facts directly relating to the question of who should be incarcerated.

In general, there is a higher percentage of nonviolent offenders with no prior criminal convictions in federal prisons than in state prisons. This is primarily because the states are largely responsible for prosecuting violent crime. Drug traffickers and white-collar criminals dominate the attention of federal law enforcement. More than 90% of all prisoners are in state prisons.

Of all the facts contained in the survey, one offers more support for the current use of prisons than any other: 93% of those in state prisons are either violent criminals or repeat offenders. Fewer than one-fifth have never been convicted of a prior crime, and only about a third are behind bars for a nonviolent crime. In other words, the overwhelming majority of prisoners are behind bars simply because they are dangerous. Most of those in state prison today are exactly where they belong.

Consider these numbers. About 80% of state prisoners are recidivists; the majority are violent recidivists. This means the crime that landed them in prison was a violent crime (murder, rape, robbery or assault), or they were convicted in the past of a violent crime. The remainder of these recidivists, about 40%, are nonviolent criminals. While these offenders have no current or prior violent crime convictions, a significant portion have two or more prior convictions for other crimes.

Some analysts argue that nonviolent recidivists should not be in prison because such criminals are not a threat to public safety. There are at least three reasons why this view is contrary to the interests of crime control.

First, many prisoners serving time for nonviolent crimes were previously convicted of violent crimes. Not imprisoning them after a subsequent conviction only invites further victimization.

Second, many nonviolent crimes are closely associated with violence and those who repeatedly commit such crimes are likely to engage in life-threatening behavior. Repeat drug traffickers are likely to become violent when business interests so demand. Similarly, the "nonviolent crime" of home burglary often results in violence if things fail to go as planned.

Third, the effectiveness of alternative sentences is undermined if subsequent criminal conduct is treated with leniency. Most advocates of alternatives to prison concede that repeat offenders should be

*Consider these numbers. About 80% of state prisoners are recidivists; the majority are violent recidivists.*

punished more severely when they are caught and convicted for breaking the law again. What is the likelihood, for example, that a drug trafficker will resist the enormous economic attraction of resuming his business if he believes that there will be no significantly greater punishment for being convicted again?

With regard to the 6.5% of state prisoners who are neither violent nor repeat offenders, several questions should be asked before we consider releasing them. Such questions include: How many are in prison for selling drugs? How many are in prison because they are major white-collar criminals, the ones for whom tough-talking politicians love to demand long prison sentences? How many are in prison for selling child pornography? How many are in prison for illegally possessing firearms, another "nonviolent" crime? For those who are in prison for these and similar crimes, incarceration may be entirely appropriate even if it's their first conviction.

The soaring number of criminals behind bars is a tragedy both for those who must be there and for the nation as a whole. It is a tragedy that can be attributed to the decline of the family, the training ground for virtuous behavior. The Justice Department survey informs us that more than a quarter of federal prisoners and more than a third of state prisoners have an immediate family member who also has been incarcerated. Other studies tell us that more than two-thirds of all juveniles in detention facilities grew up in fatherless families.

As America confronts a surge in violent crime during the next two decades, brought on by a surge in the teen-age population, it will be necessary to use our costly prison space as effectively as possible. Alternatives to prison for nonviolent, first-time offenders are a key component in a larger criminal justice strategy.

Many states may follow Virginia's example. Gov. George Allen moved to abolish parole and won overwhelming bipartisan support in the state legislature. His plan will dramatically change the composition of the state's prison population over the next 10 years. Violent criminals will serve longer sentences, reducing their rate of recidivism, while nonviolent recidivists will continue to serve relatively short sentences. The criminal histories of nonviolent offenders will affect the length of their sentences.

But Virginia, like every state and the federal government, will have to build prisons. Incarceration must be the unavoidable consequence for violent and lawless behavior. We must be as ready in the future as we have been in the past decade to impose a prison sentence.

*Mr. McNulty, a Washington attorney, was director of policy and communications in the Bush Justice Department. He is president of the First Freedom Coalition, a nonprofit group dedicated to reform of the criminal justice system.*

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# *Where There Was A Wall—Internet And Trade Talks*

By Radek Sikorski

It was five years ago that I was sitting in a small Japanese car driving across Poland toward Berlin. Poland, the homeland I left in 1981 and had returned to in the summer of 1989, already had a noncommunist government but was still separated from the West by Erich Honecker's East Germany. East German refugees were streaming into Austria via Czechoslovakia and Hungary, while hundreds were claiming their West German passports at the Federal Republic's embassy in Warsaw. The logic of the Berlin Wall had already been undermined, but when the news came through on the radio that the Wall itself had been opened, I jumped into a car with two journalists—an American and another Pole—and we drove west.

We reached Checkpoint Charlie at midnight. On the Western side, the city was wide awake. Long queues of East Germans stood in front of banks and makeshift reception centers waiting to receive their 100 marks in "hospitality money." The McDonald's near the Zoo station was full of subdued, drably clothed East Germans taking their first-ever bites into Big Macs. Defying Germany's strict trading laws, shops remained open. "What the hell, the Wall is open—I'm open!" we heard one owner exclaim.

But the center of action was the long section of the Wall across from the Brandenburg Gate. Someone helped us up on top of it, and we joined the scene that has now come to symbolize the fall of communism: All around us, hundreds of people were furiously hammering at the concrete. Television later showed people spraying themselves with champagne and beer, as if celebrating. We had no champagne, and I remember the mood as edgy, not celebratory. On the other side, 50 yards from the rampart, a row of soldiers stood facing us, with several armored personnel carriers and water cannons behind them. The crowd taunted the soldiers to join us. But they just stood there, eerily inscrutable.

* * *

No one knew what to do next. Every few minutes some boisterous Westerners jumped off the rampart and tried to run across the no-man's land into East Berlin. It was a pointless gesture—Westerners had always been able to travel to the East—but each time, the Eastern soldiers would rush at the daredevils and force them back up on the rampart.

Now and again, the crowd broke into singing. Someone sang the German national anthem, and Krzysztof, my Polish companion, glanced at me uneasily. Sitting on the edge of the rampart, we looked at the crowd around us with new eyes. "Within three years," Krzysztof said, "they will straighten out East Germany and then they'll try to lord it over us again." I agreed.

Five years on, our Polish fears have so far proved unfounded. Germany today is Central Europe's staunchest advocate. Far from having turned aggressive, Germany seems to have learned the lessons of its history and seems motivated by a genuine desire for reconciliation. There is of course a practical element to this: Germans know that they will be a normal European country only when they are completely surrounded by normal European neighbors. But symbolic gestures, such as President Roman Herzog's moving apology to Poland, made during August's 50th anniversary celebrations of the Warsaw uprising, help to thaw relations between peoples, not just states.

Unexpectedly, it is not Germany but our traditional allies—Britain, France and the U.S.—that have disappointed the Poles in the past five years. During the Cold War, we had been led to believe that the Communist-imposed division of Europe was something the West was as keen to do away with as we were. Today, it seems that we were being naive.

* * *

The language of solidarity and common values clashes with the realities of short-term political expediency. Britain supports Russian "peacekeeping" in Russia's former "empire"; France opposes enlargement of the European Union; the U.S. appears more sensitive to the concerns of neo-imperialist Russian generals than to those of defensive Central Europeans, and has permitted us to join NATO as "partners," together with Kyrgyzstan, but not as members. The EU lets us export everything—except those things in which we have a competitive advantage—even though total Central European exports to the EU are an extremely small portion of the EU's total imports.

Selfishness sometimes has been taken to extremes: Cheap Polish garden gnomes, beloved of suburban Germans, have recently proved too threatening to the economic well-being of Germany's gnome-makers, and the restrictions on these Polish imports seem to have been tacitly accepted by the EU. Such attitudes have helped return former Communist parties to power; if you were put out of business by EU regulations, wouldn't you be tempted to vote for those who never had illusions about the West?

But although we do not participate in any of the clubs of Europe, we have nevertheless achieved a great deal. Those who complain about the pain of transition, the economic and social dislocation that had to follow 45 years of folly, forget what the starting point back in 1989 was like. In 1989 it was illegal in Poland to make a photocopy without permission from the censor's office. Today, my friend Krzysztof edits a popular Polish computer news bulletin distributed daily via the Internet to thousands of subscribers world-wide.

As for myself, I've kept several pieces of concrete Wall as mementoes of that night. I have another memento from five years ago. The other journalist I befriended that night in Berlin, the American, Anne, has for two years now been my wife.

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*Mr. Sikorski, former Polish deputy defense minister, is the author of "Full Circle," to be published by Simon & Schuster early next year.*

# *Over Your Head In Mud Holes*

Please accept our sincere condolences on the recent loss of all your fact checkers. Although we have seen no formal announcement of their passing, we have deduced the sad event from your continuing series of spectacularly inaccurate editorials about endangered species, the latest of which ran Oct. 21—"A Fairy Shrimp Tale." In the past we have responded to such editorials with a detailed rebuttal, but since this has made no apparent difference in your concern for accuracy, we won't take up your valuable space by listing all that was wrong in the fairy shrimp editorial. We would, however, like to advise you that whoever described vernal pools as "mud holes" needs closer supervision to be sure he or she does not mistake a scenic mountain for the Fresh Kills landfill.

Mollie Beattie
*Director*
Fish and Wildlife Service
Interior Department
Washington

# After the Wall

Americans today will sift through the winners and losers of one of the most hotly contested elections in the past 40 years. It is a coincidence, but perhaps no accident, that this day marks exactly the fifth anniversary of another momentous political event, the fall of the Berlin Wall.

When the Berlin Wall was breached five years ago, European communism was destined for history's dustbin. At the time some economists lamented the absence of a "model" for the transition to capitalism from communism. As we reflect back over those five years, we now can see that there was in fact a model, but not the tidy sort that economists imagine when they set their computers whirring.

The model is described by those old-fashioned French words, laissez faire. It is the model many millions of individuals create when they have sufficient freedom from the state's police powers to follow their own lights.

The continuing transition to capitalism from communism isn't from one "system" to another but from systems to nonsystems, to a natural state from an unnatural state. A few superegotists attempting to direct the infinitely complex economic interactions of several hundred million people was an artificial construct that invited cruelty and corruption. It was in reality a political model, designed to provide a small elite with absolute power. It eventually collapsed because it destroyed all the incentives of those who labored under its yoke.

In transitions away from those systems, the only economic model that was needed was one that confirms the sanctity of contracts, protects private ownership of property and recognizes the right of citizens, either individually or corporately, to be free of excessive and unreasonable state regulation and taxation. With that model in place, national economies grow in an organic way as individuals apply their labor and creativity to improving their own lot in life and securing a better future for their children.

It has been no accident that the star of the transition period has been the Czech Republic. As this paper's latest Central European Economic Review reported, some 80% of the Czech economy likely will have been privatized by the beginning of next year. The republic is on a steady growth path, its inflation is the lowest of 12 East European countries and unemployment is a modest 4%. Prague—gripped by a repressive Stalinist regime only a half-decade ago—is rapidly regaining its long-lost reputation for vitality and grandeur. The transition model of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus was a very simple one: Empower the Czech people quickly by putting the ownership of business in their hands.

Because of that goal, Mr. Klaus was not particularly unhappy when the unreconstructed Vladimir Meciar led Slovakia out of the confederation and set up a separate state. Mr. Meciar, who continues to grab for greater personal power, will be a sufficient guarantee that there won't be much economic progress in his unfortunate little country.

Poland has been another significant success, also because of its initial post-Communist policies. By making the zloty convertible, with some limitations, it opened up to foreign competition and investment. But even though it is showing the best economic growth of the post-Communist world—with the exception of little Estonia—a political reaction that brought back former Communists has slowed privatization. Inflation and unemployment remain high.

Hungary also is something of a disappointment, in part because it thought it had found the secret of reform even before communism collapsed and thus has been unable to make a clean break with the past.

Germany, which attracted cheers from all around the world when the Wall was being torn down on that famous night five years ago (see Mr. Sikorski's article nearby), has fared less well than some of us expected. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's decision to coddle and cosset the East Germans to speed reintegration instead slowed the process. Had the easterners been issued a greater challenge to compete, they would have recovered more rapidly and suffered less damage to their self-esteem. They rewarded the chancellor for his generosity last month by almost bringing down his government.

But while the recovery from communism is proceeding at widely varying rates in Eastern Europe, there is yeastiness everywhere. A number of states now are poised to absorb and make effective use of higher levels of private investment. Privatization is likely to continue everywhere, in part because the power elites of the past often find private business more to their liking than the stodgy old systems they operated before.

The fact that some of those elites have been personally grabbing property that theoretically belonged to the "people," is one of the seamier aspects of privatization. Russia is the most notorious case. This is morally repulsive, but it at least creates pools of private capital that quite likely will someday come home from foreign banks to be applied to the country's economic development. That assumes a Russia eventually able to provide effective legal protection for private property and investment.

Five years on, East Europe has come a long way. There will be problems, among them resentments as some states acquire wealth and others remain mired in statism. But we now know that there is a model for the transition to capitalism from communism that works: Just let it happen.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# Pyongyang Triangle

Just a few weeks ago South Korean President Kim Young Sam was telling reporters that the U.S. had gone soft on North Korea. Now the same epithets are being thrown at him by his domestic opponents.

And that was before Mr. Kim revealed on Monday his new ideas for unleashing the South's big business groups to invest and trade with the North. If this is the beginning of a U.S.-South Korean bidding war, it doesn't hold much promise for a strong front to make Pyongyang obey the terms of the nuclear deal it has just signed.

That agreement isn't even supposed to get off the ground until the two Koreas have entered into serious talks about signing a formal peace. But North Korea is loath to recognize the South, and has returned to denouncing the "U.S. imperialist war maniacs" for daring to hold routine joint exercises with Seoul. At the same time, Pyongyang has been beckoning to delegations from Samsung, Hyundai and other companies with formal invitations to visit the North. Mr. Kim, who does not wield the lawless muscle of his military predecessors, will have his work cut out for him keeping these folks in check.

Our own curiosity is piqued by the terms of the nuclear deal requiring the U.S. to provide North Korea with 500,000 tons of heavy oil a year. We remember when, a few weeks ago, South Korea was supposed to get the job of supplying the North's interim energy needs, and in the form of electricity shipped from the South. That would have put Seoul in charge of the switch if Pyongyang didn't hold up its end; it also would have meant South Korean electrical engineers taking a big role in upgrading the North's power grid.

A South Korean official tells us this change was sprung on Seoul as a last-minute surprise. What's more, assuming the light-water reactors to be provided the North ever come on line, Pyongyang would then be in a position itself to export power to the fast-growing, power-hungry economies of China and South Korea. With its hand on the switch, the North would gain new leverage over its neighbors.

Robert Gallucci, the U.S. negotiator, wrapped up his work with an observation about how little we really know about the North. That's truer than ever since the demise of Kim Il Sung, an arch-survivor who at least had a track record. The oil his successor will get from the U.S. is a fungible commodity: It can be sold for cash or weapons, or used to fuel tanks and warplanes. And it strengthens the faltering Pyongyang political position.

This sort of kindness is dangerous. Saddam Hussein in his day played just as deftly on U.S. hopes for a reliable partner as North Korea is doing now. The Iraqi leader eventually became so convinced of U.S. mushiness that he assumed that Washington would only nervously shuffle its feet and do little else while he swallowed Kuwait.

Saddam launched his smash-and-grab operation when the global banking community cut off his trade-finance facilities. North Korea may yet face its own economic Waterloo, despite U.S. aid. It's not inconceivable that the North's leaders envision a blitzkrieg to clear the peninsula of U.S. troops, hoping that nuclear weapon fears will deter Washington from a counterattack. Somebody reasonably acquainted with the real world wouldn't put much stock in this gamble, of course, but we don't know who's calling the shots in North Korea.

This is something that Seoul seemed to understand a few weeks ago as it tried to dampen Washington's new enthusiasm for signing pieces of paper with North Korea that might undercut the South's security. As we're now being reminded, there have always been South Koreans who also share this urge for premature embraces with Pyongyang. For the sake of his own position and South Korea's fledgling democracy, we hope Mr. Kim has some luck keeping a rein on them. What he can do about the Administration in Washington is another matter.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994

# GOP rattles Dems

## Power shifting in Senate, House, states

**VIRGINIA**

Democrat **Charles Robb** wins bitter Senate race, defeating Oliver North, former Marine who became known for Iran-contra.



CHARLES ROBB/AP

**GOVERNORS**

California's **Pete Wilson**, Texas' **George W. Bush** and New York's **George Pataki** win. Democrat **Lawton Chiles** holds on in Florida.

**TENNESSEE**

Vice president's home state turns Republican; surgeon **Bill Frist** and **Fred Thompson** head to Senate; new governor is congressman **Don Sundquist**.

**PENNSYLVANIA**

Republican Rep. **Rick Santorum** wins Senate seat held by Harris Wofford, who rode the health-care crisis to victory in 1991.

**OKLAHOMA**

Republican **Jim Inhofe** wins the battle of the representatives to fill Senate seat. His ads had 'morphed' Democrat Dave McCurdy into Pinocchio.

**SOUTH**

Republicans are rising again, especially in the South, where the party was winning 6 of 10 votes cast in races for House seats. 4A.

# Republicans escape anti-incumbent fever

By Steve Komarow
USA TODAY

A1

Republicans were poised to gain control of the Senate Tuesday and threatened the 40-year Democratic reign in the House in what many see as a referendum against President Clinton.

In Tennessee, Democrats lost both Senate seats, including Vice President Gore's old seat. So, too, went open seats in Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Arizona and Oklahoma.

Prominent among the losers:

▶ Sen. Jim Sasser, D-Tenn. The veteran party leader was whipped by Republican political neophyte Bill Frist.

▶ Texas Gov. Ann Richards, who lost former president Bush's elder son, George W.

▶ Former powerhouse Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., under criminal indictment.

▶ Sen. Harris Wofford, D-Pa., health care champion.

Republican incumbents were nearly invulnerable, and despite the "throw-the-bums-out" mood, many threatened Democrats held on, too.

In one of the nastiest races of a nasty year — for the Virginia Senate seat — Democrat Charles Robb narrowly beat Republican Oliver North.

And Senate stalwarts Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Robert Byrd of West Virginia easily won.

But when voters chose between newcomers for the Senate, House or in governors' races, Republicans romped.

GOP pollster Glen Bolger says Clinton "galvanized voter anger" and his party suffered.

Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos characterized it as an anti-Washington, anti-Congress vote, claiming Clinton "made a difference" when he campaigned for Democrats.

A nationwide exit poll showed 51% of voters surveyed disapproved of the job Clinton is doing, and that vote went Republican by a whopping 84%.

Democrats were especially threatened in the South, where Clinton is most unpopular.

White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers says Clinton "wants to work with ... whoever will work with him" of either party. "I think the president will reach out."

Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., who will become majority leader, says, "Where we think he's right, he'll have our cooperation. Where we think he's wrong, he'll have our opposition."

"I think the country doesn't want right or left; the country wants new," says Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich.

Clinton holds a news conference at 2:30 p.m. ET today on the election's results.

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COVER STORY

# Voters' mood: 'Time for a change'

'No matter who's going to have the power, they're not going to have much'

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

A1

The anti-government tidal wave that washed over Washington Tuesday will force President Clinton to deal with Republicans or bring new meaning to the word gridlock.

By electing more Republicans to the Senate, House and statehouses, voters sent a clear message to 1992's agent of change: Change again — or risk defeat in 1996.

"The Democrats had control of Congress for ... years, and it's time for a change," says Bob McCall, a Pontiac, Mich., insurance agent who spoke for many. "But if the Republicans can't do any better, kick them out, too."

Such is the wrath of 1994's fickle electorate — unwilling to give one party the reins of government for too long before flip-flopping. For Republicans, the task may be to shrink government fast — or lose their grip on it.

Please see COVER STORY next page ▶

By Marcy Nighswander, AP

**THE CLINTONS:** President Clinton, with Hillary, faces increased pressure to reach bipartisan solutions after Tuesday's Republican victories.

COVER STORY

# Voters used to 'divided government'

**Continued from 1A**

Despite voters' antipathy, experts say Clinton and Congress may be able to co-exist — for a while. Most analysts predict a year of bipartisan cooperation in 1995, followed by a year of political bloodshed leading up to the presidential election.

"The public is going to get what they have effectively asked for, which is increased ideological polarization and conflict in Washington," says Brookings Institution scholar Thomas Mann. "Any new directions in policy will almost certainly await the outcome of the 1996 elections."

Unless Republicans establish a working majority with conservative Democrats or Clinton reaches to the center, "government action" may become an oxymoron — replaced with what ex-GOP congressman Vin Weber calls "gridlock with fireworks."

That would suit Tuesday's angry voters. They came out in droves to show disgust for government in general and this fall's negative campaigns in particular.

"I'm fed up with the way the Democrats have handled their government for the first two years, and this is my way of sending a message," says Birmingham, Mich., builder Gregory Drumm, who voted for Clinton in 1992 but for Republicans this year. "Nothing's getting accomplished. ... I'm anti-government."

Why the new Washington alignment points to stalemate:

▶ Personalities. The Senate Republican leader, Bob Dole, is a top 1996 presidential contender. The House GOP leader, Newt Gingrich, is the party's most confrontational figure. Both GOP conferences are dominated by conservatives, while the decimated Democratic caucuses will have a more liberal tilt.

▶ Policies. Issues left over from Clinton's first bout with Congress are difficult to resolve. Ironically, health care reform — the squeaky wheel of the 103rd Congress — may be healed if scaled back. But welfare reform, defense spending and tax-and-spend issues will be divisive.

▶ Politics. Nothing will happen without calculating the effect on the 1996 election. Republicans don't want to hand Clinton a record he can win on; Clinton doesn't want to empower the GOP by moving too far right. As a result, the 104th Congress could give voters what they voted for: less government.

"The big prize ... is 1996," says retiring House GOP Leader Bob Michel. "If you think this has been a confrontational Congress," he says, wait 'til next year.

If the 1992 election brought Washington to attention — a sitting Republican president was dumped and Democrats put in charge — 1994 was an about-face. Clinton was elected to get things moving; this year's Republicans to slow things down.

Clinton was sanguine Tuesday about turning his tango with Congress into a tangle. "For most of the last 40 years, we've had divided government," he says. "The American people have ... gotten used to that."

But the moderate Democrats who helped elect him president see a deeper message in the voters' wrath: They want the problems in their communities solved, which is why they elected Clinton. But they don't trust government to do it, which is why they elected Republicans.

"There is this new politics emerging — non-bureaucratic public activism, grounded in mainstream values," says Al From, president of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council. Until one political party captures it, he says, there will be "radical shifts in voting patterns."

The ultimate irony: The next Congress may bring George Bush's domestic agenda back into vogue — a balanced budget amendment, minor tinkering with the health care system, even a capital gains tax cut.

"Strangely enough, this will provide impetus for more bipartisanship," predicts former GOP congresswoman and Labor secretary Lynn Martin. "No matter who's going to have the power, they're not going to have much of it."

Conservatives can stop Clinton if they want. Similarly, Senate Democrats can do what Republicans did the past two years: use their power to block GOP initiatives.

But two years of gridlock might be more than voters can stomach, and more than either party can risk. Clinton, Dole and Gingrich, then, will need some things to agree on.

"What the public wants is for us to come together ... resolve problems and get going," says Democratic National Committee senior adviser Tony Coelho. "Stop playing the partisan political games."

Voters, after this mud-soaked election, couldn't agree more.

"It has been the nastiest election we've ever had," says Nancy McAllister, a retiree from Kirkwood, Mo. "It's absolutely obscene."

After a dirty campaign, Clinton and Congress must make amends:

▶ For Clinton, the trick will be to reinvent not only the government, but himself as well. No more 1,342-page health care plans. Instead, a leaner, meaner set of moderate policies — tax cuts, spending cuts and a tough welfare crackdown.

"I think the president is going to cut his losses and keep the agenda simple," says James Thurber, director of American University's Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. "It will be a limited agenda."

▶ For Congress, Republicans and conservatives will be in the driver's seat, but their clout will be limited — just as Democratic majorities were contained during recent Republican administrations. The House still has lots of Democrats, the Senate a filibuster and the president a veto.

"Republicans can move aggressively to implement as much of our agenda as possible," says GOP strategist William Kristol, "and we should ask Bill Clinton to work with us."

1020

# Bitter battle over Prop. 187 down to wire

## Tide shifts as GOP rides wave of voter angst

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

The broad-based, often elusive unease that gripped the American electorate triggered massive shifts to Republican congressional candidates Tuesday, signaling widespread dissatisfaction with Democratic rule.

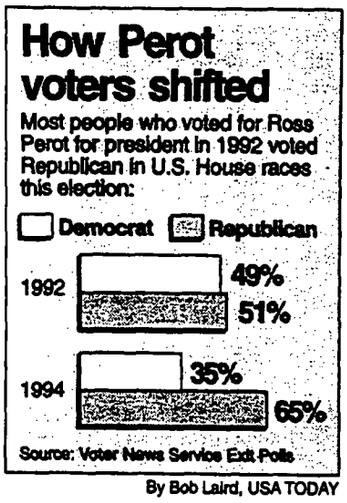
And the optimism that marked the onset of the Clinton administration seems to have all but disappeared.

Whether voters were motivated by disapproval of President Clinton, a feeling the country is on the wrong track, doubts about a recovering economy or disgust with Congress, exit polls showed they pulled the GOP lever in historic numbers.

The polls found that for the first time since 1952, the last time the GOP won control of both houses of Congress, more voters cast ballots for congressional Republicans than congressional Democrats.

In many cases, issues and concerns that broke toward the Democrats in 1992, swung back to the GOP this time around.

For example, where Democrats benefited in 1992 by concern about an ailing economy under then-President George Bush, Republicans now seem to have the leg up. Then, the financially stressed went Democrat by more than 2-1. This time, the numbers heavily favored the GOP.




By Bob Laird, USA TODAY

Exit poll data does not only reflect the intense voter angst that enveloped the nation, the numbers also demonstrate a resurgence of the broad streak of conservatism, on the upswing since the 1970s, but temporarily short-circuited in 1992. And the GOP captured those conservatives.

Those who said welfare reform and deficit reduction should be top priorities, and those who said the government should do less, were heavily Republican in their votes. So were those who thought postponement of health-care reform was a good idea.

Also, those expressing a high degree of distrust with government in general, and the federal government in particular, lined up in the GOP column. And most term-limit advocates also voted Republican.

Republicans scored heavily by taking a majority of the votes cast by independents, the middle-class, Ross Perot voters, Southerners, Midwesterners, Westerners, gun owners, white men and the religious right.

White men led a male march into the GOP camp in bigger numbers than in any of the last seven elections.

Democrats scored best with women, blacks, Easterners, union members, low-income workers and Jewish voters. However, women were not as heavily Democratic this year as they were two years ago, when Clinton was elected.

But overall Democratic loyalty — Democrats voting Democratic — is basically unchanged. And those who viewed health-care reform as a top priority voted heavily Democratic.

The ideological division of the parties is more pronounced than ever, with liberals voting overwhelmingly Democratic and conservatives heavily in line with the GOP. Moderates, however, broke toward the Democrats.

But Democrats appear to have lost ground from 1992 with voters who have some college education. That group voted Democrat in 1992 and switched to the GOP this time.

Older voters also went with the GOP, despite Democrats' charges that Republicans would cut Social Security.

Republicans, however, would be wrong to think voters see the party as the political pathway to the promised land. The exit poll data suggest the GOP was the beneficiary of voter unhappiness with Democrats being in charge. Many votes cast for Republicans were not votes of confidence, but rather votes of frustration, and a willingness to roll the dice for change in hope that maybe GOP leadership can make things better.

Overwhelmingly, those who said they were casting their votes mainly to oppose Clinton's policies cast their votes with Republicans. On the other hand, those who were voting mainly to support Clinton's policies were for Democrats.

And those who were voting primarily for change also voted Republican, a big switch from 1992 when Clinton made change a major theme of his campaign, and swung the change votes to his party.

Where Clinton was an issue in the voting — about one in five voters — the ballots were cast heavily in favor of Republicans. Crime as a voting issue seemed to be a wash for both parties, despite the heavy courting for votes by both sides.

By Maria Puente
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — California's brawl over illegal immigration was at a standoff Tuesday night as voters awaited final returns on Proposition 187 — a ballot measure that dominated campaigns and sparked an emotional firestorm statewide.

Early exit polls showed voters evenly split on 187, which would deny the state's 1.6 million illegal immigrants public education, nonemergency health care and social services. Only a few weeks ago polls showed voters 2-to-1 in favor.

Votes on the measure were driven largely by race, age and party. Hispanics overwhelmingly opposed the proposition, and younger voters were more likely to oppose it.

Republicans continued to strongly support the measure. Black voters appeared evenly divided.

"Win or lose, it polarized the electorate," says Harry Pachon, president of Tomas Rivera Center, a nonpartisan think tank on Hispanic issues at the Claremont Colleges in Los Angeles County.

The debate degenerated into a furious exchange of name-calling, with supporters accused of racism and Latino-bashing and opponents charged with protecting illegal immigrants who boost costs of schools, hospitals and welfare rolls.

The measure prompted a series of angry protest marches in southern California in recent weeks, and Los Angeles police were on maximum deployment Tuesday.

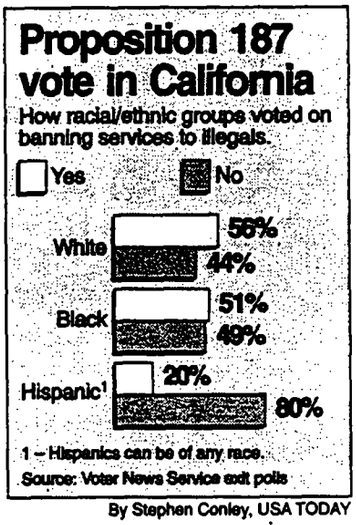
Enmity spread as far as Mexico, where virtually all segments of society bitterly oppose 187. Tuesday, dozens of masked assailants attacked a McDonald's restaurant in Mexico City, breaking windows and scrawling anti-U.S. grafitti.

Democratic gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown made her opposition of Prop. 187 a central focus of her campaign to unseat incumbent Republican Gov. Pete Wilson, a staunch 187 supporter.

Opponents also included several national conservative leaders, among them former drug czar Bill Bennett and former HUD secretary Jack Kemp, a likely 1996 Republican presidential candidate.

They came out against the measure when it still appeared likely to pass easily.

"If it loses, the turning point in the dynamics of the campaign was the statement of opposition by Kemp and Bennett, because that gave Republicans, conservatives, and even Democrats political cover," says political analyst Sherry Bebitch Jeffe.




By Stephen Conley, USA TODAY

If Prop. 187 passes, several lawsuits challenging the measure on constitutional grounds are expected to be filed today. Under a 1982 Supreme Court decision, children cannot be denied public education, even if they are illegal immigrants.

Proponents of 187 say the law is necessary because California can no longer afford to pay billions a year in services for illegal residents.

"Never in the history of the state has the Latino community been so disrespected — it's been nothing but pure hate-speech," says Juan Jose' Gutierrez, head of One Stop Immigration & Educational Center here.

Others dismiss that argument. "It has nothing to do with discrimination. It has to do with providing documents proving you are here legally, and there's nothing wrong with that," says Ernest Dynda, president of the United Organization of Tax Payers.

Still, some fear trouble if 187 passes. "There is an explosive situation across the state and the anxieties and fears of millions have been aroused," says Gutierrez. "The potential (for violence) is very real."

Some analysts predict trouble for Republicans. "We've seen gradual inroads by the GOP into the Latino vote in the past few years, but the spillover from the 187 campaign is that Latinos are likely to turn away from Republicans," says Pachon.

Proponents aren't worried. "Win, lose or draw, this campaign has exposed all the problems we have with illegal immigration, allocation of services and accountability in government," says Dynda.

187

# Voters' choice: Term limits

## Death and taxes, gambling and gifts among initiatives

By Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

Early returns Tuesday showed voters in Maine and Nebraska overwhelmingly supported limiting the terms of members of Congress.

The success of those initiatives — among 268 statewide and thousands locally in 37 states — was an early signal of an angry electorate out to put politicians on a very short leash.

Other signs:

▶ In Missouri, voters were deciding whether to put all tax increases up for a vote of the people. Nationwide, 14 states have tax measures on the ballot — most aimed at making it more difficult to raise taxes.

▶ In Massachusetts, voters were poised to ban corporate donations to political campaigns. In Oregon and Colorado, voters were expected to limit all political contributions.

Taxes, gambling and the right to die were also among the various initiatives on ballots across the nation. But the proliferation of term limits seemed to be a clear sign of voter discontent.

Since 1990, 14 states have passed initiatives for term limits, an issue that is likely to end up being argued before the U.S. Supreme Court. Those voted on Tuesday could limit terms for up to 42% of Congress.

On the ballot in eight states and the District of Columbia, term-limit proposals were expected to fare well in Washington, D.C.; Massachusetts; Colorado; Alaska; Idaho and Nevada. Voting is expected to be close in Utah.

"The only ones who are against it (term limits) are the incumbents and the appointed officials," say Lowell Weeks, a Maine lawyer who has worked for term limits.

The electorate also seemed inclined to get tough on crime:

▶ In Georgia, voters were asked to impose life sentences on twice-convicted felons. California voters were to weigh in on a three-strikes law.

▶ Ohio voters were asked to do away with automatic appeals in death penalty cases, and voters in six states were going to decide referendums on victims' rights.

▶ One of the most-watched crime measures is a proposal to ban handguns in Milwaukee, which would become the largest city in the nation to impose an outright ban. The National Rifle Association fought hard to stop the measure.

And measures to legalize gambling dotted the country:

▶ Voters in Florida were rejecting a casino gambling measure by a 2-to-1 ratio. Similar proposals were on the ballots in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Colorado and Navajo Indian reservations.

▶ Missouri voters again were asked to legalize slot machines for riverboats on the Missouri River. A similar measure failed in April. Meanwhile, casino gambling flourishes on Mississippi River boats.

Voters weighed in on a slate of critical social issues, too:

▶ Alachua County, Fla., residents were considering an anti-gay-rights measure; similar proposals were up for votes in Oregon and Idaho.

▶ In Vermont, voters appeared willing to rewrite the state constitution in "gender-neutral" form.

▶ West Virginia voters were being asked to end a long-unenforced ban on integrated schools.

▶ In California, a measure creating a "single-payer" health-care system faced an uncertain outcome. It would virtually abolish private health insurance in favor of a tax-paid, state-run system like Canada's.

▶ In Oregon, a measure legalizing assisted suicide would make the state the first to allow so-called mercy killings by doctors.

▶ Voters in North Dakota, South Dakota and Massachusetts were deciding whether to repeal mandatory seat belt laws.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 • USA TODAY

# Robb clings to Virginia Senate seat

By Leslie Phillips
USA TODAY

Politically scarred Democratic Sen. Charles Robb, once thought to be a sure loser in Virginia, clung to his career Tuesday against an all-out assault from Iran-contra figure Oliver North.

Robb — undercut by revelations about a dalliance with a beauty queen as well as a strong anti-incumbent tide — survived the brawl mostly because his nationally known challenger also seemed to be considered damaged goods.

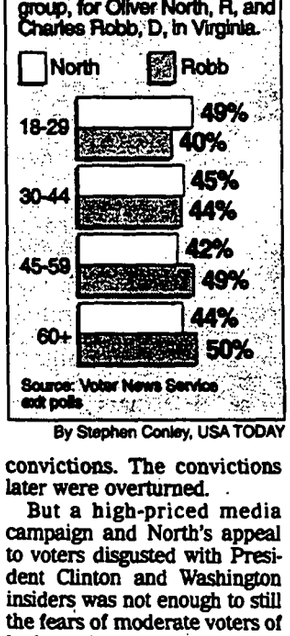
"You can't interpret this as a vote of confidence for Chuck Robb," says Roanoke College political scientist Harry Wilson. "It's more a repudiation of Oliver North. Robb beat the only Republican in this state he could have beaten."

In an exit poll, 42% of Virginia voters said neither Robb nor North had the honesty or integrity to be a senator. And in the final days of the mud-spattered campaign, both candidates admitted in TV spots they had made mistakes.

Independent candidate J. Marshall Coleman lagged far behind, possibly damaging North more than Robb. Exit polls show he siphoned off 10% of the Republican vote but only 4% from Democrats.

The race between the two decorated Vietnam veterans has been one of the most closely watched in the nation because of North's celebrity and bulging campaign war chest, estimated at $20 million.

The money was spent on a relentless TV advertising campaign that helped North revise the rogue image developed after three felony Iran-contra convictions. The convictions later were overturned.




By Stephen Conley, USA TODAY

But a high-priced media campaign and North's appeal to voters disgusted with President Clinton and Washington insiders was not enough to still the fears of moderate voters of both parties.

Indeed, moderates split 60%-30% in favor of Robb.

The hard-fought race also was emblematic of national patterns that showed extraordinary voter discontent fueled by candidates who favored character assassination over issues.

In the closing weeks of the campaign, Robb assailed North's trustworthiness and judgment, reminding voters he lied to Congress, and betrayed the Constitution. He questioned North's involvement in arms sales to Iran, his relationship with former Panama strongman Manuel Noriega, and his statement that Social Security should be voluntary.

Robb received a strong assist from Vice President Al Gore, who attacked North as a "pathological liar."

But fellow Republicans also undermined North. Virginia's most popular officeholder, GOP Sen. John Warner, said North was unfit for the Senate and supported Coleman instead. And a series of former Reagan administration figures — including Nancy Reagan — denounced North.

North, in turn, painted Robb as a man of no moral value who lied to his wife and family.

base of support, conservative Christians. But high turnout for Robb in the African-American community canceled the strength of the religious right.

Exit polls showed Robb received 91% of the black vote. North took 84% of the Christian conservative vote.

North's efforts to win voters frustrated with President Clinton, high taxes, and politicians' lack of accountability also fell short.

Exit polls showed his supporters most interested in family values and government spending. Robb voters listed honesty as their top concern.

North fared better among whites, men, twentysomethings, thirtysomethings, gun owners, and war veterans.

Robb scored higher among women and blacks.

"North lost the campaign in the last month," says Virginia Commonwealth University's Robert Holsworth. "He was ahead. He had Robb on the mat. And ultimately he couldn't deliver the knock-out blow."

## USA SNAPSHOTS®

A look at statistics that shape the nation

### Midterm shifts in the Senate

Prior to this year, Senate seats lost or gained by a post-WWII president's party in his first midterm election:




By Anne R. Carey and Suzy Parker, USA TODAY

REPUBLICANS

# Run starts today for the White House

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

Energized by Tuesday's victories, the GOP comes out of the 1994 elections on a roll, and eager to unseat a weakened President Clinton.

Where normally the race for the Oval Office stays cool for a few months after the midterm voting, there's little doubt that the 1996 presidential campaign starts today.

Tuesday's voting, in fact, can place several big Republican winners onto the GOP dance card. Sure to be mentioned are Massachusetts Gov. William Weld and Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, who easily won re-election Tuesday. California Gov. Pete Wilson also will be a hot prospect if he squeezes by to win a second term.



USA TODAY

**POWELL:** Could be '96 GOP front-runner

And while the old Bush may be gone, two sons, George W. Bush in Texas and Jeb Bush in Florida could immediately become presidential contenders if they prevail in their races.

Many veteran GOP hopefuls have already been campaigning for the White House, using the 1994 election campaigns to showcase their wares. The early line has no fewer than 10 potential candidates:

▶ Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole, of Kansas. Dole, 71, was the GOP vice presidential nominee in 1976, and ran for president himself in 1980 and 1988. If the GOP takes the Senate, he's back as majority leader.



AP

**QUAYLE:** Another possibility for '96

▶ Former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander, 54, who was secretary of Education in the Bush administration.

▶ Former vice president Dan Quayle, 47, a 12-year veteran of the House and Senate from Indiana.

▶ Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, 52, a former Democrat who also served in the House.

▶ Former New York representative Jack Kemp, 59, Bush's HUD secretary.

▶ Former Defense secretary Dick Cheney, 53, a Wyoming congressman and President Ford's chief of staff.

▶ James Baker, 64, who served President Reagan as secretary of State, Treasury and chief of staff.

▶ Pennsylvania Sen. Arlen Specter, 64.

▶ Columnist-TV commentator Pat Buchanan, 56, a 1992 challenger to Bush in the GOP primaries.

▶ Former Labor secretary Lynn Martin, 54, a former Illinois congresswoman.

And the big wild card who could change the entire picture is retired Gen. Colin Powell, 57, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Powell has never declared a party preference — yet friends say he's considering a GOP run; he could be a major factor should he jump in.

Stephen Hess, Brookings Institution presidential scholar, thinks he would immediately become a frontrunner: "Powell is a fresh face. ... The rest are retreads."

▶ Election index, 3A

DEMOCRATS

# Clinton will need change in direction

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

President Clinton begins his re-election campaign today knowing that if he'd been on Tuesday's ballot, voters would probably have jettisoned him.

Clinton defined the stakes of Tuesday's voting in Flint, Mich., on Monday: "This election is ... about the state of mind of our voters."

By that measure, Clinton could be Tuesday's biggest loser. Voters fled from Democrats — including many states where he campaigned nonstop for the past eight days.



Reuters

**CLINTON:** Has to work with GOP

Clinton must now reshape his agenda while trying to mend his own dismal popularity ratings and jousting with newly empowered congressional Republicans.

It won't be easy: Clinton repeatedly insisted on the campaign trail this fall that the country is in better shape now than when he took office. Voters didn't seem to buy it.

On Tuesday afternoon, he was still defending his record: "I do not know how the American people could say — anybody — just because we've got some difficult problems and some unresolved challenges ... that there is something inherently wrong with America's government," he said.

But Clinton awakens this morning knowing he was wrong and certain that the thirst for change that propelled him into the White House has not evaporated. He now has two years to convince voters that he can still deliver it.

"People want change as much in '94 as they did in '92," concedes senior Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos.

"The message is that Washington has to work better for everyone. I don't think it's a partisan message. It's a message of frustration."

Clinton advisers say he will position himself in the coming year as a more centrist Democrat, pushing for welfare reform instead of health-care reform and focusing on tax and spending cuts and job creation.

If he hopes to make the case a year from now that his policies have improved people's lives, he'll have to work with the GOP. "He'll wake up and realize he has to or he's going to end up spending two years in gridlock," says Jack Kemp, who might be one of Clinton's GOP challengers.

His other choice is to blame Republicans — again — if nothing gets accomplished. Democrats hope he focuses instead on getting things done. "The important thing is going to be how he governs, not how he campaigns," says Democratic pollster Mark Mellman.

Republicans aren't underestimating Clinton's capacity to rejigger himself and his policies in time to win again.

"There's only one way for him to avoid being a lame duck president," says GOP strategist Bill Kristol. "He can't simply make the usual excuses about failure to communicate or the voters being in an angry mood. He's got to say, 'I made mistakes and I've listened to the voters and in some areas I'm changing directions.' "

Clinton may do just that, perhaps at his press conference today. Says Stephanopoulos: "We need to try harder."

# GOP close to gaining Senate majority

By Bob Minzesheimer
USA TODAY

Republicans appeared likely to regain control of the Senate, adding more conservative and partisan obstacles to President Clinton's legislative agenda.

Winning key Senate campaigns in Michigan, Oklahoma and two races in Tennessee, Republicans were close Tuesday night to gaining their first Senate majority since 1986.

The GOP also was winning swing races in Pennsylvania, and Washington state, according to exit polls.

As expected, Republicans won seats in Ohio and Maine held by retiring Democrats.

Among early victors, the only Democrat winning a close race was Virginia Sen. Charles Robb after a bitter contest with Republican Oliver North.

Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kan., in line to return to his old job as Senate majority leader, predicted Republicans would "end up with maybe 52, 53" seats.

That would be the smallest Senate majority, for either party, in more than 35 years.

But it would force Democrats, back in the minority after eight years, to use the same delaying tactics employed by the GOP when it blocked measures like campaign finance reform and cut social spending in the crime bill.

Next year, minority Democrats may be trying to block GOP measures like repealing gun-control measures.

"Voters are sending a message. They're not satisfied," says Democratic adviser Tony Coelho.

But he adds: "Sixty votes still control the Senate," referring to the number needed to break a filibuster. "It makes no difference who has the majority, you still need 60 votes."

A GOP majority dramatically shifts committee power:

▶ Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., as head of the Foreign Relations Committee would be far less accommodating to the administration.

▶ Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah, as Judiciary Committee chairman would cause more trouble for Clinton's nominees to the court.

▶ Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y., the new Banking Committee chairman, would run more aggressive hearings into the Whitewater affair and Clinton's finances in Arkansas.

The new Senate also would be far more conservative:

▶ In Oklahoma, Republican James Inhofe, with a 100% rating from the American Conservative Union, replaces retiring Democrat David Boren, who had a 33% conservative rating.

▶ In Maine, Republican Olympia Snowe, with a 40% rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, replaces retiring majority leader George Mitchell, who had an 85% liberal rating.

Democratic woes were personalized by Tennessee's Jim Sasser, the Budget Committee chairman seeking his fourth term against a political novice.

But Republican Bill Frist, a heart surgeon, painted Sasser as the ultimate insider who voted for tax increases.

Sasser had been the favorite to replace Mitchell as the Democratic leader — a post that may now fall to Tom Daschle, D-S.D., barring a challenge from a more conservative Democrat.

Exits polls illustrated Democratic weaknesses:

▶ In Michigan, Republican Spencer Abrahm led by 40 percentage points among the key swing voters who supported Ross Perot in 1992.

▶ In Tennessee, half of voters said Sasser agreed with Clinton too often. Frist won nearly all of them.

It was a mixed night for moderate Democrats:

Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., easily won, but other self-styled "new Democrats" lost: Reps. Jim Cooper in Tennessee and Dave McCurdy in Oklahoma. Both sought to distance themselves from Clinton.

As the party in control of the White House, Democrats were expected to lose seats in a midterm election. Four was the average in the last 50 years.

Of the 35 seats, Democrats were defending 22; Republicans, 13. Nine senators retired, including six Democrats.

## Dole poised for leader's role

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

On sunny days, Republican Minority Leader Robert Dole can be spotted sitting on his private balcony at the Capitol with a panoramic view of Washington. But that appears likely to change.

As Tuesday's election returns came in, the sharp-tongued Kansas senator with a perpetual suntan seemed poised to reclaim the job he lost eight years ago as the Senate majority leader.

Dole has been eagerly working for the opportunity to again run the Senate — even if it cuts into leisure time on the balcony.

Since August, he has visited more than 30 states, campaigning vigorously for Republicans.

A thorn in President Clinton's side, Dole has been a critic of the president's policies, from his economic stimulus package to the now-dead health reform plan.

"Fifty-seven percent of the Americans who voted in the presidential election voted against Bill Clinton," Dole said in his well-known acid tone the day after Clinton's election, "and I intend to represent that majority on the floor of the U.S. Senate. If Bill Clinton has a mandate, then so do I."



Reuters

DOLE: Kansan may be eyeing a White House bid.

Now Dole hopes for a bigger mandate: Help the GOP carry out its agenda and retake the White House in 1996.

Dole, who was wounded in World War II and suffered a bout with prostate cancer in 1991, may have more plans.

Now 71, he's been flirting with running for president.

He was Gerald Ford's running mate in 1976.

He made a brief run in 1980 and tried again in 1988, battling early and often with then-Vice President Bush.

If he decides to run, he'll be 73, older than Ronald Reagan was when he won the White House in 1980.

In the meantime, Dole has a big agenda, if the GOP takes the Senate.

He gave a hint of it earlier this week, talking about balancing the budget without cutting entitlements.

"There are things we can do on entitlement programs that don't take money away from beneficiaries. There are a lot of ways to save money," Dole said on NBC's *Meet the Press*.

He says he wouldn't touch Social Security, but he put seniors on notice that wealthy seniors may have to pay a bigger share of Medicare — a proposal that will incense seniors and their supporters.

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# Veteran Democrats fought hard for survival

By John Larrabee
and Tom Squitieri
USA TODAY

Bucking a nationwide purge against supporters of "big government" and Bill Clinton, one stalwart in both causes — Massachusetts Sen. Ted Kennedy — clinched his race early Tuesday night, while a second, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, fought down to the wire.

Republicans dismiss the two as relics of a passing age. If they don't fall this election, they'll fall in the next, says consultant Jim Innocenzi, because "the country is purging itself of New Deal liberalism and everything that followed it."

But Democrats see voters rewarding both men for long records of public service: 32 years in the Senate for Kennedy, 12 years as governor for Cuomo, both 62. "Having a true course and following it takes you a long way with people," says Howard Paster, a former Clinton White House aide.

In the toughest re-election fight of his career, Kennedy struggled under what political analyst Stephen Hess called "the accumulation of problems you acquire, like barnacles, in public life." They began in 1969 in Chappaquiddick, Mass., when Kennedy's car lurched into a pond and passenger Mary Jo Kopechne drowned; they peaked at 1991's trial of his nephew William Kennedy Smith on rape charges after going barhopping with Kennedy.

But in the past few years, Kennedy sought to reverse his hard-drinking, womanizing image. His new wife, Washington lawyer Victoria Reggie, was a constant campaign presence.

Kennedy's telegenic opponent Mitt Romney, 47, rose in the polls early, thanks largely to TV attack ads scoring Kennedy as soft on crime and weak on values. One spot even made an issue of Kennedy's age and waistline, with slow-motion footage of the portly senator laboriously easing his girth onto a park bench.

The Kennedy camp then launched its own negative TV blitz with spots portraying millionaire investor Romney as a leveraged buy-out artist who "put profits ahead of people."

The one-two punch — undermining Romney, plus playing on Massachusetts voters' historic liberalism and lingering loyalty to Kennedy's clan — apparently sealed his win. Campaign spokesman Paul Donovan calls it "a tremendous victory for Sen. Kennedy ... (and) for the principles and causes he's championed."

In New York's gubernatorial race, GOP state Sen. George Pataki sought to deny a fourth term to Cuomo — a party icon famous for his intellect and oratory but ridiculed for only flirting with presidential runs.

The third man in the race: Independent candidate Thomas Golisano, a likely spoiler in the tight race who was endorsed by Ross Perot.

Pataki surged ahead early by rounding up the "ABC vote" — Anybody But Cuomo — and slamming the three-term governor on taxes and crime.

Cuomo tapped a high-profile Italian support network: former Chrysler chief Lee Iacocca sang his praises in TV ads, and New York City's GOP Mayor Rudolph Giuliani turned the tide against Pataki with his surprise, crossover endorsement of Cuomo.

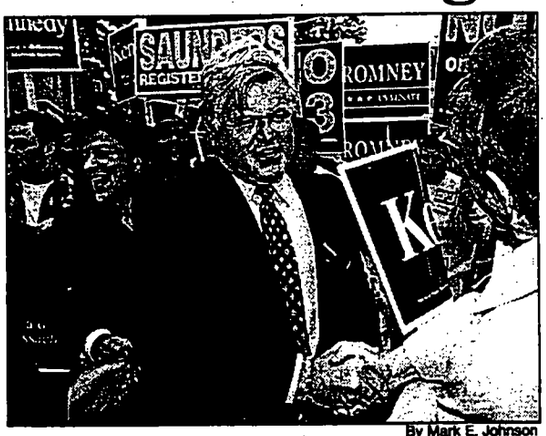
This was more than just an ideological battle, left vs. right or Democrats vs. GOP. It became a duel between old world Italians vs. suburban Italians: Cuomo had Giuliani, Pataki had conservative Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato.

After a late-October surge by Cuomo, and a last-minute $2.3 million ad blitz by Pataki, most polls showed the race tightening to a dead heat.

The campaign saw 11th-hour dirty tricks. In a GOP stunt, Cuomo's photo appeared on campaign flyers with Jesse Jackson and the Rev. Al Sharpton distributed in a heavily Jewish section of Brooklyn. And Cuomo campaign signs appeared on lamposts and buildings in Brooklyn after Pataki signs were torn down by police officers.

Cuomo, asked during a televised debate Monday night if he would pledge not to seek a fifth term should he win a fourth, offered one of his trademark noncommital responses: "I'd like to think that if I'm successful tomorrow, that I'll complete the work I have to do within in the next term."

*Larrabee is in Boston and Squitieri is in New York City.*




By Mark E. Johnson

**KENNEDY WINS:** The Massachusetts senator, right, and his wife Victoria Reggie campaigning on Election Day.



By Bob Strong, Agence France-Presse

**CUOMO:** Fought hotly contested race for N.Y. governor.

# Democratic devastation — nationwide

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

Voters Tuesday handed down what appeared to be nothing less than a vote of no confidence in the Clinton administration and an unmitigated Democratic disaster.

The repercussions:

▶ Republicans appeared headed to control of the Senate, although a number of key races remained too close to call, won major gains in the House, swept governorships in the Midwest and were ahead in California and Texas.

The major Democratic bright spot was Virginia Sen. Charles Robb's defeat of Oliver North in perhaps the election's most-watched contest.

▶ For the rest of his term President Clinton may face compromising significantly with Republicans or running against Congress a la Harry Truman — a difficult thing for a personally unpopular president to do with any credibility.

But nothing that happened Tuesday may matter as much for the country's long-term political future as the reversal of Clinton's 1992 gains in redefining Democrats as cautiously liberal on social issues but fiscally conservative and tough on crime and defense.

Democratic candidates were overwhelmed by a Republican tidal wave in the South and Rocky Mountain West — where Clinton made inroads in 1992 but where he is now so unpopular he didn't campaign there.

And Vice President Gore had no better luck — Democrats lost two Senate seats in his native Tennessee with veteran Sen. Jim Sasser joining Rep. Jim Cooper in defeat.

With few exceptions, Democrats were bludgeoned as soft on crime despite passage of this year's federal crime bill and also effectively labeled "tax and spenders" despite historic cuts in the budget deficit.

And a number of states reported a surge of young Republican voters. In Texas, exit polls had 62% of the 18-29 age group supporting George W. Bush for governor.

Republicans must be cautious of gloating, as voters now will look to the GOP to supply the immediate reforms they seem to seek while extracting minimal personal pain or sacrifice. Candidates who ride a wave of voter anger can quickly drown.

But today the "Comeback Kid" looks out at a country apparently quite different from the one he surveyed from Little Rock two years ago.

The overwhelming consensus, for now: "New Democrats" are no different from the old Democrats the country rejected during 12 years of GOP presidential rule.

The trends to watch:

▶ While all politics ultimately is local, it's clear Clinton had virtually no positive coattails and opposition to him fueled a Republican surge.

There seemed, however, to be no payoff in Democrats trying to distance themselves from the president. Two of the most visible examples of that strategy, Cooper and Oklahoma Rep. Dave McCurdy lost Senate bids handily.

But Cooper, who lost to Republican Fred Thompson, and McCurdy, who lost to Rep. Jim Inhofe, also are prime examples of the kind of mainstream Democrats Clinton was supposed to turn into stars.

▶ Turnout, expected to be low, surprisingly surged all over the country.

Candidates heavily backed by the Christian Coalition saw major turnout boosts, but North's loss is a serious setback for the movement.

▶ Money — and nearly $450 million was spent overall by candidates — was not a sure sign of success.

North raised $17 million but lost, and Republican Michael Huffington, who spent nearly $25 million of his own money trying to beat California Sen. Dianne Feinstein, trailed.

▶ Republican governors now will preside over most of the country's largest states.

GOP incumbents were re-elected by lopsided margins in Michigan, Ohio and Illinois — all crucial to any presidential victory.

▶ Attack ads, and few could remember an election that was more vicious, proved effective even as voters complained that politics is too negative.



AP

**INHOFE:** Oklahoma GOP winner

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# Mich. backlash against Clinton boosts GOP gains

By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

BIRMINGHAM, Mich. — Margaret Hoke did a lot of research before Election Day. She read about welfare mothers, midnight basketball for troubled youths, political action committees and President Bill Clinton's marital problems.

Tuesday, she voted Republican.

The lesson this grandmother learned: "Less, less, less, less government. More, more, more, more individual responsibility."

It's a mantra people here in Oakland County seem to live by. Behind the walled estates of Bloomfield Hills or along the streets of boarded-up stores in Pontiac, in high-tech Troy or ethnic Huntington Woods, voters in this suburban county north of Detroit are fed up with government and hungry for change.

On Tuesday, here and elsewhere in the nation, their anger translated into big gains for Republicans.

"We want to send the Clinton Congress home," said Beth Obear, a consultant from Birmingham.

"I want less control of our lives by the government," said Kathy Muenk at the Bloomfield Hills polling site. "I'm tired of people taking our money and telling us they know how to spend it better than we do."

"Politicians are just like salesmen," says retired engineer Henry Wang of Huntington Woods. "You cannot trust them too much."

Muenk voted straight GOP in hopes her party would take control of Congress. But the prospect frightens her. "There's an awful lot expected of the Republican Party. We only have two years before the next election, and how much can we truly accomplish in two years?"

Not much, according to Elaine Weston of Huntington Woods, one of several heavily Democratic and ethnically diverse towns in this mostly white, Republican-leaning



**BATTLES:** Tax cuts by Michigan governor won him over.

county. "Clinton is doing the best he can but he's had gridlock because of the Republicans, especially (Senate Minority Leader) Robert Dole and (House Minority Whip) Newt Gingrich. At least he's trying."

Gregory Drumm is less forgiving. The Birmingham builder, disturbed at how health reform collapsed this year, voted for Clinton in 1992 but Tuesday voted straight Republican. "Clinton had control of both the House and Senate and he couldn't get it done," says Drumm, who believes a GOP-led Congress has a better chance. Still, he felt he was "voting against the Democrats and not for a cause."

For the first time Tuesday, Berkley architect Shirley Smith voted for a third-party candidate. Disgusted with the Republican and Democratic Senate nominees, she voted for Libertarian Jon Coon. "We need some big change," Smith said. "The parties have become the same."

To hear Farmington Hills lawyer Bill Ellmann, though, it's clear partisanship is far from dead. "It would give me a heart attack to vote for a Republican," says Ellman. "This is a time of great anxiety with very little thought. It's part of the Republican strategy to destroy any constructive things the president is involved in."




Photos by Santa Fabio

**SWITCH:** Ex-Democrat Barbara Wilson, with son Robby, now votes mainly Republican. Clinton's values 'don't agree with my values.'



**WANG:** Retiree says you can't trust politicians 'too much.'

But many here have no shortage of things to worry about:

▶ Taxes. If GOP Gov. John Engler can point to one reason for his re-election, it would have to be his sweeping tax cuts.

"We're getting taxed out," said retired General Motors supervisor James Battles of Pontiac. "He helped relieve people's tax problems." Because of Engler, Battles' fixed income grew $800 a year.

"Democrats want to tax and enslave us," says Stuart Borman, a Birmingham retailer.

▶ Crime. "We have to get very tough on criminals and stop coddling these people," says Hoke, who opposes Democrat-style crime prevention proposals like midnight basketball as "totally unnecessary."

For Borman, who fears criminals preying on his business, the issue is gun control. Democrats "tried to take our guns away," he says. "We need guns. I've got to protect myself. We have to protect ourselves from government."

▶ Changing values. Before she had five children, Barbara Wilson of Birmingham was "quite liberal," a genuine "McGovern-Kennedy" Democrat. But now, except for a few local judge races, she's a Republican. "I believe very strongly in God, in prayer in school. I'm for traditional family values." As for Bill Clinton, "His family values don't agree with my family values."

But there's one thing Republicans, Democrats and others agree on. Voters are unanimous in their disdain for this year's nasty campaigns. While some conceded negative commercials sometimes swayed them, all voiced disgust.

"You hear all these and you don't know what to believe," said Ruth Phillips of Pontiac. "They never talked about the issues. They just slandered everybody else."

"It's out of hand," said investor David Hofley of Bloomfield Hills. "This might be my last election. I'm just so sick of the mudslinging."

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# CAMPAIGN '94

## Tight races take a turn on turnout

Hotly contested races fueled large voter turnout Tuesday and provided the margin of victory in some key races.

### RUNNING TOTALS

**U.S. HOUSE**

| | Dem. | GOP |
|---|---|---|
| Pre-election[1] | 256 | 178 |
| Won | 90 | 99 |
| Leading | 74 | 81 |

1 — There was 1 independent

**U.S. SENATE**

| | Dem. | GOP |
|---|---|---|
| Pre-election | 56 | 44 |
| Winners | 9 | 17 |
| Leading | 4 | 0 |
| Holdovers | 34 | 31 |

**GOVERNORS**

| | Dem. | GOP |
|---|---|---|
| Pre-election[2] | 29 | 20 |
| Winners | 4 | 12 |
| Leading | 3 | 9 |
| Holdovers | 8 | 6 |

Source: AP 2 — Plus 1 independent

Massachusetts turnout was pegged at 70% — a rarity in non-presidential elections. Spurring interest: the race between Sen. Edward Kennedy and Republican challenger Mitt Romney. The high turnout also boded well for Gov. William Weld. The Republican incumbent was getting close to 70% of the vote, which would be a state record and boost his profile as a possible slot on a 1996 national GOP ticket.

In Virginia, exit polls showed high black turnout helped Sen. Charles Robb beat Oliver North.

In Huntington Woods, Mich., election official Paul McWain said turnout was running 70% to 80%. — *John Larrabee, Andrea Stone*

**RODHAM LOSES:** Hugh Rodham, younger brother of Hillary Rodham Clinton, lost his long-shot bid to unseat U.S. Sen. Connie Mack, R-Fla., who held one of the GOP's safest seats. Rodham, 44, is a Miami public defender. He needed a runoff to capture the Democratic nomination last month. And while his presence in the race attracted national attention, he got little public support from the White House.

**REPUBLICAN MINORITIES:** Republicans nominated 24 black House candidates, a record, but only incumbent Gary Franks of Connecticut and J.C. Watts Jr., Oklahoma corporation counsel — both in districts where more than 80% of voters are white — had a good chance of winning. Watts, a former Oklahoma quarterback who also played for the Ottawa Roughriders of the Canadian Football League, was elected. Franks held a slight edge in early returns.

**DYNASTY:** Election Day saw five Kennedys running in three states. Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., was re-elected after the toughest fight of his 32-year Senate career. Kennedy, 62, defeated Republican Mitt Romney, 47. Others:

▶ Patrick Kennedy, 27, the senator's youngest son, won the U.S. House race in Rhode Island.

▶ Rep. Joseph Kennedy II, 42, a son of the late Robert Kennedy and nephew of the senator, was unopposed for a fifth term in Congress from Massachusetts.

▶ Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, 42, a daughter of Robert Kennedy, was trailing in a tight battle for lieutenant governor in Maryland.

▶ Mark Shriver, a son of ex-Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver and Eunice Kennedy Shriver and nephew of the senator, was favored to win a seat in the Maryland Legislature.

"The number of Kennedys in office seems to be expanding at a logarithmic growth rate," says Brown University political science professor Darrell West. — *John Larrabee*


**MORE COVERAGE**

▶ Gridlock looms, **1A**
▶ Referendums, **2A**
▶ Looking to '96, **4A**
▶ House races, **4A, 10A**
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▶ Today's debate, **14A**
▶ Wall Street reacts, **1B**
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**National, world news: 13A**


**INDICTED CONGRESSMEN:** Four members of the House were seeking re-election while battling indictments.

▶ Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., who stepped down as Ways and Means Committee chairman after being charged with embezzlement, fraud and witness tampering, lost to Republican Michael Flanagan.

▶ Rep. Joseph McDade, R-Pa., accused of taking bribes from military contractors, was ahead in early returns.

▶ First-term Rep. Mel Reynolds, D-Ill., is charged with sexual abuse, child pornography and obstruction of justice. He was re-elected.

▶ Rep. Walter Tucker, D-Calif., is accused of taking bribes as mayor of Compton before his House election.

**A FAMILIAR FACE:** Texas Republican gubernatorial candidate George W. Bush, son of the former president, waged a $13 million campaign, and his high visibility paid off when he went to cast his own ballot in Dallas. Bush had left his driver's license and voter registration card at home, but his familiar face and an affadavit of identity was enough to get him into the voting booth. He won the race against Democratic incumbent Ann Richards.

**UNEXPECTEDLY CLOSE:** Former Washington, D.C., mayor Marion Barry, after a hard-fought campaign that divided the nation's capital along economic and racial lines, appeared headed to regain the office he left in disgrace.



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

**BARRY:** With wife, Cora, at the polls in Washington, D.C.

White Republican Carol Schwartz had urged voters to focus on the mismanagement and chaos of Barry's 12-year reign that ended in 1990.

Barry, arrested smoking crack cocaine four years ago in a videotaped FBI sting operation, appealed to voters with a message of redemption and recovery, and he worked tirelessly to develop a new base of support. He registered thousands of voters in the poorest neighborhoods and defeated Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly in an October primary.

Barry said he would not take random drug tests if elected, but he vowed to remain clean and sober. "I've asked the citizens to forgive me, and I would not take the citizens through that again," he said.

Schwartz, a former city councilwoman who captured one-third of the vote in her first run against Barry in 1986, said Barry talked too much about redemption and not enough about the city's troubles.

**Written by Paul Leavitt. With Mimi Hall**

# Pa.'s Sen. Wofford hoping for a 2nd electoral stunner

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

Incumbent Sen. Harris Wofford was in a fight for his political life Tuesday night against Republican Rick Santorum, who tried to mine the voters' anger at Washington.

Wofford, a 68-year-old liberal, started the health-reform revolution three years ago when he won a stunning upset victory in Pennsyvlania.

But this year, health reform fell off the radar screen and Santorum tried to paint Wofford as a '60s liberal who never met a government program he didn't like.

Wofford, a founder of the Peace Corps, failed to re-ignite the voters on health reform — the issue that helped him win a Senate seat in 1991.

In that race, he identified voters' fears about losing their health insurance and ran on a pledge to provide insurance for all Americans, a promise that became a tidal wave for health reform and a centerpiece of Bill Clinton's presidential race.

But Clinton's health-reform proposal collapsed this year. Wofford, a booster of the plan, was forced to find other issues to run on this time.

He tried out crime before settling on Social Security in the campaign's last 10 days.

He was helped along by Santorum, who was videotaped telling a potential voter he thought the age to begin receiving Social Security should be increased from 65 to 70.

Wofford called the proposal an insult to the dignity of working people.

Santorum, who said his proposal would not affect current retirees or anyone preparing to retire in the next few years, said Wofford focused on the issue because he had nothing to show from his tenure.

"The Wofford-Santorum race is about a vision of the future of America, the Reagan view vs. the old New Deal view," said Terry Madonna, a political scientist at Millersville State University.

Although health reform remained a top concern for Pennsylvanians, many voters said Wofford was too close to Clinton.

But Santorum was hurt when Teresa Heinz, widow of Republican Sen. John Heinz, virtually endorsed Wofford. Santorum ran into trouble when he said she was influenced because she is dating a Democratic senator — John Kerry of Massachusetts.



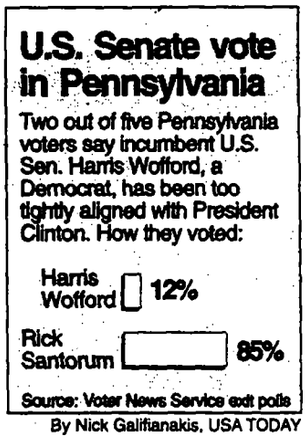
By Eileen Blass, USA TODAY

**IN PITTSBURGH:** U.S. Rep. Rick Santorum and his family watch results of the Senate elections. With Santorum are his wife, Karen, 3-year-old daughter Elizabeth, and 8-year-old son Johnny.



By Steven M. Falk, Reuters

**IN BRYN MAWR:** Sen. Harris Wofford gets a hug of support in battle with Rick Santorum.




By Nick Galifianakis, USA TODAY

Recent polls showed the race in a dead heat and Wofford as one of the Senate's most endangered incumbents.

Santorum, a two-term House member, came to prominence in Congress as a member of the "Gang of Seven," a group of freshman lawmakers attacking Congress as a house of perks and special privileges.

The group blew the whistle on the House bank, where lawmakers bounced checks, and helped bring about institutional reforms.

In his campaign for the Senate, Santorum said a vote for him was a vote against what he called Clinton's liberal, big-government agenda.

He called for less government, less taxes and less spending, and said the country needed change and a return to the basics of personal freedom and individual responsibility.

Santorum got the support of gun owners and abortion opponents. Younger voters as well, between the ages of 18-29, appeared to be turning toward the Republicans.

But voters with no health insurance went for Wofford by a 2-1 ratio.

Nearly 60% of those who said their financial situation had improved in the past two years voted for Wofford. A third who said things were better, however, went with Santorum.

Voters who listen to talk radio (a quarter overall) went 2-to-1 for Santorum.

▶ Election index, 3A

ELECTION '94

# Bush gets a Texas-size share of the women's vote

By Mark Potok
and Judy Keen
USA TODAY

DALLAS — Republican George W. Bush, son of the former president, defeated Texas Gov. Ann Richards in a victory that was sweet for his family as well as for his party.

"It's obviously a very amazing moment for me," Bush told reporters. "It's a great honor."

Richards conceded defeat.

The ex-president, now a resident of Houston, had once been ridiculed by Richards as "born with a silver foot in his mouth."

"He stayed on the issues and he fought hard and he took on a person that most of our friends didn't think he had a chance to beat a year ago," the former president said. "He outhustled her, had a vision that he articulated and he did not attack her personally."

Exit polls showed the former president's son did well among whites, people under 45 and those in upper-income brackets, while Richards polled strongly among traditional Democratic voters, especially blacks and Hispanics.

But the surprise was that Bush, who has never held elective office, was within a few points of matching Richards' support among women, according to exit polls.

Richards won her 1990 battle against Clayton Williams with 60% of female voters, after Williams made remarks offensive to many women.

"Republican women left their historical party home because of a personality conflict four years ago," said independent consultant Bill Miller. "They don't have that conflict this year, so they returned home."

Bryan Jones of Texas A&M University called the apparent shift of independent and Republican women "a killer" for Richards, 61, a national Democratic Party star. "For her to do that poorly with women is incredible."

Richards and Bush, the eldest son and namesake of the former president, had been in a statistical dead heat for more than a month. But analysts say a national Republican sweep, strong GOP turnout in Texas and Bush's flawless campaign gave Bush the jump.

Adds Paul Burka, political editor of *Texas Monthly* magazine: "She never gave people a reason to vote for her other than her personality, and she let Bush define the issues and the direction of the campaign."

Dallas billionaire Ross Perot had endorsed Richards — a surprise, after he urged voters to give the GOP control of Congress.

As a result, almost two out of three of those with a favorable opinion of Perot voted for the Democrat.

Meanwhile, Bush's younger brother Jeb also was running for governor — in Florida — prompting frequent comparisons. Where George W. looks like their father, he has the tough, savvy, direct manner of their mother, Barbara.



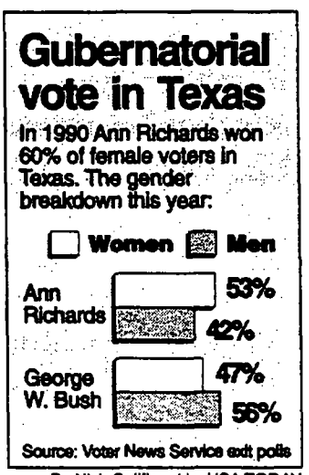
By Tim Sharp, AP

**IN DALLAS:** George W. Bush tells says he'll be right back — he forgot his registration card.



Pool photo by David J. Phillip

**IN AUSTIN:** Democratic Gov. Ann Richards talks to a voter.




By Nick Galifianakis, USA TODAY

# Fla. race a matter of style

## Candidates are polar opposites

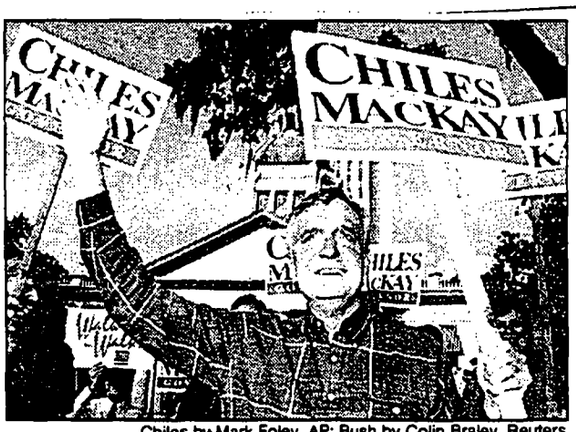
By Deborah Sharp
USA TODAY

MIAMI — Florida's high-profile governor's race between a presidential son and a state political legend remained too close to call late Tuesday.

"There's really been an ebb and flow to this campaign: Two weeks ago, Lawton Chiles was behind by 10 points," says University of South Florida political scientist Darryl Paulson.

Incumbent Democratic Gov. Chiles was neck and neck Tuesday with Republican challenger Jeb Bush.

In a bitter race, crime became a central campaign theme: "I'm not saying this was created by the candidates, but crime became even more of an issue because it was the central talking point of both candidates," says Robert Joffee, a pollster for newspapers and TV stations in Florida.







Chiles by Mark Foley, AP; Bush by Colin Braley, Reuters

**NECK AND NECK:** Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles, above, campaigns outside capitol in Tallahassee while Republican Jeb Bush, right, waves to voters in south Miami. The two were locked in a race to close to call late Tuesday night.

"It's a fear of crime more than the reality," adds Paulson. "The gubernatorial candidates were saying the same thing: Essentially, it was 'lock 'em up.'"

Still, Florida voters had the clearest choice in decades between Chiles, 64, and Bush, 41. The two are philosophical and personal opposites. Chiles, playing on his image as a plaid-shirted man of the people, gave campaign speeches touting his 36 years in public office in a slow, Southern drawl. A former state legislator and three-term U.S. senator, he hasn't lost an election since he ran for senior-class president in his hometown of Lakeland, Fla.

The tone of the race turned nasty in recent weeks, with both candidates criticized for negative ads. Analysts say Bush was hurt by running the campaign's most controversial ad: The anguished mother of a murdered daughter complaining that Chiles is soft on crime. The ad was lampooned Tuesday in the "Doonesbury" strip.

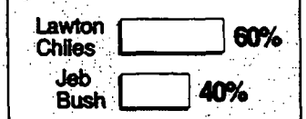
"Chiles' negative ads worked. Jeb Bush's negative ads didn't work," says Paulson.

While Chiles led among older voters, Bush's support remained solid throughout the campaign among younger, more affluent Floridians.

The exit polls revealed other sharp distinctions: The incumbent governor led among women. Among men, Bush was more popular. Blacks voted overwhelmingly for Chiles. Hispanics preferred Bush — a leader in Miami's large Cuban community. His wife, Columba, is of Mexican descent.

### Florida vote for governor

Nearly half of Florida voters say they are moderates. How they voted in the governor's race:




Source: Voter News Service exit polls

By Nick Galifianakis, USA TODAY

# GOP governors battle for comeback

By Linda Kanamine
USA TODAY

California Gov. Pete Wilson was poised to lead a Republican charge for control of the nation's governors' mansions.

Written off as politically dead a year ago, Wilson had pulled ahead of Democratic state Treasurer Kathleen Brown, early returns showed.

From the most populous states to traditional Democratic strongholds, results signaled a possible Republican comeback. The GOP hoped to gain a majority of governorships for the first time since 1970.

In California, analysts agreed Wilson's re-election was boosted by his strong embrace of Proposition 187, the contentious ballot measure that would deny education and non-emergency health services to illegal immigrants and their children. "He went after illegal immigrants and survived and won," says Tomas Martinez, a Pepperdine University professor and immigration expert.

He expects Wilson will be a stronger figure in the Republican Party as a result. "But within the state he can't realistically expect to ever get the Latino vote."



AP

**CAMPBELL:** Takes on Iowa's Branstad

In Texas, Republican George W. Bush, son of the former president, knocked off Democratic Gov. Ann Richards.

Tennessee Republican Don Sundquist, a congressman, defeated Nashville Mayor Phil Bredesen, a Democrat.

Other prizes included Pennsylvania. Republican Thomas Ridge beat Democrat Mark Singel and three independent candidates. In Wyoming, Jim Geringer beat Democratic challenger Kathy Karpan.

Among the 36 governor races at stake, Republicans also supplanted Democrats in Kansas, where Bill Graves defeated Democrat Jim Slattery, and Oklahoma, where Frank Keating beat Democrat Jack Mildren and independent Wes Watkins.

Political pundits cite an angry electorate, that, dissatisfied with President Clinton, opted for a payback-by-ballots.

"It looks like voters overwhelmingly approve of Republican change and reform on the state level," says Chris Henick, executive director of the Republican Governors Association. "If you look across the results in right now, these are historic wins, particularly through the Midwest ... and clearly in the South."

Republicans nationwide benefited from heavy campaign spending and struck a chord with platforms calling for tougher sentencing for violent criminals, welfare reform and tax relief, Henick says.

Early returns kept some pivotal state races too close to call.

▶ Jeb Bush was locked in a tight race with Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles.

▶ In New York, three-term Gov. Mario Cuomo was in the race of his career with GOP state Sen. George Pataki, who campaigned on a tax-cutting platform.

▶ Georgia Gov. Zell Miller was up against GOP multimillionaire Guy Millner.

Yet Clinton's party isn't down for the count. Some key wins expected:

▶ Colorado's incumbent Gov. Roy Romer romped to a third term over Republican Bruce Benson.

▶ Democratic Iowa Attorney General Bonnie Campbell was leading three-term incumbent GOP Gov. Terry Branstad.

▶ Oregon Democrat and physician John Kitzhaber, who wrote the state's nationally praised health care reform plan, was expected to defeat former Rep. Denny Smith.

Vermont Democratic Gov. Howard Dean, who coasted to re-election, insists national discontent can't be blamed for his party's state executive losses. Says Dean: "Governors' races are pretty much determined on local issues, not national issues."

*Contributing: Maria Puente*

11C

# $27 million may not be enough in Calif.

By Sally Ann Stewart
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — Republican Rep. Michael Huffington outspent incumbent Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein by nearly 2-1 in the nation's costliest Senate race ever.

But a political miscue apparently proved bigger than his wallet — and put Feinstein in position to capture a second term Tuesday.

Early exit polling while voting was under way showed Feinstein leading by more than five percentage points.

Huffington, a first-term House member, spent $27.3 million — $25 million from the fortune he amassed by selling his family oil business.


AP
HUFFINGTON


AP
FEINSTEIN

Feinstein spent $14 million.

Usually, that much more spending means that much more votes simply because California is so big that candidates have to buy expensive TV ads to stay competitive.

"Huffington put on one heck of a race," says Republican consultant Allan Hoffenblum. "He came from nowhere, 30 points down in the polls. Against Feinstein's name recognition, only a multimillionaire could have done it."

Huffington has refused to reveal his income tax returns but he's said to be worth about $70 million.

Throughout the bitter, personal campaign, Huffington portrayed Feinstein as a tax-and-spend liberal in debt to special interest groups that paid for her 13 political campaigns.

In return, Feinstein portrayed Huffington as a carpetbagger from Texas who didn't pay California taxes before he decided to seek a House seat.

"Feinstein was throwing stones out the window of a glass house," says Huffington campaign spokeswoman Jennifer Grossman.

The race was close until the final week when the candidates exchanged charges that each employed illegal immigrants as household servants.

For Huffington, the revelation was a disaster. It didn't mesh with his loud support for Proposition 187.

Feinstein jumped ahead in the polls.

# For GOP, Southern hospitality


By Michael A Schwarz

LOOKING GOOD: Rep. Newt Gingrich signals to a supporter Tuesday night after checking on early election returns at Cobb Galleria Centre north of Atlanta.

## Gingrich's dream in reach

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

Newt Gingrich has a knack for timing.

The fast-talking conservative gadfly from Georgia got a jump on House Republican colleagues in 1989 by getting advance word on a vacancy for minority whip. He parlayed it into a two-vote win for the number-two job.

Now he's poised to become the House's number-one Republican, just as his party wins more clout than it's enjoyed since 1954. A net gain of 40 seats could make him the first GOP speaker in 40 years.

Gingrich, 51, is a one-man political hurricane. For most of the past decade, he has been the biggest thorn in Democrats' side in Congress, leading the charge that brought down Democratic Speaker Jim Wright in 1989 and rallying Republicans around a more radical, right-wing agenda.

"We want to replace the whole current structure of the welfare state with something new," he says. And he has a plan — what he calls "perestroika for America" — for a free-market, high-technology, socially conservative "opportunity society."

Democrats are downright paranoid about Gingrich's ascension to power. They see him as a dangerous partisan who puts party politics above policy and principle.

"He has no philosophy, he has no ideas," says Rep. Mike Synar, D-Okla. "He has one basic driving force, and that is control."

Seeking to control the House, Gingrich was the driving force behind the GOP's "Contract With America," a throwback to Reagan-era policies such as tax cuts and term limits. Most GOP candidates signed the contract, which Democrats denounced as a deficit-buster.

His record over 16 years in the House is one of partisan confrontation, with occasional cooperation. He battled George Bush on tax increases, but helped President Clinton pass a crime bill and a trade agreement.

The former history professor also had to mind his own district outside Atlanta — one he almost lost in 1990 and 1992.

Colleagues love him or hate him. "He's a visionary, and he's a doer," says Rep. John Kasich, R-Ohio. Rep. Susan Molinari, R-N.Y., calls him "one of the smartest individuals I've ever met." Says Rep. Henry Hyde, R-Ill.: "He is one of the smartest, most astute, analytical minds I have ever encountered."

But says Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo.: "I break people in Washington into two groups — those who want power over people and those who want power for people. He's more into the power over people."

## Region holds the key for a new-look House

By William M. Welch
USA TODAY

Republicans rooted their hopes for a House majority in the South, where voter anger and a distinct trend toward the GOP threatened 15 or more Democratic-held seats.

Capitalizing on their best opportunity in four decades, Republicans were winning six of every 10 votes cast in the South for House candidates.

That could portend a seismic political shift, compared with two years ago when the region gave Republicans fewer than half, 47%, of House votes.

"If there is a Republican surge in the South, then I would expect the Republicans would pick up between 10 and 20 House seats in the region," says Merle Black, Southern politics expert at Emory University in Atlanta.

"They might be in position to claim a majority of Southern House seats. They need a net (gain) of 15."

An early indicator: Democratic Rep. Tom Barlow of Kentucky was defeated in one of the most consistently Democratic districts.

Nationally, Republicans had a smaller advantage: 52%-48% in exit polls. But Republicans hadn't achieved such parity in the 40 years since they last lost control of the House.

Republicans were aiming for a net gain of 40 seats nationally, enough to give them an outright majority in the House for the first time since 1954. That would ensure a GOP speaker and a takeover of all the committee leadership posts and staffs by Republicans.

A dozen House Democrats were retiring in Southern states, and Republicans were in close contests for most of them. Another 20 or more Democratic incumbents from the South also found themselves pressed by Republicans.

Many of those were in districts that have been leaning Republican for years — that is, voting for GOP candidates for president or statewide offices. Striking in Tuesday's voting in the South was the desertion of the Democratic Party by white voters. While Democrats got a strong black vote, it was swamped: Exit polls showed 68% of whites voted Republican. Among Southern men, 73% voted Republican.

Outside the South, some of the biggest Democratic icons were in trouble.

House Speaker Thomas Foley, who became the embodiment of an unpopular Congress, was in a difficult race in his Spokane, Wash., district with his opponent, Republican George Nethercutt.

Also facing trouble was Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., who was bidding for a 19th term despite an indictment on corruption charges that forced him to give up his Ways and Means chairmanship. He had hoped to win re-election quietly but was stunned to find his Republican opponent, Michael Flanagan, leading in late polls despite a shoestring campaign.

Besides sending more conservative Republicans to Washington from the Old Confederacy, Tuesday's results signaled a second wave of the political realignment in the South that began with presidential races in the 1960s and spread to governor and Senate seats in the '70s and '80s.

"Down here in the South we have creeping Republicanism," says Ted Arrington, political science professor at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. "It started at the presidential level ... and is creeping now down to the congressional level."

Since regaining majority control of the House in 1954, Democrats have relied on the South for a surplus of Democratic congressional seats to solidify their majority.

# 'Pace of progress solid' for women

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

Female candidates were on their way to some historic — though modest — gains in races nationwide Tuesday, but they also were racking up losses after a campaign season when "women's issues" were rarely spotlighted.

The election of Maine's Olympia Snowe to the Senate and the re-election of Texas Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison set a GOP record: three female senators, including Kansas' Nancy Kassebaum.

With Snowe taking the seat of retiring Sen. George Mitchell, Republicans were poised to take control of the Senate — a setback for President Clinton.

The Democrats held ground in early returns for California's Senate race, where incumbent Sen. Dianne Feinstein appeared headed for victory after a bitter, costly campaign against Republican Rep. Michael Huffington.

Among the new women headed for the House: Houston City Councilwoman Sheila Jackson Lee, a Democrat.

A Republican woman, Pat Saiki, was in a close goveror's race in Hawaii. And Maryland's Ellen Sauerbrey, a Republican who promised to cut income taxes by 24%, was in a tight race against Democrat Parris Glendening.



By Grady Carter

**JACKSON LEE:** Houston woman headed for the House

In Iowa, Democratic attorney general Bonnie Campbell was mounting a strong challenge to three-term GOP Gov. Terry Branstad.

"We're continuing to move forward against a very tough political climate this year," said Harriett Woods of the National Women's Political Caucus. "It was such a nasty year that, if anything, it proves that women were tough enough to hold their own."

Overall, women did not fare as well as they did in 1992, dubbed the "Year of the Woman" in the wake of the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas sexual harassment hearings.

That year, the number of women in the Senate jumped to seven from two, and a record 24 new women were elected to the House, bringing the House total to 47.

This year's likely gains looked modest by comparison.

"The conservatives framed the debate on crime, immigrants and taxes, and those issues do not work as well for women as education, health care, the social issues," said Eleanor Smeal of the Feminist Majority Foundation.

In California, Smeal said, Democrat Kathleen Brown, trying to unseat Gov. Pete Wilson, focused on the economy and spent too little time on education. Brown appeared headed for defeat.

In Minnesota, Democrat Ann Wynia was struggling to win outgoing Republican Sen. David Durenberger's seat at the end of a campaign that also focused on taxes and crime.

Democrats had seen her as their best chance to pick up a Republican-held seat; Clinton visited twice in the last week of the campaign.

Democrats also may have suffered a serious setback in Texas, where Gov. Ann Richards appeared to be losing to Republican George W. Bush.

In that race, female voters — nearly two-thirds of whom went for Richards in her 1990 race — were more evenly split.

Despite her personal popularity, Richards may have been a victim of anti-Clinton, anti-incumbent sentiment.

In Vermont, Democrats were disappointed when Jan Backus lost a close race against incumbent Sen. James Jeffords, a moderate Republican.

"I'm impatient, too — I want to see it happen faster," said Ruth Mandel of the Center for American Women in Politics. "But in a way, the pace of progress for women is solid and healthy, because it's not a flash in the pan."



By Susan Weems, AP

**IN DALLAS:** After voting, Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison answers a third-grader's question as Britnie Proctor and Chris Frazier listen.

# ABC leads the pack to declare hot Va. race

**TV REVIEW**
Alan Bash

ABC gambled and won in the "other" Virginia race Tuesday — first to declare Democrat Sen. Charles Robb the winner of the nation's hottest contest at 8:20 p.m. ET.

ABC's call came as the rest of the networks were insisting the race was still too close to call, with only 4% separating Robb and Oliver North.

CNN chimed in with the results 10 minutes later, calling it a "very bitter pill" for the Republicans. CNN spokesman Steve Haworth said exit polling from the shared Voter News Service was "coming in slower than we expected."

Until then, the only thing anchors were willing to call Virginia was nasty: CBS's Dan Rather said the two former Marines were in "hand-to-hand combat."

Through 8:45 p.m ET, no network dared call super-close governor races in Texas and Florida.

Elsewhere, races were tight across the USA, which meant that up until 8 p.m. ET, only two major races were called, among the 11 states where polls had closed.

ABC's Peter Jennings declared the first winner of the evening — incumbent Richard Lugar, R-Ind. — just a few minutes into the network's 6:30 p.m. ET broadcast.

And as the networks' evening newscast went off the air in most markets at 7 p.m. ET, CNN called the winner in the Florida Senate race, Republican Connie Mack.

Among the highlights from early coverage:

▶ Clearest analysis from exit polling early on: "Women were the key to Kennedy's victory in Massachusetts," CNN's Bill Schneider declared.

▶ Flashiest graphics: On ABC, computer generated translucent tubes rose up from correspondent Lynn Sherr's desk to represent bars on an exit poll graph.

▶ Moment to chuckle: CNN's Bernard Shaw saying West Virginia incumbent Robert Byrd would return to the Senate "for the umpteenth time." And for once, the opponents on CNN's *Crossfire* agreed.

Both Michael Kinsley and John Sununu complained that the networks were imposing "self-censorship" by holding off on reporting exit poll results before the statewide voting had ended.

ELECTION '94

VOTER PROFILE

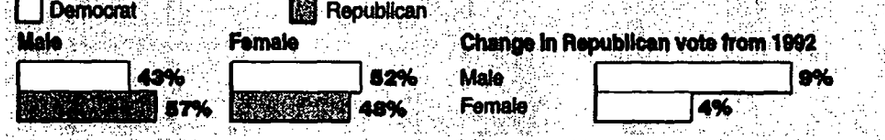
# Electorate swings to the right

Republicans picked up votes in all groups except blacks and Jews, an exit poll from Tuesday's elections shows. And the gap between Democrats and Republicans in political ideology, as well as on the issues.

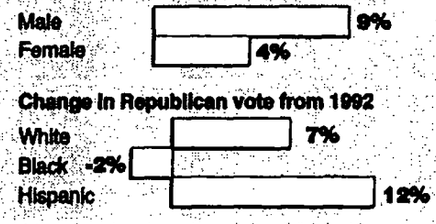
**Voters in Tuesday's election:**

## Who they are

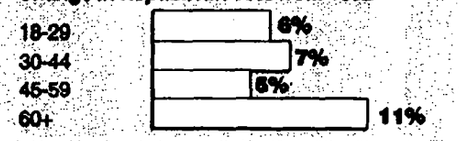
The GOP's greatest gains came among Hispanics and people with high school educations and some college.



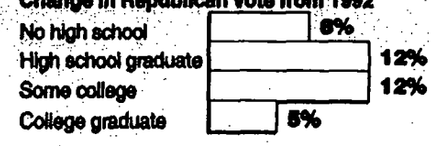

| Race/ethnicity | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| White | 43% | 57% |
| Black | 90% | 10% |
| Hispanic[1] | 61% | 39% |



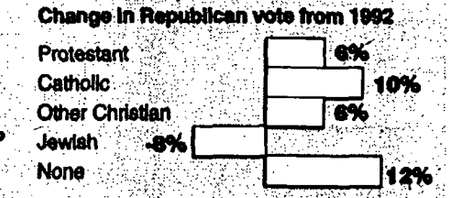

| Age | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| 18-29 | 50% | 50% |
| 30-44 | 47% | 53% |
| 45-59 | 47% | 53% |
| 60+ | 46% | 54% |




| Education | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| No high school | 60% | 40% |
| High school graduate | 46% | 54% |
| Some college | 41% | 59% |
| College graduate | 43% | 57% |




| Religion | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Protestant | 40% | 60% |
| Catholic | 47% | 53% |
| Other Christian | 46% | 54% |
| Jewish | 86% | 14% |
| None | 58% | 42% |




| General | All | Dem. | Rep. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employed | 60% | 48% | 52% |
| Married | 58% | 41% | 59% |
| Member of white, religious right | 5% | 12% | 88% |
| Crime victim | 7% | 47% | 53% |
| Listens to talk radio | 20% | 37% | 63% |
| Gun owner | 25% | 28% | 72% |
| Working women | 26% | 56% | 44% |

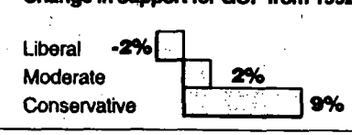
1 – Hispanics can be of any race.

## Political leaning

More conservatives voted Republican than in the 1992 elections, but moderates continued to favor the Democratic Party.

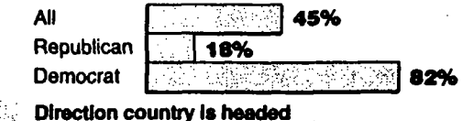
| Party affiliation | Now | 1992 |
|---|---|---|
| Republican | 37% | 39% |
| Democrat | 37% | 36% |
| Independent | 26% | 25% |

| Ideology | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Liberal | 83% | 17% |
| Moderate | 56% | 44% |
| Conservative | 19% | 81% |




## The issues

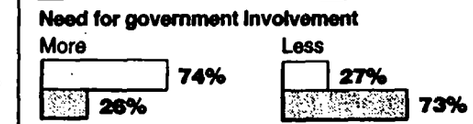
Democrats and Republicans differed, often drastically, on issues that include the direction the country is moving, and which problems Congress should address first.

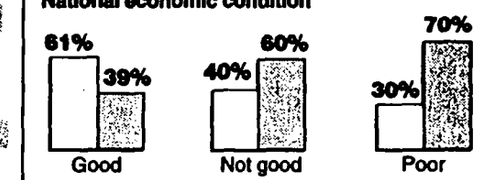


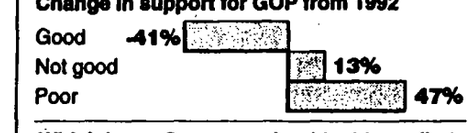

| Direction country is headed | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Right direction | 69% | 32% |
| Wrong track | 31% | 69% |

| Support for term limits | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Approve | 42% | 58% |
| Disapprove | 58% | 42% |

| Most important national issues | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Foreign policy | 50% | 50% |
| Health care | 67% | 33% |
| Deficit | 41% | 59% |
| Clinton's performance | 28% | 72% |
| Crime | 50% | 50% |
| Time for a change | 26% | 74% |
| Candidate's experience | 59% | 41% |
| Taxes | 25% | 75% |
| Economy/jobs | 57% | 43% |



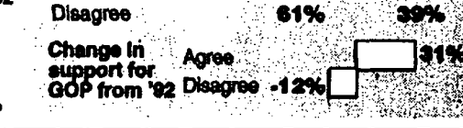




| Which issue Congress should address first | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Welfare reform | 35% | 65% |
| Health care | 69% | 31% |
| Campaign finance reform | 52% | 48% |
| The deficit | 33% | 67% |

## The vote

Almost all Republicans cast their ballots to oppose Clinton's policies. And most supported the concept of voting out all incumbents.

| Electing all new people | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Agree | 27% | 73% |
| Disagree | 61% | 39% |




| Reason for vote | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Support Clinton policies | 94% | 6% |
| Oppose Clinton policies | 6% | 94% |

| 1994 vote | Democrat | Republican |
|---|---|---|
| Clinton | 89% | 11% |
| Republican | 8% | 92% |
| Independent | 40% | 60% |
| Don't know | 58% | 42% |

Source: A Voter News Service exit poll of 7,523 voters, conducted Nov. 8. Margin of error: ±1 percentage point.

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

# THE SENATE

## ARIZONA (0%)

S. Coppersmith (D) . . . . . 143 (70%)
✔Jon Kyl (R) . . . . . 53 (26%)
Scott Grainger (O) . . . . . 7 (3%)

Rep. Kyl had the upper hand because Democrats didn't know until October who had won their primary. Rep. Sam Coppersmith edged Sec. of State Dick Mahoney by 59 votes in the recount. Sen. Dennis DeConcini is retiring.

## CALIFORNIA (0%)

D. Feinstein* (D) . . . . . 0 (0%)
M. Huffington (R) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Dianne Feinstein, who sought her first full term, encountered stiff competition from mega-millionaire Michael Huffington. A Texas native, Huffington spent $5.4 million to win a Santa Barbara-area House seat in '92. Feinstein was elected in '92 to serve the rest of Pete Wilson's term after he left to become governor.

## CONNECTICUT (71%)

✔Joe Lieberman* (D) . 495,622 (67%)
Gerald Labriola (R) . . 233,982 (31%)
Gary Gameau (O) . . . . 14,538 (2%)

Lieberman, a moderate, avoided making many enemies in Washington and is extremely popular at home. He exploded onto the scene six years ago with a shocking upset of liberal Republican Sen. Lowell Weicker. Labriola is a retired pediatrician.

## DELAWARE (95%)

Charles Oberly (D) . . . 80,501 (42%)
✔William Roth* (R) . . . 106,773 (56%)
John Dierickx (O) . . . . . 3,338 (2%)

Roth wins a fifth term as Democrats failed to pick up a key seat they had considered vulnerable. Early on, Roth's 24-year stay in Washington and his age — 73 — were expected to work against him. But six of 10 voters questioned outside the polls said they believed Roth's age would not interfere with his abilities as a senator, and three-fourths of those people voted for him.

## FLORIDA (63%)

Hugh Rodham (D) . . 693,156 (30%)
✔Connie Mack* (R). 1,610,730 (70%)

Sen. Connie Mack crushed the closest thing to a Clinton on the ballot — Hillary Rodham Clinton's brother, Hugh Rodham. The Dade County lawyer lost to Mack, praised for efforts to stop the influx of Cuban and Haitian refugees. Mack wins a second term partly by working to keep the Clinton administration from dropping the economic boycott of Cuba, maintaining pressure on Fidel Castro.

## HAWAII (0%)

Daniel Akaka* (D) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Maria Hustace (R) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Dick Rowland (O) . . . . . 0 (0%)

Then-Rep. Akaka won a '90 special election to finish the term of Democratic Sen. Spark Matsunaga, who died of cancer. Cattle rancher Hustace was a long shot in this heavily Democratic state.

## Key

A guide to party affiliations for the selected races from across the USA on this page:
* — Incumbent
D — Democrat
R — Republican
O — Other party or Independent
NP — Non-partisan
% — Percentage won
✔ — Declared winner

## MISSISSIPPI (61%)

Ken Harper (D) . . . . . 118,120 (31%)
✔Trent Lott* (R) . . . . . 265,175 (69%)

Lott, who has boasted some of the highest job approval ratings of any senator, wins a second term. He promises to fight military budget cuts and President Clinton's health-care plan. Harper, an ex-state senator who had a record of fierce underdog campaigns, failed to rally support.

## MISSOURI (57%)

Alan Wheat (D) . . . . . 325,884 (35%)
✔John Ashcroft (R) . . . 554,587 (60%)
Bill Johnson (O) . . . . . 41,909 (5%)

Former two-term governor Ashcroft ('84-'92) trounces twelve-year Rep. Wheat after a bitter race. Ashcroft is known for his gospel singing and conservative social positions, including opposition to abortion rights. Wheat, who had sought to become the only black male in the Senate, welcomed President Clinton to the state for his campaign. Moderate Republican incumbent John Danforth is retiring after 18 years.

## MONTANA (1%)

Jack Mudd (D) . . . . . 2,809 (34%)
✔Conrad Burns* (R) . . . . 5,432 (66%)

Burns, a former farm radio broadcaster, fashioned himself as a cowpoke fighting for Western interests in Washington. Lawyer Mudd kept the race close despite Burns' enormous campaign fund advantage and help from prominent Republicans such as Dan Quayle.

## NEBRASKA (30%)

✔Bob Kerrey* (D) . . . . . 93,243 (54%)
Jan Stoney (R) . . . . . 78,524 (46%)

Retired communications executive Stoney had an uphill battle to unseat freshman Kerrey. She assailed Kerrey's '93 vote that ensured passage of President Clinton's federal budget. Political maverick Kerrey pointed to his opposition to Clinton's health reform plan as evidence he's independent from the White House.

## NEVADA (0%)

R. Bryan* (D) . . . . . 10,424 (88%)
Hal Furman (R) . . . . . 289 (2%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Former governor and freshman Richard Bryan ran television ads criticizing Furman for his work at a public relations firm that represented the scandal-ridden Bank of Credit and Commerce International. Furman, deputy Interior secretary under President Bush, argued that his work had nothing to do with BCCI.

## PENNSYLVANIA (73%)

Harris Wofford* (D) 1,171,693 (49%)
Rick Santorum (R) 1,118,682 (47%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Wofford put health-care reform on the nation's priority list with his '91 upset over Richard Thornburgh, but struggled in the polls against little-known Rep. Santorum. The congressman is a hard-driving young conservative who charged Wofford with sticking to the kind of big-government approaches to health-care reform voters don't want.

## RHODE ISLAND (28%)

Linda Kushner (D) . . . 21,498 (39%)
✔John Chafee* (R) . . . . 34,006 (61%)

Chafee wins his fourth term, running as an independent Republican. He was part of a small group of moderates who worked for a bipartisan compromise on health-care reform. State Rep. Kushner failed to rally the overwhelming majority of voters here who are Democrats.

## TENNESSEE #1 (83%)

Jim Sasser* (D) . . . . 479,482 (42%)
✔Bill Frist (R). . . . . 646,029 (56%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Millionaire surgeon Frist unseats would-be Senate majority leader Sasser, completing a GOP sweep of the state's two Senate seats. Sasser's close ties to the Clinton administration hurt him with some voters. Frist poured more than $2 million of his own money into the race.

## TENNESSEE #2 (83%)

Jim Cooper (D). . . . . 433,600 (38%)
✔Fred Thompson (R) . 687,402 (61%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Hollywood actor and one-time Senate Watergate Committee lawyer Thompson capitalizes on the anti-Clinton mood to defeat Cooper in the special election for Vice President Al Gore's old seat. Thompson ran a folksy campaign, attacking Cooper's support of NAFTA and health care reform. Thompson must run again for a full six-year term in '96.

## TEXAS (35%)

Richard Fisher (D) . . 750,423 (38%)
✔Kay Hutchison* (R) 1,197,721 (61%)
Pierre Blondeau (O) . . 14,680 (1%)

Kay Bailey Hutchison was indicted on charges she misused her previous position as state treasurer, but she triumphed over the "politically motivated attack" when the charges were dismissed. Wealthy Dallas businessman Fisher, a moderate who largely self-funded his campaign, was an adviser to Ross Perot's '92 campaign.

## UTAH (0%)

Pat Shea (D). . . . . 2,430 (40%)
Orrin Hatch* (R) . . . . . 3,494 (57%)
Others . . . . . (%)

President Clinton's poor third-place showing here in '92 didn't encourage his party's hopes of mounting a serious challenge to Hatch, a respected 18-year senator. Lawyer and ex-Democratic state chair Shea took on the task by firing at Hatch's opposition to gun control. Shea even waved a semi-automatic weapon around during a TV debate.

## INDIANA (76%)

Jim Jontz (D) . . . . . 336,313 (30%)
✔Richard Lugar* (R) . . 761,307 (68%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Lugar beats the so-called Indiana Jinx and becomes the state's first senator to win a fourth term. A foreign policy and agriculture expert, Lugar would become Agriculture Committee chairman in a GOP-majority Senate. State Republicans say his re-election could help a run at the '96 GOP presidential nomination; Lugar left that door open just a crack.

## MAINE (18%)

Tom Andrews (D) . . . . 27,257 (37%)
✔Olympia Snowe (R) . . . 44,795 (60%)
Plato Truman (O) . . . . . 2,573 (3%)

Snowe wins the contest between the state's two House members, a race set off by Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell's stunning retirement announcement. Snowe had a moderate voting record, supported abortion rights and trumpeted her independence. She portrayed Andrews as out of step with the state's mainstream. Andrews took heat for a liberal record and voting in favor of closing northern Maine's Loring Air Force Base.

## MARYLAND (73%)

✔Paul Sarbanes* (D) . . 527,300 (57%)
William Brock (R) . . . 390,337 (43%)

Sarbanes heads for a fourth term. He criticized Brock, a candy fortune heir and ex-Tennessee senator, as a carpetbagger who missed 20% of his votes in the Senate. The race was one of the most costly Senate campaigns in state history. Sarbanes was expected to spend about $2.5 million; Brock $3 million.

## MASSACHUSETTS (35%)

✔Ted Kennedy* (D) . . . 409,729 (58%)
Mitt Romney (R) . . . . 281,831 (40%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Kennedy held on in the face of his first-ever real threat to re-election. Scarred by personal and family problems and weighed down by 32 years of incumbency, Kennedy presented a big target for businessman Romney. Kennedy countered that his seniority and clout with President Clinton gave Massachusetts influence in Washington it couldn't afford to lose.

## MICHIGAN (17%)

Bob Carr (D) . . . . . 210,369 (37%)
✔S. Abraham (R) . . . . . 322,990 (57%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Former Dan Quayle aide Spencer Abraham beats 18-year Rep. Carr in a tight race for banking committee Chairman Don Riegle's seat. Both struggled to find strong, widespread support — both were hobbled by their ties to the status quo in Washington. Riegle is retiring after 18 years in the Senate.

## MINNESOTA (15%)

Ann Wynia (D) . . . . . 189,159 (51%)
Rod Grams (R) . . . . . 155,619 (42%)
Others . . . . . (%)

The close contest between ex-state House Majority Leader Wynia and freshman Congressman Grams focused national party resources — fund-raising, ad wizards and campaign consultants — on the seat Republican David Durenberger has held since '78. Wynia, who was considered the best shot for Democrats to elect another woman to the Senate, championed health-care reform. Grams hammered away at lower taxes and less government themes.

## NEW JERSEY (62%)

✔F. Lautenberg* (D) . . 633,322 (51%)
C. Haytaian (R) . . . . . 582,095 (47%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Frank Lautenberg wins his third term. Assembly Speaker Charles Haytaian made a strong showing after pressing hard his proposal for a flat federal income tax he said would reduce the burden on working people. Haytaian hoped the promise of lower taxes would help him. Lautenberg attacked Haytaian as the consummate political insider.

## NEW MEXICO (38%)

✔Jeff Bingaman* (D) . . . 89,417 (52%)
Colin McMillan (R) . . . 80,943 (48%)

In a tight race, Bingaman edges out President Bush's deputy Defense secretary McMillan in the most expensive — and some say nastiest — campaign in New Mexico history. Together the candidates spent $5.4 million on television spots exchanging jabs. Bingaman pledges to continue efforts for national education standards for teachers and students. He also says he'll focus on long-term legislative agendas.

## NEW YORK (46%)

✔D. P. Moynihan* (D) 1,166,622 (56%)
B. Castro (R) . . . . . 859,935 (41%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Businesswoman Bernadette Castro struggled to make a race out of her challenge to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, chairman of the powerful Finance Committee. The GOP hoped Castro could take advantage of her personal wealth for campaign funds and turn public uneasiness about President Clinton's health-care reform proposal against Moynihan, who sought his fourth term.

## NORTH DAKOTA (26%)

Kent Conrad* (D) . . . . 28,598 (59%)
Ben Clayburgh (R) . . . 19,837 (41%)

Conrad took 63% of the vote two years ago to serve out the term of deceased Sen. Quentin Burdick. Republicans produced a spirited opponent in "Dr. Ben" Clayburgh, an orthopedic surgeon and past state GOP chairman. Clayburgh primarily stumped for health-care reform as he campaigned across the state in a converted ambulance.

## OHIO (65%)

Joel Hyatt (D) . . . . . 830,320 (38%)
✔Mike DeWine (R) . 1,159,089 (54%)
J. Slovenec (O) . . . . . 168,372 (8%)

Lt. Gov. DeWine wins retiring liberal three-term Democratic Sen. Howard Metzenbaum's seat. Hyatt, a discount-law-firm chain operator, is Metzenbaum's son-in-law. DeWine will be Ohio's first Republican senator in 24 years.

## OKLAHOMA (90%)

Dave McCurdy (D) . . 344,620 (40%)
✔James Inhofe (R) . . . 470,507 (55%)
Danny Corn (O) . . . . . 42,464 (5%)

Rep. Inhofe defeated 14-year House member McCurdy, saying career politicians are the nation's biggest impediment to progress. McCurdy chairs the moderate Democratic Leadership Council that promotes the "New Democrat" policies espoused by President Clinton. Inhofe ran an anti-Clinton campaign. Sen. David Boren leaves to become University of Oklahoma president.

## VERMONT (26%)

Jan Backus (D) . . . . . 18,483 (42%)
✔Jim Jeffords* (R) . . . . 21,799 (50%)
Others . . . . . (%)

Jeffords wins another term. With 14 years in the House and six in the Senate he has one of the most liberal voting records in Congress. He opposed the Reagan budget and tax cuts and pushed a Canadian-style system in this year's health-care reform debate. Hampered by a modest campaign fund, state Sen. Backus ran as an "ordinary person."

## VIRGINIA (94%)

✔Charles Robb* (D) . . 886,124 (46%)
Oliver North (R) . . . . 830,166 (43%)
M. Coleman (O) . . . . 220,028 (11%)

Former governor Robb held on to win a second term in one of the USA's most-watched races of '94. North's campaign attempted to assail Robb's character by pointing to Robb's confessions of his personal life. North's admission of lying to Congress in the Iran-contra scandal was a tool of the Robb camp. In waning weeks, longtime foe Douglas Wilder lent his support to Robb.

## WASHINGTON (0%)

Ron Sims (D) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Slade Gorton* (R) . . . . . 0 (0%)

Gorton consistently held big leads in the polls over King County Councilman Sims. Gorton backed the lumber industry against environmental lobbies. He also supported higher pollution standards and called for conversion of the Hanford nuclear plant to an environmental cleanup facility. Sims hammered at Gorton's refusal to hold TV debates, accusing Gorton of hiding behind "a multimillion-dollar war chest of special interest money."

## WEST VIRGINIA (72%)

✔Robert Byrd* (D) . . . . 197,347 (70%)
Stanley Klos (R) . . . . . 85,304 (30%)

Byrd, defying anti-incumbent sentiment elsewhere, wins a seventh term despite some national criticism that he brought too many federal projects to West Virginia. Byrd used his Appropriations Committee chair to channel $1.5 billion in federal funds here; he said re-election was necessary to complete planned initiatives.

## WISCONSIN (21%)

✔Herb Kohl* (D) . . . . . 262,766 (62%)
Bob Welch (R) . . . . . 154,768 (37%)
James Dean (O) . . . . . 4,684 (1%)

Kohl, the head and namesake of a large supermarket chain, wins a second term against state Senate veteran Welch. Exit polls show Kohl, the National Taxpayers Union's best-rated Democrat, faced little anti-Clinton backlash and had strong support from women and independents.

## WYOMING (16%)

Mike Sullivan (D) . . . . 13,561 (44%)
✔Craig Thomas (R) . . . . 16,613 (54%)
Craig McCune (O) . . . . . 527 (2%)

Rep. Thomas wins by linking Gov. Sullivan to President Clinton, who personally recruited Sullivan to run. The popular Sullivan had the early edge when three-term GOP Sen. Malcolm Wallop announced his retirement, but slipped sharply when Clinton's popularity dwindled as Western distrust mounted over his grazing polices.

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# U.S. HOUSE

## Key

A guide to party affiliations for the selected races from across the USA on this page:

* — Incumbent
D — Democrat
R — Republican
O — Other party or Independent
NP — Non-partisan
% — Percentage won
✔ — Declared winner

## ALABAMA

**1st (Mobile)** (56%)
- Don Womack (D) 38,532 32%
- ✔H.L. Callahan* (R) 83,215 68%

**2nd (Montgomery, Dothan)** (46%)
- Brian Dowling (D) 19,540 25%
- ✔Terry Everett* (R) 58,862 75%

**3rd (Auburn, Anniston)** (52%)
- Glen Browder* (D) 39,991 69%
- Ben Hand (R) 17,999 31%

**4th (Gadsden)**
- ✔Tom Bevill* (D) Unopposed

**5th (Huntsville)** (48%)
- Bud Cramer* (D) 30,605 55%
- Wayne Parker (R) 25,226 45%

**6th (Birmingham)** (29%)
- Larry Fortenberry (D) 15,677 21%
- ✔Spencer Bachus* (R) 59,894 79%

**7th (Tuscaloosa)** (35%)
- ✔Earl Hilliard* (D) 53,683 79%
- Alfred Middleton (R) 13,911 21%

## ALASKA

**At-large** (0%)
- Tony Smith (D) 0 0%
- Don Young* (R) 0 0%
- Joni Whitmore (O) 0 0%

## ARIZONA

**1st (Tempe, Mesa)** (0%)
- Chuck Blanchard (D) 4,931 28%
- Matt Salmon (R) 12,373 69%

**2nd (Phoenix, Yuma)** (0%)
- Ed Pastor* (D) 1,420 49%
- Robert MacDonald (R) 1,290 45%

**3rd (Glendale)** (0%)
- Howard Sprague (D) 0 0%
- Bob Stump* (R) 0 0%

**4th (Scottsdale)** (0%)
- Carol Cure (D) 5,117 24%
- John Shadegg (R) 15,517 73%
- Mark Yannone (O) 523 2%

**5th (Tucson)** (0%)
- Gary Auerbech (D) 0 0%
- Jim Kolbe* (R) 0 0%

**6th (Flagstaff)** (0%)
- Karan English* (D) 2,201 24%
- J.D. Hayworth (R) 6,850 74%

## ARKANSAS

**1st (Jonesboro, W. Memphis)** (18%)
- Blanche Lambert* (D) 19,838 54%
- Warren Dupwe (R) 17,172 46%

**2nd (Little Rock)** (20%)
- ✔Ray Thornton* (D) 19,649 59%
- Bill Powell (R) 13,680 41%

**3rd (Fort Smith, Fayetteville)** (28%)
- Berta Seitz (D) 17,572 32%
- ✔Tim Hutchinson* (R) 37,014 68%

**4th (Pine Bluff)** (34%)
- Jay Bradford (D) 29,820 50%
- Jay Dickey* (R) 29,904 50%

## CALIFORNIA

**1st (Eureka)** (0%)
- Dan Hamburg* (D) 0 0%
- Frank Riggs (R) 0 0%

**2nd (Chico, Redding)** (0%)
- Mary Jacobs (D) 0 0%
- Wally Herger* (R) 0 0%
- Devvy Kidd (O) 0 0%
- Harry Pendery (O) 0 0%

**3rd (north central valley)** (0%)
- Vic Fazio* (D) 0 0%
- Tim Lefever (R) 0 0%
- Ross Crain (O) 0 0%

**4th (northeast central)** (0%)
- Katie Hirning (D) 0 0%
- John Doolittle* (R) 0 0%
- Damon Falconi (O) 0 0%

**5th (Sacramento)** (0%)
- Robert Matsui* (D) 0 0%
- Robert Dinsmore (R) 0 0%
- Gordon Mors (O) 0 0%

**6th (Sonoma, Marin)** (0%)
- Lynn Woolsey* (D) 0 0%
- Michael Nugent (R) 0 0%
- Louis Beary (O) 0 0%
- Ernest Jones (O) 0 0%

**7th (northeastern Bay Area)** (0%)
- George Miller* (D) 0 0%
- Charles Hughes (R) 0 0%
- William Calleon (O) 0 0%

**8th (San Francisco)** (0%)
- Nancy Pelosi* (D) 0 0%
- Elsa Cheung (R) 0 0%

**9th (Oakland, Berkeley)** (0%)
- Ronald Dellums* (D) 0 0%
- Deborah Wright (R) 0 0%
- Emma Mar (O) 0 0%

**10th (Contra Costa County)** (0%)
- Ellen Schwartz (D) 0 0%
- Bill Baker* (R) 0 0%
- Craig Cooper (O) 0 0%

**11th (Stockton, Lodi)** (0%)
- Randy Perry (D) 0 0%
- Richard Pombo* (R) 0 0%
- Joseph Miller (O) 0 0%

**12th (San Mateo County)** (0%)
- Tom Lantos* (D) 0 0%
- Deborah Wilder (R) 0 0%

**13th (east Bay Area)** (0%)
- Fortney Stark* (D) 0 0%
- Larry Molton (R) 0 0%
- Robert Gough (O) 0 0%

**14th (Santa Clara County)** (0%)
- Anne Eshoo* (D) 0 0%
- Ben Brink (R) 0 0%

**15th (San Jose)** (0%)
- Norm Mineta* (D) 0 0%
- Robert Wick (R) 0 0%

**16th (Santa Clara County)** (0%)
- Zoe Lofgren (D) 0 0%
- Lyle Smith (R) 0 0%

**17th (Monterey)** (0%)
- Sam Farr* (D) 0 0%
- Bill McCampbell (R) 0 0%
- Craig Coffin (O) 0 0%

**18th (Modesto, Merced)** (0%)
- Gary Condit* (D) 0 0%
- Tom Carter (R) 0 0%
- James Morzella (O) 0 0%

**19th (Fresno, Madera)** (0%)
- Rick Lehman* (D) 0 0%
- George Radanovich (R) 0 0%
- Dolores Comstock (O) 0 0%

**20th (Kern, Kings counties)** (0%)
- Cal Dooley* (D) 0 0%
- Paul Young (R) 0 0%

**21st (Bakersfield)** (0%)
- John Evans (D) 0 0%
- Bill Thomas* (R) 0 0%
- Mike Hodges (O) 0 0%

**22nd (San Luis Obispo)** (0%)
- Walter Capps (D) 0 0%
- Andrea Seastrand (R) 0 0%
- David Bersohn (O) 0 0%

**23rd (Ventura, Simi Valley)** (0%)
- Kevin Ready (D) 0 0%
- Elton Gallegly* (R) 0 0%
- Bill Brown (O) 0 0%
- Robert Marston (O) 0 0%

**24th (northwest L.A. suburbs)** (0%)
- Anthony Beilenson* (D) 0 0%
- Rich Sybert (R) 0 0%
- John Koehler (O) 0 0%

**25th (Lancaster, Palmdale)** (0%)
- James Gilmartin (D) 0 0%
- Howard McKeon* (R) 0 0%
- Devin Cutler (O) 0 0%

**26th (San Fernando Valley)** (0%)
- Howard Berman* (D) 0 0%
- Gary Forsch (R) 0 0%
- Erich Miller (O) 0 0%

**27th (Pasadena, Burbank)** (0%)
- Doug Kahn (D) 0 0%
- Carlos Moorhead* (R) 0 0%
- Dennis Decherd (O) 0 0%
- Bill Gibbs (O) 0 0%

**28th (northeast L.A. suburbs)** (0%)
- Tommy Randle (D) 0 0%
- David Dreier* (R) 0 0%
- Jon Baker (O) 0 0%

**29th (West Hollywood)** (0%)
- Henry Waxman* (D) 0 0%
- Paul Stapenek (R) 0 0%
- Michael Binkley (O) 0 0%

**30th (central Los Angeles)** (0%)
- Xavier Becerra* (D) 0 0%
- David Ramirez (R) 0 0%
- William Wellburg (O) 0 0%

**31st (Garden Grove, Alhambra)** (0%)
- Matthew Martinez* (D) 0 0%
- John Flores (R) 0 0%

**32nd (Culver City)** (0%)
- Julian Dixon* (D) 0 0%
- Ernie Farhat (R) 0 0%
- John Honigstald (O) 0 0%

**33rd (Pasadena)** (0%)
- L. Roybal-Allard* (D) 0 0%
- Kermit Booker (O) 0 0%

**34th (West Covina)** (0%)
- Esteban Torres* (D) 0 0%
- Albert Nunez (R) 0 0%
- Carl Swinney (O) 0 0%

**35th (central Los Angeles)** (0%)
- Maxine Waters* (D) 0 0%
- Nate Truman (R) 0 0%

**36th (Manhattan Beach)** (0%)
- Jane Harman* (D) 0 0%
- Susan Brooks (R) 0 0%
- Joseph Fields (O) 0 0%
- Jack Tyler (O) 0 0%

**37th (Compton, Carson)** (0%)
- Walter Tucker* (D) 0 0%
- Guy Wilson (O) 0 0%

**38th (Long Beach, Downey)** (0%)
- Peter Mathews (D) 0 0%
- Steve Horn* (R) 0 0%
- Richard Green (O) 0 0%
- Lester Mueller (O) 0 0%

**39th (Fullerton)** (0%)
- Bob Davis (D) 0 0%
- Ed Royce* (R) 0 0%
- Jack Dean (O) 0 0%

**40th (Redlands)** (0%)
- Donald Rusk (D) 0 0%
- Jerry Lewis* (R) 0 0%

**41st (Orange, L.A. counties)** (0%)
- Ed Tessier (D) 0 0%
- Jay Kim* (R) 0 0%

**42nd (San Bernardino)** (0%)
- George Brown* (D) 0 0%
- Rob Guzman (R) 0 0%

**43rd (Riverside County)** (0%)
- Mark Takano (D) 0 0%
- Ken Calvert* (R) 0 0%
- Gene Berkman (O) 0 0%

**44th (Riverside)** (0%)
- Steve Cluts (D) 0 0%
- Sonny Bono (R) 0 0%
- Donald Cochran (O) 0 0%

**45th (Coastal Orange County)** (0%)
- Brett Williamson (D) 0 0%
- Dana Rohrabacher* (R) 0 0%

**46th (Santa Ana, Garden Grove)** (0%)
- Mike Farber (D) 0 0%
- Robert Dornan* (R) 0 0%
- Richard Newhouse (O) 0 0%

**47th (Irvine)** (0%)
- Gary Kingsbury (D) 0 0%
- Christopher Cox* (R) 0 0%
- Victor Wagner (O) 0 0%

**48th (Orange County)** (0%)
- Andrei Laschick (D) 0 0%
- Ron Packard* (R) 0 0%
- Donna White (O) 0 0%

**49th (Coronado)** (0%)
- Lynn Schenk* (D) 0 0%
- Brian Bilbray (R) 0 0%
- Chris Hoogenboom (O) 0 0%
- Renate Kline (O) 0 0%

**50th (Chula Vista)** (0%)
- Bob Filner* (D) 0 0%
- Mary Acevedo (R) 0 0%
- Ricardo Duenez (O) 0 0%
- Kip Krueger (O) 0 0%
- Guillermo Ramirez (O) 0 0%

**51st (San Diego)** (0%)
- Rita Tamerius (D) 0 0%
- R. Cunningham* (R) 0 0%
- Miriam Clark (O) 0 0%
- Bill Holmes (O) 0 0%

**52nd (Inland San Diego)** (0%)
- Janet Gastil (D) 0 0%
- Duncan Hunter* (R) 0 0%
- Art Edelman (O) 0 0%
- Joe Shea (O) 0 0%

## COLORADO

**1st (Denver)** (24%)
- Patricia Schroeder* (D) 18,287 56%
- William Eggert (R) 14,365 44%

**2nd (Boulder)** (8%)
- David Skaggs* (D) 9,811 56%
- Patricia Miller (R) 7,661 44%

**3rd (Pueblo)** (5%)
- Linda Powers (D) 8,784 29%
- Scott McInnis* (R) 21,096 71%

**4th (Fort Collins, Greeley)** (2%)
- Cathy Kipp (D) 8,173 48%
- Wayne Allard* (R) 8,968 52%

**5th (Colorado Springs)**
- ✔Joel Hefley* (R) Unopposed

**6th (Aurora, Lakewood)** (13%)
- John Hallen (D) 9,959 26%
- Dan Schaefer* (R) 27,035 72%
- Stephen Dawson (O) 264 1%
- John Heckman (O) 412 1%

## CONNECTICUT

**1st (Hartford)** (74%)
- ✔Barbara Kennelly* (D) 102,278 73%
- Douglas Putnam (R) 34,837 25%
- John Forry (O) 2,796 2%

**2nd (New London)** (51%)
- Sam Gejdenson* (D) 40,409 42%
- Edward Munster (R) 41,654 44%
- David Bingham (O) 13,611 14%

**3rd (New Haven)** (70%)
- ✔Rosa DeLauro* (D) 72,946 65%
- Susan Johnson (R) 39,542 35%

**4th (Stamford, Bridgeport)** (70%)
- J. Kantrowitz (D) 25,432 24%
- ✔Christopher Shays* (R) 78,092 74%
- Terry Nevas (O) 468 0%
- Irving Sussman (O) 1,384 1%

**5th (Waterbury, Danbury)** (50%)
- James Maloney (D) 42,230 46%
- Gary Franks* (R) 48,455 52%
- Roeita Rodriguez (O) 2,036 2%

**6th (New Britain)** (85%)
- Charlotte Koskoff (D) 47,091 33%
- ✔Nancy Johnson* (R) 87,179 62%
- Patrick Danford (O) 6,576 5%

## DELAWARE

**At-large** (93%)
- Carol DeSantis (D) 48,644 27%
- ✔Michael Castle* (R) 129,544 71%
- Danny Beaver (O) 3,640 2%
- Donald Hockmuth (O) 1,311 1%

## FLORIDA

**1st (western panhandle)** (54%)
- Vince Whibbs (D) 37,851 43%
- Joe Scarborough (R) 50,688 57%

**2nd (Tallahassee)** (71%)
- ✔Pete Peterson* (D) 80,904 64%
- Carole Griffin (R) 45,429 36%

**3rd (Orlando, Jacksonville)** (80%)
- ✔Corrine Brown* (D) 53,368 60%
- Marc Little (R) 35,373 40%

**4th (Jacksonville)**
- ✔Tillie Fowler* (R) Unopposed

**5th (north west coast)** (69%)
- Karen Thurman* (D) 74,645 56%
- Don Garlits (R) 58,189 44%

**6th (Jacksonville)**
- ✔Cliff Stearns* (R) Unopposed

**7th (Port Orange)** (58%)
- Edward Goddard (D) 24,294 28%
- John Mica* (R) 62,980 72%

**8th (Orlando)**
- ✔Bill McCollum* (R) Unopposed

**9th (Clearwater)**
- ✔M. Billrakis* (R) Unopposed

**10th (St. Petersburg)**
- ✔Bill Young* (R) Unopposed

**11th (Tampa)** (71%)
- Sam Gibbons* (D) 46,260 54%
- Mark Sharpe (R) 39,999 46%

**12th (Lakeland)** (39%)
- Robert Connors (D) 14,295 38%
- Charles Canady* (R) 23,517 62%

**13th (Sarasota, Bradenton)**
- ✔Dan Miller* (R) Unopposed

**14th (Fort Myers, Naples)**
- ✔Porter Goss* (R) Unopposed

**15th (Melbourne)** (31%)
- Sue Munsey (D) 21,262 44%
- Dave Weldon (R) 27,135 56%

**16th (Port St. Lucie)** (72%)
- John Comerford (D) 54,769 41%
- Mark Foley (R) 80,302 59%

**17th (north Dade County)**
- ✔Carrie Meek* (D) Unopposed

**18th (Miami)**
- ✔I. Ros-Lehtinen* (R) Unopposed

**19th (Boca Raton)** (48%)
- Harry Johnston* (D) 59,794 71%
- Peter Tsakanikas (R) 24,168 29%

**20th (Hollywood, the Keys)** (39%)
- Peter Deutsch* (D) 39,053 60%
- Beverly Kennedy (R) 26,212 40%

**21st (Hialeah)**
- ✔L. Diaz-Balart* (R) Unopposed

**22nd (coastal Broward County)** (58%)
- Hermine Wiener (D) 31,510 35%
- Clay Shaw* (R) 57,613 65%

**23rd (Palm Beach County)**
- ✔Alcee Hastings* (D) Unopposed

## GEORGIA

**1st (Brunswick, Waycross)** (56%)
- R. Beckworth (D) 14,225 27%
- ✔Jack Kingston* (R) 37,818 73%

**2nd (Macon, Valdosta)** (72%)
- ✔Sanford Bishop* (D) 38,213 66%
- John Clayton (R) 20,011 34%

**3rd (Griffin)** (52%)
- Fred Overby (D) 19,794 36%
- ✔Mac Collins* (R) 35,800 64%

**4th (Atlanta suburbs)** (53%)
- Comer Yates (D) 30,890 43%
- John Linder* (R) 40,779 57%

**5th (Atlanta)** (55%)
- ✔John Lewis* (D) 35,462 71%
- Dale Dixon (R) 14,163 29%

**6th (Roswell, Marietta)** (29%)
- Ben Jones (D) 12,586 40%
- Newt Gingrich* (R) 19,151 60%

**7th (Rome, Marietta)** (60%)
- George Darden* (D) 38,204 48%
- Bob Barr (R) 42,049 52%

**8th (Warner Robins)** (63%)
- Craig Mathis (D) 27,126 40%
- ✔Saxby Chambliss (R) 40,800 60%

**9th (Dalton, Gainesville)** (82%)
- ✔Nathan Deal* (D) 63,835 58%
- Robert Castello (R) 45,374 42%

**10th (Athens)** (75%)
- Don Johnson* (D) 36,630 35%
- ✔Charlie Norwood (R) 67,856 65%

**11th (Atlanta suburbs)** (58%)
- ✔Cynthia McKinney* (D) 25,598 58%
- Woodrow Lovett (R) 18,880 42%

## HAWAII

**1st (Honolulu)** (0%)
- Neil Abercrombie* (D) 0 0%
- Orson Swindle (R) 0 0%
- Alexandra Kaan (O) 0 0%
- Roger Taylor (O) 0 0%

**2nd (Honolulu)** (0%)
- Patsy Mink* (D) 0 0%
- Robert Garner (R) 0 0%
- Larry Bartley (O) 0 0%

## IDAHO

**1st (Boise, panhandle)** (0%)
- Larry LaRocco* (D) 0 0%
- Helen Chenoweth (R) 0 0%

**2nd (Idaho Falls, Twin Falls)** (0%)
- Penny Fletcher (D) 0 0%
- Mike Crapo* (R) 0 0%

## ILLINOIS

**1st (south Chicago)** (26%)
- Bobby Rush* (D) 22,585 59%
- William Kelly (R) 16,017 41%

**2nd (far south Chicago)**
- ✔Mel Reynolds* (D) Unopposed

**3rd (southwest Chicago)** (53%)
- William Lipinski* (D) 46,174 53%
- Jim Nalepa (R) 40,662 47%

**4th (north Chicago)** (25%)
- ✔Luis Gutierrez* (D) 10,800 71%
- Steven Valtierra (R) 4,308 29%

**5th (north Chicago)** (49%)
- D. Rostenkowski* (D) 28,423 43%
- Michael Flanagan (R) 38,136 57%

**6th (northwest Chicago)** (37%)
- Tom Berry (D) 12,664 25%
- ✔Henry Hyde* (R) 36,872 72%
- Robert Hogan (O) 770 2%
- Robert Wheat (O) 617 1%

**7th (downtown Chicago)** (40%)
- ✔Cardiss Collins* (D) 35,119 73%
- Charles Mobley (R) 13,309 27%

**8th (northwest Cook County)** (35%)
- Robert Walberg (D) 14,639 37%
- ✔Philip Crane* (R) 25,004 63%

**9th (Chicago lakefront)** (56%)
- ✔Sidney Yates* (D) 41,451 65%
- George Lamey (R) 22,412 35%

**10th (north Chicago suburbs)** (25%)
- Andrew Krupp (D) 8,200 24%
- ✔John Porter* (R) 26,292 76%

**11th (south Chicago suburbs)** (24%)
- Frank Giglio (D) 14,000 47%
- Gerald Weller (R) 15,710 53%

**12th (Carbondale)** (30%)
- Jerry Costello* (D) 25,418 67%
- Jan Morris (R) 12,789 33%

**13th (Naperville)** (20%)
- William Riley (D) 8,006 31%
- ✔Harris Fawell* (R) 17,570 69%

**14th (DeKalb, Elgin, Aurora)** (33%)
- Steve Denari (D) 8,141 25%
- ✔J. Hastert* (R) 24,647 75%

**15th (Champaign, Kankakee)** (16%)
- Paul Alexander (D) 4,877 28%
- Thomas Ewing* (R) 12,842 72%

**16th (Rockford, McHenry)** (19%)
- Pete Sullivan (D) 9,030 34%
- Donald Manzullo* (R) 17,347 66%

**17th (Rock Island, Moline)** (30%)
- Lane Evans* (D) 22,318 56%
- Jim Anderson (R) 17,604 44%

**18th (Peoria)** (27%)
- Douglas Stephens (D) 15,939 43%
- Ray LaHood (R) 21,222 57%

**19th (Decatur)** (37%)
- Glenn Poshard* (D) 32,184 58%
- Brent Winters (R) 23,193 42%

**20th (Springfield)** (30%)
- Richard Durbin* (D) 22,736 56%
- Bill Owens (R) 17,761 44%

## INDIANA

**1st (Lake County)** (63%)
- Peter Visclosky* (D) 37,636 59%
- John Larson (R) 26,242 41%

**2nd (Muncie, Anderson)** (63%)
- Joseph Hogsett (D) 47,719 46%
- David McIntosh (R) 56,647 54%

**3rd (South Bend, Elkhart)** (59%)
- Tim Roemer* (D) 40,907 56%
- Richard Burkett (R) 32,511 44%

**4th (Fort Wayne)** (70%)
- Jill Long* (D) 48,776 44%
- ✔Mark Souder (R) 62,576 56%

**5th (Kokomo)** (82%)
- J.D. Beatty (D) 35,675 28%
- ✔Steve Buyer* (R) 86,435 69%
- Clayton Alfred (O) 3,254 3%

**6th (Indianapolis suburbs)** (93%)
- Natalie Bruner (D) 37,289 23%
- ✔Dan Burton* (R) 125,442 77%

**7th (Terre Haute, Lafayette)** (88%)
- Michael Harmless (D) 50,002 36%
- ✔John Myers* (R) 89,808 64%

**8th (Evansville, Bloomington)** (47%)
- Frank McCloskey* (D) 38,706 46%
- John Hostettler (R) 45,078 54%

**9th (New Albany)** (67%)
- Lee Hamilton* (D) 60,613 52%
- Jean Leising (R) 54,911 48%

**10th (Indianapolis)** (98%)
- ✔Andrew Jacobs* (D) 54,333 53%
- Marvin Scott (R) 47,279 47%

## IOWA

**1st (Cedar Rapids, Davenport)** (2%)
- Glen Wineskauf (D) 5,837 45%
- Jim Leach* (R) 6,813 53%
- Michael Cuddehe (O) 105 1%
- Jan Zonneveld (O) 162 1%

**2nd (Waterloo, Dubuque)** (0%)
- Dave Nagle (D) 741 44%
- Jim Nussle* (R) 934 55%
- Albert Schoeman (O) 9 1%

**3rd (Ames, Burlington)** (0%)
- Elaine Baxter (D) 1,820 44%
- Jim Lightfoot* (R) 2,298 55%
- Derrick Grimmer (O) 50 1%

**4th (Des Moines, Council Bluffs)** (3%)
- Neal Smith* (D) 16,229 49%
- Greg Ganske (R) 16,752 50%
- Angela Lariscy (O) 97 0%
- William Oviatt (O) 97 0%
- Joshua Roberts (O) 107 0%

**5th (Sioux City, Fort Dodge)** (4%)
- Sheila McGuire (D) 5,804 40%
- Tom Latham (R) 8,843 60%

## KANSAS

**1st (Hutchinson, Dodge City)** (42%)
- Terry Nichols (D) 20,311 22%
- ✔Pat Roberts* (R) 70,791 78%

**2nd (Topeka, Lawrence)** (71%)
- John Carlin (D) 55,112 35%
- ✔Sam Brownback (R) 100,963 65%

**3rd (Kansas City)** (89%)
- Judy Hancock (D) 51,557 44%
- Jan Meyers* (R) 66,521 56%

**4th (Wichita)** (48%)
- Dan Glickman* (D) 48,893 48%
- Todd Tiahrt (R) 52,519 52%

## KENTUCKY

**1st (Paducah)** (100%)
- Tom Barlow* (D) 62,231 49%
- ✔Edward Whitfield (R) 64,669 51%

**2nd (Owensboro)** (100%)
- David Adkison (D) 60,787 40%
- ✔Ron Lewis* (R) 90,350 60%

**3rd (Louisville)** (100%)
- Mike Ward (D) 67,637 44%
- Susan Stokes (R) 67,210 44%
- Richard Lewis (O) 17,577 12%

**4th (Covington, Ashland)** (100%)
- Sally Skaggs (D) 33,669 26%
- ✔Jim Bunning* (R) 96,238 74%

**5th (Middlesboro, Pikeville)** (99%)
- Walter Blevins (D) 21,114 21%
- ✔Harold Rogers* (R) 81,204 79%

**6th (Lexington, Frankfort)** (100%)
- ✔Scotty Baesler* (D) 70,263 59%
- Matthew Wills (R) 49,085 41%

## LOUISIANA

Candidates who won a majority of votes in Oct. 1 open primary were elected.

**1st (Slidell, Metairie)**
- Bob Livingston (R) 81% in primary

**2nd (New Orleans)**
- Bill Jefferson (D) 78% in primary

**3rd (Houma, New Iberia)**
- Billy Tauzin (D) 76% in primary

**4th (Baton Rouge, Shreveport)**
- Cleo Fields (D) 70% in primary

**5th (Shreveport, Monroe)**
- Jim McCrery (R) 80% in primary

**6th (Baton Rouge, Alexandria)**
- Richard Baker (R) 81% in primary

**7th (Lafayette, Lake Charles)**
- Jimmy Hayes (D) 53% in primary

## MAINE

**1st (Portland, Augusta)** (10%)
- Dennis Dutremble (D) 13,649 49%
- James Longley (R) 13,956 51%

**2nd (Auburn, Bangor)** (16%)
- John Baldacci (D) 13,853 49%
- Richard Bennett (R) 10,706 38%
- Charles Fitzgerald (O) 1,286 5%
- John Michael (O) 2,519 9%

## MARYLAND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Eastern Shore) | | (76%) |
| Ralph Gies (D) | 43,143 | 32% |
| ✔Wayne Gilchrest* (R) | 90,855 | 68% |
| 2nd (Baltimore County) | | (47%) |
| Gerry Brewster (D) | 35,065 | 37% |
| ✔Robert Ehrlich (R) | 58,870 | 63% |
| 3rd (downtown Baltimore) | | (61%) |
| ✔Benjamin Cardin* (D) | 62,097 | 68% |
| Robert Tousey (R) | 28,647 | 32% |
| 4th (Silver Spring) | | (50%) |
| ✔Albert Wynn* (D) | 41,976 | 74% |
| Michele Dyson (R) | 14,911 | 26% |
| 5th (Pr. George's County) | | (71%) |
| ✔Steny Hoyer* (D) | 63,582 | 61% |
| Donald Devine (R) | 41,215 | 39% |
| 6th (Frederick, Hagerstown) | | (97%) |
| Paul Muldowney (D) | 59,221 | 34% |
| ✔Roscoe Bartlett* (R) | 114,690 | 66% |
| 7th (Baltimore) | | (59%) |
| ✔Kweisi Mfume* (D) | 48,259 | 83% |
| Kenneth Kondner (R) | 9,820 | 17% |
| 8th (Montgomery County) | | (53%) |
| Steven Van Grack (D) | 32,090 | 30% |
| ✔Constance Morella* (R) | 73,211 | 70% |

## MASSACHUSETTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Amherst) | | |
| ✔John Olver* (D) | Unopposed | |
| 2nd (Springfield, Sturbridge) | | (44%) |
| ✔Richard Neal* (D) | 38,469 | 61% |
| John M. Briare (R) | 21,584 | 34% |
| Kate Ross (O) | 3,143 | 5% |
| 3rd (Worcester, coastal cities) | | (24%) |
| Kevin O'Sullivan (D) | 18,613 | 42% |
| Peter Blute* (R) | 24,951 | 57% |
| 4th (Newton, New Bedford) | | |
| ✔Barney Frank* (D) | Unopposed | |
| 5th (Lawrence, Lowell) | | (22%) |
| ✔Martin Meehan* (D) | 29,934 | 70% |
| David Coleman (R) | 12,576 | 30% |
| 6th (Lynn, Peabody) | | (43%) |
| John Tierney (D) | 47,622 | 48% |
| Peter Torkildsen* (R) | 49,238 | 50% |
| Benjamin Gatchell (O) | 2,196 | 2% |
| 7th (Framingham, Revere) | | (36%) |
| ✔Edward Markey* (D) | 45,663 | 65% |
| Brad Bailey (R) | 24,991 | 35% |
| 8th (Cambridge, Somerville) | | |
| ✔Joseph Kennedy* (D) | Unopposed | |
| 9th (Boston) | | (36%) |
| ✔Joe Moakley* (D) | 49,380 | 70% |
| Michael Murphy (R) | 21,149 | 30% |
| 10th (Cape Cod) | | (30%) |
| ✔Gerry Studds* (D) | 48,255 | 68% |
| Keith Hamson (R) | 21,383 | 32% |

## MICHIGAN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (upper peninsula) | | (9%) |
| Bart Stupak* (D) | 11,732 | 58% |
| Gil Ziegler (R) | 8,219 | 41% |
| Michael McPeak (O) | 283 | 1% |
| 2nd (Muskegon) | | (33%) |
| Marcus Hoover (D) | 16,815 | 21% |
| ✔Peter Hoekstra* (R) | 60,767 | 78% |
| Lu Wiggins (O) | 820 | 1% |
| 3rd (Grand Rapids) | | (35%) |
| Betsy Flory (D) | 15,157 | 25% |
| ✔Vernon Ehlers* (R) | 44,655 | 73% |
| Barrie Konicov (O) | 1,049 | 2% |
| Susan Normandin (O) | 648 | 1% |
| 4th (Midland) | | (26%) |
| Damion Frasier (D) | 13,329 | 25% |
| ✔Dave Camp* (R) | 39,832 | 74% |
| Michael Lee (O) | 902 | 2% |
| 5th (Bay City, Saginaw) | | (9%) |
| James Barcia* (D) | 14,312 | 72% |
| William Anderson (R) | 5,321 | 27% |
| Susan Arnold (O) | 127 | 1% |
| Larry Fairchild (O) | 181 | 1% |
| 6th (Benton Harbor) | | (13%) |
| David Taylor (D) | 5,946 | 25% |
| Fred Upton* (R) | 16,747 | 73% |
| E.A. Berker (O) | 297 | 1% |
| 7th (Battle Creek, Jackson) | | (24%) |
| Kim McCaughtry (D) | 15,939 | 35% |
| ✔Nick Smith* (R) | 28,348 | 62% |
| Kenneth Proctor (O) | 872 | 2% |
| Scott Williamson (O) | 262 | 1% |
| 8th (Lansing) | | (1%) |
| Bob Mitchell (D) | 1,094 | 30% |
| Dick Chrysler (R) | 2,405 | 66% |
| Susan McPeak (O) | 45 | 1% |
| Gerald Turcotte (O) | 83 | 2% |
| 9th (Flint, Pontiac) | | (8%) |
| Dale Kildee* (D) | 5,424 | 41% |
| Megan O'Neill (R) | 7,820 | 58% |
| Karen Blasdell (O) | 205 | 2% |
| 10th (Port Huron) | | (12%) |
| David Bonior* (D) | 13,039 | 64% |
| Donald Lobsinger (R) | 7,374 | 36% |
| 11th (Oakland County) | | (36%) |
| Mike Breshgold (D) | 19,674 | 32% |
| ✔J. Knollenberg* (R) | 41,774 | 67% |
| John Hocking (O) | 885 | 1% |
| 12th (Warren, Sterling Heights) | | (11%) |
| Sander Levin* (D) | 8,766 | 54% |
| J. Pappageorge (R) | 7,316 | 45% |
| Eric Anderson (O) | 82 | 1% |
| Jerome White (O) | 88 | 1% |
| 13th (Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti) | | (30%) |
| Lynn Rivers (D) | 32,163 | 57% |
| John Schall (R) | 22,843 | 40% |
| Helen Halyard (O) | 395 | 1% |
| Gail Petrosoff (O) | 167 | 0% |
| Craig Seymour (O) | 1,027 | 2% |
| 14th (Harper Woods, Highland) | | (3%) |
| John Conyers* (D) | 1,792 | 25% |
| Richard Fournier (R) | 5,240 | 74% |
| Richard Miller (O) | 73 | 1% |
| 15th (Grosse Pt., Hamtramck) | | (3%) |
| B. Rose Collins* (D) | 1,834 | 24% |
| John Savage (R) | 5,718 | 75% |
| Henry Clark (O) | 57 | 1% |
| Cynthia Jaquith (O) | 43 | 1% |
| Larry Roberts (O) | 16 | 0% |
| 16th (southeast Wayne County) | | (16%) |
| John Dingell* (D) | 18,804 | 59% |
| Ken Larkin (R) | 13,097 | 41% |
| Noha Hamze (O) | 185 | 1% |

## MINNESOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Rochester) | | (5%) |
| John Hottinger (D) | 7,058 | 39% |
| Gil Gutknecht (R) | 11,076 | 61% |
| 2nd (Willmar) | | (5%) |
| David Minge* (D) | 3,996 | 57% |
| Gary Revier (R) | 2,848 | 41% |
| Stan Bentz (O) | 145 | 2% |
| 3rd (Bloomington, Minnetonka) | | (7%) |
| Bob Olson (D) | 3,786 | 25% |
| ✔Jim Ramstad* (R) | 11,315 | 75% |
| 4th (St. Paul) | | (44%) |
| ✔Bruce Vento* (D) | 46,744 | 59% |
| Dennis Newinski (R) | 29,234 | 37% |
| Dan Vacek (O) | 3,887 | 5% |
| 5th (Minneapolis) | | (44%) |
| ✔Martin Sabo* (D) | 51,907 | 65% |
| Dorothy LeGrand (R) | 28,390 | 35% |
| 6th (Brooklyn Park, Plymouth) | | (22%) |
| William Luther (D) | 23,563 | 52% |
| Tad Jude (R) | 21,975 | 48% |
| 7th (St. Cloud) | | (4%) |
| Collin Peterson* (D) | 1,936 | 63% |
| Bernie Omann (R) | 1,128 | 37% |
| 8th (Duluth) | | (7%) |
| ✔James Oberstar* (D) | 11,060 | 67% |
| Phil Herwig (R) | 5,503 | 33% |

## MISSISSIPPI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Clarksdale) | | (52%) |
| Bill Wheeler (D) | 24,530 | 40% |
| Roger Wicker (R) | 37,380 | 60% |
| 2nd (Mississippi Delta) | | (66%) |
| Bennie Thompson* (D) | 39,881 | 49% |
| Bill Jordan (R) | 34,751 | 43% |
| Vince Thornton (O) | 6,653 | 8% |
| 3rd (Meridian) | | (64%) |
| ✔G.V. Montgomery* (D) | 50,662 | 68% |
| Dutch Dabbs (R) | 24,240 | 32% |
| 4th (Jackson) | | (46%) |
| ✔Mike Parker* (D) | 34,854 | 70% |
| Mike Wood (R) | 14,862 | 30% |
| 5th (Hattiesburg) | | (62%) |
| ✔Gene Taylor* (D) | 40,236 | 62% |
| George Bartos (R) | 24,925 | 38% |

## MISSOURI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (north St. Louis) | | (62%) |
| ✔William Clay* (D) | 38,960 | 61% |
| Donald Counts (R) | 22,286 | 35% |
| Craig Williamson (O) | 2,299 | 4% |
| 2nd (western St. Louis County) | | (33%) |
| Pat Kelly (D) | 26,348 | 30% |
| ✔James Talent* (R) | 60,147 | 68% |
| Jim Higgins (O) | 1,680 | 2% |
| 3rd (south St. Louis) | | (58%) |
| ✔Richard Gephardt* (D) | 39,168 | 58% |
| Gary Gill (R) | 27,448 | 40% |
| Bradley Ems (O) | 1,456 | 2% |
| 4th (Jefferson City) | | (55%) |
| ✔Ike Skelton* (D) | 72,909 | 66% |
| James Noland (R) | 37,006 | 34% |
| 5th (Kansas City) | | (50%) |
| Karen McCarthy (D) | 64,444 | 56% |
| Ron Freeman (R) | 49,909 | 44% |
| 6th (St. Joseph) | | (57%) |
| ✔Patsy Danner* (D) | 83,501 | 67% |
| Tina Tucker (R) | 41,480 | 33% |
| 7th (Springfield, Joplin) | | (41%) |
| James Fossard (D) | 21,733 | 39% |
| Melton Hancock* (R) | 37,083 | 61% |
| Doug Burlison (O) | 1,808 | 3% |
| 8th (Cape Girardeau) | | (72%) |
| James Thompson (D) | 33,301 | 27% |
| ✔Bill Emerson* (R) | 86,304 | 70% |
| Greg Tlapek (O) | 3,894 | 3% |
| 9th (Columbia) | | (48%) |
| Harold Volkmer* (D) | 46,805 | 49% |
| Kenny Hulshof (R) | 44,223 | 46% |
| Mitchell Moore (O) | 4,618 | 5% |

## MONTANA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (north St. Louis) | | (8%) |
| Pat Williams* (D) | 18,178 | 51% |
| Cy Jamison (R) | 14,630 | 41% |
| Steve Kelly (O) | 3,158 | 9% |

## NEBRASKA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Lincoln) | | (35%) |
| Patrick Combs (D) | 18,615 | 39% |
| ✔Doug Bereuter* (R) | 29,581 | 61% |
| 2nd (Omaha) | | (48%) |
| Peter Hoagland* (D) | 38,134 | 48% |
| Jon Christensen (R) | 41,315 | 52% |
| 3rd (Grand Island) | | (12%) |
| Gil Chapin (D) | 6,643 | 22% |
| ✔Bill Barrett* (R) | 22,910 | 78% |

## NEVADA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Las Vegas) | | (0%) |
| James Bilbray* (D) | 6,926 | 50% |
| John Ensign (R) | 6,502 | 47% |
| 2nd (Reno) | | (0%) |
| Janet Greeson (D) | 1,569 | 27% |
| B. Vucanovich* (R) | 4,056 | 69% |
| Lois Avery (O) | 87 | 1% |
| Thomas Jefferson (O) | 185 | 3% |

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Manchester) | | (57%) |
| Bill Varga (D) | 24,617 | 30% |
| ✔Bill Zeliff* (R) | 53,603 | 65% |
| Merle Braley (O) | 295 | 0% |
| Paul Lannon (O) | 1,943 | 2% |
| Scott Tosti (O) | 2,140 | 3% |
| 2nd (Concord, Nashua) | | (65%) |
| Dick Swett* (D) | 37,819 | 47% |
| Charles Bass (R) | 40,787 | 50% |
| John Lewicke (O) | 1,520 | 2% |
| John Spitzfaden (O) | 684 | 1% |

## NEW JERSEY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Camden) | | (41%) |
| ✔Robert Andrews* (D) | 39,995 | 73% |
| James Hogan (R) | 14,560 | 27% |
| 2nd (Atlantic City, Vineland) | | (41%) |
| Louis Magazzu (D) | 21,385 | 35% |
| ✔Frank LoBiondo (R) | 40,304 | 65% |
| 3rd (Cherry Hill) | | (67%) |
| James Smith (D) | 31,592 | 31% |
| ✔Jim Saxton* (R) | 69,019 | 67% |
| Arthur Croce (O) | 788 | 1% |
| D. James Hill (O) | 2,132 | 2% |
| 4th (Trenton) | | (50%) |
| Ralph Walsh (D) | 18,902 | 33% |
| ✔Christopher Smith* (R) | 37,385 | 65% |
| Arnold Kokans (O) | 210 | 0% |
| Leonard Marshall (O) | 626 | 1% |
| 5th (Ridgewood) | | (52%) |
| Bill Auer (D) | 21,886 | 22% |
| ✔Marge Roukema* (R) | 78,107 | 77% |
| Roger Bacon (O) | 322 | 0% |
| Helen Hamilton (O) | 58 | 0% |
| William Leonard (O) | 433 | 0% |
| 6th (Long Branch, Asbury Park) | | (4%) |
| Frank Pallone* (D) | 5,484 | 57% |
| Mike Henson (R) | 3,925 | 41% |
| Charles Dickson (O) | 52 | 1% |
| Richard Quinn (O) | 50 | 1% |
| Gary Rich (O) | 58 | 1% |
| 7th (Woodbridge, Central) | | (10%) |
| Karen Carrol (D) | 6,084 | 32% |
| ✔Bob Franks* (R) | 12,445 | 66% |
| James Cleary (O) | 172 | 1% |
| Claire Greene (O) | 46 | 0% |
| 8th (Paterson) | | (45%) |
| Herbert Klein* (D) | 31,055 | 52% |
| Bill Martini (R) | 27,702 | 46% |
| Bernard George (O) | 892 | 1% |
| 9th (Fort Lee, Hackensack) | | (83%) |
| ✔Robert Torricelli* (D) | 78,761 | 63% |
| Peter Russo (R) | 46,131 | 37% |
| Kenneth Ebel (O) | 204 | 0% |
| Gregory Pason (O) | 248 | 0% |
| 10th (Newark, Jersey City) | | (49%) |
| ✔Donald Payne* (D) | 37,548 | 82% |
| Jim Ford (R) | 7,282 | 16% |
| Rose Monyek (O) | 505 | 1% |
| Maurice Williams (O) | 345 | 1% |
| 11th (Morris County) | | (54%) |
| Frank Herbert (D) | 27,132 | 29% |
| ✔R. Frelinghuysen (R) | 66,501 | 70% |
| Stuart Bacha (O) | 269 | 0% |
| Mary Fruehotz (O) | 897 | 1% |
| 12th (Flemington, Princeton) | | (39%) |
| Joseph Youssouf (D) | 21,268 | 30% |
| ✔Dick Zimmer* (R) | 47,996 | 69% |
| A. Provenzano (O) | 684 | 1% |
| 13th (Newark, Elizabeth) | | (82%) |
| ✔Robert Menendez* (D) | 46,379 | 73% |
| Fernando Alonso (R) | 14,726 | 23% |
| Steven Marshall (O) | 713 | 1% |
| Frank Rubino (O) | 540 | 1% |
| Herbert Shaw (O) | 895 | 1% |

## NEW MEXICO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Albuquerque) | | (23%) |
| Peter Zollinger (D) | 11,615 | 26% |
| ✔Steven Schiff* (R) | 33,350 | 74% |
| 2nd (Las Cruces, Roswell) | | (41%) |
| Benjamin Chavez (D) | 16,230 | 31% |
| ✔Joe Skeen* (R) | 33,171 | 64% |
| Rex Johnson (O) | 2,498 | 5% |
| 3rd (Farmington, Santa Fe) | | (27%) |
| ✔Bill Richardson* (D) | 25,591 | 61% |
| Gregg Bemis (R) | 15,079 | 36% |
| Ed Nagel (O) | 1,176 | 3% |

## NEW YORK

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Brookhaven, Smithtown) | | (0%) |
| G. Hochbruckner* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Michael Forbes (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 2nd (Islip, Babylon) | | (0%) |
| James Mantre (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Rick Lazio* (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Alice Ross (O) | 0 | 0% |
| 3rd (Hicksville, Massapequa) | | (3%) |
| Norma Gril (D) | 1,096 | 34% |
| Peter King* (R) | 2,082 | 65% |
| John DePrima (O) | 29 | 1% |
| 4th (Hampstead, Mineola) | | (0%) |
| Philip Schiliro (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Daniel Frisa (R) | 0 | 0% |
| David Levy* (O) | 0 | 0% |
| Vincent Garbitelli (O) | 0 | 0% |
| Robert Berkowitz (O) | 0 | 0% |
| 5th (northeast Queens) | | (12%) |
| Gary Ackerman* (D) | 7,868 | 66% |
| Grant Lally (R) | 4,004 | 33% |
| Edward Elkowitz (O) | 124 | 1% |
| 6th (Jamaica) | | (14%) |
| Floyd Flake* (D) | 7,409 | 65% |
| Denny Bhagwandin (R) | 3,998 | 35% |
| 7th (parts of Queens, the Bronx) | | (31%) |
| ✔Thomas Manton* (D) | 17,486 | 87% |
| Robert Hurley (O) | 2,597 | 13% |
| 8th (west side Manhattan) | | (39%) |
| ✔Jerrold Nadler* (D) | 41,502 | 83% |
| David Askren (R) | 7,379 | 15% |
| Margaret Byrnes (O) | 1,013 | 2% |
| 9th (Sheepshead Bay) | | (22%) |
| Charles Schumer* (D) | 19,668 | 72% |
| James McCall (R) | 7,720 | 28% |
| 10th (Bedford-Stuyvesant) | | (20%) |
| Edolphus Towns* (D) | 12,305 | 88% |
| Amelia Parker (R) | 1,341 | 10% |
| Mildred Mahoney (O) | 265 | 2% |
| 11th (central Brooklyn) | | (22%) |
| Major Owens* (D) | 10,278 | 91% |
| Gary Popkin (R) | 884 | 8% |
| Michael Gaffney (O) | 141 | 1% |
| 12th (Manhattan east side) | | (29%) |
| Nydia Velazquez* (D) | 10,328 | 92% |
| Genevieve Brennan (O) | 702 | 6% |
| Eric Ruano-Melendez (O) | 178 | 2% |
| 13th (Staten Island) | | (24%) |
| Tyrone Butler (D) | 6,791 | 26% |
| Susan Molinari* (R) | 18,907 | 71% |
| Elisa Disimone (O) | 865 | 3% |
| 14th (Manhattan east side) | | (37%) |
| Carolyn Maloney* (D) | 32,485 | 66% |
| Charles Millard (R) | 16,399 | 33% |
| Thomas Leighton (O) | 565 | 1% |
| 15th (Harlem) | | (49%) |
| ✔Charles Rangel* (D) | 34,300 | 97% |
| Jose Suero (O) | 1,231 | 3% |
| 16th (south Bronx) | | (50%) |
| ✔Jose Serrano* (D) | 29,012 | 98% |
| Michael Walters (O) | 634 | 2% |
| 17th (north Bronx, Yonkers) | | (45%) |
| ✔Eliot Engel* (D) | 29,733 | 73% |
| Edward Marshall (R) | 7,500 | 18% |
| Kevin Brawley (O) | 2,507 | 6% |
| Ann Noonan (O) | 1,053 | 3% |
| 18th (White Plains) | | (49%) |
| Nita Lowey* (D) | 43,463 | 55% |
| Andrew Hartzell (R) | 33,736 | 43% |
| Florence O'Grady (O) | 1,404 | 2% |
| 19th (Poughkeepsie) | | (30%) |
| Hamilton Fish (D) | 22,114 | 40% |
| Sue Kelly (R) | 27,258 | 49% |
| Joseph DioGuardi (O) | 5,972 | 11% |
| C. Portman-Laux (O) | 410 | 1% |
| 20th (Rockland, Westchester) | | (29%) |
| Gregory Julian (D) | 14,456 | 35% |
| Benjamin Gilman* (R) | 25,527 | 62% |
| Lois Colandrea (O) | 1,214 | 3% |
| 21st (Albany, Schenectady) | | (1%) |
| Michael McNulty* (D) | 451 | 62% |
| Joseph Gomez (R) | 200 | 28% |
| Timothy Wood (O) | 75 | 10% |
| 22nd (Saratoga Springs) | | (9%) |
| Robert Lawrence (D) | 4,716 | 27% |
| Gerald Solomon* (R) | 12,900 | 73% |
| 23rd (Utica, Rome) | | (17%) |
| Charles Skaele (D) | 6,969 | 23% |
| S. Boehlert* (R) | 21,302 | 71% |
| Donald Thomas (O) | 1,779 | 6% |
| 24th (Watertown, Plattsburgh) | | (27%) |
| Danny Francis (D) | 7,904 | 19% |
| John McHugh* (R) | 34,056 | 81% |
| 25th (Syracuse) | | (37%) |
| Rhea Jezer (D) | 30,880 | 44% |
| James Walsh* (R) | 39,351 | 56% |
| 26th (Binghamton, Kingston) | | (20%) |
| Maurice Hinchey* (D) | 16,390 | 47% |
| Bob Moppert (R) | 17,127 | 49% |
| Thomas Kovach (O) | 1,159 | 3% |
| 27th (Buffalo) | | (19%) |
| William Long (D) | 9,244 | 25% |
| Bill Paxon* (R) | 27,343 | 75% |
| 28th (Rochester) | | (0%) |
| Louise Slaughter* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Renee Davison (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Johann Clendenin (O) | 0 | 0% |
| 29th (Niagara Falls) | | (16%) |
| John La Falce* (D) | 16,322 | 59% |
| William Miller (R) | 10,647 | 39% |
| 30th (Buffalo) | | (28%) |
| David Franczyk (D) | 15,433 | 33% |
| Jack Quinn* (R) | 32,049 | 67% |
| 31st (Jamestown, Elmira) | | (21%) |
| Amo Houghton* (R) | 15,001 | 85% |
| Gretchen McManus (O) | 2,739 | 15% |

## NORTH CAROLINA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Rocky Mount, Greenville) | | (58%) |
| ✔Eva Clayton* (D) | 37,025 | 60% |
| Ted Tyler (R) | 24,339 | 40% |
| 2nd (Durham, Rocky Mount) | | (60%) |
| Richard Moore (D) | 48,932 | 45% |
| ✔David Funderburk (R) | 58,626 | 55% |
| 3rd (Outer Banks) | | (40%) |
| Martin Lancaster* (D) | 20,239 | 45% |
| Walter Jones (R) | 24,990 | 55% |
| 4th (Raleigh, Chapel Hill) | | (85%) |
| David Price* (D) | 60,838 | 51% |
| F. Heineman (R) | 58,333 | 49% |
| 5th (Winston-Salem) | | (65%) |
| Sandy Sands (D) | 40,215 | 42% |
| ✔Richard Burr (R) | 56,462 | 58% |
| 6th (Greensboro) | | |
| ✔Howard Coble* (R) | Unopposed | |
| 7th (Fayetteville) | | (57%) |
| Charles Rose* (D) | 27,722 | 52% |
| Robert Anderson (R) | 25,299 | 48% |
| 8th (Kannapolis) | | (61%) |
| Bill Hefner* (D) | 37,807 | 51% |
| Sherrill Morgan (R) | 36,785 | 49% |
| 9th (Charlotte) | | (23%) |
| Rory Blake (D) | 8,909 | 34% |
| ✔Sue Myrick (R) | 16,951 | 66% |
| 10th (Hickory, Lincolnton) | | (62%) |
| Robert Avery (D) | 23,690 | 27% |
| ✔Cass Ballenger* (R) | 63,839 | 73% |
| 11th (Asheville) | | (41%) |
| Maggie Lauterer (D) | 25,540 | 38% |
| Charles Taylor* (R) | 42,149 | 62% |
| 12th (I-85 corridor) | | (47%) |
| ✔Melvin Watt* (D) | 27,610 | 62% |
| Joe Martino (R) | 16,603 | 38% |

## NORTH DAKOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At-large | | (19%) |
| Earl Pomeroy* (D) | 17,952 | 53% |
| Gary Porter (R) | 14,675 | 44% |
| James Germalic (O) | 939 | 3% |

## OHIO

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (western Cincinnati) | | (49%) |
| David Mann* (D) | 35,676 | 44% |
| Steve Chabot (R) | 45,892 | 56% |
| 2nd (eastern Cincinnati) | | (60%) |
| Les Mann (D) | 24,809 | 23% |
| ✔Rob Portman* (R) | 83,400 | 77% |
| 3rd (Dayton) | | (32%) |
| ✔Tony Hall* (D) | 27,413 | 67% |
| David Westbrock (R) | 13,257 | 33% |
| 4th (Mansfield, Lima) | | |
| ✔Michael Oxley* (R) | Unopposed | |
| 5th (Bowling Green, Sandusky) | | (85%) |
| Jarrod Tudor (D) | 40,401 | 27% |
| ✔Paul Gillmor* (R) | 110,717 | 73% |
| 6th (Chillicothe, Marietta) | | (73%) |
| Ted Strickland* (D) | 59,194 | 49% |
| Frank Cremeans (R) | 62,394 | 51% |
| 7th (Springfield, Lancaster) | | |
| ✔Dave Hobson* (R) | Unopposed | |
| 8th (Hamilton, Middletown) | | |
| ✔John Boehner* (R) | Unopposed | |
| 9th (Toledo) | | (66%) |
| ✔Marcy Kaptur* (D) | 67,796 | 72% |
| Randy Whitman (R) | 26,620 | 28% |
| 10th (west Cleveland) | | (28%) |
| Francis Gaul (D) | 22,906 | 41% |
| ✔Martin Hoke* (R) | 28,468 | 50% |
| Joseph Jacobs (O) | 5,132 | 9% |
| 11th (east Cleveland) | | (18%) |
| ✔Louis Stokes* (D) | 22,491 | 74% |
| James Sykora (R) | 7,880 | 26% |
| 12th (eastern Columbus) | | (60%) |
| Cynthia Ruccia (D) | 34,860 | 39% |
| ✔John Kasich* (R) | 54,420 | 61% |
| 13th (northeast) | | (40%) |
| Sherrod Brown* (D) | 31,707 | 48% |
| Gregory White (R) | 29,781 | 46% |
| Howard Mason (O) | 3,054 | 5% |
| John Ryan (O) | 848 | 1% |
| 14th (Akron) | | (37%) |
| ✔Thomas Sawyer* (D) | 37,839 | 58% |
| Lynn Slaby (R) | 27,341 | 42% |
| 15th (western Columbus) | | (83%) |
| Bill Buckel (D) | 34,842 | 30% |
| ✔Deborah Pryce* (R) | 82,307 | 70% |
| 16th (Canton) | | (27%) |
| Michael Finn (D) | 10,529 | 25% |
| ✔Ralph Regula* (R) | 31,888 | 75% |
| 17th (Youngstown) | | (76%) |
| ✔James Traficant* (D) | 115,641 | 78% |
| Mike Meister (R) | 32,883 | 22% |
| 18th (Steubenville, Zanesville) | | (64%) |
| Greg DiDonato (D) | 51,845 | 46% |
| Bob Ney (R) | 60,686 | 54% |
| 19th (Ashtabula, Painesville) | | (39%) |
| Eric Fingerhut* (D) | 37,902 | 37% |
| Steven LaTourette (R) | 55,090 | 54% |
| Jerome Brentar (O) | 2,584 | 3% |
| Ronald Young (O) | 6,728 | 7% |

## OKLAHOMA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Tulsa) | | (60%) |
| Stuart Price (D) | 38,993 | 37% |
| ✔Steve Largent (R) | 65,923 | 63% |
| 2nd (Muskogee) | | (94%) |
| Virgil Cooper (D) | 71,244 | 48% |
| ✔Tom Coburn (R) | 77,820 | 52% |
| 3rd (Stillwater) | | (95%) |
| ✔Bill Brewster* (D) | 111,047 | 74% |
| Darrel Tallant (R) | 39,433 | 26% |
| 4th (Oklahoma City) | | (96%) |
| David Perryman (D) | 64,978 | 43% |
| ✔J.C. Watts (R) | 77,224 | 52% |
| 5th (Oklahoma City) | | (83%) |
| ✔Ernest Istook* (R) | 113,775 | 78% |
| Tommy Keith (O) | 32,233 | 22% |
| 6th (panhandle) | | (89%) |
| Jeffrey Tollett (D) | 36,785 | 28% |
| ✔Frank Lucas* (R) | 95,746 | 72% |

## OREGON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (western Portland) | | (0%) |
| Elizabeth Furse* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Bill Witt (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Brewster Gillett (O) | 0 | 0% |
| Daniel Wilson (O) | 0 | 0% |
| 2nd (Medford, Bend) | | (0%) |
| Sue Kupillas (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Wes Cooley (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Gary Sublett (O) | 0 | 0% |
| 3rd (eastern Portland) | | (0%) |
| Ron Wyden* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Everett Hall (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Mark Brunelle (O) | 0 | 0% |
| Gene Nanni (O) | 0 | 0% |
| 4th (Eugene) | | (0%) |
| Peter DeFazio* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| John Newkirk (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 5th (Pacific Coast, Salem) | | (0%) |
| Catherine Webber (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Jim Bunn (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Jon Zimmer (O) | 0 | 0% |

## PENNSYLVANIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (south, central Philadelphia) | | (90%) |
| ✔Thomas Foglietta* (D) | 87,902 | 80% |
| Roger Gordon (R) | 21,809 | 20% |
| 2nd (west Philadelphia) | | (89%) |
| ✔Chaka Fattah (D) | 103,947 | 85% |
| Lawrence Watson (R) | 17,911 | 15% |
| 3rd (northeast Philadelphia) | | (98%) |
| ✔Robert Borski* (D) | 91,246 | 63% |
| James Hasher (R) | 54,367 | 37% |
| 4th (Beaver County) | | (52%) |
| ✔Ron Klink* (D) | 56,784 | 67% |
| Ed Peglow (R) | 28,228 | 33% |
| 5th (State College) | | |
| ✔William Clinger* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 6th (Reading) | | (43%) |
| ✔Tim Holden* (D) | 36,373 | 55% |
| Frederick Levering (R) | 29,630 | 45% |
| 7th (suburban Philadelphia) | | (44%) |
| Sarah Nichols (D) | 25,773 | 29% |
| ✔Curt Weldon* (R) | 61,965 | 71% |
| 8th (Bucks County) | | (47%) |
| John Murray (D) | 20,303 | 25% |
| ✔Jim Greenwood* (R) | 54,953 | 68% |
| Robert Cash (O) | 1,787 | 2% |
| Jay Russell (O) | 3,356 | 4% |
| 9th (Altoona) | | |
| ✔Bud Shuster* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 10th (Scranton) | | (74%) |
| Daniel Schreffler (D) | 35,582 | 32% |
| ✔Joseph McDade* (R) | 72,544 | 65% |
| Albert Smith (O) | 3,046 | 3% |
| 11th (Wilkes-Barre) | | (78%) |
| ✔Paul Kanjorski* (D) | 75,237 | 69% |
| Andrew Podolak (R) | 33,505 | 31% |
| 12th (Johnstown) | | (43%) |
| ✔John Murtha* (D) | 45,594 | 67% |
| William Choby (R) | 22,823 | 33% |
| 13th (The Main Line) | | (55%) |
| M. Mar.-Mezvinsky* (D) | 48,054 | 45% |
| Jon Fox (R) | 53,491 | 50% |
| Lee Hustead (O) | 4,038 | 4% |
| Frank Szabo (O) | 1,771 | 2% |
| 14th (Pittsburgh) | | (92%) |
| ✔William Coyne* (D) | 97,117 | 64% |
| John Clark (R) | 48,713 | 32% |
| Paul Scherrer (O) | 1,826 | 1% |
| Edward Stewart (O) | 3,412 | 2% |
| 15th (Allentown, Bethlehem) | | (92%) |
| Paul McHale* (D) | 64,889 | 48% |
| James Yeager (R) | 62,766 | 47% |
| Victor Mazziotti (O) | 6,925 | 5% |
| 16th (Lancaster) | | (35%) |
| William Chertok (D) | 13,923 | 31% |
| ✔Robert Walker* (R) | 31,583 | 69% |
| 17th (Harrisburg) | | |
| ✔George Gekas* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 18th (Pittsburgh suburbs) | | (97%) |
| ✔Michael Doyle (D) | 97,937 | 55% |
| John McCarty (R) | 80,847 | 45% |
| 19th (York) | | |
| ✔William Goodling* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 20th (Monongahela Valley) | | (50%) |
| Frank Mascara (D) | 42,626 | 48% |
| Michael McCormick (R) | 45,863 | 52% |
| 21st (Erie) | | (50%) |
| Bill Leavens (D) | 42,614 | 48% |
| Philip English (R) | 43,884 | 49% |
| Arthur Drew (O) | 2,867 | 3% |

## RHODE ISLAND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Providence, Pawtucket) | | (24%) |
| Patrick Kennedy (D) | 13,651 | 57% |
| Kevin Vigilante (R) | 10,226 | 43% |
| 2nd (Providence, Warwick) | | (25%) |
| ✔John Reed* (D) | 15,826 | 73% |
| John Elliot (R) | 5,842 | 27% |

## SOUTH CAROLINA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Myrtle Beach) | | (91%) |
| Robert Barber (D) | 41,201 | 32% |
| ✔Mark Sanford (R) | 86,497 | 67% |
| Robert Payne (O) | 1,698 | 1% |
| 2nd (Hilton Head) | | |
| ✔Floyd Spence* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 3rd (Anderson) | | (64%) |
| James Bryan (D) | 33,788 | 37% |
| ✔Lindsey Graham (R) | 57,113 | 63% |
| 4th (Greenville, Spartanburg) | | (71%) |
| Jerry Fowler (D) | 27,627 | 28% |
| ✔Bob Inglis* (R) | 71,294 | 72% |
| 5th (Rock Hill) | | (49%) |
| John Spratt* (D) | 29,401 | 53% |
| Larry Bigham (R) | 25,961 | 47% |
| 6th (Columbia, Charleston) | | (53%) |
| ✔James Clyburn* (D) | 60,412 | 67% |
| Gary McLeod (R) | 29,201 | 33% |

## SOUTH DAKOTA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At-large | | (6%) |
| ✔Tim Johnson* (D) | 14,804 | 65% |
| Jan Berkhout (R) | 7,076 | 31% |
| Ronald Wieczorek (O) | 853 | 4% |

## TENNESSEE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Tri-cities) | | (74%) |
| Carr Christian (D) | 22,767 | 24% |
| ✔James Quillen* (R) | 69,826 | 74% |
| George Mauer (O) | 2,350 | 2% |
| 2nd (Knoxville) | | (87%) |
| ✔John Duncan* (R) | 96,456 | 91% |
| Randon Krieg (O) | 5,112 | 5% |
| Greg Samples (O) | 4,762 | 4% |
| 3rd (Chattanooga, Oak Ridge) | | (57%) |
| Randy Button (D) | 38,991 | 49% |
| Zach Wamp (R) | 39,723 | 50% |
| Thomas Morrell (O) | 890 | 1% |
| Richard Sims (O) | 473 | 1% |
| 4th (Shelbyville) | | (88%) |
| Jeff Whorley (D) | 52,830 | 42% |
| ✔Van Hilleary (R) | 72,342 | 57% |
| Patrick Lyons (O) | 1,735 | 1% |
| 5th (Nashville) | | (92%) |
| ✔Bob Clement* (D) | 73,640 | 61% |
| John Osborne (R) | 46,034 | 38% |
| Lloyd Botway (O) | 807 | 1% |
| Chuck Lokey (O) | 525 | 0% |
| 6th (Murfreesboro) | | (92%) |
| Bart Gordon* (D) | 79,516 | 51% |
| Steve Gill (R) | 77,880 | 49% |
| 7th (Clarksville) | | (78%) |
| Harold Byrd (D) | 48,087 | 43% |
| ✔Ed Bryant (R) | 63,186 | 56% |
| Tom Jeanette (O) | 1,437 | 1% |
| 8th (Jackson) | | (92%) |
| ✔John Tanner* (D) | 83,480 | 64% |
| Neal Morris (R) | 45,984 | 36% |
| 9th (Memphis) | | (67%) |
| Harold Ford* (D) | 53,143 | 61% |
| Rod DeBerry (R) | 34,162 | 39% |

## TEXAS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Texarkana, Marshall) | | (54%) |
| ✔James Chapman* (D) | 49,272 | 58% |
| Mike Blankenship (R) | 35,904 | 41% |
| Thomas Mosser (O) | 3,244 | 4% |
| 2nd (Lufkin, Orange) | | (53%) |
| ✔Charles Wilson* (D) | 50,427 | 58% |
| Donna Peterson (R) | 36,911 | 42% |
| 3rd (north Dallas) | | (7%) |
| ✔Sam Johnson* (R) | 57,536 | 92% |
| Tom Donahue (O) | 5,052 | 8% |
| 4th (Sherman, Tyler) | | (28%) |
| ✔Ralph Hall* (D) | 42,858 | 59% |
| David Bridges (R) | 28,986 | 40% |
| Steven Rothacker (O) | 996 | 1% |
| 5th (downtown Dallas) | | (31%) |
| John Bryant* (D) | 28,347 | 50% |
| Pete Sessions (R) | 27,434 | 48% |
| Regina Arashvand (O) | 334 | 1% |
| Noel Kopsia (O) | 287 | 1% |
| Barbara Morgan (O) | 583 | 1% |
| 6th (suburban Dallas, Ft. Worth) | | (51%) |
| Terry Jesmore (D) | 18,284 | 21% |
| ✔Joe Barton* (R) | 67,227 | 77% |
| Bill Baird (O) | 2,152 | 2% |
| 7th (western Houston) | | |
| ✔Bill Archer* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 8th (Conroe, College Station) | | (20%) |
| ✔Jack Fields* (R) | 45,273 | 93% |
| Russ Klecka (O) | 3,666 | 7% |
| 9th (Beaumont, Galveston) | | (33%) |
| Jack Brooks* (D) | 38,122 | 50% |
| Steve Stockman (R) | 36,284 | 48% |
| Daria Beenau (O) | 636 | 1% |
| Bill Felton (O) | 737 | 1% |
| 10th (Austin) | | (3%) |
| ✔Lloyd Doggett (D) | 53,872 | 56% |
| Jo Baylor (R) | 39,906 | 41% |
| Michael Brandes (O) | 999 | 1% |
| Jeff Davis (O) | 1,031 | 1% |
| Jeff Hill (O) | 1,133 | 1% |
| 11th (Waco) | | (31%) |
| Chet Edwards* (D) | 23,273 | 59% |
| Jim Broyles (R) | 16,022 | 41% |
| 12th (Ft. Worth) | | (35%) |
| ✔Pete Geren* (D) | 30,181 | 67% |
| Ernest Anderson (R) | 14,772 | 33% |
| 13th (eastern panhandle) | | (44%) |
| Bill Sarpalius* (D) | 31,810 | 45% |
| W. Thornberry (R) | 39,524 | 55% |
| 14th (Gulf coast) | | (52%) |
| Greg Laughlin* (D) | 45,463 | 55% |
| Jim Deats (R) | 37,927 | 45% |
| 15th (McAllen) | | (44%) |
| ✔Kika de la Garza* (D) | 21,140 | 61% |
| Tom Haughey (R) | 12,781 | 37% |
| John Hamilton (O) | 619 | 2% |
| 16th (El Paso) | | (36%) |
| Ronald Coleman* (D) | 18,680 | 51% |
| Bobby Ortiz (R) | 17,833 | 49% |
| 17th (Abilene) | | (54%) |
| Charles Stenholm* (D) | 47,747 | 53% |
| Phil Boone (R) | 42,016 | 47% |
| 18th (downtown Houston) | | (0%) |
| Sheila Lee (D) | 9,600 | 66% |
| Jerry Burley (R) | 4,602 | 32% |
| George Hollenbeck (O) | 140 | 1% |
| Larry Snellings (O) | 195 | 1% |
| 19th (Lubbock, Amarillo) | | |
| ✔Larry Combest* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 20th (San Antonio) | | (25%) |
| Henry Gonzalez* (D) | 33,084 | 59% |
| Carl Colyer (R) | 23,081 | 41% |
| 21st (Austin suburbs) | | (39%) |
| ✔Lamar Smith* (R) | 92,053 | 90% |
| Kerry Lowry (O) | 10,034 | 10% |
| 22nd (southwest Houston) | | (10%) |
| Scott Cunningham (D) | 9,443 | 23% |
| ✔Tom DeLay* (R) | 30,879 | 75% |
| Gregory Pepper (O) | 878 | 2% |
| 23rd (Laredo) | | (40%) |
| Rolando Rios (D) | 26,535 | 39% |
| ✔Henry Bonilla* (R) | 42,325 | 61% |
| 24th (Dallas, Tarrant Counties) | | (25%) |
| Martin Frost* (D) | 22,467 | 50% |
| Ed Harrison (R) | 22,076 | 50% |
| 25th (south Houston) | | (0%) |
| Ken Bentsen (D) | 8,277 | 43% |
| Gene Fontenot (R) | 10,689 | 55% |
| S. Klein-Tower (O) | 212 | 1% |
| Robert Lockhart (O) | 155 | 1% |
| 26th (suburban Dallas) | | (6%) |
| LeEarl Bryant (D) | 14,423 | 22% |
| ✔Dick Armey* (R) | 51,454 | 77% |
| Alfred Adask (O) | 580 | 1% |
| 27th (Corpus Christi) | | (69%) |
| ✔S. Ortiz* (D) | 38,393 | 60% |
| Errol Stone (R) | 25,600 | 40% |
| 28th (south San Antonio) | | (31%) |
| ✔Frank Tejeda* (D) | 34,338 | 72% |
| David Slatter (R) | 12,867 | 27% |
| S. Rothstein (O) | 633 | 1% |
| 29th (east Houston) | | (2%) |
| Gene Green* (D) | 6,438 | 72% |
| Harold Eide (R) | 2,471 | 28% |
| 30th (south Dallas) | | (10%) |
| ✔Eddie Johnson* (D) | 25,182 | 72% |
| Lucy Cain (R) | 9,420 | 27% |
| Ken Ashby (O) | 572 | 2% |

## UTAH

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Ogden, Logan) | | (0%) |
| Bobbie Coray (D) | 0 | 0% |
| James Hansen* (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 2nd (Salt Lake City) | | (0%) |
| Karen Shepherd* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Enid Waldholtz (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Merrill Cook (O) | 0 | 0% |
| 3rd (Provo, Orem) | | (0%) |
| Bill Orton* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Dixie Thompson (R) | 0 | 0% |
| Barbara Greenway (O) | 0 | 0% |

## VERMONT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At-large | | (23%) |
| John Carroll (R) | 15,856 | 49% |
| Bernie Sanders* (O) | 15,151 | 47% |
| Carole Barnus (O) | 445 | 1% |
| Annette Larson (O) | 268 | 1% |
| Jack Rogers (O) | 379 | 1% |

## VIRGINIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Eastern Shore) | | (86%) |
| Mary Sinclair (D) | 36,031 | 23% |
| ✔Herbert Bateman* (R) | 117,953 | 75% |
| Matt Voorhees (O) | 3,505 | 2% |
| 2nd (Virginia Beach) | | (100%) |
| ✔Owen Pickett* (D) | 78,524 | 59% |
| Jim Chapman (R) | 54,623 | 41% |
| 3rd (Richmond) | | (99%) |
| ✔Robert Scott* (D) | 103,492 | 79% |
| Thomas Ward (R) | 26,876 | 21% |
| 4th (Louisa) | | (94%) |
| ✔Norman Sisisky* (D) | 108,721 | 82% |
| George Sweet (R) | 67,812 | 38% |
| 5th (Charlottesville) | | (91%) |
| ✔L.F. Payne* (D) | 87,035 | 54% |
| George Landrith (R) | 73,949 | 46% |
| 6th (Roanoke) | | |
| ✔Robert Goodlatte* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 7th (Richmond) | | (98%) |
| ✔Thomas Bliley* (R) | 172,376 | 84% |
| Gerald Berg (O) | 32,090 | 16% |
| 8th (Alexandria) | | (98%) |
| ✔James Moran* (D) | 113,852 | 59% |
| Kyle McSlarrow (R) | 75,265 | 39% |
| Ward Edmonds (O) | 1,784 | 1% |
| William Jones (O) | 810 | 0% |
| 9th (Bristol) | | (97%) |
| ✔Frederick Boucher* (D) | 98,173 | 59% |
| S.H. Fast (R) | 69,381 | 41% |
| 10th (Manassas) | | (95%) |
| ✔Frank Wolf* (R) | 143,490 | 88% |
| Alan Ogden (O) | 12,333 | 8% |
| Robert Rilee (O) | 7,782 | 5% |
| 11th (Fairfax) | | (94%) |
| Leslie Byrne* (D) | 78,030 | 46% |
| ✔Thomas Davis (R) | 86,073 | 51% |
| G. Cruickshank (O) | 6,170 | 4% |

## WASHINGTON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Puget Sound) | | (0%) |
| Maria Cantwell* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Rick White (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 2nd (Everett, Bellingham) | | (0%) |
| Harriet Spanel (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Jack Metcalf (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 3rd (Olympia, Vancouver) | | (0%) |
| Jolene Unsoeld* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Linda Smith (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 4th (Yakima, Tri-Cities) | | (0%) |
| Jay Inslee* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Doc Hastings (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 5th (Spokane) | | (0%) |
| Thomas Foley* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| George Nethercutt (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 6th (Bremerton) | | (0%) |
| Norm Dicks* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Benjamin Gregg (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 7th (Seattle) | | (0%) |
| Jim McDermott* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Keith Harris (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 8th (Bellevue) | | (0%) |
| Jim Wyrick (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Jennifer Dunn* (R) | 0 | 0% |
| 9th (Tacoma) | | (0%) |
| Mike Kreidler* (D) | 0 | 0% |
| Randy Tate (R) | 0 | 0% |

## WEST VIRGINIA

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Wheeling, Morgantown) | | (69%) |
| ✔Alan Mollohan* (D) | 66,585 | 70% |
| Sally Riley (R) | 28,762 | 30% |
| 2nd (Charleston) | | (63%) |
| ✔Bob Wise* (D) | 53,781 | 66% |
| Samuel Cravotta (R) | 27,456 | 34% |
| 3rd (Huntington, Beckley) | | (66%) |
| ✔Nick Rahall* (D) | 45,760 | 67% |
| Ben Waldman (R) | 22,308 | 33% |

## WISCONSIN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1st (Racine, Kenosha) | | (18%) |
| Peter Barca* (D) | 12,273 | 55% |
| Mark Neumann (R) | 9,770 | 44% |
| 2nd (Madison) | | (16%) |
| Thomas Hecht (D) | 17,256 | 37% |
| ✔Scott Klug* (R) | 28,380 | 61% |
| J. Schumacher (O) | 432 | 1% |
| John Stumpf (O) | 415 | 1% |
| 3rd (Eau Claire, La Crosse) | | (4%) |
| Harvey Stower (D) | 5,443 | 37% |
| Steve Gunderson* (R) | 8,819 | 59% |
| Chuck Lee (O) | 265 | 2% |
| Mark Weinhold (O) | 319 | 2% |
| 4th (Milwaukee) | | (29%) |
| Gerald Kleczka* (D) | 30,159 | 59% |
| Tom Reynolds (R) | 20,359 | 40% |
| James Hause (O) | 987 | 2% |
| 5th (Milwaukee) | | (43%) |
| ✔Tom Barrett* (D) | 38,264 | 61% |
| S. Hollingshead (R) | 23,962 | 38% |
| David Schall (O) | 840 | 1% |
| 6th (Oshkosh, Fond du Lac) | | |
| ✔Thomas Petri* (R) | | Unopposed |
| 7th (Wausau, Superior) | | (7%) |
| David Obey* (D) | 10,323 | 62% |
| Scott West (R) | 6,451 | 38% |
| 8th (Green Bay, Appleton) | | (22%) |
| Stan Gruszynski (D) | 23,290 | 40% |
| Toby Roth* (R) | 34,991 | 60% |
| 9th (Sheboygan) | | |
| ✔J. Sensenbrenner* (R) | | Unopposed |

## WYOMING

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| At-large | | (14%) |
| Bob Schuster (D) | 12,203 | 46% |
| Barbara Cubin (R) | 12,516 | 48% |
| Dave Dawson (O) | 1,545 | 6% |

# THE GOVERNORS

## ALABAMA (43%)

Jim Folsom* (D) . . . . 266,688 (50%)
Fob James (R) . . . . . 267,043 (50%)

James, governor as a conservative Democrat ('78-'82) between terms for George Wallace, hit at Folsom's inability to push lobbying and education reforms into law. Folsom took office in April '93 with GOP Gov. Guy Hunt's removal upon conviction for felony ethics charges.

## ALASKA (0%)

Tony Knowles (D) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Jim Campbell (R) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Others . . . . . 0 (0%)

Liberal ex-Anchorage Mayor Knowles lost in '90 to Gov. Walter Hickel, who won on a pro-development platform as an independent. Businessman Campbell is a social moderate who supports abortion rights and claims Knowles will lock up Alaska's wilderness from resource development. Running mates: state Rep. Fran Ulmer (D); state Sen. Mike Miller (R).

## ARIZONA (0%)

Eddie Basha (D) . . . . . 0 (0%)
F. Symington* (R) . . . . . 0 (0%)
John Buttrick (O) . . . . . 0 (0%)

Fife Symington was dogged by a probe into his actions while director of the failed Southwest Savings & Loan as well as financial woes involving real estate. Supermarket-chain owner Basha tapped his own personal fortune. Libertarian Buttrick was a threat to GOP hopes.

## ARKANSAS (20%)

✓Jim Guy Tucker* (D) . . 91,179 (60%)
S. Nelson (R) . . . . . 60,422 (40%)

Tucker, 51, wins a full four-year term. He became governor in December '92 when Clinton left Arkansas for the White House. As governor, he called special sessions to address Medicaid — which prompted the 2-cents-per-serving tax on soft drinks — and juvenile crime. Tucker said economic development would remain a priority with him.

## CALIFORNIA (0%)

K. Brown (D) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Pete Wilson* (R) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Others . . . . . 0 (0%)

Wilson roared back after years of unpopularity caused by tax hikes, budget deficits and an economic recession. His campaign zeroed in on stopping crime and the flow of illegal immigration. State Treasurer Kathleen Brown hit Wilson for "immigrant bashing" and education cuts. Her father, Pat, and brother, Jerry, are both ex-governors.

## COLORADO (3%)

✓Roy Romer* (D) . . . . . 60,831 (60%)
Bruce Benson (R) . . . . 37,169 (36%)
Others . . . . . 4,074 (4%)

Romer pulls off the victory despite carrying political baggage due to problems with Denver's new airport and complaints that President Clinton's policies are anti-West. Millionaire oilman Benson mounted a strong challenge but was hurt by his admission to two drunken driving arrests and the unsealing of divorce records, revealing that he had harassed his ex-wife. Gail Schoettler becomes lieutenant governor.

## Key

A guide to party affiliations for the selected races from across the USA on this page:
* — Incumbent
D — Democrat
R — Republican
O — Other party or Independent
NP — Non-partisan
% — Percentage won
✓ — Declared winner

## ILLINOIS (27%)

Dawn Netsch (D) . . . 251,253 (35%)
✓Jim Edgar* (R) . . . . . 456,484 (63%)
David Kelley (O) . . . . . 12,126 (2%)

Edgar edged out state Comptroller Dawn Clark Netsch, extending GOP control of the Executive Mansion to 22 years. Lt. Gov. Bob Kustra gets another term also. Netsch, who sought to become the state's first female governor, had promised to repeal the death penalty and push for a 42% income tax hike.

## IOWA (0%)

B. Campbell (D) . . . . . 760 (30%)
✓T. Branstad* (R) . . . . . 1,773 (70%)
Others . . . . . 18 (0%)

Atty. Gen. Bonnie Campbell hammered at Terry Branstad's 12-year tenure. Branstad narrowly won the GOP primary over Congressman and ex-*Love Boat* actor Fred Grandy. Running mates: state Senate Pres. Leonard Boswell (D); Lt. Gov. Joy Corning (R).

## KANSAS (48%)

Jim Slattery (D) . . . . 160,347 (37%)
✓Bill Graves (R) . . . . . 273,111 (63%)

Secretary of State Graves will be the third GOP governor in 28 years, in a state otherwise dominated by the GOP. Anti-Washington push hurt Rep. Slattery. Sheila Frahm will become lieutenant governor.

## MAINE (11%)

Jim Brennan (D) . . . . . 16,338 (35%)
Susan Collins (R) . . . . 10,271 (22%)
Angus King (O) . . . . . 17,437 (38%)
Others . . . . . 2,262 (5%)

Brennan served as governor for two terms ('78-'86). King was aided by his own money and his exposure as a talk show host. Collins was shunned by some Republicans for supporting abortion and gay rights.

## MARYLAND (59%)

P. Glendening (D) . . . 368,236 (48%)
E. Sauerbrey (R) . . . . 395,258 (52%)

Parris Glendening, a county executive once expected to coast in this heavily Democratic state, faced a battler in state House GOP leader Ellen Sauerbrey. She pledged to slash state income taxes by 24%. Running mates: U.S. Justice official Kathleen Townsend (D), eldest daughter of Bobby Kennedy; ex-Sheriff Paul Rappaport (R).

## MASSACHUSETTS (26%)

M. Roosevelt (D) . . . 142,192 (28%)
✓William Weld* (R) . . . 355,191 (71%)
Others . . . . . 4,568 (1%)

Weld ended the iron-grip Democratic rule here in '90, riding an anti-Michael Dukakis tidal wave. Weld leads a force of moderates in the GOP supporting abortion and gay rights. Boston state Rep. Mark Roosevelt is the great-grandson of Teddy Roosevelt. Running mates: Episcopal minister Robert Massie (D); Lt. Gov Paul Cellucci (R).

cross-party endorsement of Cuomo sent the incumbent surging. Ross Perot's backing of Independent Tom Galisano was expected to cut into Pataki's GOP vote upstate.

## OHIO (50%)

Robert Burch (D) . . . 410,933 (25%)
✓G. Voinovich* (R) . 1,160,198 (71%)
Billy Inmon (O) . . . . . 57,298 (4%)

George Voinovich's enormous popularity — coming from his efforts to hold down taxes and lure business into the state — scared off major potential opponents to soundly win his second term. Running mate: Marietta Mayor Nancy Hollister (R).

## OKLAHOMA (90%)

Jack Mildren (D) . . . . 258,004 (30%)
✓Frank Keating (R) . . . 397,449 (46%)
Wes Watkins (O) . . . 213,534 (25%)

Ex-U.S. attorney Keating beats Lt. Gov. Mildren and ex-Democratic Rep. Watkins, a '90 primary loser who ran as an independent. Watkins drew Democratic support from Mildren, a past University of Oklahoma star quarterback. Gov. Walters didn't run again.

## OREGON (0%)

John Kitzhaber (D) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Denny Smith (R) . . . . . 0 (0%)
Others . . . . . 0 (0%)

Kitzhaber plugged his championship of education and health-care reforms while he headed the state Senate. Ex-Rep. Smith repeated his claim that he'd cut state spending and build more prisons.

## PENNSYLVANIA (60%)

Mark Singel (D) . . . . 831,502 (42%)
Tom Ridge (R) . . . . . 863,233 (44%)
Others . . . . . 287,122 (14%)

Lt. Gov. Singel ran the state for six months in '93 while Gov. Casey recovered from a heart-and-liver transplant. But Ridge, a 12-year congressman, attacked Singel's role in the release of criminals serving life sentences — one now is charged with murder. Running mates: ex-legislator Tom Foley (D); state Rep. Mark Schwieker (R).

## RHODE ISLAND (13%)

Myrth York (D) . . . . . 8,741 (49%)
L. Almond (R) . . . . . 7,624 (43%)
Robert Healey (O) . . . . 1,344 (8%)

Voters gave liberal Providence state Sen. York the chance to be their first woman governor when she crushed two-term Gov. Bruce Sundlun in the primary. Ex-U.S. Attorney Lincoln Almond scored points with anti-crime and economic development plans.

## SOUTH CAROLINA (62%)

N. Theodore (D) . . . . 273,581 (49%)
David Beasley (R) . . 274,241 (49%)
Others . . . . . 14,564 (2%)

Beasley is a sweetheart of conservative Christians. A Democrat while in the state House, he won a tough GOP primary with backing from Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition. Nick Theodore has been lieutenant governor for eight years.

## CONNECTICUT (62%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bill Curry (D) | 222,739 | (33%) |
| John Rowland (R) | 244,343 | (36%) |
| Eunice Groark (O) | 126,688 | (19%) |
| Others | 85,494 | (12%) |

Ex-Rep. Rowland narrowly lost to Lowell Weicker in '90 despite pledging to veto a state income tax. Weicker, elected as an independent, then muscled the Legislature into creating the tax. Voter fury over this made Rowland the favorite this time. State Comptroller Curry beat the organization-backed candidate in the primary. Groark is Weicker's lieutenant governor. Running mates: Bridgeport Mayor Joe Ganim (D); state Rep. Jodi Rell (R); Audrey Rowe with Groark.

## FLORIDA (54%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| L. Chiles* (D) | 993,125 | (51%) |
| Jeb Bush (R) | 950,212 | (49%) |

Bush, ex-state Commerce chief and son of President Bush, gained momentum amid rising violent crime and Cuban and Haitian refugee problems. Bush attacked Lawton Chiles' plan for state government-subsidized health insurance as "the largest welfare expansion in Florida's history." Running mates: Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay (D); state Rep. Tom Feeney (R).

## GEORGIA (58%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Zell Miller* (D) | 376,717 | (52%) |
| Guy Millner (R) | 345,910 | (48%) |

Temporary-services entrepreneur Millner went after Miller's close association with President Clinton, whom the governor nominated in a speech at the '92 Democratic Convention. Miller promised to abolish the state sales tax on food and put in a tough two-strikes-and-you're-out anti-crime program.

## HAWAII (0%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ben Cayetano (D) | 0 | (0%) |
| Patricia Saiki (R) | 0 | (0%) |
| Frank Fasi (O) | 0 | (0%) |

Ex-congresswoman Saiki threatens to break a Democratic hold on the governor's chair that dates back to '62 — three years after statehood. Lt. Gov. Cayetano had an uphill fight against the well-known moderate Republican. Longtime Honolulu mayor Fasi is leading the fight against a state Supreme Court ruling legalizing marriage for homosexual couples. Running mates: state Rep. Mazie Hirono (D); '90 gubernatorial nominee Fred Hemmings (R); Danny Kaleikini with Fasi.

## IDAHO (0%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| L. EchoHawk (D) | 0 | (0%) |
| Phil Batt (R) | 0 | (0%) |
| Ron Rankin (O) | 0 | (0%) |

Atty. Gen. Larry EchoHawk sought to become the first Native American (Pawnee) elected to a governorship. He opposed gun control and promised to work out environmental compromises. Batt, an ex-lieutenant governor who lost this race in '82, claimed he could best prevent job losses stemming from federal environmental policies.

## MICHIGAN (14%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H. Wolpe (D) | 150,075 | (33%) |
| ✓John Engler* (R) | 302,730 | (67%) |

Engler cashed in on the state's lowest jobless rate in 20 years, a peppy economy and a popular property-tax cut to win a second term. . Lt. Gov. Connie Binsfield keeps his job.

## MINNESOTA (9%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Marty (D) | 89,674 | (39%) |
| ✓Arne Carlson* (R) | 133,587 | (58%) |
| Others | 6,344 | (3%) |

Carlson beats state Sen. Marty to become the first GOP governor to win re-election in more than 40 years. State Sen. Joanne Benson becomes lieutenant governor. The state GOP spilled political blood in a feud pitting conservative Christian activists against moderates who backed Carlson's support of abortion and gay rights.

## NEBRASKA (27%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✓Ben Nelson* (D) | 108,416 | (74%) |
| Gene Spence (R) | 38,499 | (26%) |

Nelson has been well-regarded since eking past GOP Gov. Kay Orr in '90. Omaha Public Power director Spence slammed him for creating more state than private jobs. Running mates: Lt. Gov. Kim Robak (D); state Sen. Kate Witek (R).

## NEVADA (0%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bob Miller* (D) | 0 | (0%) |
| Jim Gibbons (R) | 0 | (0%) |
| Others | 0 | (0%) |

Gulf war veteran and Assemblyman Gibbons vowed not to seek reelection if property taxes rise while he's in office. Miller played down his friendship with President Clinton.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE (55%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wayne King (D) | 36,420 | (27%) |
| ✓Steve Merrill* (R) | 93,280 | (69%) |
| Steve Winter (O) | 6,063 | (4%) |

Merrill wins a second two-year term on an anti-tax, lean-government platform. The strength of conservative Republicanism here kept John Sununu and now-Sen. Judd Gregg in the governor's mansion for ten years. Term is two years.

## NEW MEXICO (22%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bruce King* (D) | 39,902 | (39%) |
| Gary Johnson (R) | 53,282 | (51%) |
| R. Mondragon (O) | 10,354 | (10%) |

This is the first time an incumbent could seek back-to-back terms. King has won three times since '70. Johnson owns a construction firm; Roberto Mondragon is with the Green Party. Running mates: Judge Patricia Madrid (D); Walter Bradley (R); Steve Smith with Mondragon.

## NEW YORK (76%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mario Cuomo* (D) | 1,735,574 | (46%) |
| George Pataki (R) | 1,833,234 | (48%) |
| B. T. Golisano (O) | 169,590 | (4%) |
| Others | 232,546 | (2%) |

State Sen. Pataki led until New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani's surprise

## SOUTH DAKOTA (3%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jim Beddow (D) | 3,439 | (43%) |
| W. Janklow (R) | 4,205 | (52%) |
| N. Barton (O) | 404 | (5%) |

William Janklow, a former two-term governor ('78-'86), beat Gov. Walter Miller in the GOP primary. Miller took the post after the death of Gov. George Mickelson in an April '93 plane crash. Former Wesleyan University president Beddow pressed his outsider image. Running mates: ex-legislator Jim Abbott (D); state Rep. Carole Hillard (R).

## TENNESSEE (78%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Phil Bredesen (D) | 471,856 | (45%) |
| ✓D. Sundquist (R) | 571,396 | (54%) |
| Others | 21,653 | (1%) |

Sundquist's victory over Nashville Mayor Bredesen gives the GOP the governor's mansion and both Senate seats for the first time since '75. Sundquist promised to work against any state tax hikes and trumpeted his '90 opposition when President Bush broke the no-new-taxes pledge.

## TEXAS (55%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ann Richards* (D) | 1,232,933 | (46%) |
| ✓George Bush (R) | 1,458,831 | (54%) |
| Keary Ehlers (O) | 17,292 | (1%) |

Richards joked in her '88 Democratic Convention keynote speech that then-Vice President Bush "was born with a silver foot in his mouth." Bush's eldest son, George W., managing partner of the Texas Rangers baseball team, sought the last laugh in this tight race.

## VERMONT (20%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ✓Howard Dean* (D) | 23,532 | (71%) |
| David Kelley (R) | 6,655 | (20%) |
| Others | 3,028 | (9%) |

Dean, a Burlington physician, wins re-election. His push for state health insurance reform and a balanced budget gained him popularity. Lawyer Kelley tried unsuccessfully to undercut Dean by blaming him for the increase in partisan gridlock in the state.

## WISCONSIN (13%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chuck Chvala (D) | 89,066 | (34%) |
| ✓T. Thompson* (R) | 166,113 | (64%) |
| Others | 4,911 | (2%) |

Tommy Thompson has no trouble with anti-incumbent sentiment, becoming the state's first three-term governor against state Sen. Chvala. Thompson gained popularity by cutting income taxes and welfare rolls, and jumped to national attention for "bridefare," paying welfare recipients more if they get married and less if they have more children. Lt. Gov. Scott McCallum keeps his job.

## WYOMING (11%)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kathy Karpan (D) | 20,145 | (44%) |
| ✓Jim Geringer (R) | 24,890 | (55%) |
| S. Uibreaslain (O) | 556 | (1%) |

State Sen. Geringer wins despite bucking the GOP leadership by opposing across-the-board spending freezes, arguing items should be considered on their merits. Secretary of State Karpan couldn't shake her early support of President Clinton and couldn't distance herself from his land-use policies.

# Court case could crimp Congress' power

## Authority over states is argued

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

At the same time voters were venting their spleen at Congress Tuesday, the Supreme Court was debating a case that could cut back on congressional power.

Several justices seemed on the verge of trying to rein in Congress by restricting its ability to pass laws on issues that are traditionally dominated by state government: education and crime.

"What is left that Congress cannot do?" asked Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, suggesting that state power has withered because of congressional intervention.

The court was considering a challenge to a 1990 federal law that makes it a crime to possess a firearm in a school zone — except for licensed guns on nearby private property.

Lawyers for Alfonso Lopez Jr. challenged the law as outside the scope of the power of Congress. Lopez, a San Antonio teen-ager, was found with a .38-caliber handgun at Edison High School in 1992. A federal court struck down the law.

The case is before the high court at a time when several justices have criticized Congress for "federalizing" too many crimes in the recent crime bill and other legislation.

"There's this notion that if it's a big problem, it's a federal problem," says University of Tennessee law professor Glenn Reynolds. "The court wants to do something to reverse that trend."

When Congress passes laws in new areas, it often says it has jurisdiction because the Constitution gives it power to regulate interstate commerce.

That was the justification Congress cited in the gun law, asserting that guns are bought and sold in interstate commerce, and that gun-infested schools weaken education and affect commerce.

The Supreme Court has usually accepted those justifications, but on Tuesday some justices seemed ready to say no.

"We haven't been too strict about the farthest reach of the commerce clause," said Justice Antonin Scalia. "But here, you have regulation of something that is not a commercial transaction at all."

Solicitor General Drew Days disagreed.

"This is not about just regulating guns," Days said.

"We're talking about commercial activity."

But justices asked why Congress could not use the commerce rationale to federalize schools, divorce laws and all violent crimes.

Days said some of those would violate other parts of the Constitution, but the court seemed unconvinced.

John Carter, arguing for Lopez, said the law "reaches beyond congressional power" into an area usually regulated by states.

Laws in 41 states prohibit guns in or near schools.

## Heads turn as Thomas asks a question

Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas spoke from the bench Tuesday, the first time he has been heard from during court oral arguments in more than 18 months.

Even his fellow justices seemed startled when Thomas' deep voice resounded from the right side of the bench during a hearing on the law that prohibits federal employees from accepting fees or honorariums for outside speeches or articles.



AP

THOMAS: 'Ban all moonlighting?'

"Could the government ban all moonlighting?" asked Thomas. He said that during his "limited experience" in the government, he knew of federal employees who drove taxis or did legal work after hours.

Those activities are permitted, Thomas said, but paid speeches and articles are forbidden. Other justices also seemed skeptical of the wide scope of the law.

It was passed in 1989 as part of an ethics reform law to keep government employees — including Supreme Court justices — from profiting from their work.

The flat ban has kept a lawyer from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission from writing articles about Russian history.

It also has kept a Postal Service mail handler from writing about the Quaker religion.

Most justices pepper the lawyers arguing cases before them with frequent questions.

Thomas' long silence has been interpreted by some as a sign that he is neither engaged nor interested in the cases before the court.

Steve Smith, who was a clerk for Thomas until recently, says those interpretations are wrong. "Unlike other justices, he does not feel the need to show how smart he is and ask a lot of questions."

— *Tony Mauro*

## WORLD ROUNDUP

# U.S. reassures South Korea

Secretary of State Warren Christopher says North Korea seems to be complying with a recent nuclear accord, but he promised a jittery South Korea that the 37,000 U.S. troops stationed there will stay put.

Christopher, who arrived in South Korea Tuesday for a three-day visit, hopes to ease public criticism in South Korea that Washington made too many concessions in its Oct. 21 nuclear pact with North Korea.

Under the terms of the pact, the North, suspected of developing nuclear bombs, promised to freeze and eventually dismantle its nuclear program in exchange for billions of dollars in aid and U.S. diplomatic links.

**RUSSIAN MINISTER:** President Boris Yeltsin strengthened his personal grip on the government by appointing a man from his own team, reformist Yevgeny Yasin, as Russia's new economics minister.

**WAR CRIME TRIBUNAL:** The first international war crimes tribunal since World War II met at The Hague, Netherlands, and asked Germany to surrender a Bosnian Serb accused of murder and torture.

Dusan Tadic, 39, has been held in Germany since a Bosnian Muslim identified him in February at a German refugee camp. German officials have expressed willingness to give his case to the tribunal, which suspects him of murder, torture, forced deportations and gang rape.

**MIDEAST MEETING:** Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin met Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat in the Gaza Strip and said Israel would hand over all administrative powers to Palestinians by month's end. In a peace deal, Israel turned over partial control of the Gaza Strip and Jericho to Palestinians six months ago.

# Stocks, bonds rally on election outlook

By Donna Rosato
USA TODAY

Euphoria about potential Republican election gains lit up stocks Tuesday. But a GOP-inspired rally is likely to be short-lived, market analysts say.

The Dow Jones industrial average — up nearly 40 points early — rose 22 points to 3831 Tuesday. Broader indexes also gained. Bond prices rose for the first time in seven days, pushing the yield on 30-year Treasury bonds to 8.12% from 8.16% Monday.

"There's a strong conviction on Wall Street that there will be a substantial change in Senate and House representation," says Thomas Keresey, president of Palm Beach Investment Advisers. Investors favor Republicans because they're viewed as more pro-business than Democrats and could implement tax cuts.

Still, any big GOP gains should only have a short-term positive effect on stocks. "Three months later, elections don't matter," says Legg Mason strategist Richard Cripps.

Tuesday's rally was partially inspired by bargain hunting after last week's sell-off and a Johnson Redbook report that retail revenue slumped 4% in early November from October, which helped ease interest rates and inflation fears. "Investors are looking for the economy to slow so the Federal Reserve won't have to jam on the brakes," Cripps says.

The Fed has already pushed up short-term rates five times since February to slow the economy and curb inflation. Another increase is expected when the Fed meets Nov. 15.

"The only question now is how much they're going to raise rates," Keresey says. Investors will be watching Thursday's October wholesale inflation report to gauge inflation pressures. Producer prices are expected to be up 0.2%.

If the Fed raises rates aggressively, it could signal the Fed is near the peak of its rate-increase cycle and stocks could rally. "Investors won't have to wait for the other shoe to drop," Keresey says.

▶ Market highlights, 3B
▶ Election index, 3A

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# Accurate economist has gloomy forecast

## Award winner: Recession due

By Bill Montague
USA TODAY

Good news for Donald Ratajczak may be not-so-good news for the U.S. economy.

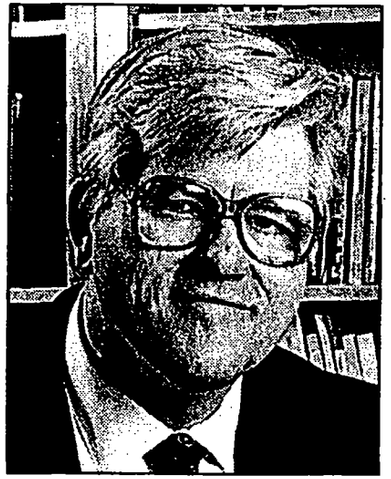
Ratajczak, an economist at Georgia State University, is this year's winner of the Blue Chip Economic Forecasting Award, granted to the economist who does the most accurate job of predicting economic trends.

**ECONOMY**

But if he's as accurate the next two years as he's been the past four, watch out. That means the U.S. economy will be in recession by late 1995 or early 1996.

The award, sponsored by *Blue Chip Economic Indicators* newsletter, Oppenheimer Capital and the Manhattan Institute, an economic think tank, will be given to Ratajczak today in New York at the Harvard Club.

The annual prize honors the economist on *Blue Chip*'s panel of 50 forecasters who most accurately forecasts four key U.S. economic indicators: growth in gross domestic product, the unemployment rate, the inflation rate and short-term interest rates.



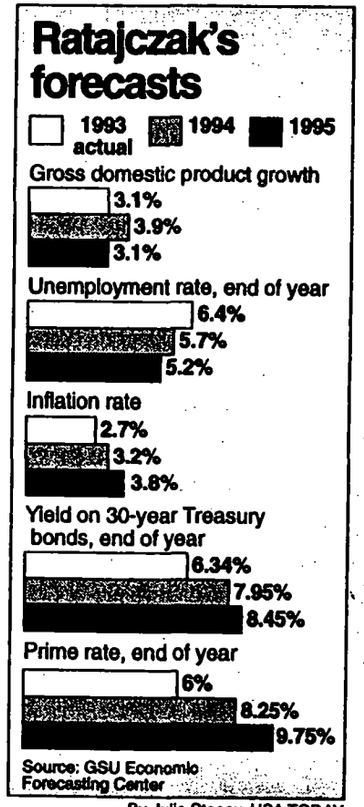
**RATAJCZAK:** Uses 'bits and pieces of things that work' to make his forecasts.

Past winners include economists Laurence Meyer of Meyer & Associates, Richard Stuckey of DuPont and Larry Kimbell of UCLA. Since the contest started in 1981, the prize has been awarded each year except 1992 (when an original co-sponsor, Sterling Bank, dropped out).

Ratajczak did the best job of tracking the four key indicators over a four-year period covering 1990-93, according to *Blue Chip*'s editor, economist Robert Eggert.

For Ratajczak, that means a $5,000 prize. For the economy, it could mean relatively strong growth in 1995, but also higher inflation, higher interest rates and an eventual recession.

### Ratajczak's forecasts




By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

That, at least, is the picture Ratajczak sees when he looks into his economic crystal ball. His forecasts:

▶ **Growth.** Gross domestic product will grow 3.1% in 1995, after 3.9% growth this year. That's significantly more than most economists predict. Ratajczak expects a weak dollar to fuel a boom in exports, sustaining strong growth next year.

▶ **Unemployment.** A strong economy will nudge down the unemployment rate to 5.7% by the end of this year, from 5.8% now, and 5.2% by late '95.

▶ **Inflation.** Strong growth will fuel a 3.8% gain in the consumer price index next year, up from 3.2% in 1994, says Ratajczak, who's long been recognized as one of the best inflation forecasters in the nation. That would push inflation to its fastest pace since 1990, when the Persian Gulf war sent energy prices up sharply and consumer prices rose a steep 6.1%.

▶ **Interest rates.** To check inflation, the Federal Reserve will have to keep pushing short-term rates higher. Strong growth will also push rates higher. Ratajczak sees banks' prime lending rate at 9.75% by the end of 1995 vs. 7.75% now.

In the end, Ratajczak predicts, the Fed will push rates too high, tipping the economy into a recession, starting in late 1995 or early 1996.

"The Fed has lost the chance for a soft landing," Ratajczak says, comparing the stronger-than expected U.S. economy to Icarus, the mythological Greek who soared too close to the sun on wings made of wax. "We're flying too high, and pretty soon our wings are going to start melting," he says.

Ratajczak, who's headed Georgia State's Economic Forecasting Center the past 21 years (and UCLA's before that), says he doesn't rely on any one school of economic theory to make his forecasts. Instead, he uses a diverse mix of theories.

"Anybody who is a good forecaster picks up bits and pieces of things that work," Ratajczak says. "If somebody has a tool that I think is going to work, I'm going to use it."

### Past Blue Chip winners

1981: **James Pate**, Pennzoil
1982: **Charles Reeder**, DuPont
1983: **Peter Bernstein**, Peter L. Bernstein Inc.
1984: **Saul Hymans**, Unversity of Michigan
1985: **Timothy Sullivan**, Arnhold & S. Bleichroeder Inc.
1986: **John Wilson**, Bank of America
1987: **Saul Hymans**, University of Michigan
1988: **Richard Stuckey**, DuPont
1989: **Larry Kimbell**, UCLA
1990: **William Hummer**, Wayne Hummer & Co.
1991: **Richard Karfunkle**, Econoviews International
1992: No award
1993: **Laurence Meyer**, Laurence H. Meyer & Associates
1994: **Donald Ratajczak**, Georgia State Unversity

Source: *Blue Chip Economic Indicators*

> **"The Fed has lost the chance for a soft landing. We're flying too high, and pretty soon our wings are going to start melting."**
>
> **— Donald Ratajczak**

### About Ratajczak

▶ **Age:** 52
▶ **Positions:** Professor of economics, Georgia State University; director, GSU Economic Forecasting Center
▶ **Education:** B.A., Haverford College; Ph.D. in economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
▶ **Outlook:** "We're at the point where rising labor costs begin to fuel inflation, and unemployment is still falling. That means the (Federal Reserve) really is going to have to start shutting down growth. The crunch will come in late 1995 or early 1996, when the economy tips over into a recession."
▶ **Pronunciation:** RA-ta-jack

# NATIONLINE

## Postal Service pushes for new 32¢ stamp

The Postal Service wants to raise the price of a first-class stamp to 32 cents in January, chairman Sam Winters said Tuesday. He says there's currently "just enough" money to deliver mail and more is needed quickly. The cost of heavy letters, parcel post, post cards, stamped envelopes, priority mail and express mail would go up as well. The Postal Rate Commission may decide in a few weeks. A stamp was 6 cents in 1968. The cost has gone up nine times since. It went to the current 29 cents in 1991.



AP

FLEISS: Jury selection in progress

**FLEISS TRIAL:** Potential jurors in the trial of Heidi Fleiss were grilled about their views on prostitution and morality and Fleiss lawyer Anthony Brooklier sought to downplay charges against her. "This is not a case where anybody was hurt or killed," Brooklier told jurors. "So I think if we could all relax a little, including myself, I think Miss Fleiss will get a fair trial." Fleiss, 28, pleaded innocent to four charges of pandering and one charge of cocaine possession.

**SPACE SHUTTLE:** Earthlings hoping to get a peek of the shuttle can do so today and Thursday. It will resemble a tiny, fast-moving star as it orbits 185 miles high. Atlantis will be visible to the naked eye just after sunset in parts of California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Virginia, Washington, D.C. It lands Monday at Cape Canaveral.

**TRAGIC TRICK:** Matilda Crabtree, 14, who jumped out of a closet and yelled "Boo!" to playfully scare her parents, was shot to death when her father mistook her for a burglar. Her last words: "I love you, Daddy." Police say Robert Crabtree, 53, of West Monroe, La., won't be charged. Matilda and a friend were supposed to be sleeping at the friend's house but decided to play a joke. The father heard noises and grabbed his gun. "I don't know how the father is going to live with it," said Ouachita Parish Chief Deputy Richard Fewell. "We live in such a violent world."

**MORE PAY:** Many federal employees may get even more than their expected 2% pay raise in 1995. The Federal Salary Council is recommending President Clinton approve 2.64% raises in most communities, more in some areas, to put government pay in line with civilian pay in each city. Largest boost: Miami, 4.27%. Workers in New York and Los Angeles already get an extra 8% and aren't in the new plan.

**SAKS FIRE:** A smoky fire in the basement of Saks Fifth Avenue forced the evacuation of the stately, world-famous Manhattan department store. The fire, in trash bins, sent smoke into the sales floors of the 70-year-old Fifth Avenue building, known for its Christmas window displays. There were no serious injuries, but two Saks employees were taken to New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center for treatment of smoke inhalation, said Emergency Medical Service Chief Gus Pappas. The blaze was declared suspicious because a fire was found in a second trash bin.



AP

IN NEW YORK: A man is treated for smoke inhalation.

**HODGKIN'S PATIENT:** Billy Best, 16, who ran away from his surburban Boston home Oct. 26 because he could not endure more chemotherapy and radiation treatments, called his mother Monday night to tell her he is not yet ready to come home. Susan Best says she believes her son is "somewhere in Texas." He paid for his bus trip with money he collected from selling his possessions. Doctors say he needs four more months of treatment.

**GERGEN RESIGNS:** Republican David Gergen resigned as a top Clinton administration adviser, saying "acrimony and anger have reached new lows in Washington" because of unrelenting GOP opposition. His resignation letter to President Clinton was released before polls closed Tuesday. Gergen, 52, will be a visiting professor at Duke University.

## ALSO TUESDAY . . .

▶ **SCHOOL SHOOTING:** The gunman accused of killing a custodian and wounding three adults at Wickliffe (Ohio) Middle School is a paranoid schizophrenic who becomes "uncontrollable" without medicine, says his stepmother, Harriet Ledeger. Keith Ledeger, 37, a former student at the school, was charged with murder.

▶ **STRIKE VIOLENCE:** Violence flared in the San Francisco newspaper strike, as masked men stabbed a security guard outside a Hayward distribution center. The guard was hospitalized. Union spokesmen didn't comment.

▶ **AVALANCHE DEATH:** Jeff Waugh, 27, of Salt Lake City, was killed in a snowslide while skiing alone in Little Cottonwood Canyon, Utah.

## Indianapolis mourns crash victims



By Chuck Robinson, AP

MEMORIAL SERVICE: 12 victims' families attended

Hundreds gathered at an Indianapolis church to remember those killed in the American Eagle Flight 4184 crash in northwest Indiana last Monday. "Our pain is great, our questions many. We seek explanations for the inexplicable," Bishop Woodie White said. Twelve families of crash victims attended the interdenominational service. "Good things in life last a limited time," he said. "But a good name lasts forever," Rabbi Lou Weiss said. (Plane proposal, 1B)

Written by Steve Marshall. Contributing: Carrie Dowling and Gordon Dickson

# Still angry, voters? Why not a third party?

## The two-party system isn't working, but independent candidates are going about it all wrong.

By Theodore Lowi

Democrats may be out. And Republicans may be in. But this year's elections demonstrate as never before the need for a political system with more than the Two Old Parties.

Oh, sure, voters may think they've shaken things up by tossing out many incumbents. But it was not the incumbents who most needed defeating, although some indeed did.

The only solution is defeat of the two-party system itself. It is the system serving Congress that needs to be revolutionized.

Unfortunately, despite increasing voter frustration, that message hasn't yet reached independent voters or their candidates.

Why aren't we closer to making a third party a reality?

One reason is the single-member district system in which the winner takes all and the vote for a third candidate seems not only wasted but also seems to contribute to the least desirable major candidate.

Tom Golisano, the Independence Fusion Party candidate for governor of New York, drew most of his votes from Ross Perot sympathizers (with Perot's endorsement). These votes otherwise would have gone to Republican candidate George Pataki. Golisano's candidacy was a big boost to Mario Cuomo's re-election hopes.

But there is a second reason that has emerged more clearly than ever in




By Luc Novovitch, AP

**BIRDS OF A FEATHER:** Ross Perot campaigned for another independent candidate, Tom Golisano, in New York.

1994. This is the political stupidity of the independent candidates.

Just gaze upon the candidacy of Golisano. A brilliantly successful entrepreneur and an enlightened policy wonk, Golisano virtually guaranteed there would be no new party in New York state. This was true regardless of whether he got the 50,000 gubernatorial votes New York law requires for a legally recognized political party.

I use Golisano as nothing more than a representative case of independent candidacies all over the country. I could also use Perot's 1992 candidacy. These guys conducted their campaigns by slavishly imitating the candidates of the two major parties. It's ludicrous. They campaigned as though they had a chance to win the election.

Golisano campaigned as "Governor Golisano" on the premise that if elected he could move directly to get legislation to enact a number of very big, substantive reforms of government, agencies and programs that took the two parties a generation to create.

How did he think he was going to accomplish this without a single member of his party elected with him to the Assembly or the Senate, and with nothing but animosity and a gigantic cold shoulder from the hundreds upon hundreds of bureaucrats whose jobs and responsibilities would be put on the block?

As a consequence, there is zero education of citizens, who are left with nothing but their unguided frustration. A "responsible" policy-oriented campaign like Golisano's — one on the "issues" — even robbed voters of the chance to use their vote as a protest. Fulminating against taxes, deficits and welfare might make a few candidates and voters feel good, but it will neither change the policies nor change the system without broad legislative and administrative support.

There is still hope for third parties, and the solution is as simple to articulate as it is difficult to achieve.

A new party in a three-party system would revolutionize the political process by reintroducing real competition, while relieving the two major parties of the struggle for 51% of the vote and the pretense of being all things to all people.

A new party has to be radical by demanding fundamental, not incremental change.

The alienated voters of 1994 are radical and ready to respond. A new party cannot campaign like a major party precisely because it has no prospect of legislative support.

More importantly, a third party must run against the two others. Its own presence is the radical change, and its promises to the electorate to alter the political calculus can be fulfilled only if its own program is aimed directly at the party system and not at the government.

If Golisano or Perot had used their millions to build a full slate of candidates and had educated these candidates to the appropriate reforms rather than to the nonsense of reduced taxes, eliminated deficits and welfare reform, they could have made history.

And if a full slate took 10 years, a great contribution could be made in the interim toward the political education of American citizens.

There is much more to winning than victory in the election. Electoral victory is measured by who won. Real victory is measured by what won.

In the future, third-party candidates should say: Vote for me because I am your battering ram, your means of protesting the political system and depriving the others of legitimacy.

Vote for me because a party we can form will revolutionize the system by its very existence by forcing new and appropriate behavior on the others.

That is a program. That is the basis of the anti-party party. That is the basis of the genuine democratic revolution in America. Anything less is not worth having.

Tom, you might as well have stuffed that $10 million in your pipe and smoked it.

*Theodore Lowi is a professor of government at Cornell University.*

# Recipes for serving in Congress

Now that the campaigning is over and voters have spoken, many newcomers will be heading for Congress. What awaits them? Four retiring members of Congress — with a combined experience just short of 100 years — offer their 'pearls of wisdom.'



By Elys A. McLean, USA TODAY

## Ignore polls



**Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio, is retiring after 19 years.**

Congratulations! You have just survived one of the most punishing elections in recent memory.

You probably ran against Washington. Now you are in Washington. You are probably tempted to continue running against government now that you are here.

But the challenge is to make government work better for those who elected you. People are disenchanted and cynical because their representatives never seem to look beyond one day's news cycle — unless it's to envision the next election's attack ad. Tough choices are ducked, fingers are pointed and the buck is passed.

If I've learned one thing in the Senate, it is that you can take positions that don't sit well with the majority of your constituents and still thrive politically. I've always felt it was my obligation to vote based on my own values and to accept the fair judgment of the voters on Election Day.

I've never believed that anyone was sent here to take a computerized opinion poll on every issue. Nor do I believe that you should check with the special-interest groups (and their PACs) before deciding how to vote. You should vote your conscience, speak your mind and fight on the side you believe to be right.

Most importantly, you should let your constituents know exactly where you stand on the issues and why. Represent the people of your state with enthusiasm and excitement, and quit worrying about the next election.

## Remember who elected you



**Rep. Marilyn Lloyd, D-Tenn., is leaving after 20 years in the House.**

Serving your district in the United States House of Representatives is one of the greatest honors any American can ever hope to achieve.

On a daily basis, you will be called upon to make difficult decisions — decisions which will shape the future of your hometown, state and nation.

You will soon discover this is a position of great responsibility and power. After all, you will help to manage the largest business in the world.

I encourage you to concentrate on your particular areas of expertise and the needs of your constituents. Health care, education, defense, foreign affairs, the environment — the issues Congress debates today are much more complicated than those I faced when I was first elected.

You will be much more effective as a legislator if you strive to become an expert in a couple of areas rather than finding yourself spread too thinly.

As a member, you will celebrate many triumphs and certainly acknowledge your share of disappointments.

You will find yourself pulled in many directions at once, and the decisions you make will not always come easily.

If you do your homework and consider the greater interests of the half-million or so people you represent, you will carry the day.

Most importantly, resist the temptation to get caught up in the "glory" of the dome.

Stepping onto the House floor for the first time can be an overwhelming experience.

Always remember, the House of Representatives is the people's House.

The true power lies with the voters who sent you to Washington and not in the individuals who occupy seats in the House chamber. Serve with humility and gratitude, and never forget who sent you and where you come from.

Good luck!

## Focus on a few areas



**Sen. Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo., is retiring after 17 years.**

You will, no doubt, be amazed at the accelerating pace of life since your election. You are idealistic. You have come to serve and you will, but you will neither fulfill all your dreams nor all your promises, except the one to work hard.

Congress considers an enormous number of issues, and you will be asked to make many decisions. You cannot be expert at it all and ought therefore to refrain from commenting on everything. You can choose a few areas and become truly expert and choose more in which to become quite knowledgeable. For the rest, you must have a basic philosophy. Instruct your staff in that regard, then rely on their judgment and that of your colleagues whom you respect.

Your staff takes their measure from you. Their presence will be yours, so choose carefully. Your ethics will be theirs, as will your humility and dedication. Speak for yourself and don't feel compelled to speak without certainty. It's better not to be noted than to be noted for a fool! My friend John Stennis once said, "There's only two processes in senators' lives here. Some of 'em grow and some of 'em swell!"

You came here because people believe in your views. Express them. Fight for them. Then accept the result. You will vote, emote, succeed, fail, celebrate and sigh — but it's all called service, and it is one of the truly great privileges of life. Despite its shortcomings, the Senate is still a cornerstone of our democracy.

I wish you well.

## Stop rhetoric against 'system'; do something to improve it



**Rep. Robert Michel, R-Ill., is retiring after 38 years in the House, the last 13 spent as House GOP leader.**

1. The folks back home sent you to the House to be a good legislator, not a TV star or a political philosopher. Working hard to pass good bills, to defeat bad bills, and to amend bills that need improvement should take up most of your time and energy.

2. As quickly as you can, learn the parliamentary rules.

In the House, process can determine substance.

3. Get to know your colleagues on both sides of the aisle because the human factor can play a major role in shaping legislation.

4. When you have something important to contribute to a debate, stand up and say it, forcefully, briefly, clearly and factually.

If not, sit and listen — you learn much more that way.

5. Find time to play a role in the deliberations of your party organization in the House.

Intraparty debates can be as important (and as fierce) as debates between the parties.

6. Remember: All the folks in your district, even those who didn't vote for you, expect you to legislate with intelligence, debate with civility and act with integrity.

Don't let them down.

7. When you are in doubt about the propriety of any action, personal or public, just ask yourself: Would I want my family to read about this in the pages of USA TODAY?

8. If, after a bit of experience, you find that being a congressman is a degrading, shameful thing (as so many seem to be saying these days), then get out of politics as soon as you can.

But if you believe it to be a great honor, then stop all this campaign rhetoric against "the system" and do something positive to improve it.

# Anti-Thomas crowd drags a red herring

BETHESDA, Md. — Opponents of Justice Clarence Thomas have never gotten over the bitter defeat of his confirmation to the Supreme Court in 1991.

Thomas survived then despite an elaborately orchestrated campaign against him, which culminated in Anita Hill's infamous sexual-harassment charges before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Having failed in their "high-tech lynching," the anti-Thomas forces are now trying to administer death by a thousand cuts.

*Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas*, by Jane Mayer and Jill Abramson, is the most recent assault.

Despite the media hype — including an hour-long, prime-time network program devoted to the book — there's little new here.

The book's climactic chapter, "The Other Women," purports to show that four women who could "corroborate" Anita Hill's testimony were prevented from testifying.



**COUNTERPOINTS**
**By Linda Chavez**

In fact, three of the women provided statements or affidavits to the Senate Judiciary Committee before Thomas was confirmed.

Two of the three were disgruntled former employees who had been fired for incompetence, which may be why the committee decided they would make unreliable witnesses and didn't call them.

Nonetheless, their stories were fully aired before this book in the pages of *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Spy* magazine, *U.S. News and World Report* and in the cartoon strip "Doonesbury," among other places.

None of the women alleges that she was sexually harassed or that she witnessed Anita Hill's alleged harassment.

Only one, Angela Wright, claimed that Thomas engaged in suggestive or flirtatious banter with her in the office — but Wright explicitly denied that Thomas' purported behavior was harassment.

According to David Brock, whose book *The Real Anita Hill* goes over much of this same territory, Wright not only had been fired by Thomas but by two previous employers. One was a Democratic congressman, the other a Republican woman whose subsequent Senate confirmation Wright also tried to derail with last-minute, inflammatory allegations.

Another of the "corroborating" witnesses to Thomas' alleged harassment was a former employee whose chief accusation was that she "was forced to have coffee with Thomas" each morning when she worked for him.

Shocking!

But apparently not as shocking as the bombshell that Clarence Thomas kept a collection of old *Playboy* magazines and some pinups on the walls in his bachelor apartment — asserted by the fourth of the "other women."

This bit of "evidence" — practically the only new tidbit in the 400-page book — meets the feminists' standard of proof that Thomas is guilty of harassment and a sex pervert to boot.

*Playboy*'s 10 million readers, beware. None had better have to face a Senate confirmation.

What do Thomas' opponents hope to gain by this unrelenting attack on his reputation?

They would like to silence Thomas on the court. My fellow panelist on the public television show *To the Contrary*, Julianne Malveaux, actually said on the air she hoped Thomas died a premature death.

Such is the venom that Thomas' detractors can spew.

But Thomas shows no signs of being intimidated by his enemies.

During the court's last session, he wrote a brilliant 59-page concurrence in a voting rights case which complained that the court has "converted the [Voting Rights] Act into a device for regulating, rationing, and apportioning political power among racial and ethnic groups."

It is views like this that the anti-Thomas forces find so threatening.

From the beginning, the effort to deny Clarence Thomas a seat on the Supreme Court was a battle over the heart and soul of civil rights.

Clarence Thomas is a heretic in the eyes of much of the civil rights and feminist establishment because he doesn't believe in racial or gender preferences.

Such views might be tolerated when held by conservative white jurists, like Chief Justice William Rehnquist or Justice Antonin Scalia, but not by a black man.

In their effort to ruin Clarence Thomas, they're willing to turn Washington into a latter-day Salem-on-the-Potomac.

**COUNTERPOINTS'** four columnists provide views from diverse perspectives on today's issues. **Thursday:** Susan Estrich on getting beyond the bad news. **Mondays:** Tony Snow. **Tuesdays:** Michael Gartner. **Wednesdays:** Linda Chavez.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 • USA TODAY

# Liberals, don't wimp

**OPPOSING VIEW** **Democrats and progressives have compromised enough; now draw some lines in the sand.**

By Julianne Malveaux

One of the reasons for Republican victories in Tuesday's elections is that voters sometimes can't tell the difference between Democrats and Republicans.

Lines blur when both parties bow to the welfare-bashing, crime-exploiting, budget-balancing rhetoric of the '90s, blur to the point that the parties become the Demublicans and the Republocrats.

Democrats and liberals/progressives (not always the same; the Green Party and the New Party also ran candidates Tuesday in some states) have compromised enough; if 1994's midterm elections taught us anything, they ought to have taught us how to draw some lines in the sand!

Instead of sticking with the single-payer health-care proposal that was cheapest and fairest, Democrats compromised until they walked away empty-handed this year on health reform.

The economic stimulus package, proposed early in the Clinton administration, was never quite enough, but it was a "compromise" based on the size of the deficit. The administration ended up with little more than a deficit-reduction package based on further compromise, since the right held firm on its demand that none of what it called "pork" (also known as stimulus) make its way to the public.

In the crime bill, the most punitive provisions of the Clinton version were expanded to the point where there were some 60 new death-penalty crimes, but the crime-prevention provisions were whittled away in the name of compromise.

No wonder some voters came to the polls holding their noses!

No wonder others stayed home.

There's an adage: If you stand for nothing, you'll fall for anything. Too many Democrats fell for the notion that they could win by running from the principles of economic and social fairness that are at the foundation of the Democratic Party.

Tuesday's lesson for the president and his party is that they need to stand firm on those putting-people-first reforms people voted for in 1992. Instead of compromising, Democrats need to emulate Republican adamance in pushing an agenda for labor reform, health-care reform and urban revitalization. Then, when voters go to the polls in 1996, they'll be able to tell the difference between Democrats and Republicans, between the party that puts people first and the party that puts power first.

*Julianne Malveaux is author of* Sex, Lies and Stereotypes: Perspectives of a Mad Economist *and a talk-show host for Pacifica Radio.*

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**Today's debate: THE NEW CONGRESS**

# So what now, Congress? Compromise or carping?

**OUR VIEW** **More partisan bickering only will disgust voters and lead to another overhaul in two years.**

OK, you've done it. You've thrown out the bums and elected replacements. But two years from now, will those replacements be the bums who have to go?

You can answer that for yourself without waiting for the bile of the next campaign.

For the next two years, check how the people you've elected to Congress behave. Their actions in 1995 and 1996, more than any recent two-year period, will tell if their priorities are governing or prolonging their careers. The key: Can they compromise?

The Congress that convenes in January will be as evenly split between the parties as any since Eisenhower. Each party will be ideologically polarized: Republicans more conservative because that's what most newcomers are, Democrats more liberal because most who survived represent constituencies that like liberals.

This will encourage ideologues chanting about public hunger for change to forget people don't much like extremes. (Just ask George McGovern and Barry Goldwater.)

On the left, they'll seek expensive new programs the nation clearly is unwilling to finance and tell you they won't cost much. On the right, they'll tear at the government social safety net and tell you only malingerers will be hurt.

If both parties get caught up in expediency, they'll get into a tax-cutting contest that can win them votes only at the expense of selling the country's future down the river.

It's an approach that helped the '94 campaign sink into a mean-spirited exercise in finger-pointing that the public detested.

The public prefers its representatives to find points of national agreement and act on them — the approach that produced Medicare, voting rights, Head Start, tax indexing, college financial aid and a bipartisan foreign policy that won the Cold War.

In the new Congress, Clinton and the Democrats likely will offer health-care changes, welfare reform and an agenda for government activism. Republicans will try to tackle those problems by paring government and offering populist proposals from their Contract With America, like term limits and a balanced budget amendment.

They have real differences. But a middle ground will be there for those who seek it.

Legislators interested in governing can work together to find ways to test various new approaches to welfare without victimizing the poor or breaking the budget. They can make progress on health reform without renewing the divisive battles of '94. There are solutions that fall nicely between party lines. That's how progress occurs.

If Congress members dig in and resist — demanding their way or no way — it's because they don't want solutions but political points. They're hoping to convince you, in nasty commercials two years hence, that nothing was done because the other guy wouldn't do it.

Watch closely and you'll see for yourself.

# Conservatives, stand fast

**OPPOSING VIEW** **Republicans must keep the focus on the direction the country should be headed.**

By Peter B. Gemma Jr.

A uncompromising Republican and conservative voice on Capitol Hill is necessary to ensure that U.S. taxpayers and parents are protected from the Clintons. Bill, Hillary and their political cronies have a vision of the USA's future framed in the failed liberal agenda of the past.

Now the GOP knows something about this "vision thing" from experience. After all, the Democrats' victory of '92 (in which they garnered a whopping 43% of the vote) had less to do with issues than with insight. But that's why Republicans beat Democrats Tuesday. Our political success centered around contests of issues *and* philosophy, not personalities or politics as usual.

During the next two years, the newly invigorated debate between Congress and the White House will not so much be grounded in political perks, pork-barrel spending or party loyalty, but in clear ideological differences. Voters should have a better understanding of which political party best represents their interests.

For example, should taxpayers fund such liberal schemes as midnight basketball courts in light of the fact that violent crime has increased 300% in the past 30 years yet the average prisoner serves only 37% of his sentence? A strong conservative alternative will certainly offer clear choices to the philosophy of the Clinton crew in such legislative decisions.

Based on the tone and direction set by Tuesday's results, voters are anxious to take back the USA's agenda from the Clinton Democrats. That just may mean a bit more partisan confrontation. Not gridlock or stalemate, mind you, but legitimate debate based on differing views of where this nation is headed. Direction is the vital question that colored the results from Tuesday's elections.

If the Republicans learned any lessons from 1992 as well as this year, it was that voters want tough, consistent, issue-oriented and common-sense *leaders* on Capitol Hill who will fight for the right philosophy. Tuesday they sent a cleaning crew of Republicans to Washington who fit that description nicely.

One note of bipartisan caution: Wise voters will keep politicians of both parties on notice — the next job performance review is just 24 months away, and we're all watching closely.

*Peter B. Gemma Jr. is an Arlington, Va., writer and a member of the Virginia Republican State Finance Committee and the Oliver North for Senate Finance Committee.*

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**Los Angeles Times first-edition**
**Page 1 for Wednesday, Nov. 9, 1994:**

Top of page:

Col 1:

Cols 2-6: Riding a tide of voter discontent with Democratic rule in Washington, Republicans are moving toward seizing control of the Senate for the first time in eight years and electing their largest House contingent in half a century. (with art). (ELECT-TIMES, moved).

Above fold:

Col 6: Befitting their bitter campaign, New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo and his Republican opponent, freshman state Sen. George E. Pataki, are locked in one of the closest races in New York history, according to exit polling. (CUOMO-TIMES, moved).

Below fold:

Cols 2-4: Sen. Edward M. Kennedy is locked in the toughest battle of his long Senate career, but it appears he will be re-elected, judging by early returns, over Republican candidate W. Mitt Romney. (KENNEDY, moved).

Col 6: Postal rates will rise in January, with the standard first-class stamp jumping to 32 cents from 29 cents, the chairman of the Postal Service board of governors declares. (STAMPS-TIMES, moved).

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-2: Reports of child abuse rose in Los Angeles County in nearly every category in 1993, led by a grim toll of adolescent suicides that have child welfare experts perplexed and worried about the emotional well-being of children.

Cols 5-6: Faced with evidence that Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat's political base is rapidly eroding, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin promises to speed up the handover of authority in the West Bank and accelerate negotiations on Palestinian elections. (MIDEAST-TIMES, moved).

Sent: 10:30 p.m. EST. For questions, call (800) 283-NEWS, ext. 77832.

Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service=

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**Wilson Re-Elected California Governor;**
**Prop 187 Passes (Los Angeles)**
**By Bill Stall and Cathleen Decker=**
**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

LOS ANGELES Republican Gov. Pete Wilson easily defeated Democratic challenger Kathleen Brown Tuesday to complete one of the most dramatic comebacks in California political history, one that thrust him into speculation as a possible Republican contender for the White House in 1996.

Wilson, 61, rode to a second four-year term on a tide of voter frustration, coupled with anger over crime and illegal immigration. Early returns elsewhere on the ballot fueled Calfornia Republicans' hopes of pulling off their biggest victory since the Ronald Reagan-led sweep of 1966.

Proposition 187, the emotion-sparking ballot initiative to cut off free state services to illegal immigrants, also won with surprising ease. Support for the measure was a centerpiece of Wilson's stretch drive for the governorship.

Democrats still had hopes of holding onto the seat of U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, who was in a close battle against the national GOP tide and the nearly $30 million in personal fortune thrown at her by first-term Republican Rep. Mike Huffington of Santa Barbara.

In accepting victory, Wilson said to supporters in a Los Angeles hotel: ``What you have won today is a victory a victory for working Californians, those who work hard and respect themselves and others."

Wilson said it was not too long ago that ``the smart money pundits were not only writing me off but also were writing off California." A year ago, he said, ``I faced longer odds than George Foreman," a reference to the former heavyweight champion who won a stunning comeback victory at the age of 45 Saturday.

Brown, the 49-year-old incumbent state treasurer, conceded barely two hours after polls closed. Surrounded by friends, political allies and her family, Brown told a subdued Democratic crowd at a Los Angeles hotel:

``Today, the voters of California have determined that Gov. Wilson, not I, should be for the next four years what Adlai Stevenson once called the instrument of their will."

Giving what observers said was one of her best speeches, Brown added, ``As the instrument of that will, I hope and pray that having won the battle of tactics, he will now use his victory to help rebuild California."

Brown, who will leave the state treasurer's office the first week in January, pledged to do what she could to help Wilson ``chart California through this difficult passage in our history."

Just one year ago, Wilson labored along as one of the most unpopular governors in modern California history, hobbled by recession and a massive tax hike, and forced to read in the media about his impending political doom.

At that time, Brown was a well-financed media darling, heiress of a Brown family ``dynasty" her father and brother both had been governor and was anointed the Democrats' most promising future star. She held a commanding 15-point lead over Wilson in the polls a year ago.

Wilson, however, reversed the poll standings with an unrelenting campaign one of his trademark seamless, mistake-free efforts and became the sixth consecutive California governor to seek and win a second term.

Wilson has insisted he is not interested in national office. But Washington pundits looked on Wilson's political self-resuscitation with awe and said he must be considered a powerful potential contender for the Republican presidential nomination in two years.

(Optional add end)

Wilson's career began in the banner GOP year of 1966 when he won a seat in the state Assembly and Ronald Reagan defeated Gov. Edmund G. ``Pat'' Brown's bid for a third term. Wilson now has beaten two out of the three Brown politicians. He defeated former Gov. Edmund G. ``Jerry'' Brown, Kathleen Brown's brother, for the U.S. Senate in 1982.

In the end, Brown linked her campaign closely to opposition to Proposition 187 in hopes the controversy over the ballot measure to cut off state-paid aid to illegal immigrants would energize Democratic voters and get them to the polls to vote against 187 and for Brown. She also counted on help from President Clinton, who addressed major rallies on her behalf in Los Angeles and Oakland the final weekend.

As the campaign began in 1993, Brown was the darling of the national media, a star at raising campaign funds and the leader in the opinion polls by as much as 23 percent over Wilson. The incumbent's job rating had sunk to record lows in the face of the recession and defense cutbacks that devastated the California economy almost from the day he took office in January 1991.

After a successful 1993 legislative session, and with signs of the economy flickering back to life, Wilson's stock began rising slowly and steadily. At the same time, critics began to question the direction of Brown's campaign. It was, they said, long on glitz and talk about a Brown political ``dynasty'' but thin on substance. Even some friends and supporters said Brown had failed to enunciate just why she wanted to be governor, other than the fact that both her father and her brother had held the office.

Wilson's campaign was a textbook effort a text written by Wilson and his longtime team of political advisers over eight successful general election campaigns. They selected three major themes and stuck with them throughout the long election season crime, illegal immigration and the economy.

More specifically, Wilson rode the ``three strikes'' prison sentencing issue through the first half of 1994 and then focused on his support of Proposition 187.

By November, the opinion polls indicated a majority of Californians preferred Wilson's positions on crime, the economy and immigration just as they had all along. While Brown tried to paint him as a failed governor, the polls indicated she had not convinced voters that she was an attractive enough alternative to warrant a change during uncertain times.

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## Republicans Score a Sweeping Victory in Congress (Washn)

**By Robert Shogan and David Lauter=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON In a victory of historic proportions, Republicans on Tuesday seized control of the Senate and the House, setting the stage for a frontal collision between a resurgent conservative Congress and a battered Democratic administration.

Voter repudiation of the Democrats only two years after the party regained control of the White House marks a sharp turn away from the message of activist government on which President Clinton had campaigned in 1992.

Republicans, who started Election Day behind in the Senate, 44-56, wound up with at least a 52-48 advantage. In the House, where Democrats had been in the majority since 1954 and held a 256-178 majority going into the election, the Republicans were on track to pick up at least 50 seats, with the results depending on final vote counts.

Indeed, the depth of Republican strength was such that, as of late Tuesday, no GOP incumbent had lost a bid for re-election to any major office: the Senate, the House or governorships.

Republicans scored large majorities among the growing number of voters who believe that government cannot solve the nation's problems, according to exit polls. The result is certain to restrict Clinton's legislative ambitions further, forcing the president and his advisers to drastically reshape their plans for the rest of his tenure in office.

The balloting, said Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., who is in line to become the next Senate majority leader, was a ``vote of no confidence in the Clinton agenda.''

Clinton made no statement. He plans a nationally televised press conference Wednesday. But White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers signaled what part of the president's response would be insisting that Republicans, having captured a majority, would now have to deliver actual legislation. ``The burden of government is now on them,'' she said.

If projections for Republican control of the House are borne out, the GOP would take charge of all the legislative committee apparatus in both houses, giving its leaders far-reaching power to curb Clinton's legislative agenda and to put him on the defensive by conducting investigations and rejecting nominations. In short, the Republican-controlled 104th Congress would be able to hinder Democrat Clinton much as the Democratic 102nd Congress hampered Republican George Bush in the last two years of his presidency.

The losses included some of the most prominent Democrats in the country. Democratic Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York, one of his party's liberal icons, lost his office. So, too, did Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means committee until his indictment earlier this year on charges stemming from the House Post Office scandal, conceded defeat to his opponent, attorney Michael Flanagan.

Despite his indictment, Rostenkowski had been so confident of re-election that he had barely bothered to campaign, not even printing campaign literature an act of hubris that had stunned even operatives in Chicago's once-legendary Democratic political machine.

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., was trailing in a tight race, according to early returns and exit polls. With 60 percent of the vote counted, Republican challenger George Nethercutt had 52 percent to Foley's 48 percent. No House Speaker has been unseated since before the Civil War. Voters nationwide also decided on a number of ballot initiatives. Two measures aimed at limiting protections for gays and lesbians appeared headed for defeat in Nevada and Oregon. Ballot measures to impose term limits on members of Congress appeared headed for success in at least three states.

Republicans piled up their Senate majority initially by winning races in six states where retirements by incumbent Democrats had left their party vulnerable Maine, Michigan, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Ohio and Arizona.

They got two more, enough to take control, by knocking off Democratic incumbents in Tennessee, where their candidate, physician Bill Frist, a physician, defeated incumbent Sen. Jim Sasser and Pennsylvania, where Rep. Rick Santorum ousted Democrat Harris Wofford. One of the most powerful Democrats in the Senate, Sasser had hoped to become majority leader after Sen. George J. Mitchell of Maine announced his retirement.

In the contest for governorships, the GOP, in addition to winning New York, also wrested Texas and Pennsylvania away from the Democrats, with George W. Bush defeating incumbent Texas Gov. Ann Richards and Republican Thomas Ridge winning the vacant governor's seat in Pennsylvania over Democrat Mark Singel. Former President Bush's other son, Republican candidate Jeb Bush, was defeated in his

bid to unseat Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles, a Democrat.

(Begin optional trim)

The congressional losses appeared to be among the worst for a party in power since 1946, when the Democrats also lost control of both houses of Congress. It was only cold comfort to the White House that President Harry S. Truman used the resulting Republican-controlled Congress as a foil for his come-from-behind election in 1948. In four other post-war elections in which the party in power lost heavily races in 1950, 1958, 1966 and 1974 it lost the White House two years later.

Not only will the likely Republican control of Congress mean the end of Clinton's hopes for most of his legislative program, it would also give the GOP power to bedevil the administration with subpoenas and investigations of alleged ethical improprieties.

The Republican tide was particularly strong in the South, a one-time bastion of Democratic power that moved to the GOP in presidential elections a generation ago but had, until now, stayed loyal to long-entrenched Democratic incumbents in Congress.

This year, however, with many older Democrats choosing to retire, and with others battered by the deep unpopularity of Clinton, Republicans rode to victory in House races from North Carolina to Texas.

In Georgia, for example, Republican candidates took one seat vacated by a Democrat who retired and were well ahead of two Democratic House incumbents who had been locked in close races Reps. Don Johnson and Geroge ``Buddy" Darden. In North Carolina, the GOP took four more seats and was locked in a dead heat in a fifth. In Tennessee, two more seats fell to the Republicans.

But the GOP surge extended far beyond Southern precincts. Republicans picked off four Democratic seats in Ohio, for example, two in New Jersey, at least two more in Indiana and seemed likely to take as many as five in Washington.

Exit polls conducted for the Associated Press and television networks showed 60 percent of Southern voters casting ballots for the GOP. Elsewhere in the nation, the two parties were running roughly at parity, even achieving a standoff in the traditional Democratic stronghold of the Northeast.

(End optional trim)

In Senate contests, Democrats received one break when Sen. Charles S. Robb, D-Va., held onto his seat in a bitter three-way contest with Iran-Contra figure Oliver L. North and Independent J. Marshall Coleman, a Republican who had been recruited to run against North by the state's senior senator, Republican John W. Warner.

They also took comfort from the victory of Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, probably the leading voice of liberalism in the Senate, who beat back the most serious challenge of his career from Republican Mitt Romney, son of the automobile executive and onetime Michigan Gov. George Romney.

(Optional add end)

As the Democratic bad news rolled in, Sen. John B. Breaux (D-La.) left a White House reception saying, ``You know, I've never been in a minority before."

In mid-afternoon, Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos briefed White House Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta and other senior aides on the early reports from the field. Asked about the mood of the gathering, a senior official said: ``It's no fun being at a political funeral."

Republicans by contrast were confident. ``This election has turned into a referendum on Bill Clinton and his record," said Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, who headed the Republican Senate campaign committee. ``I think people are saying they want to stop taxing and regulating."

The Virginia race, between North, who was convicted of obstructing justice and accepting an illegal gratuity in connection with the Iran-Contra affair, and Robb, who admitted to sexual dalliances with women other than his wife, was among the most bitter of an extremely bitter year, and it clearly took its toll among voters.

According to the exit polls, four in 10 voters said neither Robb nor North had the honesty and integrity for the job. An equal number said their vote was against a candidate rather than for one with Robb's victory, and no other losses.

In races for governor, Republicans began the day with 20 governorships to 29 for the Democrats, with one held by an independent. In addition to New York, Pennsylvania and Texas, Republicans seized executive mansions in Rhode Island, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Kansas, New Mexico and Wyoming.

And in heavily Democratic Maryland, Republican Ellen Sauerbrey, mobilizing independent and Democratic voters behind her anti-tax crusade, threatened a stunning upset of Democrat Parris Glendening. With nearly all votes counted, the two were locked in a near tie.

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## GOP's Victory Night Likely to Increase Washington Gridlock (Washn)

**By Ronald Brownstein=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON Capitalizing on popular disappointment with Clinton and anger with Congress that had sent public confidence in government skidding to a nadir not seen since the Great Depression, Republicans last night rode to victory on a conservative tidal wave even greater than the one that battered the Democrats in 1978 and then carried Ronald Reagan to power two years later.

And they did so behind a sharply defined, unambiguous message of rolling back government, toughening requirements on welfare recipients, stiffening penalties for criminals, and cutting taxes.

``This is an historic vote," exulted Republican National Committee chairman Haley Barbour. ``It is unlike any in two generations."

But sweet as Tuesday night was for Republicans, it guarantees an escalation of the bitter partisan warfare that has virtually derailed the Clinton administration and that could ultimately threaten the GOP as well. In its sweeping victory, the GOP may have set in motion forces it will find almost impossible to tame or control.

Indeed, over the next two years, it will be extraordinarily difficult for either the Republicans or Clinton to win approval of the kind of agenda that might sate the forces of alienation that dominated the 1994 campaign.

With both Houses now closely divided between the parties and Congress still sharing political power with the president neither side may be able to advance its ideas, especially if congressional Democrats block GOP initiatives with the same fierce tactics that Republicans used to frustrate Clinton during his first two years.

``The potential for gridlock is 10 times greater, public frustration will increase, and cynicism will increase," says Republican pollster Steve Lombardo.

Complicating the equation is the likelihood the election results will further polarize Congress itself, with moderate Democrats suffering a disproportionate share of the losses and conservative Republicans the big winners. The underlying centrifugal dynamic makes it entirely possible, if not likely, that by 1996 the public

could be sour on both Clinton and the Republican leadership. That could raise the possibility of another third-party challenge for the presidency, and even more unpredictable and unprecedented changes than the country has seen in the tumultuous campaigns of 1992 and 1994.

``You can imagine a third party doing at least as well as it did in 1992,'' says Gary C. Jacobson, chairman of the political science department at the University of California, San Diego. ``It is hard to imagine a scenario coming out of this election where you would have a more effective government that would make Americans feel better about the people who are governing them.''

Even some Republicans agreed that the powerful urge for change that elected Clinton in 1992 and then pulverized Democrats this year could turn against the GOP or both parties two years from now, if Americans remain convinced that Washington doesn't work.

``Republicans this year are being given a window of opportunity,'' Fred Thompson, a Republican who won a Senate seat in Tennessee, said in an interview just before the vote. ``It's a lot, but that's all it is ... If we don't do the job, the public is going to go back in the other direction, toward the Democrats, or in a third direction.''

For Democrats, the possibility of further twists down the road offered scant consolation for Tuesday's debacle. In many campaigns, especially across the South and border states, the election reflected not only dissatisfaction with Clinton and anger with Congress; it embodied near impenetrable skepticism about the fundamental capacity of government.

Almost everywhere in the country, Republicans from gubernatorial candidates Jeb Bush in Florida and George W. Bush in Texas to Senate candidates Jim Inhofe in Oklahoma and Thompson in Tennessee reached back beyond the ``kinder, gentler'' message of former President Bush to the militant faith that Reagan expressed in his first inaugural address: ``Government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.''

The most successful Republican candidates for Congress typically fused that Reaganite anti-government message with a hard line on social issues such as crime and welfare and a Ross Perot-like demand for congressional and political reform, especially term limits. Bill Frist, a 42-year-old surgeon without previous political experience who handily defeated three-term Democratic Sen. James Sasser in Tennessee, reduced the winning message of 1994 to its essence in a television ad when he endorsed ``term limits for career politicians and the death penalty for career criminals.''

Amplifying that GOP message was a grass roots conservative movement which that itself in opposition to the Clinton administration. While liberal constituencies and organizations managed only tepid efforts behind the Democrats, conservative organizations such as televangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, the National Rifle Association and groups backing tax curbs and term limits all pulsed with energy.

``You'd have to go back to the 1890s to find so many different groups that have sprung up that are anti-Washington,'' says Frank Luntz, a Republican pollster and adviser to Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga.

Translating this campaign agenda into a governing agenda, though, may be more problematic for the GOP. During the past two years, the Democrats were unable to pass several of their top priorities especially health care though they held more seats than Republicans will control in either House, even after their impressive gains Tuesday.

Now, many analysts believe, Republicans will have to overcome the same combination of internal divisions and resistance from the opposition.

(Optional add end)

Beyond the congressional hurdles, Republicans will have to cope with an additional constraint beyond those that frustrated the Democrats: the possibility of presidential vetoes.

In the first shock of the tumultuous result, both the administration and the newly ascendant GOP leadership promised cooperation in the months ahead. And on a handful of individual issues, such as welfare reform and a tax credit for middle-class families with children, it may be possible for Clinton to reach agreements with the Republicans.

But most forces in the new political alignment will push toward the apocalyptic legislative warfare that characterized the last several months of this year's congressional session. At the most basic level, there is an enormous gulf between the tax-cutting, anti-goverment agenda of the newly elected Republicans and the priorities of Clinton who, for all his attraction to reinventing government still sees it as an indispensable element in solving national problems.

The results also appear likely to leave Congress itself, especially the House, more polarized: Many Democratic moderates, who could have provided the core of a bipartisan centrist coalition, were defeated by conservative Republicans. That will leave the House Democratic caucus more liberal at the same time conservative voices symbolized by the new leadership team of Gingrich and Rep. Dick Armey grow more dominant in the GOP conference.

The result, predicts Democratic pollster Mark Mellman, ``is that the ability of each party to coalesce a majority will be virtually non-existent.''

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## Clinton Administration Circles Election-Day Wagons (Washn)

**By Paul Richter=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON On the last big election night members of President Clinton's inner circle cheered, stomped their feet, kissed each other and delivered impassioned speeches about their plans to show Washington and the country how government could work.

They didn't do any of that Tuesday night.

The Clinton White House Tuesday weathered election day '94 with weary stoicism mingled with dread about a future that appeared likely to include Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and Speaker Newt Gingrich. The script called for everyone to pretend it was business-as-usual but it became harder and harder as the night wore on and the Democrats were losing both the House and the Senate.

A series of aides tried to salvage what they could from the dismal events. Voters were not totally rejecting their administration, they insisted, just sending another message demanding change in Washington a message that the White House received, loud and clear.

Meanwhile, Clinton stayed publicly silent as he paced around the second floor of the residential quarters, watching the returns with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. The president took comfort where he could find it as in the victory of Sen. Charles S. Robb, D-Va.

Clinton had gone out on a limb to campaign for Robb, and the victory over Republican Oliver L. North ``might have been the race that he cared most about anywhere,'' ventured one aide.

(Begin optional trim)

But between the brave statements, other sentiments were clear.

``You can't help but take it personally,'' one aide said with a sigh. ``You come to Washington with all these fantastic dreams of the things you're going to do. And you soon find out what the other side can do to close you out.''

The administration had prepared for the election verdict in a customary fashion: It set up a war room. Extra phones and television sets were brought to a basement office. Political aides milled around through the night, gathering intelligence and coordinating their explanations and keeping the boss regularly briefed.

The president seemed outwardly cheerful as he worked through a schedule of economic and foreign policy meetings, last-minute election interviews and meetings with White House volunteers and supporters. But nothing could conceal his own preoccupation with the election results that would say so much about the future of his legislative agenda and his own prospects for re-election in 1996.

(End optional trim)

Since last week's trip to the Middle East, Clinton has done little to erase his sleep deficit but no one expected him to do much about it on election night. Some people at the White House were already thinking ahead to the coming session of Congress, in which the administration's agenda is not likely to go far.

Down to the election's final moments, the adversaries were laying the blame at the door of the White House. California Gov. Pete Wilson blasted away with charges that Clinton had ``demeaned his office,'' not told the truth and ``succumbed to the worst demons in his own nature.''

But the White House was rejecting any claims that they were the central reason for the voters' judgment. Was this the Clinton White House's first report card?

``No,'' insisted White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers. ``This is about a lot of local issues and congressional candidates.''

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## Pataki Edges Cuomo in New York Governor's Race (New York)
## By John J. Goldman=
## (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

NEW YORK Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, one of the United States' leading voices of liberalism, failed Tuesday in his bid for a fourth term in office, falling to Republican state Sen. George E. Pataki.

With 76 percent of the vote counted, Pataki had 1,833,234, or 48 percent, to 1,735,574, or 46 percent, for Cuomo.

``I congratulate George Pataki,'' Cuomo said in his concession speech. ``It was indeed a long and a tough struggle. George Pataki is the next governor of the state of New York. We will all work with him and respect him.

``I had great plans for this state in the coming years, and I have great hopes for her still,'' Cuomo said.

Pataki, who started the campaign as an obscure 49-year-old legislator from Peekskill, built a winning platform of support with a pledge to restore the death penalty, to slash government spending and to cut state taxes by 25 percent.

How obscure was he? When the Republicans selected Pataki at their state convention in May, one New York City tabloid ran the headline, ``What is a Pataki?''

The son of a farmer who attended Yale University and Columbia Law School on scholarships, was hand-picked by New York's Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, who jubilantly declared the voters sent a resounding message.

``I think they said clearly enough is enough. They're sick and tired of being taken for granted and being overtaxed and being under represented and having a criminal justice system that failed them,'' D'Amato said. ``They don't feel safe in their neighborhoods. They want workfare, not welfare.''

Pataki toppled a towering figure in the Democratic Party, whose keynote address electrified the Democratic Convention in San Francisco in 1984. That speech propelled him into the front ranks of potential presidential contenders. In the years that followed, the governor flirted with running for the White House but never entered the fray. He also turned down a chance to become a U.S. Supreme Court justice, declaring he preferred to remain as leader of the Empire State.

The election was marked by a pitched battle between voters in New York City, who strongly supported Cuomo, and upstate residents who cast their ballots for Pataki. By a 2-1 margin, voters told exit pollsters that Cuomo was in office too long. Blacks overwhelmingly backed the governor, as did Jewish voters. But other white voters favored Pataki who ran particularly well among white Catholics.

More than 60 percent of voters said they wanted the death penalty restored, and by 2-1, they voted for Cuomo's Republican challenger. Cuomo is an opponent of the death penalty.

Cuomo strategists had hoped that conservative businessman B. Thomas Golisano, who was running as an independant, would cut into Pataki's upstate margins.

Those hopes received a boost last weekend when the 52-year-old Rochester businessman, who sought the governorship as the candidate of the Independence Fusion Party and who vowed to spend $10 million of his own funds on the contest, received the backing of Ross Perot, an independent presidential candidate in 1992.

Perot praised Golisano's campaign as ``electroshock therapy to the political system'' and said Golisano's third party would be a ``tangible signal to Albany and Washington.''

But Pataki dominated the key upstate precincts.

Pataki's well-scripted campaign hammered home several themes in addition to the argument that a dozen years was enough and a vote for the Republican candidate was a vote for change and optimism.

With New Jersey's Gov. Christine Todd Whitman at his side, the Republican candidate pledged he would cut state taxes by 25 percent. He also pressed his support for the death penalty, a mandatory cap on state spending, no parole for violent felons and term limits for elected officials.

(Optional add end)

A key event in the bitterly contested election was the endorsement of Cuomo by New York City's Republican mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, prompting Pataki to lash out that the mayor was a ``back-stabber.''

At the same time, Pataki pledged he would work with Giuliani in an effort to blunt fears among city voters of a feud that could harm the city's interests.

After Giuliani's backing, which also earned the wrath of D'Amato, the contest tightened in polls. President Clinton also appeared with Cuomo and called him a ``national treasure.'' A parade of Cabinet members visited the state to reinforce that message.

To no avail, Cuomo and Giuliani mounted a large get-out-the-vote drive, especially in New York City.

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**Anti-Illegal Immigration**
**Proposition Passes (Los Angeles)**
**By Paul Feldman and Patrick J. McDonnell=**
**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

LOS ANGELES California voters approved the most sweeping and controversial attack on illegal immigration in the nation Tuesday by passing Proposition 187, a measure that spawned passionate demonstrations, became the dominant issue of the election and promises to continue polarizing the state.

With almost one-third of the votes counted, the sweeping measure led by a substantial margin.

``I think this is a showing of a public attitude, that we as a public are not going to tolerate illegal immigration," said the measure's co-author, Alan C. Nelson, from his home in Sacramento.

``It's unbelievable," said another co-author, Harold W. Ezell at a Republican Party rally in Orange County, where the initiative had its roots. ``The biggest mistake the opposition made was waving those green and white (Mexican) flags with the snake on it. They should have been waving the American flag."

Most portions of the initiative, which would deny government funded non-emergency services to illegal immigrants, technically take effect immediately.

However, lawyers representing organizations including the California Medical Association, Los Angeles Unified School District and the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, announced late Tuesday that they plan to file a flurry of lawsuits Wednesday morning seeking to halt implementation of the measure until state and federal courts can confirm its legality.

The public education ban, which even sponsors of the measure say would require long-term litigation prior to implementation, is not scheduled to take effect until Jan. 1.

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Los Angeles school officials late Tuesday urged students to show up to school as usual this morning.

``We expect them in school," said School Board President Mark Slavkin. ``They can come to school assured that their immigration status will not be questioned in any way."

Meanwhile, workers from the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles began passing out leaflets, urging immigrants to remain calm and continue their normal routines.

``Don't panic. Regardless of your immigration status, you have rights. You have support and we will keep you informed," the flyer read.

(End optional trim)

Capturing the seething mood of many Californians toward illegal immigration, Proposition 187 caught fire as the hottest issue in the state, one with bitter, divisive overtones bound to resonate far into the future.

To proponents, the ballot measure was seen as a means to save billions of dollars in state tax dollars and send a message to Washington about the economic and social problems posed by the estimated 1.6 million illegal immigrants in California.

Opponents argued that Proposition 187 was a mean-spirited proposal that did nothing to strengthen border enforcement or prevent employers from hiring illegal immigrants. The measure, detractors said, would foster a police state mentality, in which legal residents are questioned simply because of their accents or skin color.

Championed by Gov. Pete Wilson, and eventually by Republican U.S. Senate candidate Mike Huffington, Proposition 187 held a wide lead in pre-election polls as late as mid-October.

But the gap appeared to narrow considerably under a barrage of anti-187 statements from mainstream civic, educational, medical, labor and religious organizations. Also weighing in on the ``no" side were leading political figures, ranging from President Clinton to former Republican Cabinet secretaries Jack Kemp and William J. Bennett.

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Under terms of the proposition, one of the most controversial in state history, illegal immigrants would be barred from public schools and colleges. It also prohibits undocumented residents from receiving any of the limited publicly funded nonemergency health care and social service benefits that they have until now qualified for including immunizations, prenatal and postnatal care for women, and foster services for abused children.

Proposition 187 also mandates that educational, social service, public health and law enforcement officials verify the residency status of students, patients and prisoners. Administrators would be required to turn in the names of those ``suspected" of illegal status to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and the state attorney general's office.

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The contentious debate about Proposition 187 unfolded against a backdrop of considerable voter discontent about the broad demographic changes largely fueled by immigration that have drastically altered California's makeup since the 1980s.

Oft-voiced fears that California was under ``invasion" spawned a loose network of community-based groups that banded together as the California Coalition for Immigration Reform. The coalition became a co-sponsor and key organizing vehicle for the initiative the sponsors dubbed ``save our state." It was co-authored by Nelson and Ezell, a pair of former high-ranking INS officials, and State Assemblyman Richard L. Mountjoy.

The anti-187 campaign strategy, aimed primarily at white voters who make up the bulk of the state's electorate, was the essence of pragmatism acknowledging that illegal immigration was a major problem but maintaining that Proposition 187 would make a bad situation worse.

Leaders of the pro-187 campaign made relatively few public appearances, particularly before potentially unfriendly crowds. Rather, backers relied largely on the get-out-the-vote efforts and TV ads of Wilson and the state Republican Party, the proposition's leading advocates.

For politicians, Proposition 187 became the defining issue of state elections. Republican Senate hopeful Huffington joined Wilson on the ``yes" side and Democratic U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein and gubernatorial challenger Kathleen Brown urged a ``no" vote.

As the campaign heated up, polls showed a particularly marked decline in support among Latinos. Many California Latinos came to view the proposition as an attack on them, regardless of immigration status.

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On a sunny Sunday in mid-October, an estimated 70,000 peaceful demonstrators marched from the east side of Los Angeles to downtown to condemn the initiative and Wilson. The protest was the largest Los Angeles has seen in decades, surpassing Vietnam War-era demonstrations. But in terms of the

November vote, the march was seen as a mixed blessing with proponents of Proposition 187 pouncing on the sea of Mexican flags waved by the crowd as evidence of un-Americanism.

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**Gingrich Girds to Make Republican Power Plays (Marietta, Ga.)**
**By Thomas B. Rosenstiel and Edith Stanley=**
**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

MARIETTA, Ga. However the night ended, he knew he would be the victor. He could taste it. He had planned it, for 20 years, like plotting the lesson plans for one of the college classes he used to teach.

''Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker! Speaker!'' they chanted when he came to drink in their cheers of triumph.

Newt Gingrich, principal architect of attack politics, commander-in-chief of a loyal army of ''New Republicans'' created largely in his image, a man who calls Democrats ''the enemy of normal Americans'' and talks openly about remaking the nation into a conservative utopia, was becoming, by late Tuesday evening, the most important congressman in America.

It now appeared nearly certain that the Republicans would win more than the 40 seats needed to make Gingrich the first Republican speaker of the House since 1954, and second in line of succession to the White House after Vice President Al Gore.

''This is the beginning of the revolution!'' Georgia radio talk-show host Sean Hannity boomed from the microphone.

''There he is, there he is,'' a woman screamed late Tuesday as Gingrich entered the Cobb Galleria Centre ballroom, festooned in ''Newt Blue,'' the special color ordered by the man who is making a science of control.

''This is truly a wildly historic night,'' Gingrich said when the votes were clear. ''We're going to bring together a great majority to do good things.

''I want to thank ...'' he said, pausing.

''... President Clinton,'' someone shouted.

It is all part of a remarkable journey for a man who, during 16 years of service in the House of Representatives, has never authored a piece of legislation that made it into law.

''When you are speaker you get to set the agenda, you get to decide what hearings are held, you get to decide what legislation is up,'' Gingrich told a reporter later. ''I think you don't have to be nearly as combative.''

Briefly, it seemed the biggest potential obstacle to Gingrich's ascension was annoyingly provincial. Five days ago, his own re-election race had become so close Gingrich had to cancel plans to campaign for Republicans around the country so he could court voters in his suburban Atlanta district.

Sunday, Gingrich's penchant for seeing virtually everything through the prism of his self-declared ideological war got him into trouble again.

He suggested that the killing of two children in South Carolina by their mother was somehow the result of Democratic policies. ''How a mother can kill her two children, 14 months and 3 years, in hopes that her boyfriend would like her, is just a sign of how sick the system is, and I think people want to change,'' he declared. ''The only way you can change is to vote Republican. That's the message for the last three days.''

But as the polls closed in Georgia, early returns showed he had achieved a comfortable 18-point lead over Democratic challenger Ben Jones, a former congressman who portrayed the character Cooter on the TV program ''Dukes of Hazard.''

Rather than making his mark by passing legislation, providing constituent service, or mastering the art of compromise and consenus building, Gingrich has risen to the top of his party by redefining the role of member of Congress. He has tried to tear down the institution he served in order to remake it.

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As a young House back-bencher, he openly attacked fellow congressmen personally, kept files on colleagues, and waged campaigns designed to damage former Democratic Speaker Jim Wright of Texas, among others. Not long after his arrival in Washington, his antics inspired then-House Speaker Thomas P. ''Tip'' O'Neill to describe Gingrich's flagrant break with House traditions as the ''worst thing I have seen in 32 years.''

''Newt is a revolutionary,'' said pollster Frank Luntz, who works closely with Gingrich. ''And he is unique in that he has really thought through how to make that revolution.''

Gingrich has vowed that if Republicans gain control of the House and elect him speaker, he will schedule hearings early next year on his ''first-wave reforms.'' That agenda includes passage of a balanced budget amendment, congressional term limits, litigation reform and welfare reform. Later, he would push a set of ''second-wave'' reforms, including legalizing school prayer.

''There is an obligation it's the speaker of the House, not the speaker of the party,'' Gingrich said, ''and I think I will have an obligation to reach out to the president and to reach out to the Democrats.''

Many Democrats and a few surviving GOP moderates wonder if he sincerely wants to accomplish anything while Clinton remains in the White House.

After a surprising election to the GOP leadership post of minority whip in 1989, Gingrich has followed a carefully scripted game plan, which he studies hours a day, to gradually incubate a culture of congressional party control that is largely unknown in the modern Congress.

A recent strategy for developing party discipline is Gingrich's ''Contract for America,'' unveiled with much fanfare last month on the steps of the Capitol. In exchange in many cases for roughly $50,000 apiece in campaign contributions, some 355 Republican congressional candidates signed the pact, promising to support a Gingrich-designed legislative package that his pollster had calculated would help them win their elections.

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Tuesday, even before the confetti and balloons had settled to the ballroom floor, the question was begging to be addressed: Could the man who rose through tearing down the institution in which he served actually govern?

''Newt has always been an attack general,'' said Georgia pollster and political analyst Claiborne Darden Jr.

''And through history, attack generals don't survive after they have conquered the enemy.''

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**Republicans Claim Majority of Governorships (Washn)**
**By John M. Broder=**
**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON The Democrats' Debacle '94 extended to statehouses across the nation Tuesday as Republicans stormed to a majority of governorships for the first time since 1970, ousting liberal icon Mario M. Cuomo in New York and capturing control

in every other major state but Florida.

Republicans seized Democratic-held governorships in New York, Texas, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Kansas, New Mexico and Wyoming and retained the electoral-vote-rich states of California, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and Minnesota.

Among major states, only Florida remained in Democratic hands, although by a razor-thin margin.

The Maryland race was too close to call.

The gubernatorial balance of power at the beginning of the day Tuesday was Democrats 29, Republicans 19 and independents 2. As the polls closed, it appeared Republicans would be in power in at least 30 states, a dramatic turnaround that surpassed even optimistic GOP projections.

The Republican gains, coupled with the expected re-elections of most of their sitting governors, present the GOP with an opportunity to advance its tax-slashing, welfare-cutting, crime-throttling agenda in places where policy may actually get made in the next two years.

In Texas, Democratic Gov. Ann Richards was beaten by businessman and Texas Rangers managing partner George W. Bush, son of former President Bush, despite her undiminished personal appeal and matchless campaign style. Anti-incumbent fever, paired with deep disenchantment with President Clinton and Democratic Party policies, were too much for her to overcome.

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In Pennsylvania, Republican Rep. Tom Ridge upset Democratic Lt. Gov. Mark S. Singel, using crime as a cudgel. Singel's campaign struggled after the revelation that as head of the Board of Pardons, he had recommended parole for a prisoner who is now charged with rape and murder.

The GOP seized six other statehouses from the Democrats, according to partial results. In Oklahoma, former U.S. Attorney Frank Keating defeated Democratic Lt. Gov. Jack Mildren; in Tennessee, Rep. Don Sundquist defeated Nashville Mayor Phil Bredesen; in New Mexico, Republican businessman Gary Johnson knocked off Democratic Gov. Bruce King; in Wyoming, GOP state Sen. Jim Geringer defeated Democratic Secretary of State Kathy Karpan; in Rhode Island, former federal prosecutor Lincoln Almond beat Democratic state Sen. Myrth York; and in Kansas, GOP Secretary of State Bill Graves defeated Rep. Jim Slattery.

``It was a good year to be running as a Republican,'' Graves said.

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As in Senate contests across the nation, Republican gubernatorial candidates tarred their Democratic opponents as Clinton allies who espoused outdated Clinton-style liberal policies. While crime rates are declining nationally, anti-crime rhetoric was off the charts in virtually every gubernatorial campaign.

The GOP statehouse gains promise to play a role in presidential politics in 1996, giving Republicans an organizational and fund-raising advantage in critical regions, while burnishing the presidential or vice presidential prospects of California's Pete Wilson, William Weld of Massachusetts, George Voinovich of Ohio, John Engler of Michigan and some newer faces.

One of the few bright spots for Democrats was Florida, where 64-year-old Lawton Chiles fought back a furious challenge by real estate developer Jeb Bush, another son of the former president. The race, like many others across the land, turned on the question of who was toughest on crime, with Bush, 41, accusing Chiles of being insufficiently energetic in his advocacy of the death penalty.

Democratic governors held their seats in Georgia, Colorado, Nevada, Arkansas, Nebraska and Vermont.

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Georgia incumbent Zell Miller, who was identified by his opponent, businessman Guy Millner, as a virtual clone of the president, won a narrow victory.

Colorado Gov. Roy Romer won easily over his Republican challenger, millionaire oilman Bruce Benson. A largely civil campaign dissolved when revelations about Benson's drunk driving arrests and acrimonious divorce put him on the defensive.

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Democratic officials acknowledged that they had been swamped by a Republican and anti-incumbent tide, but attributed some of their losses to population shifts in the South and Southwest.

``I think in the Southern races there's been a demographic trend over 10 to 20 years, a changing nature of the electorate as retirees from Midwest move down. The region has become much more competitive than it ever was; it's not like the old days when Democrats had a lock,'' said Doug Richardson, chairman of the Democratic Governors Association.

He also cited the deep animosity toward career politicians in the close races in New York and New Mexico, where 12-year Democratic incumbents Cuomo and King were crushed. In Iowa, Republican Terry Branstad won re-election after a rough primary and a stiff challenge from state Attorney General Bonnie Campbell.

Republican incumbents in the Midwest were easy winners: Ohio's Voinovich, Engler of Michigan, Jim Edgar of Illinois, Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin and Arne Carlson of Minnesota. All are likely to play some role in GOP presidential politics in years to come.

One of the few Republican incumbent governors who faced a tough challenge was Fife Symington of Arizona, who faced charges of involvement in a failed savings and loan institution. His opponent, grocery chain owner Eddie Basha, saw a large lead evaporate and the race went down to the wire.

In New Mexico, a third party candidate helped spoil the re-election hopes of King, a 70-year-old Democrat and rancher who lost to Republican newcomer and contractor Johnson, 41.

New Mexico Green Party candidate Roberto Mondragon, 54, who once served as lieutenant governor under King, siphoned off about 10 percent of the vote much of that support coming from the largely Latino northern sections of the state.

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**Ted Kennedy Survives Scare, Retains Senate Seat (Boston)**
**By Elizabeth Mehren=**
**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

BOSTON It was touch and go for much of this long, bitter campaign, but Massachusetts once again sent a Kennedy to the U.S. Senate.

Surrounded by a sea of relatives, Edward M. Kennedy called his election ``a victory for those who believe we have a voice and a vote and a fighter in the U.S. Senate, who is going to fight for the interests of the middle class. Working families will know for the next six years

that they have a spokesman. I will never leave their side. They will always have my vote."

Kennedy made a point of voicing his support for President and Mrs. Clinton, who had been blamed by Republicans for the country's ills. ``I am proud to stand with Bill Clinton," he said to cheers Tuesday night, ``and I am proud to stand with Hillary Clinton."

In his concession speech, Kennedy's challenger Mitt Romney said ``our campaign for change has not ended. We're going to continue to fight for change."

It took a fair amount of forgiving for many voters to give Ted Kennedy a seventh term on Capitol Hill. But even to voters who professed to loathe the last surviving brother of his generation the prospect of losing their link to this country's best-known political dynasty was perplexing.

``I don't know that `affection' is the word that describes how we feel about Kennedy here," reflected novelist James Carroll, who lives on Boston's Beacon Hill. ``I think it's a connection, a deep emotional bond, for better or for worse."

But the extent of that attachment was severely tested in Kennedy's race against venture capitalist Romney.

``Kennedy pulled out all the stops on this one," said Republican state Sen. Lucille Hicks, who represents the town of Wayland, west of Boston. ``He was hanging on by his toenails."

Nowhere was the contrast between the two candidates more pronounced than in their physical appearance. At 62, the white-haired Kennedy has grown so heavy he inspired a David Letterman joke: ``Vote for me, the big, red-faced guy."

Romney, 47, is square-jawed and lean. His hair is dark and lustrous. When he smiles, spectators are wise to don sunglasses.

Their political philosophies are equally at odds. Kennedy all but personifies traditional liberal Democratic politics. He believes in government as a vehicle for social reform, and in recent years has proved to be a champion of causes pertaining to women and families. Romney is an inveterate capitalist who espouses a ``hands-off" attitude on most questions of government intervention. He has particularly faulted Democrats for poor economic policies and has vowed to reverse tax hikes introduced by Democrats.

Mostly, Romney campaigned on what was a recurring theme around the country: the need for change, the need to oust tired old incumbents in favor of fresh new political blood.

Like many contests across the country, the Kennedy-Romney race was marked as much by record costs spent by both candidates as by the churlish, attack-dog tone the two contenders embraced. In what proved to be the most expensive campaign in Massachusetts history, Kennedy spent $8.5 million to defend his seat. Romney's campaign cost $7 million, at least $3 million of that coming from his own pocket.

Snippish television and radio ads, in particular, featured the two men each a multimillionaire in his own right accusing each other of having improperly benefited from suspicious real estate or business deals. The angry tenor seemed out of sync with a state economy that has improved markedly in the last four years.

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Both candidates worked hard to package themselves. Romney presented himself as young and vital a jogger, a faithful husband to his beautiful blonde wife and the father of five wholesome, handsome sons. A venture capitalist, he hammered away at the correlation between his success as a self-made businessman and the skills he might need in the U.S. Senate.

At first Romney's strategy and tenacity were rewarded. A month ago, polls showed the race in a dead heat.

But in recent days, surveys showed the votes tipping in Kennedy's favor. Many observers credited the shift to Kennedy's impressive showing in a pair of televised debates. The first encounter, at Boston's historic Faneuil Hall, featured a concession on the part of Romney forces that allowed Kennedy staffers to bring in triple-sized lecterns designed to conceal the senator's girth. At the next meeting, at Holyoke College in the western part of the state, Romney banned lecterns, insisting that the candidates stand next to one another.

Kennedy's pre-debate campaign performance had been so sluggish that Romney as well as many veteran political observers probably underestimated the senator's comeback power.

``The Kennedy campaign was asleep," said longtime Democratic strategist Paul Nace. ``They probably underestimated the vulnerability of the senator in Massachusetts, and they overestimated the knowledgeability of people. You know, Ted is very easy to take for granted. He's always been there."

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John Gorman, president of Opinion Dynamics in Cambridge, said a full three years after the family's most recent scandal when his nephew William Kennedy Smith was charged with rape at the family's compound at Palm Beach, Fla., and Edward Kennedy was described as carousing with his nephew and running around the mansion in his underwear ``Kennedy had a two-to-one negative rating in this state." Only 35 percent of voters, Gorman said, gave Kennedy a positive rating.

But through ``a combination of work, remarriage and penance," Kennedy managed to get back in the race, Gorman said. Two days before the election, Gorman gave Kennedy a 5-4 favorable/unfavorable rating.

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## Robb Turns Back North in Virginia Senate Race (McLean, Va.)

**By Elizabeth Shogren and Michael Ross=**
**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

McLEAN, Va. Virginians, faced with what many voters regarded as a choice between bad and worse, said no to Republican Oliver L. North on Tuesday and allowed Democrat Charles S. Robb to keep his Senate seat despite a lackluster first term and sullied personal reputation.

With 86 percent of the vote counted, the incumbent led North 46 percent to 43 percent. Republican J. Marshall Coleman, running as an independent, had 11 percent of the vote.

On a night when many Democrats nationally went down to unceremonious defeat, the outcome was both an important victory for Robb's party and an ironic anomaly for a candidate with such vulnerabilities.

``It was hold your nose and vote for the one who you dislike less," said John McGlennon, a political scientist at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. ``Stick that clothespin on and pull the lever."

An elated Robb greeted his supporters at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in this Washington suburb with a throaty: ``How sweet it is!"

After thanking pro-choice, gay and lesbian and black organizations for their support, Robb said: ``This election was a very important message to the nation. Virginia will continue to be inclusive. Virginia will continue to be tolerant rather than intolerant."

While candidates across the country Democrats and Republicans alike tried to distance themselves from President Clinton during the campaign, Robb sought his

help in his Senate race, and thanked him in his acceptance speech.

''I am proud to stand with our president,'' Robb said to the crowd, which roared loudly enough to drown out the rest of his statement.

North, appearing in the Richmond convention hall to concede defeat, pointedly offered no congratulations to Robb. Acknowledging that he felt ''hurt'' by the results, he told his supporters, ''My loss is not your defeat if you will persevere.''

The race was neck and neck until the last days of the campaign, when former first lady Nancy Reagan denounced North as a liar and the candidate blundered by attacking Social Security during an appearance at a nursing home.

Key to Robb's success was the turnout of black voters, whose support of Robb soared after his longtime Democratic nemesis, former Gov. L. Douglas Wilder, stopped attacking him and started campaigning for him during the last weeks of the campaign.

''Doug Wilder has finally delivered for him,'' said political scientist Mark Rozell of Virginia's Mary Washington College. ''But a Robb victory does not change his scandalous past. More than anything else, I see the results as a rejection of Oliver North. Robb could not have won re-election without opposing a controversial, scandal-tainted nominee like Mr. North.''

Most Virginians were unenthusiastic about the candidates put forward by the major political parties.

As an aide to President Reagan, North ran the illegal Iran-Contra operation and was convicted of shredding classified documents, accepting illegal gratuities and lying to congressional investigating committees. Those convictions were later overturned on a technicality.

Robb, once a highly regarded governor, tarnished his reputation through admitted extramarital dalliances and other morally questionable behavior. After Virginians gave him 71 percent of the vote last time around, their affection for the son-in-law of former President Johnson dwindled steadily.

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''These are the two most unpopular party nominees in this state's history,'' said Larry Sabato, professor of government at the University of Virginia. ''It's an embarrassment. Virginia is very sensitive about it.''

Voters expressed precisely the same sentiments. ''Robb's the lesser of two evils,'' said Monika Talwar, 24, an information specialist for the U.S. Agency for International Development. ''I think Robb's a sleaze. The stories about his character concerned me. But I'm more concerned in seeing North defeated. Basically, I'm strongly anti-North, and I thought this was one election where my vote could make a difference.''

Rozell called the result a rejection of North rather than an endorsement of Robb. ''Robb was the devil they knew,'' Rozell said, ''but Oliver North was just too dangerous for most Virginia voters.''

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North had been forced to campaign in the teeth of opposition from some prominent Republicans. Reagan expressed his indignation at North's campaign in a letter published early in the election season. And just 10 days before the election, Reagan's wife, Nancy, denounced the man who had once worked for her husband.

''I know Ollie North has a great deal of trouble separating fact from fantasy,'' she said. ''And he lied to my husband and lied about my husband.''

''The attack from Nancy Reagan really did hurt him, mostly among Republicans and especially Republican women,'' Sabato said.

Within the state, John Warner, Virginia's senior senator and longest-serving GOP officeholder, led the Republican opposition to North. He argued that, even though it was overturned on a technicality, North's 1989 conviction in the Iran-Contra scandal made him ''unfit'' for public service.

The denunciations by the Reagans and Warner helped doom North even though he was endorsed by former Vice President Dan Quayle and Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., arguably the most influential Republican of them all.

While North received widespread kudos for an aggressive, effective campaign, he sabotaged himself, according to Virginia political analysts, by suggesting at a senior citizens home near Roanoke that in the future workers should be able to opt out of paying Social Security.

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## House Speaker Foley Losing to GOP Foe in Washington State (Spokane)

**By Melissa Healy and Doug Conner=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

SPOKANE, Wash. Voters in eastern Washington appeared poised to hand Republicans a prize trophy late Tuesday toppling Democratic House Speaker Thomas S. Foley and electing his Republican challenger, 50-year-old George Nethercutt, in a race that completed the Republicans' sweep.

Foley's apparent defeat marked the first time since 1862, when Pennsylvanians voted out Galusha Grow that a House speaker has been ousted from the job by voters in his own district.

With 42 percent of the vote counted and returns from the 5th District's Republican-leaning rural areas still to come, Nethercutt was ahead 53 percent to Foley's 47 percent.

Washington voters had returned Foley, 65, to the nation's capital 15 times since 1964. In 1989, Foley a reserved and cerebral Democrat who has consistently shied from partisan wrangling became speaker of the House of Representatives and second in line to the presidency.

By late Tuesday night, it was growing increasingly apparent that even if he won re-election, voters outside Foley's district would deny him his job as speaker. Republican candidates Tuesday seemed to be headed for victory in such numbers that Democrats would lose control of the House.

While not conceding the election, a somber Foley emerged shortly after 9 p.m. Tuesday to offer his reaction to the Republicans' apparent success in regaining control of the House. ''It will be, I think, unfortunate if the result of this election is more a sense of frustration, more a sense of gridlock and indecision that is still at the heart of public dissatisfaction,'' Foley said.

Shortly before, a relaxed and buoyant Nethercutt had told an exultant crowd of supporters, ''This is an historic moment. Republicans are taking the lead all across this country, and we're not going to stop at the borders of Washington state.''

Offering something short of a victory speech, Nethercutt added, ''We're poised and ready to go forward, to make it better, to have a new direction in the government, a new direction in Congress. I hope to be there.''

In January, Foley will likely turn his gavel over to Georgia Republican Newt Gingrich, a fiery partisan who helped lead his party toward House control for the first time in 40 years.

Foley, who had been criticized in the House for his unwillingness to engage in fierce battles with

Republicans, remained courtly to the end. At a rally on the eve of the election, the jowly, white-haired speaker told the Los Angeles Times, ``I'm sick and tired of the negativism and the pessimism."

Many voters emerging from the polls acknowledged that they stand to lose considerable clout in Congress with the departure of Foley. But in a political year of incendiary voter anger, residents said they were intent on sending a new, untested politician to represent them in the Capitol.

The contrast between Nethercutt and Foley could not have been greater. Nethercutt is a Spokane attorney and former county Republican Party chairman who has never held public office. He has vowed to voters that he would not serve in the House for longer than six years.

(Optional add end)

As speaker of the House of Representatives, Foley has become the most visible example of a party and an institution under attack nationally for its entrenched power.

Two years ago, Foley filed suit against the state of Washington to annul a law that would have limited House members' service to six years and Senate members' service to 12 years. The measure won 52 percent of the popular vote in Washington, but Foley contended it was unconstitutional. In February, Foley won the suit, delivering a significant defeat to proponents of term limits. But the speaker's legal crusade appeared to mark him as the ultimate career politician, arrogant and aloof from voters.

Such perceptions had put Foley as far as 18 points behind Nethercutt during the campaign. Foley returned to his district as an underdog, and played the part to the hilt.

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## After 18 Terms, Embattled Rostenkowski Finally Loses (Chicago)

## By Judy Pasternak and Stephen Braun=

## (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

CHICAGO As his machine sputtered out and his footsoldiers stood by helplessly, embattled Democratic Rep. Dan Rostenkowski suffered a veteran city ward heeler's ultimate indignity Tuesday, turned out of office by a novice Republican challenger.

Facing a federal trial on misuse of government funds and forced to give up his coveted post as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee after he was indicted last May, the 18-term congressman had depended, as always, on his vaunted northside Chicago political organization to deliver the goods.

But on a rain-swept night in a northwest storefront, Rostenkowski's precinct captains and ward walkers came back empty-handed.

With 66 percent of the Fifth Congressional district's vote in late Tuesday night, challenger Michael Patrick Flanagan defeated Rostenkowski 49,672, or 56 percent, to 39,172, or 44 percent. Four hours after the polls closed, the signs were clear, and Rostenkowski conceded.

``I'm going to go back to Washington and clean out my desk," Rostenkowski, 66, told a room filled with stunned campaign workers.

He smiled grimly as he entered and tugged at his ear as he spoke. ``I've stood for election in primaries and November elections almost 45 times," he said softly. ``This is first time I've had to concede defeat."

Flanagan, a 31-year-old contract lawyer almost unknown in local Republican circles, had waged a lonely campaign for months, knocking on doors in Rostenkowski's northside strongholds and in suburban bedroom communities more friendly to his quixotic campaign.

Rostenkowski's political surrogates the aldermen and precinct captains who had served him well for decades boasted that they would carry the ball for him as they had always done. But ``our boys and girls," as 36th Ward Alderman William ``Billy" Banks called his troops, could not stem the voters' disillusionment.

``For 34 years, he did so much for the city," said Thomas McDarrah, one of the congressman's inner circle. ``These voters are stupid."

Flanagan said Tuesday night that voters' concerns over taxes and weariness with pork-barrel politics were the most decisive factors in his victory. He did not mention Rostenkowski's legal troubles. Within weeks of winning the Democratic primary last April, Rostenkowski was indicted on 17 counts of embezzlement, fraud and witness-tampering.

``The people of the Fifth District want to have more control over their lives and they don't want people to tell them what they want," Flanagan said as he watched election returns in his downtown Chicago hotel suite.

``We didn't beat him up on a daily basis" about the impending trial, Flanagan said. ``And I'm not going to jump on his personal difficulties now, either."

Flanagan's campaign had seemed to generate little enthusiasm until recent weeks when an internal poll by the Republican National Committee indicated Rostenkowski was in trouble. The RNC infused Flanagan's cash-poor campaign with a $55,000 donation.

(Optional add end)

Last weekend, Rostenkowski, who had not campaigned and whose headquarters did not even answer its telephone, rushed back to Chicago to announce a last-minute federal grant to stem erosion at the Chicago lakefront and several other gifts of political pork.

Rostenkowski had built a political life on the provision of such largesse. As chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, he had perfected the art of getting tough bills through, offering the tiny but savory compromises that won the votes of unyielding opponents. In his April primary, he showed up in the final weeks of the campaign with a firefighting helicopter for Chicago's firefighters-and handily won what had been expected to be a grueling race.

This time around, though, it was that very ability to dispense the goods that seemed to prove Rostenkowski's undoing.

``Pork has not served this district well," Flanagan said recently, motioning to a campaign sign that showed a photographs of Rostenkowski over a caption that read: ``1994 Term Limits Poster Child."

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## Postal Rate Increase Expected to Begin in January (Washn)

## By Robert A. Rosenblatt=

## (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

WASHINGTON Postal rates will rise in January, with the standard first-class stamp jumping to 32 cents from 29 cents, the chairman of the U.S. Postal Service warned Tuesday.

``Our customers should plan accordingly," Sam Winters, the chairman, said during a meeting of the Postal Service Board of Governors.

The Postal Service already has applied for a 10.3 percent rate increase for all classes of mail. The independent Postal Rate Commission is expected to announce

within a few weeks its ruling on the rate request.

Approval is widely expected, and postal officials, along with most big mailers, have been assuming that the higher rates would take effect on Jan. 1. But Winters made it virtually official Tuesday, promising that the new rate structure will begin with the New Year.

Anticipating the higher rates, many big advertisers, mail-order merchandisers and mass mailers will send out tons of extra mailings late this year to take advantage of the current rates. For any who might have been hoping that the rate hike would take effect sometime after Jan. 1, Winters' remarks are likely to serve as a wake-up call.

After the rate commission announces its decisions, Winters said, the board of governors will act ``in a most timely manner."

The rate increase would be the first since 1991, when the price of a first-class stamp rose to 29 cents from 25 cents.

(Optional add end)

Proposed rate increases usually are contentious, with competing groups of mailers trying to negotiate lower rates for themselves by shifting more of the burden to other classes of mail. This time, the big mailers, including magazines, newspapers, catalog publishers and direct marketers, supported an across-the-board rate hike of 10.3 percent. In return, the Postal Service promised to conduct a major study to re-examine the classification and pricing system that has remained largely unchanged since the Postal Service became independent in 1971.

The 10.3 percent increase ``is below inflation and will provide just enough revenue on which to operate the Postal Service," Winters said. ``For that reason, the governors hope to implement the rates as early as practical in January 1995."

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## Smith's Family Apologizes for Her False Charges (Union, S.C.)

**By Eric Harrison=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

UNION, S.C. The family of accused child killer Susan Smith apologized Tuesday to blacks for her false claim that a black man kidnapped her two sons.

Smith's brother, Scott Vaughn, called the racial implication of her allegation a ``terrible misfortune" and said the family found it disturbing that ``anyone would think that this was ever a racial issue."

Smith confessed Thursday to drowning her children while in a state of depression that nearly caused her to take her own life. A number of black men were picked up for questioning during the nine days that Smith carried out her deception.

Vaughn thanked his black friends who he said have stood by him during the ordeal and said, ``Had there been a white man, a purple man, a blue man on that corner that night that would have been the description that Susan used."

Many blacks were upset that her allegations had smeared black men as a group, and some townspeople criticized law enforcement officials for taking the claim seriously.

Even so, after Smith family members finished their apology and other comments in an afternoon news conference at the Union County Courthouse, Sheriff Howard Wells told reporters: ``I have no apology to make in any decision or any action I took."

``The community at large has never seen this as a racial issue," he said later. ``There have been some individuals, but they were not representative of the community."

Indeed, while some blacks have described the questioning of black suspects as ``harassment" and said Wells should apologize, many others have praised him for the way in which he handled the case.

From the time 3-year-old Michael and 14-month old Alexander Smith were reported missing, Wells said, law enforcement officials focused their efforts on finding them. Arresting the alleged kidnapper was not a priority, he said.

(Begin optional trim)

Describing the town as ``a good Christian community, a quiet community that has not progressed much in many years," he said: ``We didn't have a flash point here not even close. ... It's not like Los Angeles or wherever where every incident that happens is tied to the one before."

Calling the family's apology ``heartfelt," he said he thought it would ``go a long way toward easing the tension and helping us get back to a state of normal function in this county."

Smith's husband, David, had been scheduled to speak Tuesday about the slayings and his wife's arrest, but was unable to appear because he's still in too much pain, said his father, Charles David Smith.

Before breaking down in tears and being led away by a relative, the elder Smith said, ``David's recovering from this tragedy in a very painful way. It's going to haunt him for the rest of his life. ... He's broken up. He wants his children back. That can't happen."

He thanked the public for what he said was overwhelming support expressed by cards, letters and flowers sent from around the nation and from some foreign countries.

(End optional trim)

One black Union resident said no apology was necessary from the family. ``It makes me feel good that they apologized, but for me personally it wasn't needed," said Hester Booker. ``It's something that happened. Now it's time to try to move on."

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## Barry Completes Stunning Comeback by Winning Mayoral Race (Washn)

**By Robert L. Jackson=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

WASHINGTON Former Mayor Marion S. Barry, in a stunning comeback from a 1990 federal drug conviction, regained his role as chief executive of the nation's capital city, defeating an unexpectedly strong showing by Republican challenger Carol Schwartz.

Surrounded by supporters at the Washington Convention Center late Tuesday, he invited all segments of the city's diverse population to ``join me in rebuilding Washington together."

``Now is the time to forget about yesterday," he said, referring both to his own troubled past and to the deep political divisions that have developed in the city.

Elected to the City Council two years ago after being released from prison in 1992, he built on his base by reaching out to the young, the poor and other groups who had never before voted in large numbers.

Having handily defeated his successor, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, in the Democratic primary in September, Barry had been considered a shoo-in in Tuesday's general election over Schwartz, a white accountant.

But Schwartz apparently drew stronger support than expected from Republican and independent voters, as well as from crossover Democrats, some of whom said Barry's election would be an embarrassment to the nation's capital. The capital, however, has never had a white mayor.

Following his victory in the Democratic primary, Barry told white voters to ``get over" any negative feelings they had due to the six-month prison term he served for cocaine possession.

He hit hard at the theme of ``redemption" in his campaign, once telling a group of former drug offenders that their votes could help him change the district's corrections and parole system. Barry said he had overcome his addiction to cocaine and promised to resign from office if he regressed. But he said he would not pledge to take periodic drug tests, calling them meaningless.

Schwartz matched Barry in the vigor of her own campaign. Her theme was that Barry had caused many of the fiscal and social problems that he was offering to solve, and that his failures had hurt many of the same people whom he was asking for votes.

(Optional add end)

In a dramatic incident that gained national attention, Barry had been photographed in an FBI sting operation smoking cocaine in a Washington hotel room with a former girlfriend who was cooperating with authorities.

That videotape, played for jurors at his subsequent trial and shown to television viewers nationwide, alienated many jurors in the belief that the then-Republican federal Establishment had sought to discredit one of the nation's most prominent black politicians.

In what was considered a defeat for U.S. prosecutors, a jury convicted Barry of only one of 14 drug-related charges, a misdemeanor drug possession. It cleared him of a second drug charge but failed to reach a verdict on 12 other counts, including three felony charges of lying to a grand jury.

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**``Special Trust,"**
**by Robert C. McFarlane and Zofia Smardz**
**(Cadell & Davies, $25, 389 pp.)**

*Goodrich is a regular reviewer for the Los Angeles Times.*

**Reviewed by Chris Goodrich=**
**Special to the Los Angeles Times=**

In August 1993, independent counsel Lawrence Walsh issued his final report on the Iran-Contra scandal. His ultimate findings made the front page of many newspapers, but by no means all, for journalists and citizens alike were weary of the story after seven years of partisan finger-pointing, fragmentary reporting, internecine recrimination and never-ending attempts at spin control. The Walsh report, in theory, should have put Iran-Contra to rest, allowing the participants in the scandal and the public at large to get on with their lives.

That hasn't happened, of course, and in retrospect it's unreasonable to think that any formal document could do justice, in every sense of the term, to Iran-Contra.

In skeletal summary, the story seems the first draft of a B-movie: U.S. government officials secretly sell state-of-the-art military arms to shady figures in one country in order to procure the release of political hostages in another, with the proceeds sent, again in secret and against U.S. law, to guerrilla fighters in a third country.

Add figures such as Ronald Reagan, Oliver North, John Poindexter, Elliot Abrams and Caspar Weinberger (not to mention Fawn Hall), and you have the makings of a Shakespearean tragedy. Reagan as Caesar in dotage, given to demagoguery but easily swayed by sentiment; a band of advisers displaying various degrees of loyalty George Shultz a dutiful Kent, Weinberger a frustrated Coriolanus, Alexander Haig an un-shrewd Cassius; North a truly Shakespearean figure, combining Anthony's public oratorical skills with Iago's private cunning. Who but Shakespeare could capture the moral contradictions, the misguided patriotism, the inevitable personal treachery, that the Iran-Contra scandal would force these and other characters to face ... or in some cases, ignore?

There's one figure even Shakespeare might have trouble with, however: Robert ``Bud" McFarlane, decorated Marine, one-time national security adviser, chief Iran-Contra scapegoat, famously failed suicide, and now author of ``Special Trust," the latest, and surely one of the last, first-person accounts of the scandal. McFarlane wants to be the principled Brutus, the good soldier who says (well before agreeing to Caesar's assassination) that he loves ``the name of honor more than I fear death."

In some ways McFarlane deserves the comparison, being a straight-shooter who fell on his sword in 1987 actually, took an overdose of Valium as penance for setting Iran-Contra in motion. By the time one finishes this memoir, though, McFarlane seems more like Gloucester in ``King Lear," the attempted suicide whose loyalty earns him virtually nothing. Like Gloucester, too, McFarlane is blind, at least metaphorically; he never saw betrayal coming, failing to understand then that the Marine's motto of ``semper fidelis" is an almost meaningless concept in the political arena, even when voiced by a fellow corpsman.

Oliver North has called ``Special Trust" ``a pitiful and mean-spirited attempt (by McFarlane) to glue his broken reputation back together again." Leave out ``pitiful" and ``mean-spirited," and in fact that's not a bad description; McFarlane's book, like every other political memoir, is self-serving, taking as its starting point the idea that negotiating with Iranian dissidents during the Khomeini regime was at first a reasonable diplomatic strategy that subsequently took on a life of its own, with terrible consequences.

On the whole, though, ``Special Trust" is a responsible and plausible volume, for McFarlane is less interested in generating sympathy and wreaking vengeance than in putting Iran-Contra in context. He eventually levels some very serious charges near the book's close he characterizes North as ``deceitful, mendacious, and traitorous" but by then McFarlane has earned the right to call names. It's hard to believe at times that McFarlane was really so trusting of his political and intelligence peers as he professes, but by the same token it's easy to see, given McFarlane's personal history, why he would presume that such trust was fundamental and beyond question.

McFarlane, now head of an international energy-development company, does not come out of ``Special Trust" smelling like a rose. The book, first of all, is peculiarly well-shaped; one can't help feeling that McFarlane's friend and lawyer, Washington lawyer Leonard Garment, made sure his client's public account of Iran-Contra jibed well with the existing, uncontradicted record. McFarlane, moreover, is proficient at interpreting events in conveniently agreeable ways; he ridicules the 1967 decision to build a high-tech electronic fence across Vietnam's DMZ to help monitor enemy movements, but 80 pages later boasts of creating the ``Star Wars" (Strategic Defense Initiative) anti-missile system, which would have been an immense high-tech disaster. The SDI discussion

also shows McFarlane's occasional slipperiness; at first he tries to defend SDI on strategic grounds, despite the fact that it upset many U.S. allies, would have militarized space, and very likely reignited the arms race, but eventually justifies it as simply a diplomatic bargaining chip.

The biggest surprise in ``Special Trust'' is the fact that McFarlane says relatively little about Oliver North. The second biggest is that the book has been produced by a new and unknown publisher, Cadell & Davies. McFarlane charges in the acknowledgments to this volume that the major publisher with whom he orginally signed turned out to be interested only in ``sensationalism.'' These facts and there's no reason to doubt McFarlane's description of how ``Special Trust'' came to be are not unrelated, for McFarlane can no more adapt his views and methods to satisfy a commercial publisher's view of a ``good'' Iran-Contra book than he can place Oliver North center stage for the dramatic effect the public seems to require.

McFarlane's portrait of Iran-Contra defies the one we carry in our heads. In the end, however, the discrepancy makes his memoir more trustworthy rather than less. It's ironic that McFarlane was pressured to make this book more ``marketable,'' for his refusal to hard-sell himself to Congress, the media, and the public as did, routinely, those masterful, telegenic salesmen, Ronald Reagan and Oliver North was the chief reason he became Iran-Contra's fall guy.

In McFarlane's tableau, North ``violated the special trust'' placed in him by the American people, and one can't help but conclude that McFarlane harbors similar thoughts about big-time book publishing. Sad but true, and frightening to boot; it now seems more important in our culture to be able to project an image of integrity and fidelity than actually to possess those qualities, that we measure someone's credibility, not against the evidence, but by the ability to convince.

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## Israel To Speed Up Transfer of West Bank Authority (Jerusalem)

**By Mary Curtius=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

JERUSALEM Faced with evidence that Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat's political base is rapidly eroding, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin promised Tuesday to speed up the transfer of authority in the West Bank and accelerate negotiations of Palestinian elections.

Emerging from two hours of talks near Erez, the crossing point between Israel and the Gaza Strip, Arafat and Rabin said that they had made progress on some of the many issues bedeviling Israeli-Palestinian relations.

Rabin announced that Israel will transfer authority in the West Bank to the Palestinians for tourism, welfare, health and taxation by the end of the month.

In September, Israel transferred authority for education to the Palestinians. But the Israelis refused to relinquish the administration of the other services until they were assured that donor countries would supply enough money to fund them. Rabin said Tuesday that adequate funding will be available by the end of the month.

Rabin also accepted a Palestinian suggestion for speeding up talks on holding elections in Gaza and the West Bank. The two sides disagree on the nature of the elections, on the extent and timing of an Israeli troop redeployment out of Palestinian population centers before the elections are held, and on security arrangements in the West Bank. Rabin said that negotiating teams from the two sides will meet on Nov. 21 to discuss all those issues. Previously, he had insisted that each issue be discussed and finalized one at a time, a policy Palestinian officials said was intolerably slowing negotiations.

In another gesture to Arafat, Rabin announced that he had agreed to authorize the return of another 10,000 Palestinian workers to their jobs in Israel. Last month, after a suicide bomber killed 22 people in an attack on a Tel Aviv bus, Rabin banned Palestinian goods and more than 60,000 Palestinian workers from entering Israel. Israel began to lift that ban a week ago, allowing 8,000 workers to re-enter, but the Palestinians have been pushing for a full lifting of restrictions.

Rabin also said Tuesday that Gazan merchants will be allowed to sell their goods freely in Israel. It was unclear how that declaration would affect an earlier decision by the Ministry of Agriculture to ban all Gazan fruits and vegetables because of a reported outbreak of cholera in Gaza City.

Rabin said that Israel will soon make good on an earlier commitment to build facilities at the Rafah border crossing from Egypt into the Gaza Strip for transporting goods across the border.

It was all good news for Arafat, who dubbed the meeting ``positive and fruitful,'' although Palestinian officials had hoped that Rabin also would announce the release of more Palestinian prisoners. Arafat suffered public humiliation last Friday, when he was booed out of a mosque in Gaza where a militant Islamic activist killed in a car bombing was being mourned.

(Begin optional trim)

``I am desperate,'' Palestinian negotiator Nabil Shaath told the Israeli mass-circulation newspaper Yediot Aharanot, in an interview published Tuesday before the summit. ``If there is no miracle, the agreement between us (Israel and the Palestinians) will collapse. We cannot handle the closure and Rabin's loathing of us.''

Shaath said that the closure of the Gaza Strip had ruined the Palestinian Authority's efforts to attract investors there. He said that Palestinians also were infuriated by Israel's plans for economic cooperation with Jordan, with whom Israel has signed a peace treaty.

``I follow all you are planning to do with the Jordanians and I am exploding with despair and anger,'' Shaath said. ``Rabin is deliberately slow with us and very fast with the Jordanians.''

(End optional trim)

An aide to Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, speaking on condition of anonymity, said that Rabin was alarmed by Arafat's declining popularity among Palestinians within the occupied territories. Opposition to Arafat cuts across political boundaries, with members of Fatah, the guerrilla organization Arafat founded, complaining just as bitterly as Islamic militants about his authoritarian style of governing and his failure to win concessions from Israel.

``Even Peres feels that it is not a question of how much you like Arafat and the way he chooses to govern,'' said the aide ``The fact is that there is no alternative to Arafat for us at the moment. It is in our interest that he be in the best possible position within his own camp.''

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## WORLD REPORT: Security Council Needs to Grow, but Change Is Slow

**By Stanley Meisler=**

**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

UNITED NATIONS When President Franklin D. Roosevelt helped create the United Nations, he envisioned a Security Council with ``five policemen'' defending the world against aggression.

He certainly did not see Germany or Japan among the policemen. Far from candidates for police recruitment, they were the enemy states of World War II, and the Security Council was supposed to beat them down should they ever try to cause trouble again.

But now, as the United Nations approaches its 50th anniversary, there is a mood for reform, and many members, including the United States, agree that Germany and Japan should finally take a place alongside the Big Five the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China as permanent members of the Security Council, the international organization's most powerful and significant arm.

Yet despite the general agreement, change may not come for several years.

The U.N. member nations so far cannot decide whether to enlarge the council by designating other permanent members.

Even if that decision is made, there remains the question of which nations to choose, and whether any would have the veto powers of the Big Five. Approval of Germany and Japan may be withheld until other nations are chosen in the bargaining for a package deal. An amendment to the U.N. Charter requires approval by two-thirds of the General Assembly but can be killed by any member of the Big Five, each of which has veto power. Lobbying is now rampant, and suitors are tugging diplomats one way and another.

India, Nigeria and Brazil because of their large populations strike some as logical choices for an enlarged council.

But rival contenders Pakistan, Indonesia, South Africa, Egypt, Argentina and Mexico do not like the idea of being pushed aside. Nor does Italy, the third member of the World War II Axis powers, like the idea of giving way for Japan and Germany.

Pakistan has warned the United Nations against ``creating new centers of privilege'' while trying to fix the problem of an inequitable Security Council.

``The longer the discussion goes on, the more the blood heats up,'' a senior British official said. ``But the question is not Germany and Japan. The rejected ones are the problem. Their intention is to avoid adding the extra permanent members because they won't be part of it.

``But it will be likely settled in 1996 or 1997. It's not easy to put it off.''

More pessimistic analysts, however, predict no realignments will be made until the next century.

Yet some kind of reform of the Security Council seems inevitable. Looking to the 50th anniversary, which will be celebrated next October, U.N. diplomats started the process a couple of years ago, setting up a special committee on revamping the Security Council and asking every government to submit proposals to it. The committee has sifted through mounds of paper but is far from ready to reveal its recommendations.

The Security Council, which has the authority to order military action against a government that is threatening international peace and security, is now made up of the Big Five plus 10 other countries that serve for two-year terms. The 10 now are Brazil, Spain, Pakistan, Djibouti and New Zealand (whose terms expire at the end of this year) and Nigeria, Oman, Rwanda, the Czech Republic and Argentina (whose terms expire at the end of 1995).

(Begin optional trim)

For the 179 members of the United Nations who are not one of the Big Five, winning a stint on the Security Council is a meaningful moment in their national histories.

Depression descends upon ambassadors of non-permanent members once their terms are up. They are forced once again to devote most of their time and energy to U.N. bodies such as the General Assembly that talk a lot but produce very little.

Yet even to have served means membership in a select group. Eighty countries have never served on the Security Council. And 44 have been elected to only one two-year term in the last 49 years.

(End optional trim)

Italy has provoked a good deal of discussion with a plan that would keep Japan and Germany from a permanent seat. Italy's per-capita gross domestic product, a measure of national wealth, is greater than that of three permanent members Britain, Russia and China and the Italians see no reason for Japan and Germany to join the charmed circle if they cannot.

Italy, in fact, fears that Germany and Japan may scavenge enough votes for permanent seats on the council and then somehow kill the chances for anyone else.

An Italian diplomat, sure that the Germans and Japanese were wooing the Third World, said: ``They need 108 votes to get a resolution accepted, and we fear that they will present it (the resolution) out of the blue as soon as they realize they have enough votes. We are therefore lobbying with those countries too to get votes against Germany and Japan and stop them.''

At the same time, the Italians have devised a complicated proposal that they hope will satisfy everyone.

The Italian proposal, however, is cumbersome and so far has attracted little support.

``The Italian ambassador is very active,'' a British diplomat said, ``but it is not enough. To create a third category of members is just a silly way to walk around the problem, and it can jeopardize the effectiveness of the council.''

(Begin optional trim)

Japan and Germany intend to go on the Security Council with somewhat different commitments than those set down in 1945.

As originally conceived, the permanent members of the Security Council had a special obligation to use their armed forces to put down aggression.

But Japan, though willing to let troops serve as U.N. peacekeepers, does not allow the use of force by its soldiers in a U.N. military operation.

In theory, Germany could send its troops into combat for the United Nations, but it has never done so in the past.

Japanese Foreign Minister Yohei Kono insists that a lack of commitment to deploy armed forces should not disqualify his country in a modern United Nations.

``Today the international community expects the U.N. to play all sorts of roles in peace and security, disarmament, diseases, non-proliferation, development, et cetera, et cetera,'' Kono said in a recent interview.

In fact, noting that the Big Five are all nuclear powers, Kono said: ``It is important to have the countries that are non-nuclear states on the Security Council.''

Although Kono did not bring it up, there are strong pressures, especially from the United States, for Japan and Germany to pay a larger share of the U.N. budget, and the two economic powers are unlikely to do so unless they see a seat on the Security Council in their future.

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(End optional trim)

Since 1966, when the Security Council was expanded from 11 to 15 members, the 10 non-permanent seats have been allotted according to a set formula: five from Africa and Asia, two from Latin America, one from Eastern Europe and two from Western Europe and the industrialized British Commonwealth countries. Some Third World countries want to expand the non-permanent seats to 16 and allot them this way: five from Africa, four from Asia, three from Latin America, two from Western Europe and the industrialized Commonwealth, one from Eastern Europe, and one to alternate from different regions.

Britain and several other countries have warned the United Nations against doing anything that might diminish the effectiveness of the Security Council. Others have warned of opening a Pandora's box by changing its makeup.

But Third World governments look on arguments like these as a smoke screen to hide privilege. Britain is a permanent member of the Security Council not because of its size or power or wealth but because of its history as a victor of World War II. Adding Japan and Germany and others would diminish British importance in the Security Council.

In fact, both Britain and France were hostile at first to any change. ``The Americans,'' British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said earlier this year, ``have a saying, `If it ain't broke, don't fix it.' And I think there is something to be said for that.''

But both Britain and France, perhaps facing the inevitable, have changed their policy and now support adding Japan, Germany and perhaps a few others.

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## WORLD REPORT: The Italian Plan
## (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

Italy has devised a complex plan for the U.N. Security Council that seems to satisfy many concerns except perhaps efficiency. It would keep the council's five permanent members plus five or 10 non-permanent members. But it would add 10 semi-permanent members, without veto power, drawn from a pool of 20 nations. Likely candidates would be Germany, Japan, Italy, Nigeria, South Africa, Egypt, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Australia, Czech Republic, Sweden, South Korea, Jamaica, Costa Rica and Bangladesh. The council would then total 20 or 25 representatives but would be cumbersome.

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## French Uncover Arms Cache, Arrest 95 Suspected Terrorists (Paris)
## By Scott Kraft=
## (c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=

PARIS Elite French police units raided homes and buildings near Paris and other cities Tuesday, uncovering a large cache of arms and explosives and arresting 95 people suspected of operating a support network for Islamic guerrillas in Algeria.

The police sweep, the largest since authorities began cracking down on Islamic fundamentalists here a year ago, gave credence to repeated government warnings that French soil is being used to give logistic support to guerrilla groups in the former French colony.

It also was sure to fuel anti-Islamic feelings in France, home to 5 million Muslims, and increase scrutiny of foreigners and French citizens from North Africa.

``This shows clearly that there are fundamentalists strongly determined to develop terrorist actions and clandestine activities from our territory and from other European countries,'' said Charles Pasqua, the French government's interior minister.

It also showed, he told reporters, ``that they have the means, including false identities, to move around in Europe. And it implicates French citizens of Algerian origin in these activities.''

The raids, involving more than 300 police officers, were ordered by France's top terrorist prosecutor, Jean-Louis Bruguiere. The authorities Tuesday focused their attention primarily on immigrant areas around Paris and other major cities. An array of weapons, from automatic pistols and assault rifles to hand grenades, was uncovered at several sites.

Pasqua said investigators also found evidence of links between the French network and fundamentalist supporters in Canada, Britain, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands.

Among those arrested was Mourad Adou, 24, described by authorities as one of the key leaders of the Armed Islamic Group, which is believed responsible for sabotage attacks and assassinations of foreigners, journalists and intellectuals in Algeria. In the past year, 23 French citizens have been killed in Algeria.

(Optional add end)

The Armed Islamic Group has thus far refused to join talks between the military government in Algeria and more moderate Islamic fundamentalists. An estimated 11,000 people have died in Algeria since Islamic radicals took up arms after the January 1992 elections, which were canceled by the government when the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front appeared to be winning.

In August, French police arrested more than 20 North Africans, eventually deporting them to Burkina Faso in West Africa. The conservative French government also has expelled some Islamic clergymen and, in tense confrontations with others, prohibited girls from wearing Islamic head scarves to public schools.

The police action Tuesday stemmed from an investigation that began in May, authorities said, when it was learned that hard-liners had set up operations in an Islamic school south of Paris. A sports and cultural association was formed as a cover for drug dealing, document forging and arms buying, police said.

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**Hussein Ready to Formally Recognize Kuwait, Russia Says (Moscow)**
**By Richard Boudreaux=**
**(c) 1994, Los Angeles Times=**

MOSCOW After a month of diplomatic pressure on Iraq, Russia indicated Tuesday that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein is ready to accept a U.N. demand to give formal and legal recognition to Kuwait.

Word of the possible breakthrough came after a two-hour meeting here, arranged at Iraq's request, between Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi deputy prime minister, and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei D. Kozyrev.

If confirmed by Iraq, the step could lead to a lifting of U.N. trade sanctions imposed after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990 and would ease the tensions caused by sudden Iraqi troop movements toward Kuwait last month.

A cautiously worded statement by the Russian Foreign Ministry said Aziz came here with a letter from Hussein to Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin ``on Iraq's recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty and borders under U.N. Security Council Resolution 833."

That resolution was adopted after Kozyrev's premature announcement on Oct. 13 that Hussein would drop Iraq's claims to Kuwaiti territory. The Security Council demanded that Hussein's decision be ratified into law by his Parliament, and the Iraqis balked.

After meeting Tuesday with Aziz, Kozyrev rushed to the Kremlin to brief Yeltsin, who then ordered him to the Iraqi capital of Baghdad Wednesday ``to take part in completing the appropriate constitutional procedures" demanded by the Security Council, the Foreign Ministry said. It added that Kozyrev was going at Iraq's invitation for a three-day visit.

There was some skepticism in Russia's foreign policy Establishment that a deal is done.

``There is no need for Kozyrev to urgently fly to Iraq unless there are reservations and conditions put forth by Iraq," said Vyacheslav A. Nikonov, chairman of the Russian Parliament's international security subcommittee.

And even if Iraq finally recognizes Kuwait, the United States has threatened to veto any easing of sanctions unless Hussein's regime meets U.N. restrictions on its weaponry and keeps its troops away from the border.

``Border recognition would meet only one of a number of requirements with which Iraq has not complied," State Department spokesman David Johnson said Tuesday. ``It would not itself establish Iraq's peaceful intentions."

(Optional add end)

The United States and Russia are often at odds over Hussein, with Washington taking a hard line and Moscow urging an end to sanctions. Russia's bullish diplomacy is more than an attempt to recover superpower influence in the Persian Gulf; Iraq owes Moscow $7 billion, mostly weapons bought before the 1990 gulf war.

``Our chances to get these dollars back will arise only when Iraq can sell oil, which means lifting the sanctions," Kozyrev said in a Russian television interview aired Tuesday.

But he also drew a parallel between Hussein and Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat, arguing that the Iraqi leader should be isolated no longer. ``Two, three years ago we told our Western colleagues: Recognize Arafat, we need to show him the way out," Kozyrev said. ``And see, they did move. And now he is not only not a terrorist but a Nobel Peace Prize winner." ----------

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# IT'S A KNOCKOUT

## Voters' anger puts GOP back in charge

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES A1

Republican candidates rode a wave of anger across the nation yesterday, and as the returns grew from a trickle to a flood Republicans seized control of the Senate and were poised to win a majority in the House.

Much of the anger appeared to be directed at President Clinton, who, if early trends held up, would suffer one of the most painful midterm defeats for a first-term president.

"We had a referendum on two things," said a jubilant Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican and as chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee an architect of yesterday's Senate results. "The first was the Clinton agenda, and the American people said no. The second was limited government, and they said yes."

Taking good news where they could find it, Democrats relished triumphs by Sen. Charles S. Robb over Oliver L. North in Virginia and by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy over Mitt Romney in Massachusetts.

"Basically the American people are upset that ehanges haven't been made fast enough," said Tony Coelho, special assistant to the Democratic National Committee. "The burden on Bill Clinton is to make the changes people want faster."

Republicans won eight seats previously held by Democrats. Democrats held a 56-44 majority in the Senate before the election. Republicans will control the Senate for the first time since 1986. They were the majority from 1980 to 1986, but before that they had been the minority since 1946.

In the House, Republicans were the projected winners in 45 seats and were well on their way to making a gain far larger than usual by the party out of power in a president's first midterm election.

In other closely watched races:

- Political newcomer Bill Frist in Tennessee scored a stunning upset over three-term Democratic Sen. Jim Sasser, who in July was ahead by more than 20 points and campaigning aggressively to be the next Senate majority leader.
- In New York, Republican state Sen. George E. Pataki defeated three-term Democratic Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, a symbol of Democratic liberalism for more than decade. The governor had led by 10 points down the stretch, a lead built partially on the endorsement of New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican.
- In Michigan, longtime Republican strategist Spencer Abraham defeated six-term Democratic Rep. Bob Carr in a seat vacated by Democratic Sen. Donald W. Riegle Jr.
- In Texas, George W. Bush, the son of former President Bush, defeated Democratic Gov. Ann Richards in Texas. Another Bush son, Jeb, lost narrowly to Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles in Florida.
- Republicans held all open seats and appeared to be successfully defending all 10 seats held by Republican incumbents. Republicans were the projected winners in all six Senate races where Democrats were defending open seats.
- Dan Rostenkowski, the former chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who is under indictment for fraud, lost to little-known Michael Patrick Flanagan, a 31-year-old trade lawyer. Mr. Rostenkowski, elected in 1958, had become a symbol of the old-guard Democratic Party in Washington.
- Other top House Democrats, including Sam Gejdenson in Connecticut, Peter Hoagland in Nebraska and Lee Hamilton in Indiana, were either losing or locked in tight races.
- In Oklahoma, J.C. Watts became the second black Republican elected to the House. He defeating Democrat David Perryman in the 4th District.
- Republicans were projected to pick up 11 governorships nationwide. The most significant occurred in New York, Texas, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.
- In Tennessee, Fred Dalton Thompson, an actor, lobbyist and lawyer, scored a landslide victory over six-term Democratic Rep. Jim Cooper. The seat was vacated by Democratic Sen. Harlan Mathews.
- In Maine, eight-term Rep. Olympia J. Snowe cruised to victory over two-term Democratic Rep. Thomas H. Andrews. The seat was vacated by Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell.

In the Pennsylvania Senate race, two-term Rep. Rick Santorum was declared the winner over Sen. Harris Wofford, whose election in 1991 over former U.S. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh was widely interpreted as a call for health care reform.

Mr. Santorum, a pro-reform conservative, attacked Mr. Wofford for supporting the Clinton health bill that died for lack of Democratic support. The congressman also advocated a massive shrinkage of the federal welfare system. Mr. Santorum is expected to be far more conservative than the state's senior Republican senator, Arlen Specter, or the late Republican Sen. John Heinz, whose seat he now assumes.

- In Arizona, four-term Rep. Jon Kyl defeated freshman Rep. Sam Coppersmith. The seat was vacated by Democratic Sen. Dennis DeConcini.
- In Oklahoma, four-term Rep. James M. Inhofe easily defeated seven-term Rep. Dave McCurdy. Mr. McCurdy voted as moderately liberal and could not survive his close ties to Mr. Clinton, whom he nominated at the 1992 Democratic national convention. The seat was vacated by Democratic Sen. David L. Boren.
- In Ohio, Republican Lt. Gov. Mike DeWine coasted to victory over Joel Hyatt, the son-in-law of retiring Democratic Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum. Mr. DeWine, a conservative, lost a bid for the Senate in 1992 to Sen. John Glenn and led Mr. Hyatt, the president of nationwide chain of low-cost law firms, wire-to-wire.

Other projected Democratic losers in the House were Tom Barlow of Kentucky, who represented a district Republicans have never won, and Jill L. Long and Frank McCloskey of Indiana.

Early returns and nationwide exit polling suggested Republicans could win as many as 50 seats and take control of the House for the first time since 1954. Under this scenario, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich would become speaker of the House.

The biggest Democratic casualty in the Senate was Mr. Sasser. A Clinton loyalist bidding to become Senate majority leader only three months ago, Mr. Sasser lost in a lopsided contest to Dr. Frist, a Nashville heart surgeon and political novice who has vowed to serve only two terms.

Mr. Sasser's defeat is likely to send shock waves through Democratic ranks in the Senate. The senator helped guide the Clinton tax and budget bill through the Senate and suffered mightily because of his perceived closeness to Mr. Clinton and the national Democratic Party.

The only vulnerable Republican seat was in Minnesota, where Rep. Rod Grams, a freshman, trailed former state House Majority Leader Ann Wynia in early returns. The seat was vacated by Sen. Dave Durenberger, a Republican.

Mr. Clinton campaigned heavily down the stretch in Minnesota and Michigan. In both instances, however, exit polls indicated the Democrats were in worse shape after Mr. Clinton's visits.

At first, Mr. Carr distanced himself from Mr. Clinton until the end of the campaign and tried to run as a centrist Democrat. His left-of-center voting record, however, gave Mr. Abraham, the former chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, a ripe target.

The Minnesota seat, where Mrs. Wynia was challenging freshman Rep. Rod Grams, was the only Republican open seat in jeopardy. Republican Sen. Dave Durenberger retired.

Republicans easily defended the other open seats, in Missouri and Wyoming. Once-vulnerable incumbent Republican senators won huge victories in Montana, Vermont and Delaware.

And the Democrats' prime target — Sen. Slade Gorton, Washington Republican — appeared headed for victory over King County (Seattle) Councilman Ron Sims.

The Republican momentum was also visible in governor's races.

In California, exit polls from California suggested Republican Gov. Pete Wilson would defeat California Treasurer Kathleen Brown, a Democrat.

Republican victories in California, New York, Florida and Texas would give the party control of the governor's mansions in the nation's nine most populous states. That is because Republican governors won re-election easily in Michigan, Ohio and Illinois and already hold the office in New Jersey.

In Florida, Mr. Chiles attacked Mr. Bush's lack of experience while the governor came under fire for a spike in violent crime and his closeness to the state's political insiders.

In Texas, Mrs. Richards maintained her personal popularity but suffered from her association with Mr. Clinton and the national Democratic Party.

In California, Mrs. Brown, the sister of former Gov. Jerry Brown and daughter of former Gov. Pat Brown, proved to be among the biggest disappointments to Democrats. Mr. Wilson had trailed in the race by more than 20 points when the campaign began and only two years ago was the least popular governor in state history.

Successful in blocking much of the Clinton agenda while in the minority, Republicans will now wield significant power and could steer at least some of the Clinton agenda. In the 20th century, the average midterm Senate losses for a first-term president is three seats.

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# Democrats pay price for ignoring voter anger

By Walter R. Mears
ASSOCIATED PRESS A1

**NEWS ANALYSIS**

Angry and alienated, America's voters are turning the face of their government to the right. They got mad, as the political adage goes, and yesterday they got even, taking it out on the Democrats, their wrath rewarding Republicans in the midterm congressional elections.

They got even with President Clinton, the purported "New Democrat" they had chosen two years ago to salve their frustration and revive their economy. Now times are better, as Mr. Clinton has said, over and over.

But as voters left polling places across the nation, they said they fear for the future, no matter the upturn. In early exit polls conducted by the Associated Press, ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN, at least half the voters said they are no better off economically now than two years ago, and about a quarter said they feel it's worse for them now.

**HOUSE**

| | |
|---|---|
| Republicans | 224 |
| Democrats | 203 |

**SENATE**

| | |
|---|---|
| Republicans | 52 |
| Democrats | 48 |

Mr. Clinton's approval ratings in the West and Midwest hovered around 44 percent. They were slightly higher in the East at 50 percent and dismal in the South at 36 percent.

The voters were also getting even with the Democratic Party, which has run Congress for most of their lives.

*see* ANGER, *page A19*



# ANGER

*From page A1*

"Not since 1952 have Republicans controlled the United States Congress," said the Senate Republican leader, Bob Dole of Kansas. "That's when Eisenhower was elected president, the Dodgers were still in Brooklyn, and a postage stamp cost 3 cents.

"One hundred and fifty five million Americans have been born since Republicans last controlled the United States Congress."

Republicans lost the House in 1954. They won the Senate in 1980 and held it for six years.

As the polls closed across the time zones, Republicans won the seven seats they needed to control the Senate.

In Vice President Al Gore's Tennessee, Republicans took both Senate seats from Democrats — one once his — and won the governorship.

"You know, I've never been in a minority before," said Sen. John B. Breaux of Louisiana, one of the Democrats who helped take back the Senate in 1986.

The retiring House Republican leader, Robert H. Michel of Illinois, had never been in anything else. Mr. Michel served longer in the House minority than anyone before and leaves as Republicans have their best year in four decades.

The GOP needed 40 seats to win control of the House, and partial returns showed enough GOP takeovers for that to happen.

Exit polling indicated about an even split when voters were asked whether they had gone Republican or Democratic. Parity was a plus for Republicans; they hadn't managed it in the overall congressional vote in 20 elections.

*Americans voted their wrath in elections that change not only the next two years, but beyond.*

They also were gaining governors, in number and in big-state clout, a big factor for the 1996 presidential election.

It was a day of getting even with Beltway denizens and of protesting the negative, nasty campaigning that became the low-road standard in the midterm campaigns.

Getting even meant punishing Democrats, turning to the right, to Republicans, despite their own brand of negative campaigning. The mood, the malaise, the election calendar, the numbers, personal decisions, all came together to deepen the Democrats' plight.

"I think an increasing number of people see government as the enemy," said Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, the Republican Senate campaign chairman, readying his own campaign for president in 1996.

But the same voters had decided two years earlier against divided government, ousting President Bush in favor of Mr. Clinton's vow to end gridlock and make Washington work again.

Now they have voted no to all that, yes to another change, with a far more conservative Congress to counter Mr. Clinton the next two years.

Mr. Clinton was braced for it. In Election Day radio interviews from the White House, final gasps in a hobbled effort to help Democrats, he said he could lead with Republicans sharing power. "For most of the past 40 years we've had divided government," he said. "The American people have kind of gotten used to that.

"So I don't know that it will make a great deal of difference."

It will.

In 1992, Mr. Clinton appealed to the voters to vote for progressive change, not stalemate.

"That is how you get the change you want . . . not by being mad," he said.

But Americans were mad. And they voted their wrath in elections that change not only the numbers for the next two years, but the political terrain beyond.

After an era in which Republicans became the presidential party but could not crack Congress, this was a realignment no less drastic than when Ronald Reagan swept to the White House in 1980, with Republicans winning the Senate on his coattails. Government, he said, was the problem, not the solution, and he'd tame it, cut taxes, get Washington off everybody's back.

That message echoes.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# Sauerbrey holds narrow lead in Maryland governor's race

By Janet Naylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES A1

Ellen Sauerbrey held a narrow lead last night over Democrat Parris Glendening in the hard-fought Maryland governor's race, with returns from several key jurisdictions holding the promise of a Republican upset victory.

If elected, Mrs. Sauerbrey, a Baltimore County delegate, would be Maryland's first female governor ever and its first Republican elected governor since 1966.

Early returns from several Democratic strongholds, including a good showing in the city of Baltimore, had the Sauerbrey camp holding out hope for a narrow victory.

"We're already feeling victorious," said Paul Rappaport, Mrs. Sauerbrey's running mate. "We knew it from the start that we had the best [campaign message]."

But Mr. Glendening was still posting a good showing in Montgomery County, the state's most populous jurisdiction, in early returns. The few remaining precincts that had not reported were in areas where Mr. Glendening was favored, according to spokes-

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## RACE

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man David Seldin.

Exit polling also gave him the edge, with voters citing heavy skepticism about Mrs. Sauerbrey's promise to cut state income taxes by 24 percent.

"It looks good right now," said Mr. Seldin, as he watched early returns in College Park.

Mr. Glendening was getting almost 60 percent of the vote in Montgomery County. That was a bigger margin than he and Mrs. Sauerbrey had said before Election Day that he needed to win. But her big margins in some counties raised doubts about whether that would be enough.

The exit poll was based on 1,449 interviews yesterday with voters outside precincts around the state, conducted by Voter News Service, a cooperative of the four television networks and the Associated Press.

About 55 percent of the surveyed voters said they did not think it was possible to cut taxes without reducing government services, and about three-fourths of those people voted for Mr. Glendening. The approximately 40 percent who said taxes could be cut voted about 4-to-1 for Mrs. Sauerbrey.

Going into the race, Mrs. Sauerbrey was expected to win in 21 of the state's 24 jurisdictions, with the campaign won or lost in the most populous areas.



Photo by Kenneth Lambert/The Washington Times
Ellen Sauerbrey basks in the sun at a Gaithersburg polling place.

A college professor and three-term county executive, Mr. Glendening battled hard against Mrs. Sauerbrey's promise of a 24 percent tax cut. The Democrat tried to turn the wave of voter anger over big government into a wave of doubt over Mrs. Sauerbrey's ability to impose her tax cut, if elected.

In other state races, Republican Richard Bennett was trailing Democratic Attorney General J. Joseph Curran last night, while Democratic Comptroller Louis Goldstein appeared headed for a 10th and final term as state comptroller with a large lead over Republican challenger Timothy Mayberry.

In the U.S. Senate race, Democratic Sen. Paul Sarbanes was declared an early winner over GOP challenger Bill Brock, a former senator from Tennessee who hit hard on Mr. Sarbanes' liberal record. But voters seemed more concerned about the carpetbagger label that had dogged Mr. Brock's campaign since the primary.

Other congressional incumbents cruised to easy victories in Maryland, with 8th District Republican Constance Morella, 5th District Democrat Steny Hoyer and 4th District Democrat Al Wynn being declared early winners.

In local county executive races, Democrat Wayne Curry defeated Robert Ostrom in the race to succeed Mr. Glendening in Prince George's County and Montgomery Democrat Douglas Duncan beat the GOP's Steven Abrams in the executive race there.

In a race that largely shunned personality, the two gubernatorial nominees focused instead on their vastly different ideologies.

Mrs. Sauerbrey stunned the pundits by handily defeating Rep. Helen Delich Bentley in the Sept. 13 primary with a simple message that she continued to pound on in the general election: Vote yourself a tax cut.

Her plan to cut personal income taxes by 24 percent, phased in by 6 percent each year, would save taxpayers $805 million over four years. For a family of four earning $40,000, the full 24 percent reduction would mean a savings of about $350 a year.

Mr. Glendening, lacking a similar clarion call, called the tax-cut pledge a gimmick, promising it would lead to higher property taxes and a cut in services.

He spent much of the campaign on the defensive. It was an unusual posture for the outgoing Prince George's County executive. In his three successful campaigns for executive, he always won by huge margins.

His message was that state government needed only some fine-tuning. Mrs. Sauerbrey urged a major overhaul instead. One poll showed that, while voters overwhelmingly supported her tax cut proposal, they also did not think she could pull it off.

Her tax-cut pledge helped her surge within a few points of Mr. Glendening in the waning days of the campaign, giving Republicans their best shot at the Governor's Mansion since Spiro Agnew won the job in 1966.

Mr. Glendening, 52, meanwhile, was hoping to become the first Maryland governor elected from the Washington suburbs since 1869.

But Mr. Glendening's plodding, thoughtful campaign never seemed to shift into gear against the momentum Mrs. Sauerbrey carried out of the primary.

## TOP 10 RACES

Among the most closely watched races across the country, Tennessee Democrats take a double hit from Republicans in Senate races. Kennedy wins.

Stories, A13

**New York governor**
D Cuomo 46%
R Pataki 48%

**California governor**
R Wilson 59%
D Brown 37%

**Texas governor**
D Richards 46%
R Bush 54%

**California, U.S. Senate**
D Feinstein 44%
R Huffington 49%

**Massachusetts, U.S. Senate**
D Kennedy 58%
R Romney 41%

**Oklahoma, U.S. Senate**
R Inhofe 55%
D McCurdy 40%

**Pennsylvania, U.S. Senate**
D Wofford 48%
R Santorum 49%

**Tennessee, U.S. Senate (1)**
D Sasser 42%
R Frist 56%

**Tennessee, U.S. Senate (2)**
R Thompson 61%
D Cooper 39%

**Washington, U.S. House**
D Foley 44%
R Nethercutt 56%

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# Incumbent bucks the trend in Virginia

By Laurie Kellman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES A1

Sen. Charles S. Robb eked out a victory over Republican Oliver L. North last night in Virginia's stormy U.S. Senate race, despite an independent challenger who cut into the Democratic incumbent's base, according to television news projections.

With about half of the state's precincts reporting, Mr. Robb led Mr. North by 47 percent to 42 percent, with independent J. Marshall Coleman trailing at 12 percent.

Despite Mr. North's popular conservative message, exit polls indicated voters were more concerned about his reputation than about Mr. Robb's personal indiscretions and pro-Clinton record.

"Ladies and gentlemen, how sweet it is!" Mr. Robb declared to cheers at a victory celebration at his Tysons Corner headquarters shortly after 10 p.m. Mr. North, meanwhile, prepared to concede defeat in Richmond.

Mr. North ran against "Bill Clinton's Washington" more than he did against Mr. Robb. After voting with his family at a church in Berryville yesterday morning, the GOP nominee boasted that Mr. Clinton would have an "Excedrin headache" by about 11 p.m.

Mr. Robb accused Mr. North of being a liar and pounded away at his role in the Iran-Contra scandal.

Mr. Robb and Mr. Coleman both cast their ballots at relatively quiet voting precincts in McLean, Mr. Robb joshing that he was relatively sure of at least four votes — his and those of his family.

Early exit polls had Mr. North and Mr. Robb tied at about 44 percent, with Mr. Coleman at 12 percent.

Registrars throughout the state reported heavy turnout in sunny and brisk weather. North aides predicted their man would overwhelm Mr. Robb in rural areas before the polls closed at 7.

In the final week of what was probably the nation's most unpredictable Senate race, two surveys of likely voters showed Mr. North and Mr. Robb tied, with Mr. Coleman trailing far behind.

Sunday, a Richmond Times-Dispatch poll of registered voters, considered less reliable, showed Mr. Robb ahead of Mr. North by 8 points.

Each candidate was banking on voter turnout to bring him victory.

Assuming he would lose more liberal Northern Virginia and as much as 98 percent of the black vote, Mr. North banked on unprecedented turnout in rural Virginia.

Mr. Robb appealed to voters not to "throw their votes away" on Mr. Coleman, who polls showed was hurting the Democratic senator about twice as much as he was hurting Mr. North.

And Mr. Coleman, the state's former Republican attorney general, insisted voters would turn to his independent candidacy once inside the voting booth.

"A wasted vote is a vote for someone you don't really want," he said.

It was a hard battle for all three candidates.

Mr. Robb was the face on the power Virginia Republicans wanted thrown out. With a record of voting for President Clinton's programs 94 percent of the time and stained by personal scandals, the first-term senator was targeted by campaign commercials and other attacks from Mr. North that he left largely unanswered until late August.

To Democrats, Mr. North was the face of religious conservatives the party fears are gaining too much political power in the state. Mr. Robb appealed to voters to reject "hate" and "bigotry" in the voting booth.

## VIRGINIA

*From page A1*

His supporters did not fail, Mr. North told them.

"You have successfully redefined political debate throughout this land of ours," he said. "In this contest you've made it clear that henceforth every race will be about the role of government in our lives."

"We weren't going to turn the clock back," former Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder told CNN last night as the cable network declared Mr. Robb the winner.

Mr. Wilder, a longtime Robb rival who only recently abandoned his own independent bid for the seat, said heavy turnout indicated an unusual amount of voter concern about Mr. North.

Republicans gained one congressional seat in the state's fledgling 11th District, where Thomas M. Davis III unseated Rep. Leslie L. Byrne, a Democrat seeking her second term.

Mr. Davis, chairman of the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, defined himself as an independent voice who would work across party lines if sent to the Hill.

In the 8th District, Rep. James P. Moran handily defeated second-time Republican challenger Kyle McSlarrow to return for a third term.

Further south, GOP hopes that Republican challenger George Landrith would pull an upset in the 5th District near Charlottesville were dashed early in the evening, when Rep. L.F. Payne won his fourth term.

In the Senate race, Mr. Coleman conceded about 8:45 p.m.

The independent candidate thanked his patron, Sen. John Warner, for backing him, even though that move by the state's Republican senator might now bring Mr. Warner blame within the GOP for the North loss.

"Believe me, we did the right thing," Mr. Coleman told supporters. "Every vote we received was a vote against politics as usual."

That's not how one North consultant saw it, considering the Coleman candidacy was an anti-North effort within the GOP.

"We had a very fractured party and we just couldn't get over it," said chief North consultant Mark Goodin, who had been predicting a win just a couple of hours earlier.

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole considered Virginia "the big one" that would give the GOP the seven seats it needed to regain control of the Senate.

The nationally watched race was seen by many conservatives as a referendum on ending the Democratic monopoly in Congress and the White House — and a lesson for a liberal media that tried to keep it that way.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# Barry's not a sure thing as Schwartz hangs tough

By Adrianne Flynn
THE WASHINGTON TIMES A1

Marion Barry last night clung to a surprisingly narrow lead over Carol Schwartz in his attempt to reclaim the mayor's office he had held for 12 years.

Mr. Barry, the Democrat, was ahead of his Republican opponent by only 2 percentage points with the city's morning and absentee ballots counted — far short of the easy comeback most political observers expected after his triumph in the party primary.

Elections board spokeswoman Leona Agouridis said at midday there seemed to be "a healthy turnout." She noted there are many more registered voters in the District than in 1990, when the last mayoral election drew the highest turnout ever, 171,000 votes.

With absentee and morning ballots counted, 24.8 percent, or 89,752 voters, had gone to the polls, according to elections board officials.

Voters were also electing a congressional delegate, a council chairman, six council members and five school board members in addition to a successor to Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly.

Hundreds gathered last night at Mr. Barry's victory party in the main ballroom at the Washington Convention Center and cheered the news of their candidate's early lead when the results flashed on a big television screen tuned to cable's News Channel 8.

Among the supporters were several from out of town who said they came to be a part of Mr. Barry's comeback.

Michael Jones, 25, a construction worker in the District, said, "I hope he can get us out of this deficit because right now this city is run into the ground."

At the Washington Hilton hotel in Northwest the mood was optimistic last night at Mrs. Schwartz's victory party, espe-

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## MAYOR

From page A1

cially after televison reports showed a close race based on the early returns.

More than 200 supporters, a mix of black and white, Republicans and Democrats, filled a ballroom. A band played at one end of the room while the supporters milled about eating sandwiches and snacks and talking mainly about the race.

As an indication of the Democratic presence in the Schwartz camp last night, when the results of Massachusetts Sen. Ted Kennedy's re-election appeared on TV, the crowded roared its approval.

"I've heard no returns and I'm still very optimistic," said Karla Kalich, 34, a commerical office property manager who lives in Lincoln Park. "I think the 10 to 1 Democratic thing is pretty much a crock. To me she would be more an independent candidate than with any party. She has views on both sides.

Mrs. Schwartz spent the early party of the evening at her Spring Valley home watching the returns with her three children before arriving at the room she reserved at the hotel.

The hotel ballroom was bedecked in yellow and black balloons, and with the ubiquitous yellow "Carol Schwartz for Mayor" posters the campaign posted around the city.

"There's widespread support for Carol," said her press secretary, Carl Schmid. "She always knew there was widespread support, that people were voting for Carol Schwartz. It has nothing to do with her party affliation."

Mrs. Schwartz, who lost the 1986 mayoral race to Mr. Barry, had been endorsed by The Washington Times, The Washington Post and the Washington City Paper.

Mr. Barry is trying to complete a two-year political comback that started with his 1990 arrest in an FBI sting at a downtown hotel in which he was videotaped smoking crack cocaine.

Ignoring his dizzying fall from grace in 1990 — or perhaps because of it — voters were turning to Mr. Barry.

Despite his call for unity, Ward 3's majority-white voting population once again spurned Mr. Barry. In the primary, Mr. Barry won all but the city's whitest wards, 2 and 3, leading to charges by Mrs. Schwartz and others that he divided the city along racial lines for political gain. Mr. Barry responded by opening a headquarters for those wards and rhetorically extending his hand in unity while staging unity walks and rallies.

In the D.C. Council races, longtime at-large council member Hilda Mason, a Statehood Party member, faced opposition from independents Jerry Moore III, school board member R. David Hall and Republican Harry Singleton.

At-large council member Linda Cropp, the Democratic nominee, will retain her seat, garnering the largest number of votes in the at-large race. Only one of the two at-large seats may go to the D.C. majority party. The city's Home Rule charter provides that two of the five at-large elected council seats, including the chairman, must be held by a non-majority party member. At-large council member William Lightfoot, an independent not up for election this year, is the second non-majority at-large officeholder.

In other D.C. races, incumbents were handily defeating largely token opposition. Council Chairman David Clarke, Ward 1 council member Frank Smith, Ward 5 council member Harry L. Thomas Sr. and Ward 6 council member Harold Brazil will retain their seats.

One other newcomer will claim a council seat. Democrat Kathy Patterson led Republican Philip Murphy and independent John Hardison. Ms. Patterson knocked off incumbent Ward 3 representative James Nathanson in the primary.

Once he won the primary, Mr. Barry was considered the frontrunner to winning the general election. Democrats outnumber Republicans in the city 10-to-1, and the lopsided figures gave him an automatic lead. He formed a transition team and asked Mrs. Kelly to forego police promotions so he could make his own once he took office.

Yet it was Mrs. Schwartz who gave him the toughest opposition since he first was elected mayor in 1978.

• *Matt Neufeld and David Alan Coia contributed to this report.*

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# Clinton makes best of exit polls' bad news

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Even before yesterday's voting ended, President Clinton looked over the exit polls and sent out word he really could work well with the Republican leaders he'd demonized on the campaign trail.

"People are used to that — that is, the president in one party, the Congress in another," a morose Mr. Clinton told an interviewer yesterday when asked about prospects his Democratic Party would lose control of both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years.

Communications and Planning Coordinator Mark Gearan said, "I think we understand the message. There's a great deal of anger out there."

But last night's spin by White House aides and administration surrogates revolved largely around the theory that voters demanding change sent new legislators to do the bidding of Bill Clinton, the agent of change.

"The president is ready to reach out his hand to members of any party who want to move forward and get the economy moving on things that are important to the American people, and we're going to do that," senior adviser George Stephanopoulos said.

"I think this election, just like the election of 1992, is about the pace of change in this country," he added.

White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers said Mr. Clinton "wants to work with whoever's in Congress, whoever will work with him."

Although it was far from a victory party, Mr. Clinton hosted an unannounced reception for movers and shakers from the Democratic National Committee as well as from the fund-raising committees for House and Senate.

While Mr. Clinton waved olive branches in a few radio interviews yesterday, he saved his formal post-election verdict for a press conference this afternoon.

Asked if the president expects real Republican cooperation, Miss Myers said: "It'll be up to the Republicans. I think the president will reach out. That's his job. He's the president of the entire country. ... The president again stands ready to work with whoever's elected."

Did that include House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich whom Mr. Clinton accused of planning to tear down Social Security and of offering to write "a trillion dollars worth of hot checks" in the Republican "Contract With America?"

"He [Mr. Gingrich] was bipartisan on the North American Free Trade Agreement and we hope we can work together with Newt in the coming months," Mr. Stephanopoulos said.

"I can work with anybody who will work with me," Mr. Clinton said of the Gingrich factor.

His desperation for a friendly forum also led him to go back for the second time this week to Paul Smith of Philadelphia's WWDB, who gushed on the air about the rare double-header.

"For most of the last 40 years we've had divided government. We've had the Congress in one hand and the presidency in the other. The American people have kind of gotten used to that," Mr. Clinton said, ignoring the fact that with a Congress controlled by his own party he failed to get through a health bill, his $72-billion energy tax or campaign finance reform.

The president's usual optimism was so far gone that he wasn't even certain his campaigning helped Democratic candidates.

"You know, you never know. ... I never thought people would listen to me in terms of telling them for whom to vote," he said on the ABC radio network yesterday.

Asked about his own prestige going into the 1996 presidential elections, Mr. Clinton told ABC radio: "Well, I don't know. That'll be up to the American people to decide."

# GOP takes three in Tennessee

## Democrats drop governorship, both seats in the Senate

By Nancy E. Roman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — In a stunning sweep, Republicans won all three statewide races in Tennessee, claiming both Senate seats and the governorship.

Democratic Sen. Jim Sasser was upset by political neophyte Bill Frist, and Fred Dalton Thompson defeated Democratic Rep. Jim Cooper for Vice President Al Gore's old Senate seat. Harlan Mathews has held the seat the past two years.

With 92 percent of the votes counted, Dr. Frist had 57 percent to Mr. Sasser's 42 percent. Mr. Thompson, a lawyer and actor, had 61 percent to Mr. Cooper's 38 percent.

In the gubernatorial race, Republican Don Sundquist led 54 percent to 45 percent against Nashville Mayor Phil Bredesen.

"It's a coup for us to win even one of those races 'cause we don't have it now," said Randal Richardson, chairman of the state Republican Party. "One is great and two is fabulous, and if we win all three, you won't be able to control Republicans in Tennessee until the next election."

Throughout the evening, political observers said they were shocked by the margins of the Republican victories. Mr. Bredesen said after his concession speech that he thought Tennessee voters — and voters nationwide — were just plain angry.

Both sides were astonished that the Sasser-Frist race was called so early. Mr. Sasser began his concession speech an hour and a half after the polls closed.

"I can't say this is not a painful time for me and my family. ... But I don't intend to go gentle into the good night," he said. "As long as there are battles left to fight, you are going to have Jim Sasser around to help fight them."



Bill Frist

When Dr. Frist, 42, emerged from a field of six to win the Republican primary in August, polls showed him close behind the 57-year-old Mr. Sasser, who has served three terms in the Senate.

The wealthy heart and lung surgeon blanketed the state with television ads portraying himself as a doctor who had spent 18 years saving lives and his opponent as a Washington insider who had fattened his own salary and pension.

Mr. Sasser, Tennessee's senior senator and the Senate Budget Committee chairman, was burdened by his strong advocacy for President Clinton's 1993 budget deal, his 18 years in Congress and his goal of becoming Senate Democratic leader.

Mr. Cooper was the first of the Democratic candidates to concede, about 8:45 p.m. "Nobody knows the issues like Jim Cooper. My choice has been not to advocate candy, but spinach. We need spending cuts, not tax cuts."

When he entered the race to fill the last two years of Mr. Gore's Senate term, Mr. Thompson was considered a long shot against Mr. Cooper, a 12-year member of the House who was basking in national media attention for crafting an alternative to the Clinton health care plan.

But as Americans became wary of another government bureaucracy and health care reform's popularity slipped, so did Mr. Cooper's. And the bookish Mr. Cooper was no match for the charismatic Mr. Thompson, a part-time actor who shared the screen with Clint Eastwood in "In the Line of Fire."

"People feel alienated from the government and they are demanding fundamental changes from the politicians," Mr. Thompson, a lawyer-lobbyist who served as minority counsel during the Watergate hearings, said in his victory speech.

"We've had an extremely difficult time coming up with competent candidates," said Vern Gauby, holding a "Thompson for Senate" sign outside a polling place in Forest Hill. "But Thompson is competent, appealing and he's for less government, which is what Tennesseans want."

Both the Sasser and Thompson campaigns scheduled their victory parties in Nashville's Stouffer Hotel. Early in the evening, a Thompson supporter whispered to Sarah Thompson, the candidate's ex-wife, "Sasser has two ballrooms."

"Well, we may have to borrow one," Mrs. Thompson said. "Sasser's people may go home early."

By 10:30 p.m., the Sasser rooms at the Stouffer were empty.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

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# Foley, opponent pull up even as speaker fights to save seat

## Voters angry, envison him as an agent of White House

By Valerie Richardson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SPOKANE, Wash. — House Speaker Thomas S. Foley's desperate bid to hang on to his congressional seat hurtled to an end last night with the Democratic incumbent and his opponent, lawyer George Nethercutt, locked in a statistical dead heat.

With polls still open at press time, local election officials reported that voter turnout was running slightly higher than average, which was expected to bode well for Mr. Nethercutt. Spokane County Superintendent of Elections Tom Wilbur predicted a 70 percent turnout, up from 65.5 percent in 1992.

Polls taken in the campaign's final days showed Mr. Nethercutt leading by one or two percentage points, with as many as 10 percent of voters undecided.

"People who vote less regularly tend to be more sour and unhappy about the way things are going," said Seattle-based pollster Stuart Elway. "So a high turnout should favor Nethercutt."

But the final results may not be known for days, thanks to the large number of absentee ballots. Officials in Washington's 5th District issued a record 31,767 absentee ballots, which represents 8 percent of the registered voters.

The 65-year-old Mr. Foley, seeking his 16th term in the House, had been climbing steadily in the polls after beginning the campaign with a deficit of as many as 17 percentage points. He won just 35 percent of the vote in Washington's open primary, his lowest showing ever, forcing him to play catch-up with Mr. Nethercutt from the start.

On Sunday, President Clinton campaigned for Democratic Senate hopeful Ron Sims in Seattle, but steered clear of Mr. Foley's district for fear of alienating the state's more conservative Eastern voters.

The former chairman of the county Republican Party, Mr. Nethercutt, 50, had been riding a wave of anti-Foley sentiment among voters in the rural district. Since he became speaker, Mr. Foley's approval rating in his own hometown had been dropping steadily, fueled by complaints that the Spokane native had lost touch with his roots.

His role as a key player on behalf of the Clinton administration had ignited a backlash in a region increasingly hostile to the Democratic administration. Many of the area's independent-minded, conservative-leaning voters were outraged over Mr. Foley's influence in passing the Clinton budget, the crime bill and the assault-weapons ban.

Mr. Foley fed the discontent with his decision to sue the state of Washington to overturn the 1991 term-limits initiative.

The only member of Congress to put his name on a term-limits lawsuit, Mr. Foley was promptly attacked for "suing the people of his own state," as critics put it. His challenge is expected eventually to reach the Supreme Court.

In Mr. Nethercutt, the GOP found a candidate who presented voters with an appealing alternative to the powerful speaker. A moderate Republican active in local charities, Mr. Nethercutt struck a nerve with voters with his assertion that "30 years is long enough," referring to Mr. Foley's 15 terms in office.

During the final month of the campaign, Mr. Foley played his speaker's card heavily. He reminded voters of the federal dollars he has poured into the district for everything from cheaper electricity to military installations, insisting that any district in the nation would be thrilled to have as their representative the speaker of the House.

The argument appeared to be working with some voters — witness his phoenix-like rise in the polls — but Washingtonians have been known to turn out powerful lawmakers before. In 1980, the state turned out another powerful

# Early Republican wins inspire a grand old party

Sean Piccoli and Larry Witham
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Cautious optimism prevailed at the Republican National Committee's Election Watch '94 last night, while Democrats in a sober mood watched the returns unfold at their national headquarters.

Republicans emitted sporadic cheers and whoops while watching early returns on giant screens in the Renaissance Hotel in downtown Washington.

A string of early GOP victories came to a stop about 8:35 p.m., when CNN announced that Oliver North, the GOP Senate candidate in Virginia, had lost to Democratic Sen. Charles S. Robb.

"Oh, my God," said one of several young men clutching drinks. "I don't believe it."

Not everyone in this gathering of donors and other Republicans young and old found Mr. North's defeat so hard to swallow.

"He looked too much like Alfred E. Neuman to be elected to anything," said Paul Thompson, 24, a new Washington lawyer, who said it was "too early" to celebrate or get depressed.

And the mood hovered between those extremes. Sen. Malcolm Wallop, Wyoming Republican, stepped up to the podium to tally GOP victors — Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas, Sen. Connie Mack of Florida, Sen. James M. Jeffords of Vermont.

"These are not the victims of an anti-incumbent mood," Mr. Wallop said. His remarks drew polite applause as several spectators kept their eyes on the TV screens.

Word spread that next door in the Washington Convention Center Democrat Marion Barry was celebrating victory as mayor.

But Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican, worked the hotel floor with the zeal of someone expecting a very good night. He predicted his party would regain the Senate, and he plotted out loud the GOP's next move.

"All we can do is present our agenda, vote on it and send it to the president," Mr. Gramm said. "We don't have to worry about whether he supports it."

At the Democrats' party, people watched election returns with realistic and philosophical reactions and an occasional spark of good cheer.

"Rather than suffering a loss of morale, this is going to be a unifying experience for the party," said Deborah Delee, executive director of the Democratic National Committee.

With the network announcement of the projected victory of Mr. Robb, the first flutter of cheers and clapping sounded across the brightly decorated reception area at the Democratic National Committee headquarters, four blocks from the Capitol.

By late in the evening, activists were saying the losing candidates did not distinguish themselves enough and that those who retained party liberalism won.

"We must respond to this tomorrow morning with a bold and distinguished message," the Rev. Jesse Jackson said at the Democratic headquarters.

On the losses in Congress, he said, "Mr. Clinton may be over the illusion that he has friends down there."



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# Voters vent anger at Clinton and Democratic Party

## Tax, budget cuts win over voters

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A wave of angry, anti-incumbent voters pounded President Clinton and his party yesterday, sweeping Democrats from power in Congress and threatening some of their biggest governorships.

In what strategists believe may be a politically realigning election of historic proportions, early exit polls showed voters sending a strong message of support for the Republicans' tax-reduction and budget-cutting platform.

**NEWS ANALYSIS**

Early returns showed Republicans within reach of taking over the Senate, and threatening to do the same in the House. The vote was also an embarrassing rejection of Mr. Clinton, who campaigned for Democrats across the country.

"It's a vote of no confidence in the Clinton agenda," Senate Republican leader Bob Dole declared.

"There's going to be a lot of finger-pointing when this is all over and much of the blame is going to be placed at the White House," said a Democratic strategist last night. "A lot of Democrats went down because of their association with Clinton and nothing else."

Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour, clearly exuberant over the returns, said that if the GOP succeeds in taking over Congress, "Our responsibility is to do what we promised to do, which is to lower taxes, make government smaller and deliver on our promises for change."

Democratic National Committee Chairman David Welhelm, during an appearance last night with Mr. Barbour on CNN, said that Republicans will now have "to decide whether they are going to continue the obstructionism of the past two years. Their strategy has obviously worked, but now they have got to share responsiblity with the Democrats to govern."

The loss of Democratic control of Congress means that Republicans, in command of the legislative machinery, would have power to block Mr. Clinton's agenda for the next two years and possibly pass their own proposals over his veto.

Inability to enact Mr. Clinton's agenda would not only raise questions about his capacity to govern for the rest of his term but would also heighten doubts about his chances of re-election in 1996.

Some veteran Democratic strategists have begun talking privately about the need for someone to challenge his renomination in two years. Yesterday's elections may force such talk out into the open.

The results appeared to be much worse than even the most pessimistic Democratic Party officials had feared.

"We as a party desperately need to learn from this election. We can't blame the voters. We've got to get in better touch with the voters and listen to what they're telling us," said Democratic campaign consultant George Burger.

In many respects this election became a midterm referendum on Mr. Clinton's tumultuous presidency and his handling of domestic and foreign policies, as he raced around the country defending his administration's record.

The Republicans took every opportunity to tie Mr. Clinton and his policies to their Democratic opponents, relentlessly campaigning against "the Clinton Democrats," "the Clinton Congress" and "the Clinton economy."

With Mr. Clinton's job approval ratings persistently in the mid-to-low 40s over most of the past two years, this was the first time that voters had to express themselves on his presidency.

Yesterday's losses also reflected Congress' institutional problems, more than two decades of scandals arising out of its perks and privileges, and a mood of cynicism and anger toward incumbent lawmakers and the government in general.

Public approval of Congress has sunk to 20 percent, its lowest rating ever.

"It is more than a rejection of President Clinton. It's a rejection of Washington running America," said GOP pollster Frank Luntz.

Meantime, former House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski's indictment this year on corruption charges further reminded voters of other embarrassments that struck the Democratic Congress — from the banking scandal to the post office scandal. The GOP reinforced that anger with a national campaign that suggested "it is time for a change."

The president and the Democrats had hoped to counter these negatives by promoting an improved economy, a lower deficit and a raft of new social welfare legislation.

The administration has been frustrated by its own polls that show Americans do not think things are getting better. Indeed, recent national polls have found that more than 60 percent believe the economy is either stagnant, in a recession or even a depression.

Exit polls last night found that many voters were insecure about their jobs and their future. Half the voters polled said they believed they were no better off economically than they were when Mr. Clinton was elected. One fourth said that things had gotten worse.

While the economy was growing at around 3.5 percent, recent government data showed that median family income fell by nearly 2 percent last year. The poverty rate also shot up to over 15 percent, the highest since the 1960s.

In the closing days of the campaign, Mr. Clinton took credit for the latest jobs report showing unemployment had sunk to 5.8 percent, but most of the jobs being created were low-wage positions in temp help, restaurants, bars, retail stores and health services, according to Labor Department data.

Crime was a major issue, amid widespread evidence that violent crimes are rising. Polls showed a majority of Americans had doubts that the administration's crime bill, which Congress passed earlier this year, would have a significant impact on crime.

Republicans pounded the crime issue, accusing their Democratic opponents of voting for a bill that plowed billions of dollars into preventive social programs while not focusing on getting tougher with criminals.

Those charges found a receptive audience this year wherever violent crime appeared to be growing.

# Bush, Hutchison take Texas races in routs for GOP

By Hugh Aynesworth
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DALLAS — George W. Bush won the Texas governor's race last night, leading all the way as he trounced popular Democratic incumbent Ann Richards.

Fellow Republican Kay Bailey Hutchison beat Democrat Richard Fisher handily to capture a full term in the Senate.

With 34 percent of the vote tallied, Mr. Bush, 48, led 55 percent to 45 percent, while Mrs. Hutchison led Richard Fisher 61 percent to 38 percent. Both leads had been static for two hours.

At 9 p.m. Mr. Bush thought his lead was solid enough to predict victory. "I'm tired, but I feel great," he said from an Austin hotel room where he watched the returns. "I'm very honored to be governor of Texas."

Mr. Bush, a son of former President Bush's, thanked his campaign backers and had especially kind remarks for his parents. He described them as "one who has a very gray head of hair and wears pearls, and the other one is a great man."

"He's got it," said Karl Rove, a Republican consultant from Austin, as the polls closed. He predicted Mr. Bush would win by the greatest margin in 20 years.

Ross Perot, who endorsed Mrs. Richards last Tuesday, said he still thought she was the better candidate.

"George Bush is a fine young man," he said, but he added, "George Bush has no business experience. This is a $35-billion-a-year business. He should go through the training program and learn how to do the job."

The Richards campaign remained "cautiously optimistic" as the vote climbed.

There was little drama in the Senate race.

"It's unusual to be determined the winner so early," Mrs. Hutchison said, "but we're certainly pleased."

Mrs. Hutchison said she expected that what looked like a GOP sweep to take over control of the Senate would result in an immediate change in Washington.

"We're going to see a balanced-budget amendment," she said. "We're going to see term limitations. We're going to see the beginning of real cutting of our budget, strong national defense.

"You're going to see some immediate changes," she added, "and I want the people of America to feel that there is a difference."

At the outset, the Richards-Bush contest looked like a romp for the incumbent. Mrs. Richards had a record many regarded as a good one. She was opposed by a man with a respected name but no political experience.

When Mr. Bush said, "I've never been a politician, and I think that's a plus for me," Austin old-timers slapped their legs and guffawed.

He stuck with a two-prong attack — crime and education — and jabbed at Mrs. Richards' apparent affinity for President Clinton. "If you elect her," he said, "she'll be out there in 1996 working hard for Bill Clinton. I will not."

When Mrs. Richards, 61, called him a "jerk" who was trying to buy the governor's chair, Mr. Bush refused to reply in kind. "I will treat her with respect," he said. "The issues are what's important; personalities are not."

Once Mr. Bush got his campaign machine working, his acceptability rose until he led two of the last three polls in the campaign. In all three, however, the lead was never believed to be safe enough to bet on.

A poll taken in the four days after the Perot endorsement indicated a several-point shift of male voters to Mrs. Richards.

There was no way to measure the flip side — those who resent Mr. Perot's involvement in politics. But by 51 percent to 31 percent, poll participants said they had an unfavorable opinion of Mr. Perot.



Kay Bailey Hutchison



George W. Bush

The Hutchison-Fisher race was the one that originally looked like a dogfight, but ended with a whisper.

In April after the primary elections, the two were tied, both with 44 percent, in the first major statewide poll.

Mrs. Hutchison was buoyant after having public malfeasance charges dropped by an Austin district attorney in February. She became the first Republican to set up organizations in each of the state's 254 counties.

She worked tirelessly and though Mr. Fisher tried gamely, he lacked money and connections.

The Dallas investment counselor had spent mostly his own money in winning the Democratic primary from long-time pol Jim Mattox and did not have time or the organization to build a solid financial team.

As a political newcomer, he had to spend considerable time getting acquainted. In a state a huge as Texas, no candidate can put together a viable statewide campaign in a few months, insiders say.

When it came down to a series of debates late in the race, Mr. Fisher trailed by some 20 points and took no chances in the face-to-face meetings.

"He had to really come up with something," said one Austin consultant, "and he didn't. He was so polite, you would have thought he was the incumbent and 20 points ahead."

Mr. Fisher remained hopeful until the end. An hour before the polls closed, he reminded reporters that he had gained 21 points against Mr. Mattox in the last four days of the race. "Anything is possible," he said.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# Elections hail aggressive, conservative congressional era

## Clinton must build ties with GOP; partnership could advance welfare reform

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

**NEWS ANALYSIS**

Yesterday's elections signaled that the 104th Congress will be a more conservative body in which Republicans hope to pursue an aggressive agenda that challenges the Clinton administration.

The GOP was poised to take control of the Senate for the first time since 1986 and remained hopeful of ending the Democrats' unbroken, 40-year reign in the House.

In early returns, Republicans had won or were leading six races for seats previously held by Democrats in the Senate; a net gain of seven seats would give the them control of the upper chamber. The GOP needed a net gain of 40 seats in the House for control, and they had won or were leading in 37 races for seats previously held by Democrats.

"It will be decidely more conservative and — believe it or not — potentially more partisan," said Rep. Timothy J. Penny of Minnesota, a conservative Democrat who is retiring this year.

Mr. Penny said President Clinton must develop a governing strategy that builds relationships with congressional Republicans. Republicans will discover that if their agenda is built around obstructing Mr. Clinton, they may find voters rallying to the president's defense, he said.

"The big surprise may be that we actually accomplish some major reform. Welfare reform is a strong possibility," Mr. Penny said.

Most analysts agree that on welfare reform — one of the top issues Mr. Clinton campaigned on in 1992 — Congress and the president may find agreement on a plan to limit how long recipients may receive benefits.

But there is the possibility that a bolder Republican Party would move further to the right on welfare reform and other initiatives, said Bill Pascoe, legislative director for the American Conservative Union.

Mr. Pascoe said Republicans will push for a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution but may demand that the measure include a requirement that any tax increase needs a 60 percent majority. Another issue that may surface next year is a proposal to impose a flat rate on income taxes.

"They've spent a lot of time thinking about how they want to lead, what their agenda will be policywise and processwise. To the extent that they run into difficulty, the difficulty is going to come in the implementation of the agenda," Mr. Pascoe said.

Others are skeptical about the marriage of a Democratic president and a conservative Congress.

"I would assume that it means that we have legislative gridlock ... The Democrats will see a sudden beauty in the filibuster they haven't seen before and in the presidential veto," said Stephen Hess, a congressional scholar at the Brookings Institution.

David Mason, an expert on Congress at the Heritage Foundation, said Mr. Clinton will have a tougher time on policy matters, adding that Republicans are likely to demand another look at the Whitewater affair that has dogged the president.

"Clinton is going to have a very rough time with a Republican Congress because he had a miserable time over the past two years with a Democratic Congress," Mr. Mason had.

The leadership structure in the 104th Congress already was set to change, and yesterday's results only magnified that reality.

With the loss of Sen. Jim Sasser of Tennessee, Democrats also lost one of the two declared candidates to replace retiring Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell of Maine.

Mr. Sasser and Sen. Tom Daschle of South Dakota had been the candidates to lead their party. No other senators have declared for the race — which could be for minority leader rather than majority leader — but several analysts said they would not be surprised to see a new challenger.

*One group of lawmakers that felt the sting of voters were those who could have been tagged "New Democrats."*

The current minority leader, Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, will not face a challenge, but his role could be in doubt should he decide to seek the 1996 presidential nomination.

Further down the ladder, the chairmanships of the Senate's committees will change. Democrats had tried to make an issue of conservative Republicans, like Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina taking over the Foreign Relations Committee and Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina running the Armed Services Committee.

Moderate Republicans would take over a number of panels. Two who were re-elected, Sen. Richard G. Lugar of Indiana and Sen. John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, are in line to take over the committees on Agriculture and Environment, respectively. Other new chairmen would include Sens. Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon for Appropriations; Pete V. Domenici for Budget; and Bob Packwood of Oregon for Finance.

In the House, the biggest leadership question centers on what happens to House Speaker Thomas S. Foley of Washington, who faced the toughest race of his career against Spokane lawyer George Nethercutt.

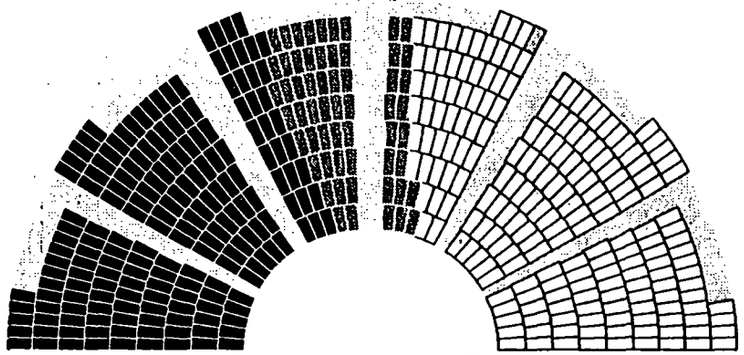
Mr. Foley had expected a leadership challenge from Democratic Rep. Charlie Rose of North Carolina, who was behind in early returns. If both men lose, Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri would be the frontrunner to become the Democrats' top leader, but he could face challenges from Rep. Charles Stenholm of Texas and Rep. George Miller of California.

On the Republican side, Rep. Newt Gingrich survived re-election and is uncontested as leader.

One group of lawmakers that felt the sting of voters yesterday were those who could have been tagged "New Democrats," reformers who represented marginal districts and who did not always follow the Clinton administration.

"I don't think that the New Democrat philsophy is on trial in this election," said Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, which has promoted New Democrat ideas.

"I think that this administration has missed an opportunity to govern in a resolutely new way, to adopt a 'New Democrat' governing philosophy and I think that is a large explanation for why they are in trouble," he said.




**104th Congress**
**1994-96**

## HOUSE INCUMBENTS

Election returns for incumbents and challengers.

| | Incumbents | Challengers |
|---|---|---|
| Won | 217 | 6 |
| Lead | 77 | 16 |
| Winning Trend | 294 | 22 |
| Current | 383 | 0tr% Winning |
| 93 | 0 | Lost |
| 6 | 0 | Trailing |
| 16 | 0 | Losing Trend |
| 22 | 0 | |

| | D | R | Oth |
|---|---|---|---|
| Won | 106 | 111 | 0 |
| Lead | 55 | 22 | 0 |
| Winning Trend | 161 | 133 | 0 |
| Current | 225 | 157 | 1 |
| % Winning | 88 | 100 | 0 |
| Lost | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Trailing | 15 | 0 | 1 |
| Losing Trend | 21 | 0 | 1 |

# Initiatives show voters' demand to curb government

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Tax relief, term limits, immigration, homosexual rights and casino gambling were some of the key issues voters were considering on state ballot measures in yesterday's elections.

In Florida, with 10 percent of precincts reporting, voters were rejecting a proposal to allow casino gambling in up to 44 locations in the state by a margin of 67 percent to 33 percent.

In Nebraska, with seven percent of precincts reporting, term limits were ahead by a margin of 68 percent to 32 percent.

Voters in three states — Missouri, Montana and Oregon — were deciding whether all state and local taxes should be subject to their approval.

Voters in a fourth state — Nevada — were considering a measure that would make tax increases contingent on a two-thirds vote of each house of the state Legislature or support by a majority of voters.

Nationally, there were "well over 200" statewide ballot measures, according to Kenneth Mulligan, policy analyst for the Free Congress Foundation. The "increase in citizen-initiated measures was substantial" this year and signified voter desire to secure more power over government, said Mr. Mulligan.

Mr. Mulligan called the ballot measures that would require voter approval for all state and local tax increases "very significant," perhaps, more important than any others.

"These, more than any other ballot measures, put power in the hands of the voters and take it away from legislators," Mr. Mulligan said.

Voters in 16 states already have limited the terms of members of Congress, and voters in eight more — Oklahoma, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Idaho, Nevada, Utah and Alaska — were given that opportunity yesterday. In addition, Colorado voters, who previously approved term limits for members of Congress in 1990 were considering an amendment, which would reduce the limit for House members from six to three two-year terms.

Immigration emerged as the most controversial ballot issue, thanks to Proposition 187 in California. This measure — promoted by a group called Save Our State — would bar illegal immigrants from receiving all public services except for emergency health care. Under Proposition 187, undocumented aliens could not attend public schools or receive welfare.

Political consultants who've been tracking the gubernatorial and U.S. Senate races in California point out that both races were driven by Proposition 187, with Republican candidates supporting the ballot measure and Democratic candidates opposing it.

While some polls suggested the contest over Proposition 187 was a dead heat in the waning days of the campaign, Robert Kiley, political consultant for the pro-187 Save Our State, said internal polls indicated they were ahead by a margin of 10 to 12 points.

But political observers were looking at turnout. Opponents aimed to get record levels of Latinos out to the polls. And the proposition has sparked some of the most intense levels of political interest among young people since Watergate.

The National Taxpayers Union opposes a graduated state income tax in Massachussetts as well as ballot measures in California, Arizona and Colorado that would raise the price of cigarettes by $1 a pack, 40 cents a pack and 50 cents a pack, respectively, to pay for various health and education programs.

"In our experience, graduated taxes eventually lead to increased taxes for everyone, even though they start out with tax increases only for the wealthy," said Pete Sepp, spokesman for the NTU.

As for the cigarette tax increases, which would be used to fund various public health and education programs, he said, "We don't particularly object to a tobacco tax, but we feel bloated state governments could probably cut more spending before raising cigarette taxes."

In California, revenues from the cigarette tax would be used to fund a state-run health care reform program, which would be created by passage of Proposition 186 on the ballot.

Approval of Proposition 186, which has been lagging in the polls, would establish a state-run, "single payer" health insurance system.

Oregon is home of the Hemlock Society, a group that backs physician-assisted euthanasia. Polls suggest about 60 percent of Oregon voters support ballot Measure 16, which would allow doctors to prescribe lethal doses of drugs to terminally ill patients, defined as those having less than six months to live.

Measures restricting homosexual rights statewide were on the ballots in Oregon and Idaho. And voters in Alachua County, Fla., which includes Gainesville, were voting on a measure to repeal a county ordinance barring discrimination based on sexual orientation.

# State Sen. Pataki dumps Cuomo in N.Y. governor's race

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — Republican State Sen. George E. Pataki won the New York governor's race lastnight, defeating a liberal icon, Democratic incumbent Mario M. Cuomo.

CNN and the Associated Press projected Mr. Pataki as the winner.

With 58 percent of the precincts reporting, Mr. Pataki had 48 percent; Mr. Cuomo, 46 percent; and B. Thomas Golisano of the Independence Fusion Party, 5 percent.

A spokesman for the Pataki campaign said it was confident of winning heavily Democratic Erie County in upstate New York, which has not been in the GOP column since 1958. The Republican challenger was described as "buoyant."

Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, who backed Mr. Pataki, predicted victory. Asked what he would do about Republican Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who crossed party lines and endorsed Mr. Cuomo, the Republican senator said: "He made his decisions for whatever reasons. I think he was wrong."

The Board of Elections reported a moderate to heavy turnout throughout the state as mild temperatures and sunny skies prevailed.

A hour before the polls closed at 9 p.m., Matilda Cuomo, the governor's wife, circulated among the media at the Sheraton Hotel, talking about her husband's virtues and urging voters to go to the polls.

By the end of this bruising campaign, both candidates had adopted music from "Rocky" as their theme song. Each man had earned the title of "comeback kid" in a vacillating battle that reduced pollsters to self-doubt and political consultants to hollow cliches.

Mr. Cuomo, a 62-year-old hardened political veteran, entered the race as a self-proclaimed underdog, "Cuomo against Cuomo" as he put it. Last summer, according to the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, his job-approval rating plummeted to an all-time low of 32.4 percent. Quite a come-down from the heady days of 1988 when Mr. Cuomo's popularity towered at 77.1 percent.

Mr. Pataki, riding a tide of anti-incumbent fervor, maintained a comfortable early lead — sometimes as high as 13 percent.

Then, on Oct. 24, in a declaration of independence from his party heard around the country, Mr. Giuliani turned his back to Mr. Pataki, endorsed Mr. Cuomo and campaigned vigorously with him across the state.

In a matter of days, the governor soared past his challenger for the first time, registering a week ago as high as 15.9 percentage points in one poll.

But once more, fortunes were reversed as Mr. Pataki began closing the gap. Clearly he had the momentum. By last weekend, Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Pataki were between four to seven points apart. By election day, they were in a dead heat.

"About two weeks ago we got knifed in the back, but they did it too soon. The victim didn't die," Mr. Pataki said over the weekend.

Further confounding the oddsmakers in the campaign was the appearance of Mr. Golisano, a wealthy Rochester businessman who spent $10 million of his own money while running on the Independence Fusion Party line.

Mr. Golisano reached 9 percent in the polls, but despite an endorsement from Ross Perot, never higher.

The contest was marked by name-calling and charges of secret deal-making. The Cuomo-Giuliani pact, which stunned New Yorkers and scrambled party alliances, impelled Mr. Pataki to charge that Mr. Giuliani had sold his soul to extract promises of state aid from the governor. Hundreds of millions of dollars would come from taxpayers, he said.

Conversely, Mr. D'Amato, who spawned and nurtured Mr. Pataki's candidacy, became a lightning rod for his political protege. Mr. D'Amato raised millions for Mr. Pataki's campaign and put his own staff at the disposal of the 49-year-old state senator.

Charges of being "D'Amato's puppet" dogged Mr. Pataki throughout the race. One Cuomo TV commercial showed Mr. D'Amato leading around Mr. Pataki by the hand.

Mr. Pataki made high taxes the centerpiece of his campaign. He proposed a personal income tax cut of almost $6 billion over four years. Mr. Cuomo said he would cut taxes by $1.7 billion.

Mr. Cuomo has vetoed every bill to establish the death penalty during his 12 years in office. Mr. Pataki said he wanted to reinstitute it.

Mr. Pataki, riding a tide of anti-incumbent fervor, maintained a comfortable early lead — sometimes as high as 13 percent.

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# Cultural and economic crises set the stage for GOP success

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Driving Republicans' dramatic gains yesterday were deep concerns with ideology and values as well as with the power and arrogance of government, top campaign analysts in both parties said.

"The volcanic eruption of voter anger today has reshaped the political landscape and that anger resulted from the meeting of a cultural crisis, economic crisis and political crisis in this country," said Democratic campaign strategsit Mark Mellman.

"This Republican landslide wasn't so much a repudiation of [President] Clinton's policies as of Clinton himself," said GOP consultant Brad O'Leary. "He gave all the issues the other side needed to beat him with — morality, values, freedom to have arms for self-protection."

"Values were below the surface in everything in today's elections and will play even more of a role in '96," said Democratic pollster Celinda Lake. "When the candidates talked about crime, deteriorating schools and families that can't keep up, that was values."

But economics played a role in further agitating an already irritated electorate.

Despite a steady stream of supposedly good economic news from the Clinton administration going into the election, at least half the voters said they were no better off than two years ago, according to exit polls by the four TV networks and the Associated Press.

The exit polls also showed that about a quarter of the voters said they feel they are worse off.

The finding seems to vindicate many nongovernment economists who have been saying the administration's economic figures do not match reality and explain why the electorate is not more upbeat.

"The economy is not as strong as the government and press are characterizing it," said Wall Street analyst Phillip Braverman, senior vice president and chief economist at DKB Securities Corp.

Just as they had going into the elections, most Republicans last night insisted that voters would be expressing an ideological preference for GOP conservatism.

Most Democrats insisted that voters were not being ideological but simply anti-incumbent.

"Lots of Republicans are saying this was ideological, but as you look through the campaign ads and handouts, you don't see too many ideological matters being debated," said Mr. Mellman.

"Republicans claim the electorate wanted small government over big government," he said. "But how many ads focused on the size of government as a critical issue? Most focused on the foibles of individual candidates and on whether they cast a bad vote or good vote for the district's or state's voters."

GOP campaign pollster and strategist Tony Fabrizio looked at the same election returns and observed that "across the country, the losers were liberal Democrats." He added that the Republicans who beat them were, or claimed to be, their opposites ideologically.

"It was a clear choice between Bill Clinton and bigger government on the one hand, and real change and smaller government on the other," said GOP pollster and campaign strategist Glen Bolger.

Ms. Lake said it "was more anti-incumbent than ideological in that the sentiment was anti-Washington; Clinton and the Democrats happened to be in control of Washington."

To buttress his claim the election was ideological, GOP consultant Craig Shirley said that throughout the South and West, "virtually no conservative Republican incumbent was even at risk — unless he had ethical problems."

The electoral earthquake felt round the nation clearly didn't take its toll equally among GOP and Democratic incumbents. Far more of the former survived, and far more GOP nonincumbents running on conservative issues triumphed over Democratic nonincumbents.

Mr. Bolger argued that there is a difference between incumbents in general losing and what happened yesterday, which is that Democrats lost a bigger percentage of incumbents than Republicans. "If this were an anti-incumbent election, you would have seen more Republican incumbents lose," he said.

Political professionals found surprising agreement on the values question that until recently both parties had been running away from.

"Values played a role in helping define Clinton, which helped define the Democratic Party, " said Mr. Fabrizio. "However, values on an individual basis really were decisive or immaterial on a campaign by campaign basis."

"The candidates who talked about family values such as reforming education did well in this election," Mr. Shirley said.

A dissent from the view held by most Republican campaign professionals came from GOP campaign operative Roland Gunn. "Economics was more important than values in understanding tonight's results," he said.

"If voters were looking primarily at values issues, then there shouldn't be a pattern of people who supported Clinton's tax bill going down the tubes, as happened today," Mr. Gunn argued.

There was wide disagreement among pollsters on which other issues did or did not play as big as expected in the election.

"Clinton's personal morality didn't play at all," said Ms. Lake. Many Republicans and some Democrats had expected it would.

Another surprise: The GOP expected foreign policy to work to its advantage. "Instead, it worked to the Democrats' advantage," said Ms. Lake. Also, trade issues didn't matter even though they were a major thrust of the Clinton administration, she said.

As for health care, the centerpiece of the Clinton legislative agenda, Mr. Bolger said: "I can think of only three or four campaigns that acutally mentioned health care in their advertising. Democrats checked which way the wind was blowing and backed away from accusing the Republicans of blocking health reform."

Ms. Lake thought Mr. Bolger must have been assessing a different election. "Health care played big," she said. "The Republicans used it against a lot of our Democrats in terms of being for big government and big tax increases."

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# California election races dominated by immigration

## Senate contest too close to call

By K.L. Billingsley
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SAN DIEGO — Nearly 9 million Californians headed to the polls yesterday to choose between Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein and Republican Rep. Michael Huffington in the most costly Senate race in history.

Mrs. Feinstein held a slim lead in the polls, but many pundits declared a dead heat in a contest that was remarkable even by the pace-setting standards of California politics.

In a gubernatorial race that may have presidential implications, Republican Gov. Pete Wilson was ahead in the polls and was expected to defeat his Democratic challenger, state Treasurer Kathleen Brown.

Both Senate candidates were optimistic to the end of their widely publicized, roller-coaster campaign.

"We will win this election because the people want change," Mr. Huffington said as he voted in Santa Barbara.

Mrs. Feinstein told reporters that a Senate seat should be "earned, not bought." The remarks were a slap at Mr. Huffington, who has spent a record $25 million of his own money in the bitter race.

Mrs. Feinstein, after spending $14 million on the campaign, recently mortgaged her San Francisco home to raise an additional $2 million for the race. The $41 million in total spending is a record for a Senate race.

Mr. Huffington, a former Texas oilman who declared for the Senate during his first term in the House, was the target of hostile media coverage that centered on the religious beliefs of his wife, Arianna.

On CNN this week, Michael Barone, a political analyst for U.S. News & World Report, said that the media had portrayed Mr. Huffington as a "cross between Genghis Khan and Adolf Hitler."

Mrs. Feinstein opposed the controversial Proposition 187, which would deny most public services to illegal immigrants. Mr. Huffington supported the proposal.

The Democrat pushed ahead in late October after it was revealed that the Huffingtons had hired an illegal immigrant as a nanny. But in the race's final days, it emerged that Mrs. Feinstein had employed an immigrant without a work permit.

In the gubernatorial contest, Mr. Wilson, who surged from more than 20 points behind to a double-digit lead in some polls, made Proposition 187 the keystone of a campaign that also focused on crime. Mrs. Brown's opposition to the death penalty became an issue.

She tried to capitalize on declining support for Proposition 187, which slipped from being favored 2-to-1 in early polling to leading by a narrow margin in the last week of the race.

On Monday, Mrs. Brown spoke at California State University at Northridge, a center of Hispanic activism and a base for a Mexican-American group that has spear-headed angry demonstrations against the measure.

Some of the demonstrations have turned violent, with protesters burning American flags. The California National Guard and the Los Angeles Police Department were on alert for possible election-related disturbances.

To the outrage of some, the Mexican government encouraged foes of Proposition 187. And a Mexican-based Spanish-language network this week took out ads opposing the proposal in major state newspapers.

Pollsters expect Hispanics to make up about 11 percent of the voters, up from 8 percent in 1990, because of the immigration issue. The possibility of illegal immigrants turning out to oppose the measure also was raised.

With a win, Mr. Wilson would rise as a possibility for the Republican presidential nomination in 1996. But the former senator has said he is not interested in running for the Oval Office.

Mr. Wilson is ending his first term. He once had the heaviest negative ratings of any governor in state history. His prospects rose as he hit the crime issue and as the state's troubled economy showed some improvement.

The White House had hoped for a Democratic victory in the gubernatorial contest because of the importance of a friendly governor in a state that is essential for President Clinton's re-election hopes in 1996.

Mrs. Brown was one of the few candidates in the nation to welcome campaign assistance from Mr. Clinton, who said on a recent California swing that "Pete Wilson is wrong, and 187 is wrong."

A lack of money forced Mrs. Brown to pull TV ads over the weekend. She is the daughter of former Gov. Pat Brown and sister of former Gov. Jerry Brown.

# Communists again threaten Cambodia

## Khmer Rouge renews killing campaign

By Willis Witter
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia — Grieving parents bid farewell yesterday to their only son, who was kidnapped and killed by the Khmer Rouge as part of a campaign to destroy a fragile democracy by executing Westerners.

Chants by saffron-robed monks echoed through a temple in downtown Phnom Penh at a traditional Buddhist memorial service for three young foreigners, two Britons and an Australian.

They were abducted in April by the radical Marxist Khmer Rouge, which killed a million of its fellow Cambodians during its 1975-79 rule over this Southeast Asian nation.

The kidnapping on a rural highway in southern Cambodia largely was overshadowed by the more recent killing of three other Western hostages, also by the Khmer Rouge.

Details remain sketchy in both incidents. But the tragedies underscore what many consider a serious unraveling of international credibility for the Cambodian government, which was elected 18 months ago with massive aid from the United Nations.

Against the backdrop of a 6-foot golden Buddha, friends and family eulogized British restaurateur Dominic Chappell, 25, his Australian girlfriend, Kellie Wilkinson, 24, and their British friend, Tina Dominy, 24.

"They came to Cambodia with the greatest gift of all, their love and their time," said Anthony Alderson, who now manages the Deja Vu restaurant, once run by his slain friends.

They were remembered for using their elegant restaurant as a base to feed street children otherwise forced to beg for food.

"The energy and happiness I received from this people was so powerful," Miss Wilkinson wrote in her diary three months before her capture. From "people who have nothing except freedom and satisfaction in their so-called meager lives — smiling, glowing, so excited — I . . . don't feel worthy of such feeling."

Witnesses say Khmer Rouge guerrillas abducted the three as they drove a carload of supplies to a new restaurant they had just opened in the southern port town of Sihanoukville.

For film producer David Chappell, father of the slain Dominic Chappell, the kidnapping marked the beginning of a three-month ordeal involving three trips to Cambodia, an audience with King Sihanouk and a trip to the countryside to plead for their safety.

The tragic end left the elder Mr. Chappell bitter at both British and Cambodian authorities.

On July 11, a day after he returned from the countryside with Dominic's mother and sister, British officials informed him that the bodies of his son and two companions had been discovered.

"The authorities let us go through this intensely emotional charade with the full knowledge that the remains had been recovered," he said in an interview the day before the ceremony.

The memorial service came amid reports that the second group of hostages, abducted from a train in July, had been clubbed to death in an execution reminiscent of the so-called "killing fields."

When the now-outlawed Khmer Rouge ruled after seizing power from the U.S.-backed regime of Gen. Lon Nol in 1975, the cities were emptied and more than a million Cambodians died in the countryside of execution, disease and starvation.

Experts consider the fanatical group, whose forces number an estimated 8,000, incapable of toppling the present government. Nevertheless, its latest tactics of kidnapping and execution threaten to frighten away foreign investors, who are sorely needed to rebuild the nation after decades of civil war.

Apart from the Westerners, the group recently kidnapped and massacred scores of peasants in outlying areas of the country, officials say.

Diplomats, particularly from Australia, Britain and France, are livid about a government policy of granting amnesty and financial rewards to high-ranking Khmer Rouge commanders who defect.

One recent defector, Col. Chuk Rin, admitted leading the July 26 attack on the train from which the second group of Westerners was kidnapped. He received a reward of more than $2,000 and a position as a colonel in the Cambodian army.

At yesterday's memorial service, politics never was mentioned.

Mr. Chappell said, "Let us also remember the countless Cambodians who have lost their lives and pray that peace and order will come to this troubled land."



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# Pacific nations set trade-summit agendas

By David R. Sands
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The story line is free trade, but the more interesting part of the summit of Asian-Pacific economies may be in the subplots.

Trade and foreign ministers from the United States and 17 East Asian and North and South American countries gather in Bogor, Indonesia, on Friday to kick into high gear the annual summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, which in six years has come to represent U.S. hopes of profiting from the boom in Pacific trade.

But while most attention has focused on grandiose debates on whether and when to create a pan-Pacific free-trade and investment zone, a welter of criss-crossing agendas will be in the air when President Clinton and other APEC leaders meet for their one-day summit Nov. 15.

Mr. Clinton, for example, faces major tests in Indonesia on China, Japan, and on his own leadership on trade back home.

Chinese trade officials have made no secret of the fact they plan to use the APEC gathering to press their controversial bid for immediate membership in the planned World Trade Organization, set to begin Jan. 1. As the world's third-largest and fastest-growing economy, China argues it deserves a seat.

"The Chinese see this issue as being in the ninth inning," said Gregory J. Mastel, a trade analyst at the Economic Strategy Institute, a Washington think tank. "They'll be pushing it hard at APEC."

But the United States has led the campaign against immediate Chinese membership, arguing that China's centrally controlled economy hasn't made the market reforms necessary to qualify as a member in good standing of the world trade community.

The United States and Japan both will come to Bogor hoping to use APEC against the other in their seemingly endless bilateral trade disputes.

The APEC summit comes just six weeks after a down-to-the-wire negotiation between the two resulted in some progress but major differences in the huge auto sector. The two sides are also overdue in reaching an agreement on the Japanese flat-glass market, which U.S. producers claim is controlled by a three-company cartel.

Tetsuya Endo, Japan's ambassador for Asia-Pacific cooperation, said Japan is stepping up its public support for APEC and its free-trade mission, in part hoping to use the organization to fend off U.S. bilateral demands. The United States sees APEC as a way to increase pressure on Japan, with many of Japan's Asian trading partners also resentful of what they see as closed Japanese markets.

C. Fred Bergsten, the U.S. economist who heads the grandiloquently named Eminent Persons Group that advised APEC governments on the organization's goals and future, said APEC could be a way for the Clinton administration to win back some of the good

*see* **APEC**, *page B9*

## WHAT IS APEC?

**Founded:** November 1989

**Mission:** Brings together countries in the fastest-growing region in the world, representing 40 percent of world trade and 50 percent of output.

**Members:** Australia, the United States, Canada, Mexico, Japan, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Indonesia, Brunei, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand. Chile to become the 18th member at Nov. 15 summit.

The Washington Times

## APEC

*From page B7*

will it lost over the past year in East Asia through what were seen as bullying tactics against Japan.

"Most Asian countries support our goals in Japan, even China," he said. "But these same countries hate U.S. tactics so much they wind up opposing our positions."

Complicating matters here is the fact that Japan will be the site of the 1995 APEC summit, enjoying many of the host's prerogatives to set the agenda. Many APEC members fear that Japan will curb much of the momentum toward free trade built up over the past two years.

An analysis by the Washington-based Asia Pacific Policy Center quoted one APEC analyst: "The main reason for Japan's participation in APEC is to ensure that regional liberalization doesn't happen."

Mr. Clinton travels to Asia just two weeks before a showdown vote in Congress over the GATT global trade deal — the agreement that creates the WTO. Mr. Clinton used the successful Seattle APEC summit in 1993 to create momentum for his overall trade agenda and would sorely like a repeat performance in Bogor to cement the GATT vote.

Paula Stern, a former chairman of the International Trade Commission and an influential voice on trade in the Democratic Party, argues that Mr. Clinton must bring back some tangible, short-term gains from the APEC get-together to shore up the shaky domestic constituency for free trade.

"I have real concerns that we have to show demonstrable benefits from trade," she said, advocating a "building block" approach instead of grand 30-year visions of Pacific free trade.

She said U.S. economic influence in East Asia is probably at its zenith and will only decline as booming East Asian economies mature, adding even more urgency to the need to nail down benefits soon.

Mr. Bergsten noted that the APEC deliberations affect major players that won't even be there, notably Latin American nations, which have their own summit with Mr. Clinton in Miami next month, and European trading rivals who fear getting locked out.

He recalled a German trade diplomat's remark that the GATT deal was sealed last year by the APEC Seattle summit. "We realized you had an option and we didn't," the diplomat told him.

For Mr. Clinton, the diplomatic finesse in Indonesia involves getting other countries to carry the American ball on free trade without the United States seen as dominating talk in the huddle.

Many East Asian countries, some with extremely high trade barriers, are plainly less eager than free-trade enthusiasts like the United States, Australia, Singapore and Canada to commit to a date for opening their markets.

Winston Lord, assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, and U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor have both suggested recently that the Eminent Persons Group recommendation for full free trade by 2020 had been embraced by Indonesian President Suharto, the summit host.

Suharto "wants a big victory for his hosting, and we're supporting him all the way," Mr. Lord said.

But with China and Japan both backing away, and many smaller APEC members skeptical, Indonesia plans to move only with the "APEC consensus," said Arifin M. Siregar, Indonesia's ambassador to the United States.

"I think our president wants to be cautious and patient with regard to timing," Mr. Siregar said.

Even the site of the summit has significance. Mr. Siregar and other Indonesian officials say they hope the gathering will raise the profile of their country and its economy. Indonesia is the world's fourth-most-populous nation, but it barely registers among U.S. political or business leaders.

Mr. Siregar recalls sitting next to a prominent U.S. banker who remarked he had never been to Indonesia although he had once gotten to Bali, not realizing the one is part of the other.

But Indonesia has attracted attention among international human rights and labor organizations, which criticize what they say are its repressive controls on political expression and union organizing.

In the past month, both Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have released reports sharply critical of the country.

James O'Dea, director of Amnesty International's Washington office, criticized Mr. Clinton for failing to push the human rights and labor standards questions in advance of the summit.

"What we see now is that the trade agenda is expanding and the human rights agenda is shrinking," he said.

But Mr. Bergsten argued that the U.S. government lacks the clout to tell fast-growing East Asian economies what should be on the trade agenda, the way the Clinton administration did in forcing Mexican concessions during the North American Free Trade Agreement talks.

"There's no way we can dictate the terms of the discussion in APEC the way we did in NAFTA," he said.

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# Growth expected to remain strong

By Patrice Hill
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The U.S. economy is expected to post nearly 4 percent growth this year, the best since 1988, and strong momentum could keep it expanding faster than 3 percent next year despite higher interest rates, top forecasters are saying.

"I don't believe the economy responds that quickly to rising interest rates, especially when those rates are being caused by strong economic activity," said Donald Ratajczak, a Georgia State University economist, who is getting the Blue Chip award today for the most accurate forecasts this year.

He and some other economists see signs that growth in national output will remain near, or even accelerate above, the solid 3.4 percent annual pace set in the third quarter, prompting an uptick to 3.8 percent in the consensus forecast for the entire year by the well-known Blue Chip forecasting group.

The group has repeatedly raised its growth projections for 1994, from a 3 percent estimate at the beginning of the year, to reflect the economy's surprising resilience in the face of an interest-rate climb of 2 percentage points.

"Everybody else has been marching toward us [bullish forecasters] all year," said John Ryding, senior economist with Bear Stearns & Co. in New York, who sees growth averaging 3.6 percent next year and was not one of the 50 Blue Chip economists surveyed.

While most economists maintain that the higher rates will drag growth down to around 2.7 percent in 1995, the bulls say that the push the economy got this year from strong income and job gains, coming as the business cycle is peaking, will keep the pace well above 3 percent next year.

The expansion will be paced by an export boom and continuing robust sales of autos and trucks, while housing and sales of other big-ticket consumer items decline slowly under the weight of the rate increases, Mr. Ratajczak said.

U.S. exporters, now rated the most competitive in the world, are poised to take advantage of expanding markets in Europe and Japan as those countries emerge from economic slumps, he said.

"With the dollar falling nearly 15 percent against the yen and 10 percent against most European currencies in the past year, the [U.S.] competitive advantages have been sharply enhanced," he said.

Next year's healthy growth will be accompanied by higher inflation of 3.6 percent, up from 2.8 percent this year, and higher interest rates, he predicted.

The Federal Reserve is expected to raise short-term rates this month and several more times in the months ahead, but Mr. Ratajczak said 30-year mortgage rates have already gone most of the way toward the 9.5 percent peak he projects for next year.

While Mr. Ratajczak and Gail Fosler, chief economist of the Conference Board in New York, both attribute the economy's staying power to business optimism and prowess, Mr. Ryding said it is due more to the Fed's lenient policies on interest rates.

"The Fed's rate increases haven't had any dampening effects," so rates will have to go much higher to slow the economy down, Mr. Ryding said.

"At some point, the Fed will really have to step on the brakes, but that's a long way off, beyond 1995," he said. In the meantime, "profits will expand, jobs will grow and personal incomes will rise."

Lawrence Chimerine of the Economic Strategy Institute is not so optimistic. He thinks the Fed is in danger of killing the expansion if it raises rates much higher.

"Some of this cyclical rebound is going to fade on its own," he predicted, noting that the higher rates already have choked off the big boost the economy got last year from mortgage refinancings, which put money in homeowners' pockets for other purchases.

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## GROWTH

FEDERAL REPORT

# Federal speech ban bothers high court

## Union battles effort to restore law

By Greg Pierce
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Clinton administration yesterday asked the Supreme Court to uphold a law that bars federal employees from being paid for articles or speeches, but the justices seemed puzzled by the ban.

"If a triple ax murderer can't be prohibited from selling his story for money," why should a low-level federal worker? Justice Stephen Breyer asked. "Why does the Constitution apply to one and not the other?"

The law applies to articles or speeches by a federal employee even if the subject has nothing to do with the employee's job, such as a mail handler who wrote about the Quaker religion.

Deputy Solicitor General Paul Bender yesterday argued that Congress has the right to decide what is necessary to avoid the appearance of impropriety.

"It did this on the advice of two federal commissions," Mr. Bender said. Besides, Congress did not prohibit speech, it prohibited payment, he said, adding that a wide ban is necessary to avoid "unevenness of enforcement."

"A compelling reason for regulating expressive activity by government employees is to prevent actual or apparent impropriety," the Justice Department said last year when it petitioned the high court to hear the case. "The citizenry must have confidence that the personnel responsible for the public's business are not subject to undue influence by private special interests."

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor appeared particularly perplexed by one exception to the rule: Federal workers are allowed to be paid for "a series of articles" but not just one.

"Is that absurd?" Justice O'Connor said. "I just don't understand that provision."

Mr. Bender said that when he first saw that part of the law, he thought "it was a typo," but the provision was not a mistake: Congress thought it would be easier to judge the appropriateness of a series of articles.

"I'm really puzzled" about the ban, Justice John Paul Stevens said. There are easier ways for an interest group to pass cash to an employee, he said.

Justice Antonin Scalia agreed, saying an employee could be paid "in other ways for doing nothing."

"What kind of empirical data" does Congress have, asked Justice Anthony M. Kennedy.

Gregory O'Duden, attorney for the National Treasury Employees Union, which has led the way in challenging the ban, said a General Accounting Office study had found only "two concrete instances of arguable abuse" out of 2,500 cases over three years.

Justice Clarence Thomas said it appears that the government would have a better case for banning moonlighting than speech. Mr. O'Duden agreed.

Mr. O'Duden argued that, before the ban, the government had adequately avoided conflicts by requiring employees to seek permission from their agencies before undertaking outside work.

The government seeks reinstatement of the ban, which was lifted in September when the Justice Department declined to ask for a stay while it considered an appeal to the high court.

A three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit ruled 2-1 that the law infringed on the First Amendment right to free speech. The full appeals court on an 8-2 vote declined to hear the case.

Earlier, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia also struck down the law.

The appellate decision left the ban in effect for members of Congress and their staffs, as well as the judicial branch and senior political appointees in the executive branch.

The ban went into effect in January 1991 as part of a 1989 congressional ethics reform package.

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## Trampled path home

The Rose Law Firm of Little Rock rode to town on Hillary Rodham Clinton's coattails, hoping to drum up a little Washington business. A shiny brass plaque announcing the firm's arrival and new location at 1350 I St. NW, Suite 850, was soon hung to greet prospective clients who would come calling.

But, what with the relentless storm of controversy that would soon envelop the firm — from Vince Foster to Webster Hubbell with Hillary in between — not many clients came calling.

So last week the shiny brass plaque came down, the office furniture got boxed up and shipped out, and the firm's lead Washington lawyer, Allen Bird, caught a flight back home to Little Rock.

"They were anticipating that as a result of the Clinton election they would get some business in town," a source close to the law firm told Inside the Beltway yesterday. "But it was a very quiet office — they just didn't have any activity. Even the receptionist started coming in part time. I can even remember Allen Bird telling me he wished he spelled his name with a y instead of an i."

We left several messages for Mr. Bird at his Little Rock office yesterday, but he did not return our calls.

A spokesman for the firm would tell us only "We don't have an office in Washington anymore."

## When the cat's away

Yes, that was a "Mitt Romney for Senate" sign that someone in a pin-stripe suit pounded into the front yard of Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's home in McLean.

## Gone are the days

"I've been here since Eisenhower, and the choices in D.C. are not glorious," one Washington old-timer proclaimed after emerging from a District voting booth yesterday.

## Nothing political

An outraged Beverly LaHaye, president of Concerned Women for America, has written to Vice President Al Gore, demanding a public apology for the vice president's recent reference to Oliver North's supporters as "the extra-chromosome right wing."

"As the grandmother of a child born with Down's syndrome. . . . I found that remark outrageously insensitive and insulting," Mrs. LaHaye wrote.

## Election barometer

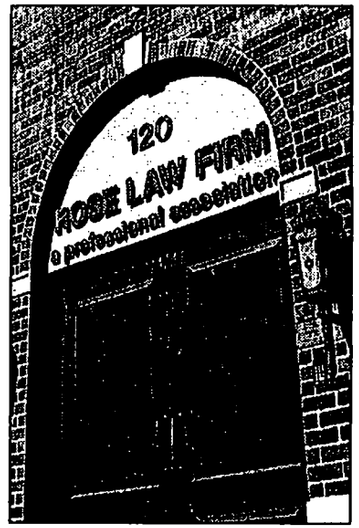
Vice President Al Gore was a guest yesterday on Channel 5's "Fox Morning News," an Election Day interview that began like this:

Lark McCarthy: "More now on our big story. Campaign '94 roars to a close. . . . One very prominent Democrat who crisscrossed the nation to try to drum up support is Vice President Al Gore. He joins us now from the White House. Good morning, Mr. Vice President."

Mr. Gore: "Good morning, Lark. I was about ready to give the [weather] report."

Ms. McCarthy: "Well, we're glad you have a sense of humor, Mr. Vice President. It was certainly unintentional, putting those weather numbers over your face."

INSIDE THE BELTWAY
By John McCaslin



The Rose Law Firm is quietly pulling out of Washington.

## Can't get it straight

It wasn't too long ago that the National Endowment for the Arts caused a storm of controversy when it funded "Piss Christ," a photograph of a crucifix immersed in urine.

Now the NEA is distributing personal reservation forms for its first-ever NEA Official 1994 Christmas Ornament. But this time they're leaving Jesus out.

"Our first yuletide creation is an open sphere, its perimeter accented by two secants that bear the names of the agency's 17 major programs. Suspended within the sphere is a three-dimensional model of NEA's distinguished emblem," the form states, adding that "this original Christmas collectible is perfect for trimming the holiday tree."

The NEA distributed the forms at its council meeting last weekend.

## Starting at home

Jersey City Mayor Bret Schundler — described as a new-generation conservative who believes most of society's problems can be solved on the local level without interference of the so-called Washington "experts" — will be honored at the Capitol Hilton this evening by William Bennett, Lamar Alexander and Sen. Paul Coverdell, Georgia Republican, to name just a few.

Proceeds of the evening will benefit the group Save Our Schoolchildren, an organization committed to innovative education reform.

## The morning after

"Perhaps this would be a good time for hysterical liberals to stop wandering aimlessly about, wringing their hands and muttering about dangerous, right-wing extremists taking over the country," opines voter Ken Bashford of Centreville.

"They really should try to relax, get some sleep, a hobby, even a real job. They should learn to appreciate just being alive, especially if they can recall how panic-stricken they were 14 years ago when Ronald 'Ray-Gun' was about to occupy the Oval Office, put his trembling finger on the Button and promptly ionize every last one of us."

# Day of TV a downer for Democrats seeking deliverance

## CNN describes GOP 'tsunami'

By Rod Dreher and Josef Adalian
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Democrats glued to the television during the daylight hours yesterday might have been accused of masochism: the news was bad, bad, bad, all day long.

"I'm not conceding these Republicans' predictions," Vice President Al Gore said defensively on morning television, setting the grim tone for Democratic viewers.

Republicans, on the other hand, probably haven't had such a good TV Election Day since the 1980 returns that swept Ronald Reagan into office. One CNN anchor said the predicted Republican wave was turning into a "tsunami." By 11 p.m., CNN was granting the GOP an incredible additional 50 seats in the House, and "Crossfire" co-host Pat Buchanan called it a "crisis for liberalism."

The nightly newscasts continued the downbeat message for Democrats. ABC's Lynn Sherr, employing the beam-me-up graphics technology the network introduced in the 1992 elections, zapped Democratic hopes with discouraging polling results.

"Somewhere along the line, this anti-incumbency mood turned anti-Democratic and anti-Clinton," said ABC's political analyst Hal Bruno.

On CNN's "Crossfire," an ashen Democratic Party adviser Tony Coelho said Rep. Jill Long's race would be a bellwether for a Republican sweep. He said he just had the news that the Indiana Democrat was doing well. Unfortunately for Mr. Coelho, CNN's ticker tape reported Mrs. Long's loss during the broadcast.

As results began pouring in after 8 p.m., the networks declared Republican victories nationwide. CBS's Dan Rather, always a memorable phrase maker, called the 8-to-9 o'clock time space "The Hour of Power for Republicans."

The Democrats finally got some good news with the announcement that Sen. Charles Robb had beaten challenger Oliver North in Virginia. ABC News and its local affiliate WJLA-TV (Channel 7) had the coup of the evening, predicting first at 8:26 p.m. that Mr. Robb would hold on to his Virginia Senate seat. CNN and CBS followed about 10 minutes later.

CBS's Mr. Rather was in a very "Pulp Fiction" mood last night. He said the North loss was good news for the Democrats, "but that may be only a temporary stay of execution for [them]." And later, reporting the twin GOP Senate victory, Mr. Rather said, "In Tennessee, a twin killing." But he went "Romper Room" by calling both the Colorado governor's race and the Virginia Senate race "a ding-dong battle."

"This is a very good night for Republicans generally, but this is a very bitter pill for them to swallow," said CNN's election analyst, William Schneider.

C-SPAN's mellow coverage contrasted vividly with the splashy, frenetic reporting from the big networks. "Washington Week in Review" host Ken Bode made one of the night's more interesting observations when he told a C-SPAN audience that the Democrats who have the most trouble getting elected this year are not the most liberal, but the most conservative.

Former independent candidate for president Ross Perot was all over the tube, cheering the Republican victory. "This is a historic night. This is the night we stop the rush to big government," he said on CBS.

PBS's liberal analyst Mark Shields had harsh words for the campaign style of Rep. Newt Gingrich, the Republican House leader, but praised him for helping House Republicans overcome their "minority mentality."

On the local front, WUSA-TV (Channel 9) didn't wait for the polls to close before all but declaring Marion Barry the winner in the D.C. mayoral contest. At 5:15 p.m., reporter Bruce Johnson said that Republican candidate Carol Schwartz "was not expected to win."

Mrs. Schwartz upended the conventional wisdom by staying neck-and-neck with Mr. Barry all night. Local newscasts cut in with ecstatic-supporter shots from Schwartz headquarters.

Earlier in the evening on ABC News' "World News Tonight," anchor Peter Jennings asked reporter Cokie Roberts if she had any advice for President Clinton based on the early returns.

"The message," she said, "is, Move to the right."

**MONA CHAREN**

# Abuse excuse lost in tragedy?

According to reports from Union, S.C., investigators became suspicious about Susan Smith's story when elements of her tale failed to hold together. She said, for example, that she had been shopping at K mart before the "carjacking" incident, yet no one at K mart could recall seeing her there.

The investigators hardly needed to trek to K mart to know that something was off in Mrs. Smith's claim. Just based upon a knowledge of normal human behavior, they should have been skeptical, and perhaps they were. What kind of parent would abandon her children in such circumstances? Even threats from an armed gunman would fail to budge most people. There are things more valuable than life itself. For most of us, the lives of our children are first on the list.

Moreover, stranger abduction is actually quite rare. Despite the impression given by those pictures of children on milk cartons, only a tiny percentage of the kids who are reported missing each year are actually kidnapped by strangers. Most are either snatched by parents in custody disputes or are runaways.

Yet, even those, like me, who doubted the stranger-abduction story from the first were dumbfounded by the horrifying truth. It is almost impossible to believe that a woman could drive her car into a lake with her two little babies asleep in their car seats. Yet this is hardly the first case in recent memory. In 1989, Charles Stewart shot his eight-months-pregnant wife and then blamed it on a mythical black man.

Susan Smith, like Stewart, seems to be what psychiatrists call a sociopath, a person who looks and sounds perfectly normal but who is missing a key component of the human character: a conscience. She demonstrated one of the distinguishing features of sociopaths for all to see on television—an ability to lie convincingly and to ape the normal emotions of other people. It was an impressive performance — the desperate mother asking her two boys to "be strong" and telling them that "they are the most loved little children on this Earth."

The press seems more outraged that Mrs. Smith concocted a tale of a black carjacker than that she mercilessly drowned her own children. Both Tom Brokaw and Peter Jennings led their broadcasts, on the evening of her confession, with the fact that Mrs. Smith had originally blamed a black man for the "kidnapping."

Some members of the black community in Union are angry about this, too. A black employee of a funeral home in Union told the New York Times, "I'm a little bitter about it. I'll forgive, but I don't think I'll forget how they all believed for a time that a black person was responsible. Some of us would like to hear an apology, but I haven't heard one yet."

Now wait a minute. There were no sweeps of black neighborhoods in Union the way there were in Boston following the Stewart allegations. If one cruel hoaxer engages in racial stereotyping, is the town at large to be faulted? If they believed her story, it was for two reasons — blacks do commit a terribly disproportionate number of violent crimes, and the truth was too horrifying to contemplate.

*Susan Smith, like Stewart, seems to be what psychiatrists call a sociopath, a person who looks and sounds perfectly normal but who is missing a key component of the human character: a conscience.*

Well, perhaps some good will come of this agonizing story after all. Perhaps Mrs. Smith's despicable con game — sobbing before the world on behalf of her missing children — and her contemptible invention of a black carjacker will dampen the credulity of future jurors about her own status as a victim.

Because that is coming. The first straws are already in the wind. The Washington Post has reported that Susan Smith was the daughter of a suicide and was rumored to have suffered sexual abuse as a teen-ager. We are bound to hear more of this. It has worked so well for so long. But perhaps this is the beginning of the end for victimology.

The Eric and Lyle Menendez hung juries were more than most Americans could stomach. But this crime is even more grotesque. Many people are probably already coming to the conclusion that whatever Susan Smith's past suffering may have been, it is no excuse.

*Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# Embassy Row

## 'Full confidence'

The State Department yesterday expressed "full faith and confidence" in the U.S. ambassador to Rwanda and rejected calls from the new government that he be recalled.

"We believe his performance has been excellent," State Department spokesman David Johnson said of Ambassador David Rawson.

"No one's worked harder than he has to help Rwanda and its new government to recover from the terrible tragedy that its people have suffered."

In an interview with the New York Times published yesterday, Rwanda's vice president and defense minister, Gen. Paul Kagame, said Mr. Rawson had been too close to the former Hutu government in Rwanda and should be replaced.

The Hutu government was ousted by the Tutsi-led Rwanda Patriotic Front in July after hundreds of thousands of Tutsis had been killed.

## A question of protocol

The dinner for the president of Finland raised a question of protocol from one guest who attended the event at the Finns' high-tech new embassy on Massachusetts Avenue.

After Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari raised his glass to honor the United States, Associate Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor toasted Finland in return.

But Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott was the highest-ranking foreign policy official at the Monday night dinner, and the guest wanted to know why he did not toast the visiting president.

For the answer, we turned to Deputy Protocol Chief Fred DuVal, whose office is the official keeper of the Order of Precedence.

Justice O'Connor outranks Mr. Talbott, even though he was listed on the official program as "acting" secretary of State while Warren Christopher is out of town.

In the arcane ranking of officials, an associate Supreme Court justice is 8A, while a deputy Cabinet secretary ranks 13A.

The list works like this: the president is No. 1; the vice president is 2A and a governor hosting a diplomatic event in his state ranks 2B; the speaker of the House is 3A, the chief justice is 3B, ex-presidents are 3C and American ambassadors hosting events in their embassies are 3D.

And the list goes on.

## Murder, he wrote

Marion Smoak is not just another former ambassador fading away on the Washington cocktail scene. He is turning his years as a chief of protocol under President Nixon into a novel, a murder mystery complete with shady cartels, politicians, a socialite and a mistress.

The novel, which is still in the works, is "a mystery within a mystery," he said.

The hero is Michael Middleton Spencer, a Southerner whose ancestors were plantation owners in Haiti. He studies law in New York City, where he meets a beautiful socialite he later marries. He moves to Washington, lives in an apartment at the Watergate, gets involved in politics and becomes chief of protocol.

He takes a mistress and things get complicated. Along the line there are contacts with a shady cartel with connections to the shah of Iran. There is a lot of money laundering and, of course, a murder.

Michael Middleton Spencer's life reflects Mr. Smoak's.

His great-great-grandparents were French plantation owners in Haiti. After the death of his great-great-grandfather, the family was smuggled out of Haiti on the eve of the slave rebellion that liberated the country from France.

His great-great-grandmother dressed up like a sailor and her children were stuffed in sacks that other sailors carried aboard a boat that brought them to Charleston, S.C.

So Mr. Smoak is a Southerner who married a beautiful woman and later served as a protocol chief.

"But the mistress part is all fiction," he hastened to add.

Mr. Smoak, protocol chief from 1969 to 1973, visited Mr. Nixon during the darkest hours of the Watergate scandal.

On his final visit with Mr. Nixon, he recalls the president asking how he liked serving in his administration.

Mr. Smoak said he "enjoyed it." Mr. Nixon looked long and hard and said incredulously, "You enjoyed it?"

Mr. Smoak jokes that he may have been the only one of the president's men who had a good time.

• *If you have a tip, suggestion or question, call Embassy Row at 202/636-3297.*

**ALAN DERSHOWITZ**

# Showdown for the First Amendment

Any time the media is ordered by a court to withhold publication of a newsworthy item, the First Amendment is seriously implicated. It is thus quite surprising that so little has been made of the recent decision by a federal judge in Miami to hold CNN in contempt for disobeying his order not to broadcast taped telephone calls made from jail by Manuel Noriega to his lawyer back in 1990. Even a spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union — which used to be the guardian of our First Amendment until it became preoccupied with politically correct causes — expressed little concern: "I don't see much here for any outrage."

I do see much here for outrage. To begin, the judge's original order does not comport with the letter or spirit of the First Amendment. Judges simply do not have the power — constitutional, statutory, or inherent — to tell the media what to broadcast and what not to broadcast. The theory on which the judge here purported to base his decree of prior censorship was the necessity of protecting Gen. Noriega's right to a fair trial. But that theory is nowhere sanctioned by the Constitution. The First Amendment commands that "no law" may abridge freedom of the press; it does not have an exception for the protection of fair trials. The Sixth Amendment, which guarantees a fair trial, makes no mention of media censorship. Any fair-trial exception of the kind relied on in the Noriega case would be broad enough to eviscerate the First Amendment, since much of today's coverage of high-visibility cases poses some danger to the fairness of trials. If the judge in Miami can order CNN not to broadcast the Noriega tapes, does it not follow that other judges can compel the media to withhold other information that could have an impact on trials? Where is the line to be drawn in an age of instant and pervasive mass communication? And by whom? Surely the answer cannot be that judges have untrammeled discretion to decide what to censor and whom to punish. That is not the rule of the law.

*Just because the American Civil Liberties Union seems to be getting soft on the First Amendment does not mean that Americans should not be outraged at this usurpation of power.*

Other judges throughout the country, more sensitive to freedom of the press, have devised protective approaches that do not compromise freedom of the press. These approaches include close questioning of jurors, extra peremptory challenges, and changes of venue or postponement of trial where appropriate. In extreme cases, even dismissal of the indictment or a new trial may be required. Another appropriate approach — rarely taken by judges — is to stop leaks at their source, rather than prevent their constitutionally protected publication. In the Noriega case, the tapes were improperly leaked to CNN by government agents. Instead of punishing those responsible for the improper — indeed criminal — leak, the judge punished the messenger for doing its job. Unfortunately, this preference for going after the media rather than government leakers is far too typical of judges throughout the country.

Yet another important civil liberties concern — also ignored by the ACLU — is the fact that the judge who imposed the prior censorship order was the very judge who decided that CNN was in contempt of it. Indeed he went out of his way to emphasize his anger at CNN for violating his order. There is something very wrong when the same judge sits as the lawmaker and law enforcer. In this case, Judge William M. Hoeveler was legislator, judge, jury — and executioner, since he will also decide the appropriate punishment for the violation of his order.

The current law may well be on Judge Hoeveler's side, since the Supreme Court declined to review the Circuit Court's approval of his initial order. But that does not mean that his order of prior restraint is consistent with civil liberties. Any judicial order of prior censorship flies in the face of our freedom of speech, regardless of its beneficent purposes. Just because the American Civil Liberties Union seems to be getting soft on the First Amendment does not mean that concerned Americans should not be outraged at this judicial usurpation of power. There were other and better ways to protect Gen. Noriega's right to a fair trial than by denying the media the right to broadcast, and the American people's right to hear, a newsworthy item.

I hope that CNN will continue to fight this censorship, since the media in this country hold a position of guardianship over the free press rights of all Americans. I hope that other media will begin to understand the dangers posed by Judge Hoeveler's order. And I hope the ACLU will finally wake up from its Rip Van Winkle-length nap as protector of our First Amendment rights and express some righteous indignation about prior censorship by judges. The CNN decision is an open-ended precedent that endangers the First Amendment.

*Alan Dershowitz, a professor at Harvard Law School, is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

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## ALABAMA

Democratic Gov. James E. Folsom Jr. yesterday was fighting a challenge by former Gov. Fob James, an ex-Democrat who switched to the Republican party this year.

But Mr. Folsom, elevated from lieutenant governor last year when GOP Gov. Guy Hunt was convicted of stealing from his inaugural fund, had his own problem: Mr. James accused him of a conflict of interest for lobbying for a gambling bill while he was lieutenant governor after a key beneficiary of the legislation flew Mr. Folsom and his family to the Cayman Islands.

## ARIZONA

Republican Jon Kyl defeated Democratic Rep. Sam Coppersmith in the Senate race that the GOP had targeted all along as a pickup for the party.

In the Arizona governor's race, political neophyte Eddie Basha, a supermarket executive who was the surprise winner of the Democratic primary, faced GOP Gov. Fife Symington, who fended off questions about his links to the savings and loan scandals during his term.

## ARKANSAS

Democratic Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, President Clinton's appointed successor, defeated Mr. Clinton's Enemy No. 1, Republican Sheffield Nelson, in a race muddied by Whitewater accusations against Mr. Tucker.

Mr. Nelson tried to make an issue of the governor's past business association with some principal figures involved in the Whitewater scandal, including James McDougal, former chairman of the now-defunct Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. Mr. Tucker has denied any wrongdoing.

In the 1st Congressional District, Democratic Rep. Blanche Lambert, a young freshman who has shied away from the Clinton health bill and showed other anti-Clinton independence, was opposed by Republican Warren Dupwe.

Last winter, the magazine Arkansas Business did a rundown on the state's winners and losers after a year of the Clinton presidency, and gave faint praise to Mrs. Lambert by saying only that the jury was still out on her performance.

## CALIFORNIA

In the 1st Congressional District, which runs from the Napa Valley along the coast to the Oregon border, the rematch between Rep. Dan Hamburg, a Democrat, and former Rep. Frank Riggs, a Republican, was a dead heat.

In the 19th District, running from Fresno to the west, six-term Rep. Richard H. Lehman held a narrow lead in late polls over Republican George P. Radanovich.

In the affluent 49th District of San Diego, freshman Democratic Rep. Lynn Schenk also held a narrow lead in polls over Republican Brian P. Bilbray, a member of the county Board of Supervisors.

In the 43rd District, covering Riverside, freshman GOP Rep. Ken Calvert's ties to conservative Republicans were strained after it was revealed that he had been found in a car outside a nightclub with a prostitute. Still, he has been running even in his rematch with Democrat Mark A. Takano, whom he beat by 519 votes in 1992.

## COLORADO

Democratic Gov. Roy Romer defeated Republican challenger Bruce Benson in what he had said was the political fight of his life. The incumbent's chances improved after Mr. Benson acknowledged two drunken-driving arrests and an extramarital affair.

Three other candidates also ran for the post.

## CONNECTICUT

In 1990, Republican John G. Rowland narrowly lost the governorship to independent Lowell P. Weicker Jr. This time he was favored to defeat Democrat Bill Curry and independent Lt. Gov. Eunice Strong Groark.

Mr. Rowland led in the campaign despite losing support because of his efforts to keep confidential a police report on a non-violent dispute with his ex-wife.

In Connecticut's most prominent House race, Rep. Sam Gejdenson, a seven-term Democratic incumbent, struggled against a strong challenge from Edward W Munster, who says not only is Mr. Gejdenson out of touch with the district, but the Democrats are out of touch with the country.

There also was a strong third-party candidate, Dr. David B. Bingham, of the Connecticut Party, founded by Mr. Weicker.

## DELAWARE

Veteran Republican Sen. William V. Roth Jr., 73, became the state's first senator elected to a fifth term, easily defeating state Attorney General Charles M. Oberly III.

The Democratic challenger had made an issue of Mr. Roth's age and long tenure.

## FLORIDA

First-term GOP Sen. Connie Mack brushed off a challenge from Hillary Rodham Clinton's brother and former prosecutor Hugh E. Rodham to become the first GOP senator ever re-elected in Florida.

In the governor's race, Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles traveled the state by airplane with singer Jimmy Buffett as GOP challenger Jeb Bush also took to the skies to remind voters of the "need for change."

Mr. Buffett serenaded voters at airports with tunes like "Margaritaville" and warned that Mr. Bush, the son of former President Bush, would be bad for the environment.

Mr. Bush, accompanied by Mr. Mack, told voters in Orlando that "there's never going to be a clearer choice" between candidates for governor.

## GEORGIA

Democratic Gov. Zell Miller faced a tough challenge from millionaire businessman Guy Millner, a political newcomer. The Republican's campaign focused on Mr. Miller's ties to Mr. Clinton and his unsuccessful effort last year to remove the battle emblem of the Confederacy from the state flag.

## IDAHO

State Attorney General Larry EchoHawk, a conservative Democrat and certified "Friend of Bill," was hoping to become the nation's first Indian governor. He was opposed by Republican Phil Batt, a former lieutenant governor and party leader.

Mr. EchoHawk was hurt by controversy over the influence of his Mormon religion.

## STATE LEGISLATURES

Summary of the contests for state legislatures.

**Chambers**

| | D | R | Oth |
|---|---|---|---|
| Won | 11 | 2 | 1 |
| Leading | 21 | 14 | 1 |
| Holdover Control | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| Trend | 35 | 17 | 2 |
| Current | 63 | 31 | 5 |
| Net change | −3 | +3 | 0 |

**Seats**

| | D | R | Oth |
|---|---|---|---|
| Won | 1,082 | 745 | 13 |
| Leading | 1,365 | 1,346 | 25 |
| Holdover | 652 | 443 | 27 |
| Trend | 3,099 | 2,534 | 65 |
| Current | 4,311 | 3,045 | 69 |
| Net change | −301 | +286 | −1 |

**States**

| | D | R | Oth | Split |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Won Both | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Leading Both | 9 | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Holdover Control | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Trend | 14 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| Current | 24 | 8 | 1 | 17 |
| Net change | 0 | +2 | 0 – 1tr | |

## ILLINOIS

Republican Gov. Jim Edgar, a moderate by GOP standards, defeated Democrat Dawn Netsch, using her opposition to the death penalty and history of supporting tax increases against her.

## IOWA

Three-term GOP Gov. Terry E. Branstad was opposed by state Attorney General Bonnie J. Campbell. Mr. Branstad barely survived a tough primary challenge from Rep. Fred Grandy — "Gopher" of TV's "Love Boat" — who refused to endorse Mr. Branstad and whose wife endorsed Mrs. Campbell.

Iowa has not elected a Democratic governor since 1970.

## MAINE

Eight-term Rep. Olympia J. Snowe, a centrist Republican, defeated Thomas H. Andrews, a Democrat, and will be the first woman senator from Maine since four-term Sen. Margaret Chase Smith lost in 1972.

It will also be the first time Maine will be represented by two Republicans in the Senate since 1954. Sen. William S. Cohen is the other Republican.

Former TV anchor Angus King ran as an independent this year against former Gov. Joseph Brennan, a two-term liberal Democrat. Republican Susan Collins was never a serious contender.

## MASSACHUSETTS

Republican Gov. William Weld, who appears to be preparing for a 1996 presidential candidacy, was easily re-elected over Democrat Mark Roosevelt, another Massachusetts candidate with a famous name.

## MICHIGAN

Gov. John Engler, who will be high on everyone's list of 1996 GOP vice presidential candidates, was re-elected over Democrat Howard Wolpe.

The Michigan Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Donald

Riegle Jr. could turn over if GOP campaign operative Spencer Abraham carries his 9-point edge in late polls through the election over nine-term incumbent Democratic Rep. Bob Carr.

Mr. Carr at first distanced himself from Mr. Clinton until the end of the campaign and tried to run as a moderate Democrat. His left-of-center voting record, however, gave Mr. Abraham, the former chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, a plump target.

The importance of the Michigan contest was underscored Monday when Mr. Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned for Mr. Carr in Flint, Mich.

Mr. Carr, running on his ability to bring home federal dollars, barely eked out a primary victory and entered the general election weakened. Mr. Abraham is a longtime party activist but first-time candidate who is giving the GOP its best chance of winning a Michigan Senate seat since 1978.

## MINNESOTA

First-term Republican Gov. Arne Carlson defeated Democratic state Sen. John Marty, who had refused to conduct a negative attack-ads campaign against Mr. Carlson.

Mr. Carlson, a fiscal conservative who supports legal abortion and homosexual rights, faced his biggest hurdle in the primary, when he was challenged by religious conservative and former state Rep. Allen Quist, who had won the party's largely symbolic endorsement.

In the Minnesota Senate race, Republican Sen. David Durenberger's retirement led to a contest between Republican Rep. Rod Grams and Democrat Ann Wynia, a former majority leader in the state House.

A statewide poll published Sunday showed Mrs. Wynia had gained 3 percentage points in recent weeks and trailed Mr. Grams 42 percent to 38 percent, within the poll's margin of error.

Mr. Grams ran on cutting taxes and spending and on crime; Mrs. Wynia attacked his failure to pay off some business creditors.

Mr. Grams, a former Twin Cities anchorman, ran as a Reagan Republican and benefited from a weak campaign waged by Mrs. Wynia, a somewhat professorial politician who had difficulty responding to Mr. Grams' aggressive attacks on her record of raising taxes when she was in the Minnesota Legislature.

## MISSOURI

Former Gov. John Ashcroft, a Republican, defeated Democratic Rep. Alan Wheat to take the Senate seat being vacated by John C. Danforth, a centrist Republican who is retiring.

If he had won, Mr. Wheat would have become Missouri's first black senator.

## MONTANA

Incumbent Republican Sen. Conrad Burns, a conservative former radio broadcaster, struggled in his first bid for re-election against lawyer Jack Mudd, a Democrat. Mr. Burns suffered a setback when he told a story that included a racial slur during a visit to a Bozeman newspaper.

Early on, Democrats identified Mr. Burns as ripe for the taking. Mr. Mudd ran an aggressive campaign, portraying Mr. Burns as a pawn of special interests. But Mr. Burns heavily outspent the challenger and went into the election as the slight favorite.

## NEW JERSEY

Incumbent Democratic Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg defeated state Assembly Speaker Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian, who had waged a strong campaign.

Mr. Lautenberg, a traditional liberal, has touted the transportation funds he steered to the state from his perch on the Senate Appropriations Committee.

## NEW MEXICO

Incumbent Democratic Sen. Jeff Bingaman successfully fought off an unexpectedly strong challenge from former Pentagon official Colin McMillan, who had tried to link Mr. Bingaman with the Clinton administration's land-use policies, which are unpopular in the West.

Democrat Bruce King, governor for 12 years, longer than anyone in state history, was faltering in his race with Republican businessman Gary E. Johnson, who previously had run only in triathlons. The Green Party's Roberto Mondragon was expected to siphon off crucial Democratic votes.

## OHIO

Lt. Gov. Mike DeWine became the state's first Republican senator in two decades, defeating legal entrepreneur Joel Hyatt for the open seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Howard Metzenbaum. Mr. Hyatt is Mr. Metzenbaum's son-in-law.

GOP Gov. George Voinovich, a former Cleveland mayor popular even with Democrats, easily defeated little-known state lawmaker Robert Burch, the Democrats' sacrificial lamb.

In the state's most prominent House race, freshman Rep. Dave Mann, a Democrat, has attacked the Clinton agenda every bit as vigorously as his Republican opponent, Steve Chabot. He even faulted Mr. Chabot of failing to serve in the Vietnam War and said it was a flaw similar to Mr. Clinton's dodging of the draft. Mr. Chabot was not drafted.

## OKLAHOMA

Voters sent Republicans to the Statehouse and the U.S. Senate.

Veteran Rep. James M. Inhofe defeated Democratic Rep. Dave McCurdy after a nasty battle for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen David L. Boren. Mr. McCurdy, the Democrat, worked as hard to distance himself from Mr. Clinton as Mr. Inhofe tried to tie him to the unpopular president.

Former Reagan administration official Frank Keating defeated Democratic Lt. Gov. Jack Mildren, a former University of Oklahoma star quarterback, in the race for governor of Oklahoma. Both had touted themselves as candidates of change.

Gov. David Walters, a Democrat, didn't seek re-election after pleading guilty to violating campaign laws.

Former NFL star Steve Largent, now playing for the GOP, was favored to retain Mr. Inhofe's seat for the party. Republicans, who trailed 4-2 in the delegation last year, appeared likely to reverse that ratio or better.

## OREGON

Dr. John Kitzhaber, a Democrat, had been leading millionaire businessman and former Rep. Denny Smith in the race for governor, according to late polls.

Dr. Kitzhaber is a former state Senate president who wrote Oregon's nationally praised health care reform plan, which increases the number of people eligible for subsidized care but limits the types of services they can receive.

## PENNSYLVANIA

Republican Rep. Tom Ridge ended a two-day whistlestop tour of Pennsylvania by guaranteeing supporters a better future if he is elected governor. Democratic Lt. Gov. Mark Singel, meanwhile, said an Election Day forecast of sunny "Democratic weather" will bring his backers to the polls.

Mr. Ridge's trip began Sunday in Pittsburgh and ended in Philadelphia. Along the way, supporters tooted wooden train whistles and cheered as Ridge promised to cut government spending and lower business taxes.

## RHODE ISLAND

Even Mr. Clinton sang the praises of Sen. John H. Chafee, a centrist Republican expected to coast to a fourth term over Democrat Linda J. Kushner in this heavily Democratic state.

State Rep. Patrick Kennedy, of the Kennedy political dynasty, was expected to easily defeat Republican Kevin Vigilante.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

Former state Rep. David Beasley had the momentum over Democratic Lt. Gov. Nick Theodore. Mr. Beasley, a former Democratic lawmaker who switched parties in 1991, had support from GOP Gov. Carroll Campbell's organization and the conservative Christian Coalition. Mr. Campbell was barred by law from seeking a third consecutive term.

## VERMONT

Incumbent Sen. Jim Jeffords, perhaps the most liberal Republican in the Senate, was re-elected after fighting off a late surge of support for his opponent, state Sen. Jan Backus, a Democrat who was trying to become the first woman elected to Congress from Vermont.

## WASHINGTON

Republican incumbent Sen. Slade Gorton faced a strong challenge from Democrat Ron Sims, a King County councilman.

Mr. Gorton lost the state's other Senate seat in 1986 after being accused of being out of touch with Washington voters and ran for the other one two years later.

## WISCONSIN

Republican Gov. Tommy G. Thompson defeated his Democratic opponent, beleaguered state Sen. Chuck Chvala. Mr. Thompson had run a negative, take-no-prisoners ad campaign despite his huge lead in the polls and in campaign fund-raising.

In Wisconsin's U.S. Senate race, Democratic Sen. Herb Kohl, owner of the Milwaukee Bucks of the National Basketball Association, defeated GOP state Sen. Robert Welch.

Mr. Kohl, a retailing tycoon with cash to burn, took no political action committee money and made that an advertising theme.

## WYOMING

Rep. Craig Thomas, a Republican, defeated popular two-term Democratic Gov. Mike Sullivan in the race for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Republican Malcolm Wallop. Mr. Sullivan should have been the overwhelming favorite, but his ties to President Clinton threw the momentum to Mr. Thomas.

In the governor's race, Republican Jim Geringer seemed to gain ground when Democratic nominee Kathy Karpan accused him — without evidence — of spreading rumors she was a lesbian.

## BRUCE FEIN

# Assaying race-based benefits

Raised in conditions that more nearly earmarked Oliver Twist than Nelson Rockefeller, Hispanic Daniel Podberesky was denied a rich Banneker scholarship at the University of Maryland despite a lapidarian 4.00 high school GPA and sparkling 1340 SAT score. Only blacks need apply, he was told.

But last month, the U.S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals held the racially exclusive Banneker scholarships unconstitutional. Writing for a unanimous three-judge panel in Podberesky vs. Kirwan, Judge Emory Widener snappishly concluded that the racial exclusivity mocked the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

The Podberesky ruling is by no means the last word on racial separateness. It is part of a larger battle for the intellectual and moral soul of the nation on race relations. Affirmative action law ultimately will pivot on whether the societal consensus salutes individual merit over racial quotas and statistical profiles as the touchstone of fairness and justice. As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes taught: "The life of the law has not been logic: It has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of public policy, avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices that judges share with their fellow-men, have a good deal more to do than the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed."

At present, the elasticity of affirmative action law would have permitted an opposite result in Podberesky. U.S. Supreme Court precedents establish that racial or ethnic classifications sponsored by state or local governments are inherently suspect under the 14th Amendment; they must undergo exacting judicial scrutiny.

To past constitutional muster, a race-conscious remedy for past discrimination must be anchored to strong evidence of a remedial need; and, it must be narrowly tailored to achieve the remedial goal. The strong evidence and narrowly tailored concepts, however, have been left unsharpened by the high court, as Podberesky illustrates.

The University of Maryland created its racist scholarship program to remedy its historical discrimination against blacks. That uglyhistory, according to the university, fathered four present ill-effects; a poor university reputation within the black community; underrepresentation of blacks in the student population; low retention and graduation rates of black enrollees; and a perception of a hostile campus atmosphere toward black students. Furthermore, the university insisted, the Banneker scholarships were narrowly tailored to mitigate or overcome these vestiges of racism.

An imaginative U.S. District Court agreed, but the 4th Circuit brusquely reversed. The university's poor reputation among blacks, the district court maintained, could be ascribed to knowledge of the university's past segregation. The court of appeals correctly answered, however, that "mere knowledge of historical fact is not the kind of present effect that would justify a race-exclusive remedy." Otherwise, history books would need censoring to prevent the race-based remedy from living for the ages. Further, even if historical knowledge were responsible for the poor university reputation, the Banneker scholarships would be a futile response, in contrast to book burning.

The district court enlisted pseudo-psychology to find a hostile campus environment fueled by past discrimination. Since unconstitutional segregation at the University ended a quarter of a century ago, the district court maintained, student populations have inherited bigoted racial attitudes from their predecessors, like original sin. Racial attitudes, however, are largely derived from firsthand experience, not hearsay or secondary evidence, and from general societal orthodoxies. Older university students enjoy no mesmerizing power over their juniors on this score. And even if they did, the racially exclusive Banneker scholarships would seem to exacerbate, not blunt prejudices.

The district court relied on statistical data to find an underrepresentation of blacks at the university and low retention and graduation rates. That reliance substantiated the jocular three-fold taxonomy of falsehoods: lies, damn lies, and statistics. As the court of appeals complained, the district court neglected to establish the minimum admission standards of the university necessary to test for underrepresentation; that omission tainted its conclusion of a remedial need to enlarge black enrollment.

Even assuming proof of underrepresentation and high attrition traceable to past discrimination, the court of appeals added, the Banneker scholarships failed the narrowly tailored test of constitutionality. They attracted high-achieving blacks, a group unvictimized by past university discrimination. Further, since Maryland and non-Maryland blacks received scholarships, they were but loosely tied to curing an alleged underrepresentation and only of the former.

The district court ascribed high black attrition to an unfriendly campus atmosphere, the absence of black faculty to serve as mentors, and the lack of shared collegiate experience with family members. The Banneker scholarship program, however, addressed none of the stated causes of high attrition.

Despite the commendable ruling of Podberesky, the nation remains deeply conflicted over whether an individual merit standard can do justice to blacks or ethnic minorities. The U.S. Department of Education, the American Council on Education, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, and eight states filed briefs defending the Banneker scholarships. And many persist in conflating equality with individual opportunity with equality of group results.

As a USA Today contributor, I recently received a letter proudly boasting in its opening sentence: "USA Today is committed to equal opportunity for all." I was then asked to identify my race and gender by choosing among 10 hierarchically listed categories — the bottom was "Male Non-Minority" — an exercise in superfluity if equal opportunity was an authentic goal. My suspicions of USA Today's equal opportunity boast was further aroused by an adjacent statement: "As a member of the business community, we are in a position to contribute significantly to its economic growth and development by identifying and using minority and female vendors."

As Humpty Dumpty might have quipped, equal opportunity in contemporary times means whatever you want it to mean, including discrimination against persons guilty of whiteness and maleness.

*Bruce Fein is a lawyer and freelance writer specializing in legal issues.*

## KEN ADELMAN

# Uniquely American brand of leadership

Even when writing that he's suffering from Alzheimer's disease, Ronald Reagan strikes a poetic chord that resonates to Americans, with its optimism and charity.

I have one remaining wish for Mr. Reagan, who's had many wishes realized already. My wish is that he'll live long enough, and be aware enough, to learn that he ranks as a "near great president."

I fear, though, that this wish won't be fulfilled. For most leaders' reputations hit their low-point around 100 years after their birth. Only then do reputations start to rise — how far depends on their merits, which become more apparent by then. Such was the pattern for Franklin Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower.

Mr. Reagan's rise may begin sooner. Now, 83 years after his birth, Mr. Reagan's reputation may have bottomed out. Its slow rise seems under way, sure to spurt when Edmund Morris' long-awaited and definitive biography appears in a year or so.

Regardless of all that, I've already made up my mind.

Honored to have been in his administration and aware of his contributions, I tag Mr. Reagan as "a near great president." Accordingly, he assumes a place alongside Woodrow Wilson and Harry Truman for sure, and Theodore Roosevelt in all probability.

Despite my emotions, I still can't deem Mr. Reagan "a great president" since this category should stay reserved for George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt.

These were three great individuals who knew how to rule. In a democratic society, this entails knowing how to choose, explain, guide and then motivate.

Moreover, the greatest of presidents faced the greatest of crises — Washington and Lincoln unmistakably so; FDR, the twin crises of depression eroding within and fascist aggression threatening abroad. Theodore Roosevelt, undoubtedly a great man, could surely have been a great president had he faced great crises. But he didn't.

Mr. Reagan faced serious but not nation-threatening problems. Those he faced the same way he now faces Alzheimer's disease — with outpouring and optimism.

"In closing," reads his hand-written letter, so typically Reagan, "let me thank you, the American people, for giving me the great honor of allowing me to serve as your president. When the Lord calls me home, whenever that may be, I will leave with the greatest love for this country of ours and eternal optimism for its future."

Besides his sparkling personality and great rhetorical skills, Mr. Reagan was a "big game" player. Mr. Reagan's thrice-biographer, Lou Cannon, once compared Mr. Reagan to a high school football player he knew.

The word around the circuit was "to leave him alone, treat him politely and pick him up if you happened to block him," since he was ordinarily rather ordinary, "no particular menace when left alone." But if anyone did something "to make him angry, he dominated the field of play. Reagan is like that," Mr. Cannon told.

This helps explain the core mystery of the Reagan presidency — how, under a president who was at times so distracted, inattentive, uncurious and in ways even ignorant, things turned out so well.

The U.S. economy hummed along with amazing growth after 1982. Inflation, which raged at 12.5 percent when Mr. Reagan took office, was a paltry 4.4 percent when he left. Unemployment sank from 7.1 percent to 5.5 percent, and the prime interest rate went from 15.3 percent down to 9.3 percent.

Abroad, the unapologetic anti-communist had his deepest wish fulfilled — the "evil empire" turned less evil at first and then no longer an empire at all.



Ronald Reagan

How did this happen under an oft-detached and never intellectual president?

Because Mr. Reagan was there when we needed him most. When it counted, he was tuned in and tough. This I saw up close and personally during the tumultuous Reykjavik summit eight years ago.

To each presidency come a few decisive moments that demand decisiveness and leadership. A workaholic president can miss or mishandle those moments, and be relegated a failure despite his hard work. Jimmy Carter stands out here.

A less active president can be highly successful if he seizes such moments and handles them well. Ronald Reagan stands out here.

Along with handling crises well, Mr. Reagan gave America a sense of warmth and pride. As is clear from his weekend letter, Mr. Reagan restored America's purpose, pride and confidence. His "self-assuredness was a tonic for a nation that longed for new leadership," Lou Cannon wrote.

Mr. Reagan's leadership was of a uniquely American brand. Walter Lippmann once remarked that Charles de Gaulle was great, not because de Gaulle was in France, but because France was in de Gaulle.

"Similarly," Mr. Cannon concludes, "the greatness of Reagan was that he carried a shining vision of America inside him."

We all felt that, and so appreciate him for it.

*Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# Protecting endangered species half to death

**By Ike C. Sugg**

There were approximately 50,000 black rhinos roaming wild on the African continent when the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) banned the rhino horn trade in the mid-1970s. Today barely 2,000 black rhinos remain in all of Africa.

Banning the international trade in rhino products — which are highly valued in the Far East for use in folk medicines — was supposed to "save" the black rhino. Yet now it appears that this near-sighted pachyderm may be "protected" into extinction by a short-sighted ban.

To many, of course, the black rhino's demise demonstrates that commercialization will be the doom of wildlife. More perceptive observers view it as evidence that the protectionist paradigms of CITES can do wildlife more harm than good. Between these two perspectives lies a vast philosophical, and often cultural, chasm. There is a chance to bridge this divide this week in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., where CITES is having its Ninth Conference of the Parties.

Hundreds of people representing non-governmental organizations will come together, as they do every two years at CITES, to debate new regulatory proposals. But the rural people of developing countries and the wildlife they live alongside are effectively without voice, and they are the ones who stand to lose the most ground at CITES. Proposals to reclassify over 100 different species of plants and animals from all over the world will be debated. In a broader sense, the character of the relationship between Man and Nature will be on the table, as will the future of CITES itself.

CITES is meeting in the United States for the first time since 1973, when 21 nations signed the treaty in Washington. Since then, CITES has garnered 124 member nations and listed thousands of species on its four appendices. Appendix I is the highest level of "protection" afforded by CITES — roughly equivalent to an "endangered" listing under the U.S. Endangered Species Act. According to the Convention, Appendix I "shall include all species threatened with extinction that are or may be affected by trade." In all but a few exceptional circumstances, Parties to CITES are prohibited from trading in Appendix I species beyond their national borders.

*That non-endangered species have been listed should not come as a surprise to those who have witnessed the corruption of science under U.S. environmental laws.*

One problem with CITES is that dozens if not hundreds of species have been listed on Appendix I that were not and are not "threatened with extinction." Most prominent among them is the African elephant, which did not satisfy the listing criteria in 1989 when it was put on Appendix I. There are over 600,000 elephants across Africa today. Similarly, the Minke whale was placed on Appendix I in 1986, even though experts widely recognized at the time that the whale did not warrant listing. Today there are over 100,000 Minke whales in the North Atlantic alone. Ironically, neither was the black rhino endangered when it was listed in 1975. But after spending nearly 10 years on Appendix I, the black rhino now stands precariously close to extinction.

That non-endangered species have been listed under CITES as if they were endangered should not come as a surprise to those who have witnessed the corruption of science under U.S. environmental laws. Creatures of politics are apt to be captured by the special interests that created them. The new twist to CITES is that an increasing number of conservationists are becoming aware that something is wrong with the notion that commerce should be criminalized if a species is "or may be affected by trade." Some conservationists, like Rowan Martin of Zimbabwe's Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management, believe that commerce in species that have floundered under strict government regulation should not only be allowed, but encouraged.

The rationale for such unconventional approaches to conserving wildlife is straightforward: If something does not work, try something else. Trade bans attempt to destroy the legal economic value of wildlife, which is precisely why they have failed. Ninety-five percent of the world's terrestrial wildlife habitat lies outside of national parks and other government-owned "protected areas." In developing countries, almost 40 percent of that habitat has been converted into agriculture since 1960. One of the major reasons such extensive habitat destruction has occurred in the Third World is that cows and plows pay, whereas wildlife does not.

Commerce in and the private ownership of wildlife is illegal in most developing countries, as it is in the U.S. If local people cannot legally benefit from the existence of wildlife, they have no choice but to put their land to other uses. In developing countries, people faced with a law imposed from a far-away city take little time in choosing between observing the law and feeding their families — if they are aware of the law at all. Thus without value, wildlife loses ground.

*Creatures of politics are apt to be captured by the special interests that created them.*

The shame of it is that wildlife is potentially much more valuable than either cereal crops or beef cattle in many of these areas. That is why Zimbabwe has sought to "privatize" its wildlife. Since beginning this process in 1975, the amount of land dedicated to wildlife has increased from approximately 17,000 square kilometers to 30,000. The number of elephants, cheetahs, leopards, ostriches and crocodiles has increased as a result.

The Nile crocodile, for one, would not have recovered without the positive economic incentives created by legal trade, according to Dr. Jon Hutton, a member of the World Conservation Union's Crocodile Specialist Group. Moreover, he says, had Zimbabwe not filed a formal "reservation" with CITES against the Appendix I listing of the Nile crocodile, legal trade would never have occurred — and thus the animal would not likely have increased in Zimbabwe from only a few thousand to as many as 100,000 today.

Even such examples of truly "sustainable development" are opposed by the preservationists who have hijacked CITES in recent years. But they, too, stand to lose ground in CITES this year. Philosophically, the ensuing battle is an ideological conflict between two warring paradigms, between conservation and preservation. The difference is that the preservationists want to "save" wildlife from use, whereas conservationists want to save wildlife for use. Thus, ultimately, the CITES showdown is between those who care about future generations of people, and those who do not.

*Ike C. Sugg is a fellow in wildlife and land-use policy at the Competitive Enterprise Institute, and a contributor to the book "Elephants and Whales: Resources for Whom?" to be published in December by Gordon & Breach.*

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1994 The Washington Times

# The FTC takes aim at — supermodels?

**By Deroy Murdock**

These days, Uncle Sam barely resembles the grand old man whose beard flows beneath a top hat and a stern look of authority. Instead, Sam is increasingly reminiscent of a hyperactive teenager whose tranquilizers just ran out.

Thanks to a virtual Blitzkrieg of bureaucratic meddling, Washington is involved in a widening array of picayune issues that hardly require federal action and divert attention and resources from real problems facing the Republic.

In one amazing example, the Federal Trade Commission has launched an investigation of Donna Karan, Calvin Klein and a number of other jet-set fashion designers. Their crime? The Feds suspect that they may have fixed the amount they pay to runway models. The FTC wrote these designers, as well as prestigious modeling agencies, demanding records on fashion show expenses and fees paid to models. Joseph Hunter, the President of the Ford Models agency says he spent an entire day not long ago giving depositions to the FTC. He says in late October, the agency asked him to hand over several models' names and telephone numbers.

The designers say they are trying to cut costs at large fashion shows where cover girls like Naomi Campbell and Claudia Schiffer earn up to $10,000 per booking. According to the Wall Street Journal, less fabulous models take home between $600 and $750 an hour. In order to give smaller designers a shot at top-notch talent, fashion houses and modeling agencies negotiated a compromise to pay models between $250 and $750 an hour at a major New York show called Seventh on Sixth. The FTC apparently equates this agreement with price fixing.

Now, there may be an argument for federal action if pharmaceutical companies conspired to hike insulin prices beyond the means of America's poorest diabetics. But do even those models who scrape by at just $250 an hour need Uncle Sam's help? Can Claudia Schiffer possibly fend for herself?

The FTC's fight for the huddled masses of Seventh Avenue takes a page from the playbook of Dr. David Kessler, the control-freak director of the Food and Drug Administration. Dr. Kessler has built a reputation as a Rotweiler among regulators. In his quest for risk-free living, Dr. Kessler has stymied the approval of dozens of drugs and medical devices. One item Dr. Kessler has barred is a Danish invention, Ambu International's cardiopump. Like a glorified toilet plunger, the cardiopump helps paramedics push down on a heart attack victim's chest. The device's suction cup then pulls up on the thorax, drawing life-giving oxygen into the lungs and blood vessels.

The cardiopump is popular throughout Europe, required in Austrian ambulances, and capable of saving an estimated 7,000 lives annually, according to Alexander Volokh of the Competitive Enterprise Institute. Nonetheless, the FDA continues to block the device because those on whom it would be tested must grant their permission to do so — a tough thing to do while lying on one's back without a pulse. Such federal legalities have sent thousands of treatable heart attack victims to their graves.

Washington also has gone haywire in its crusade to rid the nation of every conceivable eco-irritant. Under the 1990 Clean Air Act, the Environmental Protection Agency just proposed new rules to limit emissions from the engines of yachts and small fishing vessels. These regulations would boost the price of such motors by 10 to 15 percent while reducing hydrocarbons by 2.25 percent and oxides of nitrogen by 1 percent. These regulations come in the wake of proposed emissions guidelines on gasoline-powered lawn mower engines issued last May.

The Department of Energy, meanwhile, is considering forcing oven manufacturers to redesign their products to curb the amount of heat that escapes during cooking. One suggestion under review would ban the oven-door windows that allow people to see their turkeys and pies as they bake. DOE claims that too much heat passes through the glass. Of course, much more energy will be wasted if consumers must open their solid metal oven doors to check on dinner.

There is very little the federal government can do effectively and even less that it may. Washington's army of regulators should sit down for a while and read the Constitution. It will remind them that they are nose-deep in areas of American life which they are not delegated to enter. Such spheres are reserved to the states and to the people.

The federal government should ditch its micromanagement and stick to the knitting: defend the shores, lock up dangerous federal felons, and assist the states in dire emergencies they cannot handle on their own. As for Naomi Campbell and her colleagues in designer gowns, Uncle Sam ought to send them Lane Kirkland's phone number. Perhaps there's room in the AFL-CIO for an International Sisterhood of Fashion Models.

*Deroy Murdock is a New York writer and adjunct fellow with the Atlas Economic Research Foundation in Fairfax.*

# Sometimes a woman can tell a lie

So "women don't lie," eh? Within mere hours last week America's television viewers could contrast the plausibility of Susan Smith, pleading tearfully with a mysterious black carjacker to spare the lives of her beloved children — which children, she has reportedly told police, she'd already killed — and Anita Hill, engaged in a grand rehashing of her charges against Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas.

To be fair, feminist zealots and liberals who led the assault on Justice Thomas were talking about a woman testifying against a dangerously conservative black man nominated to the Supreme Court. Such a woman must be believed. Feminists were not considering a black man in a stocking hat nominated for nothing but carjacking and abduction. Absent orders from the top, perhaps a good feminist was free to believe Susan Smith or disbelieve her.

Good feminists, moreover, were almost under orders to disbelieve Paula Jones, whose charges of sexual harassment were leveled against President Clinton. But back on the other side again, good feminists were obliged to believe every word uttered by former Navy Lt. Paula Coughlin in her attack against that monster of masculinity, the Tailhook Association. Each case, you see, is judged on its merits.



**Richard Grenier**

It's amazingly simple. If the man accused is a designated enemy of NOW-type feminists or political Left-liberalism, then the public is exhorted to believe all kinds of rumor, hearsay or other unsupported evidence his woman accuser brings against him. But if the defendant is politically amorphous, the public is free to use its own intuition. — which anyway is generally terrible.

If one has faith in the public's intuitive powers, the national horror produced by Susan Smith's tale of a motive-less black carjacker should provide food for thought. Why would a carjacker want to create a huge national hullabaloo by driving off with two small children? How far could he get on a single tankful of gasoline? The present writer, frankly, was skeptical about Susan Smith's story from the very start.

Interestingly, numerous academic studies have been conducted on the behavior of people not telling the truth. High emotion of a weepy sort is taken by the public as an indication of truth-telling, whereas it means nothing at all. Liars can produce positive gallons of tears. Then there's another winning approach: calm, secure, assertive, capable of sticking to one's story under cross-examination. But this also means nothing. By contrast — and the public clearly doesn't know this — studies have shown that liars of the composed sort speak slowly and carefully. They make fewer hand gestures. They move their heads less. They tend to relax their facial muscles, as if aware that viewers will be watching their faces closely for the slightest trace of deceit.

Now if I've ever seen a person testify slowly and carefully with relaxed facial muscles it was Anita Hill. Her gravity of demeanor was also considered a plus. But in one well known academic study, a truthful witness was judged to be lying by 74 percent of those tested. And a lying witness was considered truthful by an equivalent 74 percent. So people's ability to tell truth from lies on intuition is minimal, even when the observers are of perfectly good faith — which has never been the case with Anita Hill's supporters.

The Wall Street Journal's reporting pages may have reached a historic low when the paper featured, dominating the top half of the first page of the Journal's "Marketplace" section, an unprecedentedly prominent and lengthy adaptation from a wildly partisan anti-Clarence Thomas book by two of the paper's woman reporters, "Strange Justice: The Selling of Clarence Thomas."

And that very night ABC's "Turning Point" presented an extraordinarily one-sided, hour-long rehearsal of Anita Hill's charges conducted by a feminist former Journal reporter, Michele McQueen, utilizing as her guiding spirits the book's authors, two former Journal colleagues. Miss McQueen showed us the panel of four women who testified in support of Justice Thomas — but from whom not one word was heard on the program.

Then she showed us his four attackers, all of whom have either been discredited or who dished up mere hearsay. But naturally the attackers were the program's star witnesses, in addition to Miss Hill herself, who testified with her facial muscles as relaxed as ever. The country had been told Anita Hill was a pro-Robert Bork Republican, whereas she turned out to be a liberal Democrat. She was presented as extremely reluctant to come forward, yet she said on the program that she was intent to testify because she was so "angry."

Any number of other inconsistencies in Miss Hill's and other attackers' stories were not pointed out. And viewers were not told that not one but two of the attackers were fired by Clarence Thomas, and that one was fired, in succession, from no fewer than three government jobs. The judicial rules of evidence and for establishing credibility of witnesses were nowhere to be seen.

Perhaps the high point of the program came when Miss McQueen asked Anita Hill how such a noble-seeming man as Sen. John Danforth could possibly believe Clarence Thomas. Miss Hill answered graciously that, after all, he hadn't been present. But neither had anyone else. And no one asked Justice Committee Chairman Joseph Biden how he could possibly believe Anita Hill. Which is interesting, because he didn't believe her. And he's said as much. The same night Ted Koppel's "Nightline" covered the affair equally one-sidedly.

The week before yesterday's election, with the Democratic Party desperate to mobilize its "base," it was curious to see such a media blitz directed at energizing liberal feminists — two years ago such a prominent part of that base. The timing cannot but leave one suspicious. I'll leave it at that.

*Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times. His column appears here Monday and Wednesday.*

## GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

# Futile flirtation with the Havana hermit



When Fidel Castro unleashed tens of thousands of desperate Cubans against the United States last August, trying his best to humiliate President Clinton, one would have thought that the White House might have been a bit peeved, miffed, even exercised.

This was, after all, vintage Castro. From the "sale" of captured fighters at the Bay of Pigs to the United States for medicines and tractors in 1961, to the Mariel forced "exodus" of 120,000 Cubans in 1980, the Cuban president has cynically used his people as raw power against the hated "americanos," whenever he wanted to make a point.

Yet far from considering Fidel's moves as presumptuous, the Clinton administration has given in to Mr. Castro on every level, apparently hoping to reform the bearded one. The ostensible idea is that, step by step, the Cubans will be forced to democratize and even (a favorite phrase) "rejoin the family of nations," and we will then respond to each reciprocal move (good luck).

Instead, what is developing day after day in crowded and desperate Guantanamo is a situation that most Americans would surely be deeply ashamed of, if they only knew.

In the American naval base on Cuban soil, some 24,000 Cubans languish in tents in the blazing sun. The White House has allowed only a few doctors to go from Miami to minister to them and, instead, all its efforts are designed to send them home, where most of them would simply be at Mr. Castro's mercy. (The situation is contorted further by a Miami judge's ruling that Guantanamo is really the American mainland — and that therefore these Cubans must have legal rights.)

Even worse, in still another of the administration's curious "peace offensives," officials have this fall quietly cut back Radio Marti broadcasts to Cuba from 100 kilowatts of power, which can reach the entire island, to 50, which Mr. Castro can easily jam.

Spokesmen for Cuban freedom, such as former Cuban Air Force Gen. Rafael del Pino, the island's highest ranking military defector, have been stopped from speaking on Radio Marti, and a CIA radio, "Radio Caiman" from Costa Rica, has now been closed. Count up still more concessions to Mr. Castro! In short, this means that the two most direct voices to the Cuban military, which is the only hope for change on the island, have been given away to Mr. Castro — and for what?

Or, as Santiago Aroca, the Spanish journalist who is a specialist on Cuba, wrote in two definitive recent pieces in El Nuevo Herald of Miami on Washington's recent negotiations with Mr. Castro, "Meanwhile, in Havana, he has unleashed a new wave of repression to intimidate the opposition, so that dissidents will leave in the 'package' of 20,000 visas conceded by the United States (during the fall negotiations).

"And, why should Fidel Castro even bother now to converse with the exiles? Far from feeling himself with the opposition, Fidel discovered in September, in New York, that the United States could give a great deal in exchange for almost nothing."

In my biography of Mr. Castro, "Guerrilla Prince," I traced how, since the 1970s, Fidel had formed Pavlovian, mind-control "teams" of psychologists and sociologists to monitor the mood on the streets. When these teams assessed a period of explosive tension, Fidel would open the floodgates in some manner and let enough people go to quell the potential flood.

Now, in Guantanamo, the United States is apparently doing much the same thing. Lawyers in Miami have contended in court that American military "psy-war" teams in Guantanamo are endlessly propagandizing the Cubans with the idea that the only thing they can do is go back to Cuba. (Guantanamo officials admit the psychological warfare teams are there, but say they are only there to give the Cuban refugees "information.")

Such psychological operations teams are often extremely valuable, and they are virtually always employed to demoralize the enemy. But, are the poor, miserable Cuban refugees in Guantanamo, who risked everything to leave, now America's enemy? Wasn't someone else recently our enemy?

One can glimpse what indeed did happen in those meetings between Clinton officials and Cubans in September in New York. The Clinton administration gave away the shop, even to the point of giving Havana the right to approve any changes in American immigration procedure vis-a-vis Cuba and Cubans!

This should not perhaps surprise anyone, for this entire mode of behavior is really the twin brother of Clinton policy toward North Korea, Haiti and even Russia. See if you can't win them over. See if they aren't really nice guys underneath those hard surfaces. Fidel must be ready to make peace. Kim Jong-il? We'll only give him 10 years.

The problem with this way of thinking, which permeates an administration that believes there is no evil in the world and that anything is better than conflict or fighting, is that it sells out the historical principles that have underlain the acts and policies of this country.

Atencion, Fidel — you too, Mr. Kim — want to join the Rotary?

*Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

# Down to business in the Middle East

To fans of the movie "Casablanca," it will seem only fitting that the recently concluded Middle East-North Africa Economic Summit took place in the city of the same name. In the film, Casablanca was a town where anything was possible — provided money changed hands. And though there were hard-hearted cynics among the dealmakers, much of the money went to save people's lives, and at least a few unsavory characters turned out to have hearts of gold.

The summit was a dealmaker's dream. Some 2,500 delegates from Israel and Arab and Western nations with interests in the region were there (61 countries in all). Politicians, diplomats and above all businessmen came to take advantage of the rapprochement between Israel and the PLO, as well as the new peace treaty with Jordan, to examine the possibilities for joint projects to help raise the area's living standards.

Everything — from machinery to candles, from chemicals to chickens, from hospitals to television shows, from tourism to diamonds — was open to discussion. And the discussion led ultimately to the "Casablanca Declaration" — a communique calling for a Middle Eastern economic community.

A communique does not, of course, a reality make. And there are still realities in the region that need altering before any such community can come into existence. Syria and Lebanon, for one thing, both boycotted the summit, on the grounds that it would promote Israeli economic superiority. Saudi Arabia balked at the idea of a joint investment bank — an idea that had been a centerpiece of U.S., Israeli and Egyptian plans. Iran and Iraq, both still bastions of terrorism and anti-Western fervor, weren't even invited to the summit.

And then there's the boycott. Arab countries have participated for decades in a boycott of Israeli products — as well as of any non-Israeli company that has dealings of any kind with the Jewish state. The boycott still stands officially. One of the hopes for this summit was that it would speed the end of the boycott. Recent experience in relations between the West and what was once the Soviet Union have shown just how powerfully the instinct to make money can affect political principle. In other words, those who believe that that instinct will prompt more and more Arab countries to accept peace, as well as the economic and technological help Israel is capable of offering, may well be correct.

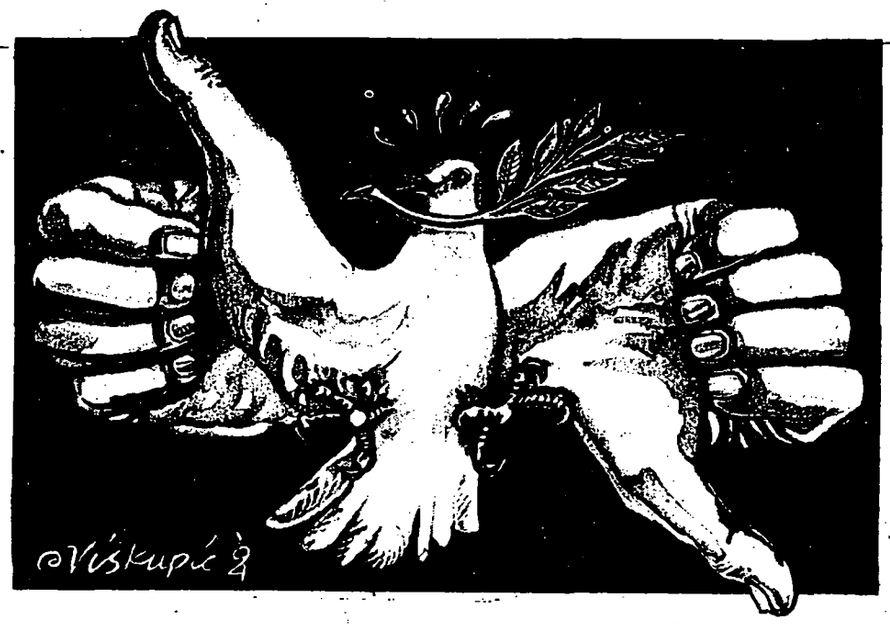
At least one Jordanian has reason to be thankful that her government's new relations with Israel make such aid possible. This week, a 12-year-old Jordanian girl with aplastic anemia crossed the Allenby Bridge from Jordan to Israel with her parents and her baby brother, who will donate bone marrow to his sister. Israeli doctors did the testing to find a donor for the girl; they will perform a transplant at Jerusalem's Hadassah hospital; and the Israeli government is picking up part of the tab.

The summit may not result in a speedy end to the boycott; Saudi Arabia may not soon welcome the idea of the joint bank; Syria — and Iran and Iraq — probably won't be persuaded in the near future to abandon their intransigence and join the envisioned economic community. But there's no doubt that there will be more and more such stories coming out of that troubled area. And there's no doubt that the Casablanca conference is an important element of the new breeze of accommodation blowing there.

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## AMOS PERLMUTTER

# Clinton's Mideast jaunt




President Clinton's trip to the Middle East had its emotional triumphs in Jordan at Wadi Arava, in Israel and in a side trip to American troops in Kuwait, but its most pragmatic thrust — progress with Syria — can only be considered a cautionary failure.

In Israel, Mr. Clinton was all but lionized and praised for a firm, warm and friendly speech. In Jordan, he was royally greeted by a royal king and an American-born queen. He was cheered loudly during the Jordanian-Israeli peace ceremony, over which he basically presided, the same function that he provided for the PLO-Israeli peace agreement. In Wadi Arava, he was nevertheless the star, and I could see him glow even as his eyes were swallowed up in the desert dust.

But, there was no putting a positive spin on the results of his trip to Damascus, either in poliitcal or strategic terms. It was at best a great disappointment, at worst an outright failure, the result of which should give a great deal of pause to all those putting a great deal of hope in the possiblities of accommodation with Syria's Hafez Assad.

In Damascus, a president of the United States laid his considerable prestige on the line along with that of his democratic nation, and Mr. Assad, probably one of the most brutal dictators and tyrants in the Middle East, second only to Saddam Hussein, turned him away very publicly. While the president lectured on the need for peace and justice and a comprehensive peace in the Middle East before some 1,000 reporters, Mr. Assad stonewalled him on the three critical issues that would make for a breakthrough toward Israeli-Syrian peace. Even if he privately bemoaned the Hamas terrorist act of a bomb massacre of more than 20 Israelis in Tel Aviv, publicly he said not a word denouncing terror and terrorism. He rejected a direct meeting between himself and Yitzhak Rabin and continued to insist, as he did in Geneva, on total Israeli withdrawal from the Golan and dismantlement of Israeli settlements, options that would mean electoral disaster for Mr. Rabin. He rejected outright a territorial compromise with Israel, which did not endear him to the Israeli people, who on the whole abhor his Stalinist regime.

In short, the president had with hope and good faith staked some of his prestige on a face-to-face encounter with Mr. Assad and was rewarded with public scorn and silence. Mr. Assad said nothing when asked why he did not denounce terror, why he continued to support terrorist groups like Hezbollah — operating out of Southern Lebanon — and the radical anti-Arafat Palestinians in Damascus, still the terrorist capital of the world.

Mr. Clinton failed, and Mr. Rabin's policy of trying to achieve peace with Syria is endangered by Mr. Assad's continued rejectionism. Thus, it may be time to ask if it is true — as Messrs. Clinton and Rabin insist — that comprehensive peace can only be achieved with the participation of Syria. Might not the peace already achieved with Jordan and the PLO be sufficient?

It can be argued that given the lack of support for Syria from the former Soviet Union, given that Syria is not really capable of winning any sort of war with Israel, given Mr. Assad's continued recalcitrance and his unwillingness to control or exile the Hezbollah fighters, it might be wise for Israel to lower its expectations with regard to Syria, and perhaps consider leaving Syria isolated. President Clinton, to restore his prestige and that of the United States, must teach Mr. Assad a few lessons, as Dr. Kissinger might have done, leaving him at the mercy of his own self-interests. How long could Mr. Assad, leader of an impoverished country whose GNP barely registers on any measurable scale, whose people live in a police state, maintain such an obdurate stance if he is isolated? There is nothing wrong at all with a kind of Cold War approach to Mr. Assad. He respects force, not the less-than-honorable courtship he has experienced from the United States and Israel. The only things that might turn Mr. Assad are political isolation and financial and diplomatic pressure.

Even so, it is patently wrong to assume, as have some Israeli strategists, including the prime minister and foreign minister, that without Syria, peace in the Middle East is incomplete. Peace with Jordan appears to be firm, and Mr. Assad is in no position to sabotage it.

It is true that the PLO is unable so far to combat Hamas politically or militarily, and may not be able to guarantee peace for Israeli once the PLO takes responsibility for the West Bank. It is doubtful that the ineffectual and dictatorial Mr. Arafat could guarantee security for Israel once the Israeli Defense Force withdraws.

The Israeli government is engaged in two difficult, burdensome and quite courageous efforts — to make peace with Syria and the PLO and its quest for Palestinian independence with all the projected consequences for Israeli's people, politics and future. This particular government of Israel — more than any since that of David Ben-Gurion between 1948 and 1949 — has shouldered the burden and responsiblity of planning for the future decades. That responsibility is awesome, so that the qualities of caution, wisdom, patience and courage are all needed on the part of the Rabin-Peres government to succeed, so that it justifies not only Nobel Peace prizes and stability of the century-old Zionist dream.

*Amos Perlmutter is a professor of political science and sociology at American University and editor of the Journal of Strategic Studies.*

# Gilbert Casellas' radical agenda for the EEOC

**By James Bovard**

Gilbert Casellas, President Clinton's choice as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, gave his inaugural press conference Oct. 26. Unfortunately, Mr. Casellas sounded as if he is already infatuated with power. Observing that some businessmen are frightened when they get a call from the IRS or the EPA, he declared, "By the end of my term, I hope people worry when they get a call from the EEOC."

Now there's a laudatory public policy goal: maximization of fear and anxiety in the private sector. In truth, this is not an unusual goal for a regulator, though most have enough sense not to spout such intentions in public. Sadly, the EEOC and federal civil-rights policy are custom-made for the type of intimidation that Mr. Casellas aims to foment.

Seeking the best person for the job has gone from being part of the American heritage to being a federal crime. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission represents the epitome of the paternalist state's contempt for rendering justice to individuals. The EEOC exists largely to compel employers to treat job applicants and employees unequally — to give preference to "protected groups."

The EEOC, since its creation in 1964, has devoted itself to subverting federal law and increasing its own power. The original 1964 Civil Rights Act required that an employer must have shown an intent to discriminate before being proven guilty. However, by the late 1960s, the EEOC had established a definition of discrimination far wider than Congress authorized. EEOC chairman Clifford Alexander announced in 1968: "We . . . here at EEOC believe in numbers. . . . Our most valid standard is in numbers. . . . The only accomplishment is when we look at all those numbers and see a vast improvement in the picture."

Mr. Casellas stated that he intends to have EEOC lawyers pursue more "systemic" or class action discrimination cases. In class-action cases, what often happens is that lawyers juggle statistics to show that, if all other things were equal, then blacks or women or some other certified victim group would have higher salaries or higher positions at a corporation. The result: a mega-million dollar windfall for the lawyers and the victims. This is slopbucket social justice at its worst.

Even before Mr. Casellas' appointment, the EEOC earned renown for its contempt for fair play. The EEOC spent seven years hounding Consolidated Services Company, a Chicago janitorial service owned by Koreans. The company did its hiring by word of mouth, which resulted in a largely Korean workforce. The EEOC claimed that this was unfair to blacks and Hispanics. Federal appeals court Judge Richard Posner noted last year that most of the witnesses the EEOC produced to testify against the company appeared to have severe veracity handicaps. EEOC lawyers were apparently so anxious to impose racial quotas on the firm that they nearly destroyed it with their bogus lawsuit.

The regulations the EEOC now uses to judge discrimination make a mockery of the Civil Rights Act. In 1978, when Eleanor Holmes Norton was EEOC chief, the agency decreed that a private company could be presumed guilty of discrimination if its employees represent less than 80 percent of the racial groups in its surrounding area. In its Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures, the EEOC officially defines "adverse impact" as "a substantially different rate of selection in hiring, promotion, or other employment decisions which works to the disadvantage of members of a race, sex, or ethnic group." EEOC defines "unfairness of selection procedure" as "a condition in which members of one race, sex, or ethnic group characteristically obtain lower scores on a selection procedure than members of another group, and the differences are not reflected in differences in measures of job performance." Thus, almost any instance where EEOC officials feel that an employer should have more blacks, women or Hispanics on the payroll can generate a lawsuit.

Rather than seeking to maximize fear among private businesses, perhaps Mr. Casellas should devote his energy to clarifying EEOC regulations. The history of the EEOC exemplifies how government agencies can achieve near-absolute power simply by issuing incomprehensible regulations.

*Observing that some businessmen are frightened when they get a call from the IRS, he declared, "By the end of my term, I hope people worry when they get a call from the EEOC."*

When the EEOC issued its Uniform Guidelines, the regulations were widely denounced for their vagueness and complexity. The General Accounting Office noted that one study of the regulations concluded that "their reading difficulty level is at about grade 23 — that is, beyond the Doctor of Philosophy education level." The GAO noted: "An EEOC official told us that the Guidelines were not meant for use by laymen but, rather, by lawyers and psychologists. However . . . the reading difficulty of the Guidelines . . . was probably beyond that of most personnel managers, lawyers and psychologists."

The EEOC official's comment captures the arrogance of the Equalizers: The rules for pursuing or imposing equality are so complex that commoners need not understand them. The official's statement also vivifies the EEOC's disdain for the organizations that it regulates: Businesses do not need to understand the law, as long as they bow to EEOC demands.

The premise of EEOC policy is that federal coercion produces a fairer result than the voluntary agreements of private citizens. The EEOC plays a major role in this contemporary political-moral thinking as a symbol of the government's willingness to coerce some people and to trammel some groups for the benefit of others.

Before launching witchhunts in the private sector, Mr. Casellas should clean up the EEOC and its "guilty, guilty everywhere" regulations.

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*James Bovard is the author of "Lost Rights: The Destruction of American Liberty" (St. Martin's Press, 1994).*

# UFOs and social security

A recent poll shows that by a wide margin, more people believe in UFOs than in the Social Security benefits government has promised them. They would sooner fall for, say, a "War of the Worlds" broadcast than the fantastic claim that Social Security benefits will still be around for them when they retire.

Unfortunately, if this recently concluded election campaign shows anything, it's that politicians fear any honest discussion of Social Security and its problems. Democrats inferred from the Republican "Contract with America" that Republicans had a secret plan to cut program benefits — although the "Contract" itself said no such thing. Republicans counterattacked furiously by means of the so-called Rivlin memo, which talked about a laundry list of phased-in benefit cuts, cost-of-living reductions and so on. The White House announced it had no intention of considering any such things.

The result of all the controversy is that politicians all over the country have now sworn to defend (or at least ignore) something people have less faith in than in little green men. The Social Security program looks great to current retirees. Of course, the average recipient uses up everything he contributed in about six years, but collects benefits for years afterward. Right now, the fund is scheduled to go broke by the year 2013.

Yes, the feds could try to solve the problem as they have done before, by raising payroll taxes. But today's employees already pay a Social Security tax of as much as 15.3 percent. Some 70 percent of wage-earners today actually pay more in payroll taxes than in federal income taxes. Raising taxes even higher is likely to slow down the kind of economic growth necessary to fund ever-growing Social Security obligations.

But assume for a second that the Social Security program won't collapse under the weight of those obligations. Assume young workers entering the work force could really count on program benefits when they retire. According to a forthcoming study for the Cato Institute by William Shipman, an investment analyst at Boston-based State Street Global Advisors, a person starting at $22,500 and retiring at $34,000 could count on annual benefits of about $12,500 from age 65 to 80. That works out to less than $200,000 for retirement.

Then suppose the same worker invested his Social Security taxes in a retirement account of stocks and bonds with an annual inflation-adjusted return of 6 percent — which is not exactly the Rolls Royce of returns, by the way. Upon retirement, he would have a portfolio worth almost $800,000, or about four times that of the Social Security beneficiary. Put another way, those paying payroll taxes get a return of about 25 cents on the dollar — supposing, of course, that there is anything for them at all. The point, then, is that workers are losing not just the payroll taxes they pay but the return they would have gotten for their money had they been allowed to invest it themselves.

Sometime in December, a commission headed by Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerry is scheduled to make recommendations for changes in taxes and entitlements — Social Security, Medicare, farm programs and such. No doubt the commission will consider proposals to raise the retirement age for future beneficiaries, holding down Social Security cost-of-living increases and, yes, raising taxes.

But the overall goal should be to move retirement planning from a government system to a private one, from a system which presupposes that some Americans have a "right" to retire on the income of others to one in which people can invest for their own future. Letting voters hold on to their earnings may be alien to Washington, but it's far more realistic than the current Social Security fiction.

# A tribute to Ronald Reagan

In the election season that came to a close yesterday, the legacy of President Ronald Reagan became a major theme, thanks to the Republican "Contract with America."

But what was debated and fought over throughout the land were the ideas of Mr. Reagan's domestic agenda. In a sense, the absence of fundamental, wrenching foreign policy disagreements in the campaign is traceable to another part of Mr. Reagan's legacy, the fulfillment of the dream of the postwar policy of containment with the fall of communism. If you want to talk about foreign policy achievements, that's an achievement of historic magnitude for which we all should remain profoundly grateful to Mr. Reagan.

Today is a good day to remember that achievement — the fifth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, that most hideous symbol of the Cold War. So much has happened in the intervening five years that the Cold War seems like the distant past. A wide gulf separates today from the age of Berlin as a divided city, Germany as a divided country and Europe as a divided continent one-half of which was held in the grip of Soviet domination. But Nov. 9, 1989, is not long ago at all. True, the Wall came down during the watch of his successor, George Bush, but without Mr. Reagan's determination the world would not have been the changed place it is today.

The Wall came to symbolize the differences between the two world views that dominated on either side. In the West, free elections, free enterprise, freedom to travel, freedom simply to lead your life as you please. In the East, the insidious influence of communist government restricting every human activity, every decision. No one could be exactly certain that his wife or his neighbor was not paid by the government to spy on him. Harsh prison sentences awaited those who refused to shut up. In the Soviet Union, in the name of the good of the state, millions were murdered by their own government. Outbursts of rebellion — in Berlin in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 — were brutally crushed.

The Wall was there to prevent the natural human urge to move from bondage to freedom. Before it was built on Aug. 13, 1961, more than 3 million East Germans walked through the gateway of West Berlin into freedom. The purpose of its construction was to stem the massive drain out of East Germany. As Nikita Khrushchev saw it at the time, the choice was either to wall in Berlin, or to undertake another blockade of the city. In his first exercise in testing the Kennedy administration, he decided to bring out the barbed wire, expecting the Americans not to want to risk another crisis in Europe.

And of course his calculation was correct. The result was wrenching for families separated and tragic for a country that became an armed prison camp. From that August day forward, armed guards watched from its towers, shooting to kill any of their fellow citizens who tried to flee. More than 100 people died that way.

But by the fall of 1989, the communist leaders had lost their will to power. Hungary opened its borders to vacationing East Germans, who poured through Austria into West Germany by the tens of thousands. Before long, the Wall had lost its power. On Nov. 9, the East German government opened the gates, and Berlin was reunited.

There are those who argue that communism crumbled as a result of its own inner dynamics, among them Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott. Certainly, the system rotted from the core. But the great achievement of Ronald Reagan was to demonstrate to the Soviets that their imperialism would be challenged at every step of the way, with superior resources, superior technology and superior ideas, too, and that the costs would be more than the Soviet Union could sustain.

Absent the willingness to use force, there was nothing to hold the East Bloc together. It took extraordinary steadfastness on the president's part not to waiver from that determination in the face of scathing criticism from Congress and often from the so-called U.S. allies as well. President Reagan meant it when he stood before the Berlin Wall in 1987 and challenged the Russian leader: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!"

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## Clinton vows to be more bipartisan as long as Republicans do the same

**By Michael Kranish Boston Globe**

WASHINGTON President Clinton, sounding resigned to major Republican gains in the midterm elections, put his first spin Tuesday on the expected GOP tide by saying that people are used to divided government and that he doubted whether it would ``make a great deal of difference."

Clinton, who made his comments in a radio interview that was granted as a last-ditch effort to get out vote, vowed to be more bipartisan as long as Republicans did the same.

``I will have to have more responsible bipartisan efforts on all parts," Clinton said. ``I will make my effort and we'll see others make theirs, I hope."

But despite Clinton's efforts at spin control, which will continue Wednesday at a 2:30 p.m. EST news conference, the mood at the White House was downcast Tuesday.

As exit polling numbers were delivered late Tuesday afternoon, several aides said the president and the staff were bracing themselves for a bitter defeat.

Senior aides said privately they were despondent over reports that Republicans would take over the Senate, and some aides said it was only late Tuesday when they began to consider seriously the ramifications of GOP-controlled chairmanH ship of Senate committees.

One glum-sounding aide said White House officials were contemplating what political direction Clinton would take at Wednesday's news conference. Another aide, who has not always been pleased with the direction of Clinton's presidency, made no effort to give the news a positive spin other than to say that it might provide a useful wake-up call.

White House communications director Mark Gearen, in an interview Tuesday night as it appeared Republicans would control the Senate, said Clinton Wednesday ``will talk about bipartisanship and he will reach out to Republicans. I think we understand the message. There is a great deal of anger out there. There was in 1992. People want change ... and want us to work together."

The White House rejected suggestions that the election was a referendum on Clinton and his presidency, and some aides noted with pleasure that Clinton helped in at last some states, including his efforts for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. Clinton spent the evening watching election returns on television, and his aides were cautious in responding on the record to initial results.

Even early Tuesday, Clinton sounded resigned to a strong GOP showing and tried to cast it in the best light.

``For most of the last 40 years we've had divided government," Clinton said in the radio interview. ``We've had the Congress in one hand and the presidency in another. The American people have kind of gotten used to that. So I don't know that will make a great deal of difference in that sense."

Aside from the morning radio interviews, Clinton took no questions from reporters and left the explanation for Republican gains to his aides. The president, hoarse from two weeks of travel in the Middle East and the United States, told a group of White House volunteers to think positively.

``It is very important in this election season that the American people not vote in anger and cynicism," Clinton said, although aides acknowledged that was exactly what was happening Tuesday in many parts of the country.

The trend was good enough for Republicans that William Kristol, the GOP strategist who was personally attacked by Clinton a few days ago, felt confident enough to offer some advice to the president.

``Clinton has got to say he has heard the judgment of the American people," said Kristol, chief of staff for former Vice President Dan Quayle. ``If he stops short of that, I think he is going to going to be presiding over a lame duck presidency."

Kristol said that if Clinton accepts blame for some miscalculations and mistakes, he could make headway by working with Republicans on some elements of the GOP agenda, such as welfare reform.

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## Republican juggernaut rolls over Congress

**By David M. Shribman**
**Boston Globe**

A Republican tide rolled across the country Tuesday, replacing a generation of Democrats and prompting a historic transformation of the face of politics in Washington and in state capitals from coast to coast.

The Republican surge jeopardized the Democrats' control of the Senate, endangered their four-decade domination of the House and gave them renewed strength in the nation's state houses and governors' offices.

Indeed, Cable News Network projected a Republican takeover of the House, which would elevate Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia to speaker.

Tuesday's mid-term vote provided an unusually strong rejection of the policies of President Clinton. But it also represented a clear call for change at all levels of politics in all regions of the country, especially in Washington.

The angry electorate of 1994 provided a gallery of victims, including Sen. Jim Sasser of Tennessee, until Tuesday the favorite to become the Democrats' leader in the Senate. Republicans also picked up open Senate seats in Oklahoma, Maine, Michigan, Arizona and Ohio and a second seat in Tennessee.

The Republican gains, however, did not extend to Oliver L. North, whose bid to defeat Sen. Charles S. Robb of Virginia fell short.

The irony is that the conservative ascendancy hit its high mark not under the power of a strong Republican leader like Ronald Reagan, but during the presidency of a young Southern Democrat, whose election only two years ago stood as a symbol of the flowering of a renewed Democratic Party.

White House officials tried to put a good face on the balloting, which is sure to make their task more difficult in the next two years. ``The results, we think, show the American people want change at an even faster pace than many people had predicted," said Mark Gearan, the administration's communications director.

Even more damaging to the Democrats than their disappointments in Tuesday's mid-term elections may be the devastation they suffered in the ranks of their promising leaders of the future. A number of prominent rising stars Reps. Dave McCurdy of Oklahoma, Sam Coppersmith of Arizona, Jim Cooper of Tennessee and Alan Wheat of Missouri among them lost Senate races.

These so-called ``New Democrats" moderates on economic and social questions and more traditional on foreign policy issues were rejected at a time when a number of old-line liberals, such as Edward M. Kennedy and Maryland's Paul S. Sarbanes, were returned to the Senate.

Tuesday's balloting was the culmination of a political struggle that was nasty and brutish if not exactly short. From coast to coast, in contests for offices at all levels of government, a negative tone prevailed, leaving even Tuesday night's winners with wounds that they will carry into office.

The campaign was conducted in an atmosphere of charges

and countercharges by candidates and against a backdrop of voter discontent. Although the nation's unemployment rate dropped to 5.8 percent, a four-year low, voters' unease about the future persisted.

Voters aimed their anger at incumbents, sparing only a handful of well-financed lawmakers who nonetheless spent most of the campaign on the defensive. The peril extended to the highest levels of the Democratic Congress, where House Speaker Thomas S. Foley was under siege from George Nethercutt, who neutralized the value of the speaker's power in eastern Washington.

A New York Times/CBS News poll released last week showed that only
1 American in 5 approved of the job Congress was doing.

From the beginning, the 1994 mid-term elections were a referendum on politics as usual and on a new young president who himself vowed to end what he called the old ways of doing things in the capital. Clinton's failure to separate himself from his Democratic allies on Capitol Hill set the stage for his own low approval ratings and only multiplied the difficulties the Democrats faced in Tuesday's balloting. Even so, the president gamely took to the road, campaigning for Democrats, though avoiding the South, where his approval ratings are especially low and where Democratic candidates asked a native son to stay away. But Gingrich conducted a parallel campaign, portraying himself as the presumptive speaker, marketing his ``Contract for America," and energizing newly minted GOP activists.

Gingrich's appeal was especially potent in the South, where Republican congressional candidates strived to match the successes the GOP presidential candidates have enjoyed in the region since Richard M. Nixon's second presidential campaign, in 1968. They also made inroads at the state and local levels, where, until recently, GOP candidates were all but unknown and Republican victories were exceedingly scarce.

In a nation whose folklore holds that politics is expected to elevate, not merely reflect, the public temper, this year's campaigns were a troubling mirror of the nation's mood.

The campaigns' overtures were shrill, even dissonant, a measure of the frustrations, anger and fear that dominate the public mood. Campaign advertising was relentlessly negative, so much so that, like the Cold War arms race, the arsenals of advertising tended to negate each other. The word ``liar" was heard with troubling frequency in the public discourse, and as a result even that word lost its power and impact.

Even candidates who had prided themselves on running positive campaigns in the past found themselves underwriting negative advertisements. Democratic Sen. Bob Kerrey, a figure of nearly unassailable popularity in Nebraska, even wrote negative advertisements himself, posing this question about his opponent: ``Does Jan Stoney really know what she's talking about?"

In an interview, Kerrey explained his rationale: ``People don't know her. I put (the ad) out there, and people know a little bit more than they did. People know plenty about me."

At one point in the Florida gubernatorial debate, GOP challenger Jeb Bush asked of Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles: ``Don't you feel a sense of shame" about your negative advertisements? He added: ``Why, sir, after 30-plus years of public service do you now feel compelled to throw mud?"

The answer, according to Democratic Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia, who was not up for re-election this year: ``Every consultant in the country tells you to run negative campaigns. They may be right, but it's against the best interests of the political system."

Besides the negativism, the autumn's campaign was marked by an obsession with money. Candidates raised and spent more than ever before, often diverting time from meeting voters to fund-raising events designed to accumulate enough money to air ever more television advertisements. That pattern was played out in its most extreme form in California, where statewide political campaigns may have accounted for nearly $200 million in spending. In the Senate race itself, two multimillionaires, Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein and GOP Rep. Michael Huffington, set spending records and set new standards for biting, bitter negative advertisements.

DECISION '94

# CALL HIM GEORGE

## One more game for fighting gov

IN THE END, before he even knew the consequences of his own life, Mario Cuomo turned to competition. He wanted to watch someone else sweat. He wanted to lose himself in something, anything else. So he turned to basketball, again.

"I want to be at the hotel in time to see the Knicks game," Mario Cuomo told his son Andrew. But the son has no stomach for any game but the election. And instead of weighing exit polls and worrying himself dead, the son took a bath.




Alone, the father went to the hotel, winding up in the Presidential Suite. The irony of the name of the suite is haunting. Maybe Mario Cuomo, minor-league ballplayer, would have preferred the Babe Ruth Suite. At the very least, the Joe DiMaggio suite.

Instead, the man who said no to the idea of the presidency sat in the Presidential Suite, with a lot of people telling him the thing would end there.

"I want to watch the Knicks," he told his family.

So he strode into the Sheraton just before 7:30 p.m. Once, many years ago, the career started with other talk of basketball. Mario Cuomo was younger and enchanting then. On his way through the door to victory, he recalled a time he beat a team that was one player short in Queens. The story is ancient today, and meaningless.

No one would dare to say the mean thing about the election, Mario Cuomo didn't just have to beat George Pataki. He had to beat Bill Clinton and the anti-incumbent tide. He died of loyalty, they might say. Once, a few years ago, I sat and watched Mario practice a speech for Clinton. As Mario spoke, Clinton grew form and depth. Mario made the man acceptable for a nation. Then, he stood and spoke to the world, nominating the guy for the world.

Now the nation says the guy is unworthy, As is the guy who really lost last night: Clinton. But Mario never walked away from his words. Mario Cuomo might have won easily, you might argue, if he just told the President to stay away from his state. He did not, and could not.

So on this big night, he has to wind up watching basketball on the tube. But here, too, in the end, was a cruelty. The hotel didn't offer the game on television. It was that kind of day, that kind of night, that kind of campaign in the Presidential Suite.

By the time he got there, the governor had stopped talking to John Marino, his numbers counter. The former head of the state Democratic Party, Marino is a very negative person on Election Day. Yesterday, he was delirious with misery. There was no reason to be optimistic. The only thing Marino and his operatives liked was the turnout. And that news didn't come in until around 8 p.m.

"The best news I heard all day is that we got 60% turnout in the city," Marino said.

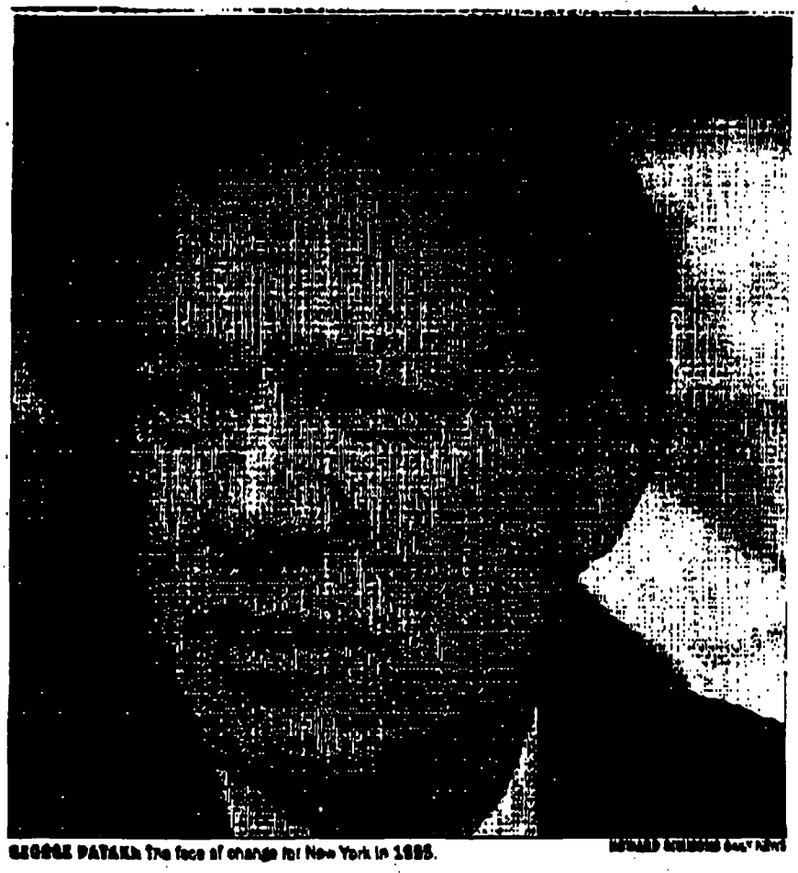
Those are basketball numbers. You make one of every two shots during a game and you may win. John Starks would have taken 50% in last year's championship game.

The Cuomo crowd was in no rush to make a party last night. Because the governor is slow to warm, his family stayed away until after 8 p.m. His wife, Matilda, came first. Then the kids. They expected nothing less than a tantrum. Especially if the Lakers grabbed a halftime lead.

"I'll be fine, no matter what happens," Cuomo said as he walked in. He likes a battle. So he likes a campaign. The question now turns to government. Would he attack the job with tenacity? Would fear force a change in his own government?

The polls could mean anything. Every exit poll was the entrance to a new argument. Republicans vote early. Democrats vote late. Or vice versa. No one could explain the election. It was about rage. They didn't want to elect either man governor.

And that is why this governor wanted to watch basketball last night. Only in sports, when they actually play the games, is there someone to cheer.



GEORGE PATAKI the face of change for New York in 1995. RONALD ZUCKERMAN Daily News

## Death penalty pledge Pataki's only sure bet

By BARBARA ROSS
Daily News Staff Writer

When George Pataki takes charge in January, New York can expect at least two changes his first year: Thousands of new faces in state government and a restoration of the death penalty.

He also is likely to offer legislation that would cut income tax rates by 25%.

The death penalty is sure to sail through the Legislature, but it's unclear how well Pataki's tax plan will fare. Ralph Marino, the Long Island Republican who is majority leader in the Senate, and Assembly Democrats both are wary of it. And fiscal watchdogs such as the Citizens Budget Commission agree cuts are needed, but note New York has a $700 million budget gap that might not be able to bear such cuts.

Pataki's very first task will be the appointment of a transition team to help him pick commissioners who will actually clean house. One legislative aide said Pataki will have to fill as many as 10,000 jobs in state agencies.

"Those agencies need to be milked. They have basically 20 years of the same policymakers and not a new idea from any of them," the aide said.

Sandy Frucher, a long-time aide to Gov. Cuomo, said people will be watching closely to see how many appointees are confidants of Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.).

"They can't all be D'Amato stooges, or there will be a civil war between upstate and downstate," Frucher said.

Warren Anderson, a Binghamton Republican who was Senate majority leader, said: "Pataki has to listen to D'Amato, but once he takes that oath, he is responsible for who he appoints. I have a feeling he'll be his own guy."

To save money to pay for his tax cut, Pataki is expected to shrink the Civil Service work force by leaving thousands of jobs vacant.

However, he may be restricted in how far he cuts by the Assembly, which is controlled by Speaker Sheldon Silver, a lower East Side Democrat who assumes new importance because any new laws that Pataki wants must pass muster with members he guides closely.

"They'll become the obstructionists instead of us," said one top source in the GOP-dominated Senate.

Silver's first priority will be meeting the needs of New York City, home base for most of his members, and this creates problems for Pataki and Silver.

If Pataki takes good care of the city to get Silver's support on other issues, he will be making Republican Mayor Giuliani look good.

That's bad for Silver's fellow Democrats who want Giuliani's job back but can't hurt the city to get it. It's also bad for Pataki who is angry with Giuliani for endorsing Cuomo.

"He has to make his peace with Rudy," Frucher said of Pataki.

Anderson predicted that "the overtures will be going the other way" because "Rudy needs him" more. However, Anderson agreed that Pataki "has to forget the endorsement and treat New York City fairly."

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# THE GIANT KILLER

## Conquest ends historic fight

By MICHAEL FINNEGAN
Daily News Staff Writer

Just a year ago, George Pataki was a nobody on the stage of New York politics, a face-in-the-crowd state senator barely known outside his Hudson Valley district.

Now, this small-time politician from tiny Peekskill has crashed his way into the big time, toppling New York's towering Democratic Party icon Mario Cuomo.

This unlikely giant killer made history last night as the anybody sought by angry voters who wanted Anybody But Cuomo to lead New York for the next four years.

To win the race, Pataki bashed Cuomo relentlessly for a year, but also stuck to two simple promises. He said he will cut taxes and restore the death penalty.

But to voters accustomed to the charismatic governor from Queens with the baggy eyes and brush manner, the lowkey Pataki was a tough sell.

His handlers tried to define Pataki simply by promises rather than his record or character. They limited his exposure to the news media.

When Pataki began campaigning, his ability to oust Cuomo couldn't have seemed more in doubt. His list of achievements over nine years in the Legislature was seen as short and unimpressive.

And his personality hardly seemed suited for taking on Cuomo.

Even Pataki's friend and top aide, Michael Finnegan, concedes the senator is "self-deprecating, almost egoless."

Yet Pataki managed to wage the most formidable challenge to Cuomo since the governor first won the state's top political prize 12 years ago.

With Cuomo's popularity plunging to a record low, Pataki immediately seized on the "sick of Cuomo" trend and blamed the governor for all the state's woes, from job woes to rampant crime.

"It's Mario's fault," went an early Pataki slogan.

With a critical boost from his top sponsor, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), Pataki rose above a dozen or so Republicans vying for the party's nod to challenge Cuomo. D'Amato tried to pump $400,000 into Pataki's campaign, but a court declared the gift illegal.

D'Amato overcame the blow — and protected his status as kingmaker — by lending Pataki a cadre of top political aides and soliciting untold thousands of dollars in contributions from others.

It was D'Amato who turned Pataki into a genuine threat to Cuomo, twisting arms to win the backing of Republican leaders.

"He really strong-armed it," recalled Queens Republican chairwoman Fran Werner.

But it was also D'Amato who nearly destroyed Pataki's campaign by his rivalry with Mayor Giuliani. The Republican mayor, spurred partly by his distrust of D'Amato, electrified the governor's race with his cross-party endorsement of Cuomo.

With Giuliani's jump-start, Cuomo suddenly surged ahead in the polls, and Pataki's recovery remained uncertain until last night.

Pataki and D'Amato go back a decade to the days when the Peekskill mayor relied on the senator's pull with the Reagan administration to secure federal housing grants for his town.

Last year, it was D'Amato's media guru, Arthur Finkelstein, who met with Pataki and other Republican state senators to sketch the ideal Cuomo opponent, an ethnic Catholic who's tough on fiscal issues and favors abortion rights.

Pataki, who fit the bill but not the D'Amato mold, short-listed was picked by D'Amato to embody what Cuomo later belittled as "an amorphous candidacy" created by Finkelstein's focus groups.

"It's very hard to box a cloud of smoke," Cuomo said.

But Pataki is more than a cloud of smoke. Reared on his family's Peekskill farm, he attended Yale and Columbia Law School on scholarship. He later practiced law at the Wall Street firm Dewey Ballantine Bushby Palmer & Wood.

A small-time successor of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Pataki was elected mayor of his hometown in 1981, then to four terms in the Assembly up the side his lucrative real estate investments and private law practice turned him into a millionaire.

Pataki, 49, and his wife, Libby, 43, now live in a Garrison mansion overlooking the Hudson River near Bear Mountain with their kids, Emily, 16; Teddy, 12; Allison, 9, and George Owen, 6.

In January they'll move to the governor's mansion in Albany. Pataki will be the first Republican to occupy it since Rockefeller's successor, Malcolm Wilson, was ousted by Democrat Hugh Carey in 1974.



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Election Special

# HOW GEORGE WON

## Cuomo didn't get the city out

By MICHAEL FINNEGAN
Daily News Staff Writer

It was Cuomo against Cuomo all the way to the end.

Over and over, the governor insisted he could persuade voters to give him a fourth term once they finally measured him against someone other than himself.

He was wrong.

As his critics predicted, it turned out that Mario Cuomo's most fearsome enemy was not opponent George Pataki, but himself.

New Yorkers told Cuomo yesterday what his adversaries have charged for years. His record failed to match his rhetoric.

"Cuomo was not immune from the anti-incumbent hurt that's been laid at the doorsteps of elected officials across the nation," said pollster Lee Miringoff of the Marist Institute in Poughkeepsie.

Pataki's victory, of course, also had something to do with the campaign he ran. He kept it tightly focused on themes that resonated with voters, mainly promises to restore the death penalty and cut taxes.

"It sounds trite, but he's been talking to the issues," said Pataki campaign manager Rob Ryan.

Pataki's victory also had a lot to do with his chief sponsor, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.), who twisted the arms of GOP leaders to insure that Pataki won the party's nod to challenge Cuomo and raised untold thousands of dollars in donations for Pataki.

It was D'Amato's media guru Arthur Finkelstein who a year ago sketched the portrait of an ideal Cuomo opponent: an ethnic Catholic who's tough on fiscal issues and favors abortion rights. Aside from his shifting stand on abortion, Pataki was the man Republicans were looking for.

But many of the reasons New Yorkers elected Pataki had more to do with who he is isn't — Cuomo — than who he is.

It was Cuomo who failed to draw enough New York City voters to the polls to blunt the impact of Pataki's overwhelming support upstate. Cuomo also failed to pull in strong enough support in the crucial battlegrounds of the suburbs, some of them battered by sharp job losses during the governor's tenure.

And despite his strong support in the black community, Cuomo couldn't attract a large enough turnout to sway the election his way.

Also, the spoiler he hoped to find in Tom Golisano, the millionaire independent candidate backed by Ross Perot, wound up snatching fewer upstate votes from Pataki than Cuomo needed him to.

Finally, the governor's most prized supporter, Mayor Giuliani, turned out to have less appeal than he hoped. The Republican mayor's shock cross-party endorsement may have won Cuomo some votes in the city's white ethnic areas, such as parts of Queens and Staten Island.

But it apparently backfired upstate, where Pataki's campaign allies had warned voters that Cuomo would misuse their tax dollars to bail Giuliani out of New York City's budget crisis.

In spite of Pataki's victory, his refusal to be sidetracked from his campaign's scripted message may have left many New Yorkers still wondering who he is.

"People never got a sense of him as a man, as a person, about why he wanted to be governor," said political consultant Maureen Connelly.

### AN ANALYSIS

## N.Y. GOVERNOR EXIT POLL

| Share of vote (%) | | Mario Cuomo (%) | George Pataki (%) | Thomas Golisano (%) | Too Conservative (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | TOTAL | 46 | 49 | 1 | 5 |
| | **SEX** | | | | |
| 49 | Men | 45 | 52 | 1 | 3 |
| 51 | Women | 47 | 47 | 1 | 6 |
| | **ETHNICITY** | | | | |
| 88 | White | 39 | 54 | 1 | 5 |
| 7 | Black | 89 | 9 | - | - |
| | **AGE** | | | | |
| 16 | 18-29 | 43 | 51 | 3 | 5 |
| 29 | 30-44 | 42 | 51 | 1 | 5 |
| 31 | 45-59 | 50 | 45 | 1 | 5 |
| 20 | 60+ | 55 | 43 | 1 | 2 |
| | **ANNUAL INCOME** | | | | |
| 9 | Less than $15,000 | 51 | 49 | 1 | 3 |
| 18 | $15,000-30,000 | 53 | 51 | 1 | 6 |
| 29 | $30,000-50,000 | 41 | 50 | 1 | 4 |
| 22 | $50,000-75,000 | 43 | 50 | 1 | 5 |
| 12 | $75,000-100,000 | 40 | 52 | - | 7 |
| 12 | More than $100,000 | 59 | 37 | - | 3 |
| | **EDUCATION** | | | | |
| 20 | High school graduate | 39 | 55 | 1 | 5 |
| 23 | Some college | 46 | 45 | 2 | 5 |
| 26 | College graduate | 44 | 51 | 1 | 3 |
| 20 | Postgraduate study | 57 | 38 | - | 4 |
| | **PARTY AFFILIATION** | | | | |
| 40 | Democrat | 76 | 19 | 1 | 3 |
| 30 | Republican | 14 | 86 | 1 | 5 |
| 30 | Independent/other | 38 | 50 | 3 | 8 |
| | **POLITICAL IDEOLOGY** | | | | |
| 23 | Liberal | 87 | 27 | 2 | 4 |
| 43 | Moderate | 60 | 45 | - | 4 |
| 34 | Conservative | 28 | 71 | 2 | 4 |
| | **RELIGION** | | | | |
| 24 | Protestant | 46 | 54 | 1 | 5 |
| 47 | Catholic | 57 | 57 | 1 | 4 |
| 10 | Jewish | 76 | 21 | - | 3 |
| | **SPECIAL INTERESTS** | | | | |
| 66 | Employed | 48 | 51 | 1 | 6 |
| 27 | Working women | 45 | 48 | 1 | 5 |
| 57 | Married | 48 | 53 | 2 | 4 |
| 26 | Union member in home | 60 | 40 | - | 4 |
| 10 | Gun owner | 34 | 64 | 2 | 8 |
| 10 | Talk-radio listener | 36 | 56 | 1 | 4 |
| | **MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES** | | | | |
| 25 | Government spending | 53 | 53 | 2 | - |
| 17 | Candidate's character | 61 | 16 | - | 3 |
| 8 | Abortion | 54 | 25 | 19 | - |
| 19 | Crime | 30 | 67 | - | 3 |
| 16 | Death penalty | 21 | 78 | - | 3 |
| 10 | Candidate's experience | 90 | 3 | - | 1 |
| 13 | Time for a change | 6 | 86 | 3 | 7 |
| 24 | Taxes | 25 | 73 | 1 | 4 |
| 17 | Economy/jobs | 50 | 44 | - | 4 |

This exit poll of 1,892 New York voters was conducted by Voter News Service yesterday.

DAILY NEWS

## Cuomo lost backing of voter blocs

By TOM ROBBINS
Daily News Staff Writer

George Pataki repeated it like a mantra throughout his campaign: New Yorkers are fed up with tax-and-spend politics, high crime and no death penalty.

Yesterday voters were proving him right.

They listed government spending and taxes — the issues Pataki sought to link to Gov. Cuomo — as their chief concerns in an exit survey of 1,600 people from around the state.

In what could prove an even more final judgment, nearly two of every three people polled by Voter News Service said the three-term governor has simply been in office too long.

Pataki's prescription for tough political medicine on crime scored big with voters

### EXIT POLL

sixty-four per cent said they favored the death penalty.

Voters also expressed deep pessimism over the state's economy. Eighty-one per cent rated the economic conditions as "not good" or "poor."

And many of the voters voicing those concerns were among Cuomo's traditionally most stalwart supporters.

Women — long a cornerstone of Cuomo's majority — gave the governor just 47% of their votes, while another 47% voted for Pataki. That was down from the 57% of women's votes Cuomo received in 1990.

White voters also abandoned Cuomo in large numbers, giving him just 39% this year compared to 48% in the last election. Many of those white Cuomo voters defected to independent challenger Thomas Golisano, whose 5% in the exit polls came exclusively from white voters.

Other long-time Cuomo backers also appeared to be deserting him in droves.

The number of Catholic voters for Cuomo dropped by 17% from the last election. Catholics surveyed in the poll showed they preferred Pataki by 20% over Cuomo. In 1990, Cuomo took 64% of the Catholic vote. Last night it appeared he was getting just 37% of that group.

Voter households traced by union members — a key to Cuomo's fortunes — divided evenly between the Republican challenger and the Democratic incumbent.

Black voters overwhelmingly supported Cuomo — but

See EXIT Page 25

## To their credit, two students lend Mario a hand

There was at least one accomplished pianist for the parting Gov. Cuomo last night.

School mates Vito Tumbarello, 18, and Tim Krenek, 18, volunteered for the Cuomo campaign because they got time credits from their high schools, the School of Telecommunications Arts and Technology in San Diego, Brooklyn, and Hillsborough in Tampa.

They spent more than 100 hours putting up posters, picking up packages and fetching coffee — and they were on hand last night for the results of the election at the New York Hotel & Tower.

Tumbarello said he hoped New Yorkers would forget the political partisanship that Cuomo was replaced by.

"I'd like to be a student advisor to the governor," he said. The most enjoyable assignment, they said, was cruising around in their "Mario Mobile," their name for a campaign staff car.

— Larry Sutton and Jane Furse

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DECISION '94

# BLOOD ON HILL

## The GOP debates Dole role

By RICHARD SISK

WASHINGTON Republicans began squabbling last night over what Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) would do with his new post as Senate majority leader even before Dole [illegible]

Could Dole's action effectively cripple his leadership while serving the foundation of his expected 1996 presidential bid?

"He can't make the decision to be a leader or a candidate. He can't go both," said Republican operative Eddie Mahe.

Dole has scoffed at the notion that the leadership would bar a presidential bid, while insisting he still hasn't made up his mind about running for the Republican nomination.

On NBC-TV's "Meet the Press" on Sunday, Dole noted that Vice President Gore has "decided and still is the spokesman."

"I'm a believer that if you're going to be a problem solver, you've got to be a leader and a candidate," said David Keene, head of the American Conservative Union.

"But a lot of the young Turks in the Senate are convinced he should be one or the other," Keene said, "and from the perspective of a legislator it's difficult to be a partisan candidate and a leader."

Dole, who was first elected to the Senate in 1968 and served as majority leader in 1985-86, is not expected to face serious opposition when Senate Republicans caucus to choose their majority leader for the 104th Congress.

Dole has said his priority will be congressional reform, with the emphasis on staff cuts, ethics and term limits. Next will be a balanced budget, capital gains tax cuts and "real" health care reform.

Dole also has promised to "work together" with President Clinton to break congressional gridlock. But Columbia University analyst Michael Delli Carpini predicted that Clinton would take a centrist stance to counter Republican positions pushed further to the right by the election results.

"Clinton's approach would be to seek a middle ground, and he's shown an ability to do that," Delli Carpini said. "My suspicion is that Republicans' offers of cooperation will go out the window and we won't see much compromise."



GLEAM OUT Republican Newt Gingrich gets a close call as he and pols clipping the wings of the Democrats in Congress.

AP

## Clinton facing mega-gridlock

By TIMOTHY CLIFFORD

WASHINGTON — President Clinton now faces grinding gridlock, but Republicans might find out that power on Capitol Hill could backfire.

And all that could engage already angry voters even more — fueling yet another assault on the two-party system in 1996.

"I think everybody should be chastened by this election," said Curtis Gans, who heads the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate. "The next two years could be a total disaster."

In 1992, Clinton promised change to win the Oval Office. But voters have given him scant credit for his legislative victories or economic gains, at least partly due to doubts about his character.

The White House recipe to overcome Clinton's lagging popularity long has revolved around building up his record of success.

But now, despite the current vows of bi-partisanship, few believe that the GOP will hand this President many legislative wins — especially since expected Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) and Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) would like to win Clinton's job in 1996.

"There will be the appearance of cooperation at least for a while since nobody wants to be tagged for bringing back gridlock," one White House aide said. "But it won't last. How could it?"

**AN ANALYSIS**

Blocked by Congress, Clinton likely will try to build his leadership credentials in such areas as foreign relations. But Clinton scored points two years ago by saying that former President George Bush spent too much time on world issues.

Many strategists, like the Democratic Leadership Council's Al From, argue that Clinton must move to the center — positioning himself for reelection even if Congress blocks that agenda.

But there's a risk that the President will alienate the liberal wing of his party, further splitting his already fractious congressional party and endangering support from the traditional Democratic base.

And the Republicans might try to box Clinton in by putting up issues such as a deep middle class tax cut or a punitive welfare reform plan.

"He might have a liberal rebellion on his hands," GOP strategist Charles Black said. "But he would be doomed if he used the veto."

But Republicans who apparently won voters by moving to the right and becoming obstructionist — such as choking off health care reform — now will face pressure to put forward a positive program. And the GOP will be writing a record for Clinton and the Democrats to attack.

"Maybe the public needs a taste of true gridlock," one senior Democratic Senate aide said. "And it might not like watching Republicans slash and burn their way through the government."

And moderate Republicans might not like it. Brahmin Mayor Giuliani and Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan endorsing Democrats. Independent Republican candidates like Marshall Coleman in Virginia's Senate race possibly signal coming splits that will bedevil the GOP.

On the other side, liberals might threaten a 1996 challenge to Clinton behind a candidate like the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Out West, Green Party candidates are making surprising strong runs on environmental platforms — like Roberto Mondragon in New Mexico's governor's race.

There could be revolts on the left and the right," Brookings Institution analyst Stephen Hess said. "But two years is a long, long time in politics."

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# AS DEMS FALL

KENNEDY

## Survivor Ted rolls over foe

By KATHY KIELY
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Republicans were poised to capture the Senate last night with disgruntled voters revolting against President Clinton, his party and their policies.

But there were two sweet bright spots for Democrats — Massachusetts Sen. Ted Kennedy easily defeated Republican challenger Mitt Romney, and Virginia Sen. Chuck Robb held off Republican Ollie North after a bitter, narrow battle that had been cast as a showdown between a cheat and a liar.

The GOP booted incumbent Sen. Jim Sasser (Tenn.) and snatched six open Democratic seats to pick up the seven needed to stymie Clinton as he gets ready for his 1996 reelection bid.

Only an unexpected Democratic upset could block the GOP, and none was in the wind last night.

"The American people tonight rejected Clinton's politics," gloated Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour.

His Democratic counterpart, David Wilhelm, conceded "people are frustrated with the pace of change."

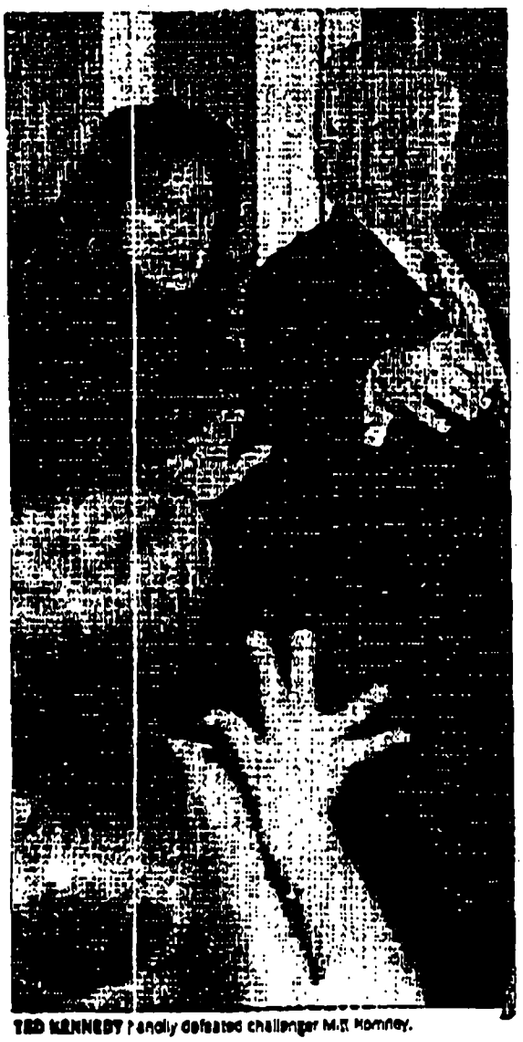
The battle for control of the House still raged last night as results filtered in, but Republicans — who needed a pickup of 40 seats — were rolling up impressive gains. Even Democrats said the GOP might be within reach of prying the chamber from Democrats for the first time since 1952.

Overall, it was bleak for Democrats. In one telltale sign, the GOP swept in Tennessee — stealing both Senate seats and the governor's mansion.

And in another signal of just how angry the electorate was with Democrats, House Speaker Tom Foley (Wash.) was in danger of being the first speaker turned out of office since the Civil War. That race was still undecided last night. Another Democratic heavyweight, embattled Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.) was trailing in early counts.

While the Democrats were stumbling last night, Clinton kept a low profile, watching the results privately at the White House. He planned a news conference today to talk

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TED KENNEDY handily defeated challenger Mitt Romney.



CHUCK ROBB coasted to an easy win over Oliver North.



GEORGE W. BUSH seemed headed for victory over Ann Richards.

OLLIE NORTH

## North to D.C.? No way as Va. sticks with Robb

By WILLIAM GOLDENBERG
Daily News Washington Bureau

Virginia voters halted Oliver North's march on Capitol Hill yesterday, dashing the Senate hopes of the ex-Marine officer who gained notoriety in the Iran-Contra affair.

Partial returns gave Democratic Sen. Charles Robb 48% of the vote, Republican candidate North, 46%, and Independent Marshall Coleman, 5%.

North's defeat was a consolation for President Clinton in an otherwise disastrous election. Doubts about the 51-year-old North's integrity — even Nancy Reagan joined the chorus calling him a liar — sank his candidacy.

While observers the GOP made Clinton an issue, "Robb was able to make North the issue," said Dave Mason, analyst for the conservative Heritage Foundation.

It hurt North especially in the Washington, D.C., suburbs of northern Virginia, where "people were convinced that they couldn't trust him. Robb's more personal indiscretions were less troubling to them," Mason said.

Robb, 58, son-in-law of former President Lyndon Johnson, admitted to a crude message from a beauty queen during a party-animal phase in the 1980s.

Despite North's loss, he is expected to remain a political force. He has shown a phenomenal ability to raise money, including $18 million for his campaign

THE BUSHES

## Ex-Prez' sons give 2 govs a big run for their money

By WILLIAM GOLDENBERG
Daily News Washington Bureau

The sons of former President George Bush were in squeaker races with two long-popular Democratic incumbents last night for the governorships of two big Sun Belt states, Florida and Texas.

But Hillary Rodham Clinton's brother Hugh Rodham was knocked out early in the Florida Senate race. Republican Connie Mack easily won reelection.

Jeb Bush, 41, a Republican Miami developer who staked out positions more conservative than his father's, was trying to unseat Democratic Gov. Lawton Chiles.

Chiles, who served three terms as senator before settling in to the governor's mansion, is a moderate who had to fend off attacks on his crime record though Florida has remained one of the top states in executions.

With 32% of the vote counted, Chiles led Bush 51% to 49%.

In Texas, George W. Bush, 48, the President's eldest son and managing partner of the Texas Rangers baseball team, took on colorful Democratic Gov. Ann Richards.

With 11% of the vote counted, Bush led Richards 56% to 43%, with 1% going to independent Kenny Ehlers.

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## House Republicans ready to start a conservative revolution in Congress

**By Susan Feeney Dallas Morning News**

WASHINGTON House Republicans, led by the hard-charging Newt Gingrich, are pledging to mount a conservative
revolution during the new 104th Congress.

The rise of Gingrich, a self-described partisan brawler, strikes a sharp contrast with the affable and conciliatory style of House Minority ‡Leader‖Bob ‡Michel‖of Illinois, who is retiring.

The change in command comes with a sizable increase in the GOP House ranks and it marks the near-complete takeover of the House Republican leadership by the right wing of party.

"I think our voters are more motivated and more aggressive. They want to change Washington and change government more than the ‡liberal‖ Democrats want to preserve the status quo," Gingrich said as he voted in Marietta, Ga.

Although Republican lawmakers will not officially choose their leaders until early December, two of Gingrich's top lieutenants are likely to be Texans: Reps. Dick Armey and Tom DeLay.

Armey is unopposed in his bid to chair the House Republican Conference. DeLay is in a spirited race with Reps. Robert Walker of Pennsylvania and Bill McCollum of Florida for Gingrich's old whip post.

In other leadership races, Rep. Henry Hyde of Illinois is unopposed for a second term as chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. Vying for vice chair are Reps. Susan Molinari of New York and Cliff Stearns of Florida. Rep. Bill Paxon of New York is unopposed for re-election as chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee.

But the driving force is Gingrich who, in fact, starting calling the shots this fall when Republicans helped kill campaign finance and lobbying ‡reforms‖and President Clinton's health care overhaul.

Gingrich, who filed the ethics complaint that eventually brought down House Speaker Jim Wright in 1989, predicted in an interview that the whole House, not just Republicans, will be "much more idea oriented" when he takes the GOP reins.

He was architect of the Contract with America, signed in front of the Capitol by more than 300 GOP House members and challengers. And he is eager to push its conservative tenets: tax cuts, increased defense spending, a balanced budget amendment, term limits for members of Congress and tougher death penalty laws.

The first 100 days of the new Congress will begin with a reading of the contract from the floor of the House, Gingrich said, to remind Americans of that covenant. Clinton has called the pact a "contract on America" and a rehash of Reaganomics.

Gingrich, who stumped tirelessly for GOP House candidates, minces no words in his opposition to the president, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, big government, bureaucracy, taxes and "the liberal welfare state." He makes clear he is willing to tear down the system in order to rebuild it.

"He's more interested in destruction than construction," charged Ben Jones, the former Georgia Democratic House member who ran an underdog campaign against Gingrich on Tuesday.

The 51-year-old, silver-haired lawmaker was first elected from the Atlanta suburbs in 1978.

All sides agree Congress will be a more partisan place with Gingrich at the GOP helm in the House. Neither the White House nor Gingrich expresses much hope for significant bipartisan cooperation.

Gingrich is the Republican Democrats love to hate. He repeatedly has crossed swords with Clinton, especially when he called the president the enemy of "normal" Americans.

Gingrich's foes hope his penchant for red hot rhetoric will get him in trouble and ultimately blunt his effectiveness. It's something Gingrich worries about, too, and a pitfall he plans to avoid.

"I do think that a leader and a speaker has an obligation to speak more carefully than a back bencher," he said before the election. "Someone who is potentially the leader of the entire House has an obligation to speak in a way that is appropriate to that level of authority.

"That requires some learning and growing, I think, to be honest."

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## Voters aim anger at Democrats

**By Susan Feeney**
**Dallas Morning News**

WASHINGTON Angry voters aimed their frustrations almost entirely at Democrats on Tuesday, bolstering Republican claims that Americans are fed up with government as Democrats run it and not incumbents in general.

"The Democrats are going to try to spin this as an anti-incumbent message," Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, said. But he said "the idea that somehow this is simply a neutral, anti-incumbent message" does not hold water.

Republican poll taker Frank Luntz said voter anger went "beyond incumbency" and was a highly specific indictment of Democrats and President Clinton.

"Democrats are falling all over," he said Tuesday night. Republicans, who reclaimed majority control of the U.S. Senate, and posted big gains in the House, experienced almost no congressional losses.

"What you're seeing is a repudiation of big government and the politics of Washington," Luntz said. "It has everything to do Democratic policies."

Democrats said the tide may have gone against them, but it wasn't an endorsement of GOP policy.

"This was about anger," said Democratic poll taker Mark Mellman, who does work for the White House. "People are understandably upset about the failure of the people who control government to deliver" on their promises.

He challenged GOP claims that the results support Republican policies.

"People did not talk about the issues (in the campaigns)," he said citing the highly negative tone of most races. "It was all about their anger and resentment."

Republicans' gains, in many cases, came in races where Democratic incumbents were closely tied by their opponents to an unpopular Clinton.

The blockbuster exception came in the Virginia Senate race, a contest closely watched as a barometer of voter alienation and discontent.

Democratic incumbent Charles Robb held off Republican Oliver North. In race laced with acrimony, the former Iran-Contra figure tried to paint Robb as everything that's wrong with Washington.

Even as polls show that only one in four Americans approve of the job Congress is doing, there was no wholesale throw-the-rascals-out movement. The vast majority of lawmakers who sought re-election will return to Washington. But the shifts that did occur unmistakably favored Republicans.

Sen. James Sasser, D-Tenn., the Budget Committee chairman and 18-year incumbent, had hoped to be the next Senate Democratic leader. Instead, was trounced by

Republican Bill Frist's call for change.

Sasser's pitch that Frist, a transplant surgeon, was ``the wrong change for Tennessee" fell flat as Frist painted Sasser as a liberal too long in Washington who was out of touch with Tennesseeans back home.

And Sen. Harris Wofford, D-Pa., whose 1991 election sent a signal for Washington to address health care reform, lost to Republican Rep. Rick Santorum.

In addition, Wofford's campaign was run by the president's political advisers, Paul Begala and James Carville.

In western Kentucky, Republicans captured a House seat never before held by a Republican. Freshman Democrat Tom Barlow was sacked by Ed Whitfield's campaign calling for congressional reforms that stressed the incumbent's ties to Clinton.

That upset, like the night's results in general, showed that voters ``don't like the direction that the country is going and that they don't like being led by Bill Clinton and a Congress that has not been very responsive for 40 uninterrupted years," said Kentucky GOP chairman Terry Carmack.

(EDITORS: NEXT 5 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

House incumbents who fell include:

Rep. Bill Sarpalius, D-Texas.

Veteran Rep. Dan Glickman, D-Kan.

Rep. Jill Long, D-Ind., whose Republican Mark Souder succeeded in painting her as a Clinton ally even though she voted against his economic plan and as too liberal for her northeast Indiana district.

Freshman Rep. Leslie Byrne, D-Va., went down in her suburban Washington swing district when opponent Tom Davis, a Republican county commissioner, fanned the same fires of voter discontent that fueled Oliver North's ultimately unsuccessful effort.

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A host of Democrats were dogged by voter animosity in their quests for other offices.

Rep. Jim Cooper, the Tennessee Democrat who sought the Senate seat once held by Vice President Al Gore, lost to Republican Fred Thompson.

Rep. Bob Carr, the veteran Michigan Democrat who was one of the few in his party to campaign with the president, lost his Senate bid to Spencer Abraham, a former aide to Dan Quayle who nonetheless ran as a Washington outsider. Rep. Jim Slattery, a Kansas Democrat, was defeated in his gubernatorial bid.

The pattern did not appear to hold for Republicans seeking to move up.

Republican Rep. Don Sundquist won the Tennesse governor's race in the GOP tidal wave in that state. And Rep. John Kyl, R-Ariz., easily bested Democratic House colleague Rep. Sam Coopersmith for the Senate seat being vacated by Republican Sen. Dennis DeConcini.

Not a few incumbents Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., and Sen. William Roth, R-Del., notable among them pumped up their early shaky standings when they returned home after Congress recessed. They emphasized the goodies they brought home to their constituents.

But several consultants agreed that endangered incumbents who survived largely were the ones who quickly fought back against insurgent challengers and launched aggressive negative counter attacks.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

And for some challengers like House Speaker Tom Foley's rival, Republican George Nethercutt an anti-Washington, anti-incumbent message was more valuable than money.

Even voters who are unwilling to turn out their own member of Congress continue to show no such hestiation when it comes to approving term limits. Eight states were expected to pass limits on congressional service Tuesday, bringing to 22 the number of states that have adopted such measures.

The matter remains up in the air, however, while term limits are being challenged as unconstitutional in the courts.

While voting provides a vehicle for expressing voter anger, Tuesday by no means marked the end of it. Republican and Democratic analysts who follow voter attitudes expect darker days ahead.

To paraphrase conservative columnist George Will, voters by Wednesday will ``cluster around televisions to learn the names of the new incumbents they shall start detesting."

## GOP closes in on control of the Congress

**By Carl P. Leubsdorf Dallas Morning News**

WASHINGTON Resurgent Republicans rode a wave of voter dissatisfaction to historic mid-term election gains Tuesday, mounting a strong bid to capture the Senate and making significant inroads in the 40-year Democratic domination of the House.

In an election that transformed the political landscape, voters repudiated President Clinton and his fellow Democrats, giving Republicans their strongest position in Congress since the mid-1950s.

Republicans captured open Senate seats in Maine, Ohio, Tennessee and Oklahoma previously held by Democrats and ousted three-term Democratic Sen. Jim Sasser in the other Tennessee race. He had hoped to become the new Senate Democratic leader.

Overall, television network exit polls indicated that the Republican Party had a good chance of gaining eight Senate seats, which would give it a slim majority. But two veteran Democratic senators, Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, were re-elected.

In the House, early returns indicated that Republicans were well on their way toward gaining many of the 40 seats they would need for House control.

Exit polls showed that 70 percent of voters who said they were concerned about Clinton, taxes and wanted change voted for Republican candidates, according to ABC News. Those who thought the economy, health care and experience were the main issues voted 3-to-2 for Democrats, the exit polls found.

A Republican capture of the Senate would restore Bob Dole of Kansas to the majority leader's post he held a decade ago. And a victory in the House could make Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia the first Republican speaker in 40 years, assuming he wins his own re-election race.

And Republican victories would dramatically change the political atmosphere, after a two-year period in which Clinton took advantage of Democratic congressional majorities to enact a series of controversial measures, including his 1993 economic plan and last summer's bitterly contested anti-crime bill.

``We are going to see a marked change in Congress," said Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. ``We are going to see a different mandate, and the mandate tonight is a very clear mandate. It says both what people are against and what they are for."

Typically, the party out of power does better in mid-term elections than the party that controls the White House. However, this year Republicans were headed for a better-than-average showing.

In fact, it threatened to become the strongest rebuff to a new president of any such mid-term election since World War II.

And the Republican tide threatened a number of veteran Democratic incumbents. included House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., who hoped to avoid being the first speaker to be ousted in 134 years, and former House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., who was indicted last spring on charges of misusing his office.

Though Republican triumphs for either or both chambers would diminish Clinton's ability to control the legislative process, senior presidential adviser George Stephanopoulos said, ``I don't think he'll be hamstrung at all."

Clinton watched the election returns at the White House but deferred any public reaction until Wednesday afternoon, when he plans a nationally televised news conference.

Republicans needed to gain a net of seven Senate seats to overcome the current 56-44 Democratic majority. A six-seat gain would leave the Senate evenly divided at 50-50, with Democratic Vice President Al Gore in position to cast tiebreaking votes.,

The Republican Party last held the Senate from 1981 until 1986, when the Democrats regained control in the second mid-term election of Ronald Reagan's presidency.

In the House, Republicans needed a net gain of 40 seats to overturn the 256-177 Democratic majority. One House seat has been held by an independent who voted generally with the Democrats, and one seat was vacant.

Republicans last controlled the House from 1953 to 1955, the first two years of President Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidency. Then they hold a razor-slim 221-213 edge.

The Republican Party hasn't had as many as 200 House seats since the 1958 election, although on three occasions it has held 192 seats.

The principal congressional battlegrounds Tuesday were for 52 open House seats, of which 31 are held by Democrats, and for nine open Senate seats, of which six are held by Democrats.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

But a number of incumbent lawmakers found themselves in difficult re-election races, virtually all of them Democrats.

In the weeks before the election, Republicans were cheered by polls showing that, for the first time since the 1950s, more Americans planned to vote for Republican candidates in a congressional election.

But the Republican advantage narrowed somewhat in the month after Congress adjourned and members returned to their districts to campaign.

The last such poll, released Monday night by ABC News, indicated Democrats with a statistically insignificant 47 percent-to-46 percent lead among likely voters. The poll's margin of error was plus or minus 3.5 percentage points, meaning any response could vary by that amount in either direction.

The poll also showed Clinton's job approval rating at 51 percent among likely voters the first time in more than four months that a national poll showed him over 50 percent.

Since returning to the United States 10 days ago from the Middle East, Clinton has campaigned almost non-stop for vulnerable Democrats in the Northeast, Middle West and Far West, bypassing states in the South and the Rocky Mountains, where his approval levels are lower than elsewhere.

According to exit polls, Clinton's job approval in the South was 40 percent, 10 points lower than in the rest of the country, Cable News Network said.

On Tuesday, the president delivered radio appeals for a number of candidates in which he complained about the negative tone of the campaign.

``This is not the time for negativism," he said. ``This is the time to be upbeat but aggressive in tackling our problems and meeting our opportunities."

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Kristi Wright contributed to this report.

## Chicago kicks out scandal-scarred Rostenkowski

**By Hanke Gratteau and Laurie Cohen**
**Chicago Tribune**

CHICAGO U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, once considered the second-most powerful man in Washington, was unseated Tuesday by a political neophyte who was underfunded, understaffed and unknown.

The end of Rostenkowski's four-decade-long career, which took him from the 32nd Ward to the pinnacle of influence in Washington, came after a dispirited campaign waged in the shadow of a federal indictment.

In other years, legal troubles even a 17-count indictment might not have undone Rostenkowski, who became the consummate dealmaker and power broker during 36 years in Congress. But this year, voters seemed especially intent on sending powerful Democrats home from Washington.

For once, the legendary army of Democratic precinct workers never materialized in the 5th Congressional District. That left Michael Patrick Flanagan, who had no organization and virtually no money, to walk away with the seat from which Rostenkowski wielded his considerable power.

Flanagan's victory will send a Republican to Washington from Chicago for the first time since Timothy Sheehan left the House in 1958.

For Chicago and Illinois, the beneficiaries of billions of dollars of federal largess credited to ``Chairman Rostenkowski" over more than three decades, the loss of clout in Washington is expected to be enormous.

Especially in the latter years of his career, when he presided over federal spending as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Rostenkowski became such an asset that he won praise not to mention tacit support even from Republicans here.

Just before 10 p.m. Tuesday, a tired Rostenkowski gave his first concession speech after 45 primary and general elections.

``I am going to go to Washington and clean out my desk," Rostenkowski said. ``And I hope that President Clinton will get as much cooperation from the new majority in the Senate, and whatever the majority is in the House, that they campaigned on."

Minutes after Rostenkowski's concession speech, an elated Flanagan appeared at his campaign headquarters.

``When we won this primary, there were a lot of folks who smiled at my opponent and walked across restaurants and congratulated him on winning re-election," he said. ``But I'll tell you, the media forgot something that the people didn't: that the primary is the primary, but the general election was today."

Recently, the strain of the legal and political troubles had been evident on the incumbent, pulling his square-jawed, bulldog face into a perpetual frown.

He went through the most modest motions of campaigning one stop a day for five days.

Unlike in the March primary, he arrived and departed at these events alone, with no entourage of public relations experts to tailor messages and spin events. He had no campaign manager, no television blitz, no street operation.

``He didn't run a campaign," said David Axelrod, Rostenkowski's media consultant. ``He sent out one mailing, and he was counting on the organization for help. In this case, it simply wasn't enough."

His constituents gave him the benefit of the doubt in the March primary, weighing word of a scandal against a monumental record of achievement and party loyalty. But it was an act of faith in the 18-term incumbent that was not to be repeated Tuesday.

The writing was on the wall. Shortly before the Democrat arrived Monday for an event staged to highlight his achievements for senior citizens, there were sarcastic mutterings from the crowd.

``I thought he'd be in jail by now," said a senior citizen at the lunch at St. Andrew's Lutheran Church.

As Rostenkowski's chances appeared to dwindle last week, Mayor Richard M. Daley promised to mobilize the Democratic organization to crank out the votes. But, other than some last-minute sign-posting, the operation never materialized.

Rostenkowski's political career may have been doomed May 31 when he was indicted on charges of misusing personal and congressional funds, extortion of gifts and cash, and obstruction of justice.

``I'm not sure he could have done anything differently," said a top Democrat strategist. ``Sure he could have spent half a million dollars. He could have trashed Flanagan and made him the issue. But he had the indictment, and it came at a time that he was bucking a trend of anti-Washington, anti-incumbent. There's no one in this town more identified with Washington than Dan Rostenkowski."

A weak slate of statewide Democratic candidates also undermined Rostenkowski's plans to benefit from straight-ticket votes in the district, which stretches from the city's lakefront throughout the Northwest Side and into the western suburbs.

In March, Rostenkowski spent $1 million to drown out reports of a three-year federal investigation with a litany of achievements and an accounting of billions in federal dollars that he'd brought home to the district and state.

In November, there was no money for television and radio advertising. He did one mailing to voters, telling them that Flanagan was not a benign ``Brand X" alternative, but a ``radical right-winger" funded by the National Rifle Association and opposed to gun control and abortion.

The first indications that Rostenkowski might fall came last week, just 10 days before Election Day, when conservative Republicans fanned rumors that a poll showed Flanagan ahead by 21 points.

No one, not even officials from the Republican National Committee, which commissioned the poll from an Alexandria, Va., firm, would confirm the numbers. Privately, they maintained that the huge lead had been detected in not one, but two polls. Publicly, the RNC tossed $55,000 to Flanagan for an eleventh-hour radio and television blitz.

``This whole race has had nothing to do with Flanagan," said Jerimiah Joyce, one of Rostenkowski's main strategists in the March campaign. ``The race was a referendum on Dan Rostenkowski. I feel so badly for the man."

Flanagan, a lawyer and former Army artillery officer, campaigned against big government and introduced himself to voters on the campaign trail as ``the guy who's running against Dan Rostenkowski."

For months, he found few allies among Republican party leaders. The National Republican Congressional Committee gave him only $5,000 a pittance compared with the full $60,000 in funding it was providing to three other GOP congressional hopefuls in Illinois.

Although Flanagan has been elected to Congress, he could have a short tenure in Washington. Immediately, Democrats and Republicans with more backing from their party than Flanagan will begin lining up to run in 1996.

Several weeks ago, Flanagan was asked what he'd do if he were defeated.

``Maybe go to Disney World," joked the contract attorney, who made the decision to run a year ago while throwing darts with his buddies in a saloon.

Instead, he's headed for Washington.

## Rostenkowski replaced by smart, outspoken conservative

**By Peter Kendall and Laurie Cohen**
**Chicago Tribune**

CHICAGO Michael Patrick Flanagan has never been a legislator, but it is not difficult to tell what kind of legislator he likely will be.

Expect Congressman Flanagan to be outspoken, articulate and smart for he's at least smart enough to have believed, long before most, that U.S. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski could be defeated.

And expect him to be conservative.

Flanagan, 32, vehemently opposes abortion rights and loathes gun bans, although he does see a need for gun licensing and some regulation.

He believes the U.S. Constitution should be amended to require a balanced budget and to limit the number of terms legislators can serve.

The military drawdown, he believes, has gone too far and should be reversed.

Although Rostenkowski had wanted to return to Washington to help President Clinton pass health-care reform, Flanagan stands opposed to any national health-care plan. He brands it ``socialism."

Flanagan believes the welfare burden should be shifted from the federal government to the states. He also believes that there must be a balance between the necessary compassion for the needy and carrying freeloaders.

``Short-term benefits, designed to provide aid for a minimal duration and dependent on a manifest desire to get back on your feet, is something that I can support," Flanagan said.

And he promises that he won't make a career out of politics. Instead, he sees himself following in the ``citizen lawmaker" tradition of Thomas Jefferson.

``I wish to accomplish some good for my country and then go on with my life," he said.

Flanagan was born in 1962, when Rostenkowksi was in his second term as a U.S. congressman. His parents were Democrats.

He can be at one moment brash, at another self-effacing.

In his official biography, he notes that he is a charter founder of the Ronald Reagan Republican Center in Washington, D.C., and has volunteered at the Howard Brown Memorial Center for those disabled with AIDS.

A North Side native, Flanagan attended Lane Technical High School and worked part-time as a Wrigley Field usher.

He was in junior ROTC in high school, ROTC in college at Loyola University, and then became a field artillery officer in the Army.

After the Army, he earned a law degree at Loyola University Law School in 1990 and since has been in private practice as a contracts attorney.

He is single and moved into the 5th Congressional District only after winning the Republican primary in March.

As election returns were coming in Tuesday night, Flanagan's brother, Thomas, dressed in jeans and a leather vest and sporting a ponytail, described himself as the antithesis of Michael, though he says they agree on many policy issues.

``He loved to play Risk," Thomas said, referring to a board game about taking over the world. ``He always acted like a military general. I knew one day he would be doing something in this vein."

## Gov. Jim Edgar re-elected by a record margin

**By Thomas Hardy and Dorothy Collin**
**Chicago Tribune**

CHICAGO On an Election Day that saw a Republican tide roll across the nation, Gov. Jim Edgar was re-elected by a record margin Tuesday and appeared to be carrying other Republicans into statewide offices that have been off-limits to the GOP for decades.

As he tallied the sixth straight Republican win for governor, Edgar was joined in re-election by Secretary of State George Ryan. The two veteran politicians led a ticket that included Jim Ryan, who was leading for attorney general.

Illinois Republicans also picked up two congressional seats, and in legislative races the GOP was able to cut into Democrats' Illinois House majority while they maintained control of the state Senate.

The Republican wave missed Cook County, however, where Democrats continued their tradition of sweeping countywide offices and John Stroger made history by becoming the first African-American elected Cook County Board president.

The GOP performance was spurred by Edgar's 64 percent to 34 percent margin of victory, with more than half the vote counted, over Democrat Dawn Clark Netsch, the state comptroller who sought to become the first woman governor of Illinois.

Democrats were crippled by an all-time low voter turnout in Chicago. Turnout in the city was expected to be 46 percent, the lowest since election authorities started keeping records in 1940. Statewide, about 54 percent of registered voters turned out.

Tuesday's results will go down as the ``Year of the GOP," as Republicans celebrated gains nationwide in the first midterm election of Democrat Bill Clinton's presidency. So much for the ``Year of the Woman," the 1992 election phenomenon that Netsch and her lieutenant governor running-mate, state Sen. Penny Severns, had hoped to re-create.

Edgar built his landslide plurality by taking some 60 percent of the women's vote and was preferred by two-thirds of those who considered honesty, crime and taxes the crucial issues.

Edgar adds his second term to the four elections of former Gov. James Thompson, a Republican who served from 1976-90. Republicans have held the governor's office for all but 12 of the last 42 years.

``I feel great, I feel humble," Edgar said Tuesday night. ``This victory shows the vast majority of voters agree with our approach to government."

In her concession speech, Netsch said, ``Please, no tears or sympathy. I did it my way. I was honest with the voters and I didn't back down."

The Edgar landslide, a new record for a governor's re-election, appeared to be the impetus for carrying Republicans into several other constitutional offices.

In the other races, unofficial election returns were as follows:

George Ryan's defeat of state Treasurer Patrick Quinn marked the fourth consecutive Republican term in the second most politically influential statewide office.

Jim Ryan, the DuPage County state's attorney, was leading in his bid to become the first Republican to hold the state's chief legal office since 1983.

Loleta Didrickson, a Chicago Republican, was in a close race with state Sen. Earlean Collins, D-Chicago, for comptroller. Democrats have controlled the comptroller's office since the 1976 election.

State Sen. Judy Baar Topinka was trying to overtake

Democrat Nancy Drew Sheehan for state treasurer, an office Republicans last won in 1962.

Though Netsch was the first woman to run for governor, Edgar was the choice of 59 percent of female voters, according to exit polls. The Democrat received the votes of only 40 percent of women voters, a 9-point downturn from 1990 when both candidates for governor were men.

The governor received about a fifth of the African-American vote, almost the same as he received four years ago.

In a year when voters were venting their dissatisfaction with Democrats and President Clinton, 83 percent of those who disapprove of Clinton voted for Edgar and the governor was preferred by six out of 10 of voters who identified themselves as independents.

The biggest issue for voters this election year was honesty, by more than a 2-1 margin over taxes and the economy, according to the exit polls. And despite Netsch's theme of being a straight-shooter, Edgar won two-thirds of the vote from those who said honesty was the top issue.

``The voters approved my policies and style,'' Edgar said. ``Honesty and character are part of style.''

Edgar also got two-thirds of the vote of those who rated taxes, the economy and crime as distant runnersup. The health of the governor, who underwent open-heart surgery in July, was not a problem for 80 percent of the voters.

Edgar, 48, won re-election as Illinois' 38th governor after a $10-million textbook campaign that attacked Netsch early and often as a liberal who wanted to raise taxes and was soft on crime. At the same time, the governor portrayed himself as a nice-guy family man who kept his word on taxes and was tough on criminals.

Netsch, a 68-year-old Chicago resident, and other Democrats tried to paint Edgar as a poor manager of state government, including the Department of Children and Family Services, and as a weak leader who allowed a political crony to misuse taxpayers' money at the Illinois State Toll Highway Authority.

But those charges, and allegations that Edgar is biased against Chicago, never stuck to the governor.

Though Netsch appeared to have momentum after winning a three-way primary battle in March, Edgar immediately went after her plan to fund education with a hike in the state income tax, which he called a 42 percent increase. The Edgar camp spent $750,000 on television ads in June that attacked Netsch's opposition to the death penalty and her voting record on crime. Then in July, Edgar underwent heart surgery and the race came to halt. By the time it started up again, Netsch was on the defensive and never recovered.

The victory was the fourth statewide win for Edgar, a Charleston native who was appointed secretary of state in 1981 and then was elected twice to the office. In 1990, Edgar defeated then-Attorney General Neil Hartigan to succeed Thompson as governor.

The hard-fought contest for attorney general pitted Albert Hofeld, 58, a wealthy Winnetka trial lawyer, against Ryan, 48, of Bensenville, who is serving his third term as DuPage County state's attorney. The race turned into a battle of television ads with each candidate claiming he would use the office to combat street crime, even though the attorney general's office does not prosecute criminals.

Ryan said he would be tougher on crime because of his experience as a prosecutor, while Hofeld portrayed himself as an
experienced courtroom lawyer who would fight for consumers as well as go after criminals. Hofeld also attacked Ryan's record as a prosecutor.

Another campaign issue was Hofeld's wealth and whether he was trying to buy the attorney general's office. The Democrat spent close to $5 million, including $4.2 million of his own money, in his second try for elective office. In 1992, Hofeld lost a three-way U.S. Senate primary after spending a similar sum.

The secretary of state's race between George Ryan, the 60-year-old incumbent from Kankakee, and Chicagoan Quinn, 45, the current state treasurer, was expected to be a barn-burner, but fizzled after Quinn spent his time and money on a losing drive to put a term-limits referendum on the ballot.

Ryan was able to take the high road and concentrate on his record in office instead of being forced into a verbal mud-wrestling match with Quinn, whose attacks were limited to press conferences and two television spots.

In the treasurer's race, Sheehan, 52, a Chicago commissioner of the Metropolitan Water Reclamation District, had the help of Cook County Democrats and her ballot name. Topinka, 50, a veteran lawmaker from Riverside, hoped Edgar's coattails could carry her to victory.

In the comptroller's race, Didrickson, 53, a former suburban legislator and director of the state Office of Employment Security, portrayed herself as more qualified for the office than Collins, 57, a longtime Chicago legislator.

During the closing weeks of the campaign, when it was apparent Edgar would win by a big margin, Illinois Democratic Party Chairman Gary LaPaille poured money and other resources into trying to save Sheehan and Collins, the only African-American running statewide, from the Republican tide.

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## Rostenkowski loses in Illinois

### By William Presecky and Steve Rhodes
### Chicago Tribune

CHICAGO While veteran congressman Dan Rostenkowski conceded defeat Tuesday night, the rest of the incumbents in Illinois' U.S. congressional delegation were holding their ground against largely unknown challengers.

In a race for one of two open seats in the delegation, Republican Jerry Weller was leading Democrat Frank Giglio to replace the retiring Democrat George Sangmeister, in the 11th District.

In the 3rd District, covering the Southwest Side of Chicago and suburbs, six-term Democrat William Lipinski was holding off a challenge from La Grange real estate developer Jim Nalepa. In the 2nd District, Mel Reynolds was having no problems dispatching the write-in candidates opposing him.

Lipinski, viewed as vulnerable by the Washington pundits, held a 53 to 47 percent lead with 55 percent of the precincts reporting. Lipinski campaign officials said they had a 19,000-vote lead in the city with 99 percent of those precincts reporting, and were expecting an 8,000- to 10,000-vote loss in the suburbs. That would result in a 4 or 5 percentage point victory.

But the mood was tense as the suburban returns started to come in, and Lipinski was holed up in his campaign office.

Nalepa made an appearance at the Oak Lawn Hilton Election Night headquarters about 9 p.m. and said that with heavy turnout in the suburbs, the election would be ``razor thin.''

In the 11th District, the Weller headquarters was jubilant, opening an early 57 to 43 lead with 40 percent of the precincts voting. Weller officials who analyzed the numbers said Giglio wasn't pulling as many votes from his home turf in suburban Cook County as he needed to win.

The mood at the Giglio headquarters was buoyant despite the early numbers.

"We still haven't heard from our home base," said spokesman Andrew Sharp.

The 11th District spans parts of five counties and stretches nearly 100 miles from factory to farm field, from Indiana to Ottawa. Weller and Giglio, both sitting state legislators, spent a combined $1 million slugging it out for the seat of Sangmeister, who enjoyed bipartisan popularity.

The 60-year-old Giglio, a retired plumbing contractor, is completing his 20th year in the House. Weller, whose family has been in the hog farming business for generations, is completing six years in the House.

Both gave up almost certain re-election to the Illinois House to seek the Congressional post.

The campaign began and ended with each attempting to sway the district's swing voters by associating his opponent with politicians and positions they hoped were out of sync with the diverse district's voters.

For Giglio, that meant challenging Weller's claim of being a moderate, progressive or mainstream Republican. Weller, he said, was a supporter of "voodoo economics," the presidency of Ronald Reagan, the National Rifle Association and Republican extremists. In the final days of the campaign, he accused Weller of supporting what he described as "zealots" and "terrorists" on the issue of abortion.

For Weller, it meant describing Giglio as "Bill Clinton's lap dog." Voting for Giglio, he said, was "a vote to tax middle-class Americans." At nearly every stop, Weller challenged Giglio's professed independence and reminded voters of Giglio's long-standing ties to the Cook County Democratic Organization.

In many ways, the race mirrored that of the 3rd District, where Lipinski, a six-term incumbent known as one of the last Democratic ward bosses who can deliver votes, was challenged by Nalepa.

Nalepa, embracing the Republicans' Contract With America and running on an anti-incumbency platform, tried to depict Lipinski as a corrupt Chicago machine Democrat. Lipinski, a former 23rd Ward alderman, countered with an emphasis on the federal dollars he brings back to the district.

On the South Side, Reynolds was saddled with legal problems. A former Rhodes Scholar with an ascending political star, Reynolds was indicted on state charges in August for allegedly having a sexual relationship with a 16-year-old campaign worker and then trying to suppress witnesses.

Reynolds' indictment came as a surprise and took Republicans off guard. No Republican had even bothered to enter the primary, leaving the GOP to try to mount an unlikely write-in campaign.

Foremost among the write-ins facing Reynolds were Republican Carl L. Bibbs, a 38-year-old development specialist for a state agency, and Lionel Pittman, who had the backing of several prominent black activists.

Reynolds was coasting to a victory, declaring himself a winner at 8:30 p.m. and closing up his storefront office in Homewood at 9 p.m.

Downstate, Republican Ray LaHood held a 57 to 43 percent lead over Democrat G. Douglas Stephens with 18 percent of precincts reporting. LaHood and Stephens were vying for the seat held for 38 years by retiring U.S. Rep. Bob Michel, the house minority leader. LaHood, who is Michel's chief of staff, was the heir apparent to the seat over Stephens, a lawyer and restaurateur.

In other Chicago area races, incumbents all held early leads and were expected to keep their seats, including Democrats Bobby Rush, Luis Gutierrez, Cardiss Collins, Sidney Yates, and Republicans Henry Hyde, Philip Crane, John Porter, Harris Fawell, and Dennis Hastert.

(Tribune reporters Robert Becker, Lou Carlozo, Peter Kendall, Bonnie Miller Rubin, Jerry Shnay, Darlene Gavron Stevens and Stevenson Swanson contributed to this report.)

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## Republicans post best showing in U.S. House races since 1950s

**By Elaine S. Povich Chicago Tribune**

WASHINGTON Reflecting an angry electorate, Republicans posted their best showing in U.S. House races since the 1950s and were positioned for outright control of the lower chamber in Tuesday's elections.

Early returns spelled out what voters had been telling pollsters for weeks: They are fed up with Washington and nearly every official in the city. That attitude disproportionately hurt House Democrats, who held a wide majority of seats prior to Tuesday.

Among the threatened was House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., the House's top official the most visible symbol of powerful Democrats. Other 30-year veterans such as Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Texas, also were in trouble.

Bellwether races included the loss of Rep. Jill Long, D-Ind., Rep. Leslie Byrne, D-Va., to Republican Tom Davis and Tom Barlow, D-Ky., to Edward Whitfield. Other Democrats who appeared to be going down included Reps. Eric Fingerhut in Ohio, Frank McCloskey in Indiana and Buddy Darden in Georgia.

Network television projections showed Republicans picking up at least a dozen seats in early returns, but even Democratic Party officials were privately predicting loses in the mid 30s. The GOP needed 40 seats to take outright control of the House.

The GOP hasn't controlled the U.S. House outright since 1952, when they won 221 seats and the Democrats only 213. Outright control requires winning 218 seats. Democrats now control the House 256-178 with one independent.

Several veterans of the House found themselves in deep political trouble this year, and their longevity worked against them as the voters looked for fresh faces.

But being new was no guarantee of protection against voter anger in a year when the word "incumbent" was just as bad for two-year members of the House as 30-year veterans. A number of freshmen members many of whom came into office on a platform of "reform" as recently as 1992 were tossed out in favor of even newer newcomers.

The increase in Republican power in the House most assuredly makes it more difficult for President Clinton and Democratic leaders to pass their legislation. Coupled with the GOP takeover in the Senate, Congress could prove to be even more nettlesome for Clinton in the last two years of his term than it was in the first two.

Clinton barely pushed through his budget with a majority of Democratic votes. But on his two other major victories the crime bill and the North American Free Trade Agreement Republicans provided the winning margins.

Republicans, led by Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who stands to be elected speaker in an GOP-controlled chamber, ran on a platform called a "Contract with America," which was signed by most GOP contenders. They promised to press for term limits for House members, a balanced budget constitutional amemdment, and making laws that apply to other Americans applicable to the House as well.

Gingrich predicted a GOP takover and said Republicans will keep their word to voters, promises he said are in line with the "change of direction" the American people want.

``I don't think they expect government to be like an instant TV dinner," Gingrich told PBS' ``MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour." ``I think they understand it's going to take hard work."

Even without a majority, Republicans will have even more power in 1995 and could if they chose pass legislation such as the crime bill and NAFTA as long as they get a little help from Southern conservative Democrats known as Boll Weevils.

Yale University political science Professor David Mayhew said some GOP legislation might look attractive in a closely divided House.

``If they come up with a welfare reform bill from the conservative side, for example, they really put the pressure on Clinton, they split the Democrats and they dare him to veto it," Mayhew said.

At minimum, House Republicans would plant their feet to block any Clinton-sponsored bill, criticizing all the way, and gear up for the next round of elections in 1996, when the goal is putting a Republican in the White House.

If the Congress splits evenly, or very nearly so, Mayhew said it is conceivable that some Democrats would switch parties on the promise of rewards from a Republican leadership. GOP House leaders claimed this week they had 10 or so Democrats who were considering it, but no one would name them.

On another front, expect the newly strengthened Republicans to demand more seats on committees and a greater share of the legislative funding pool than they get now even if they fall short of a majority. Committees aren't split 50-50; the majority party decides how to allocate slots and generally gives itself comfortable majorities and the cash to go along with its disproportionate share of seats.

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Tribune intern Theo Francis and researcher Lynne Marek contributed to this report.

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## Republicans make strong gains in Tuesday's elections

**By Steve Daley Chicago Tribune**

A surge of voter resentment in Tuesday's midterm election pushed Republicans to the brink of control of the U.S. Senate, and put 40 years of Democratic majorities in the House at risk.

In a stinging rebuke to President Clinton, who had campaigned tirelessly for those Democrats who sought his help, voters gave expression to the same frustration and alienation with Washington and government that he had pledged to address in his 1992 campaign.

That frustration appears to have been especially deep across the South and in border states, where Democrats endured withering defeats in Congress and statehouses.

Two of the nation's most celebrated Democrats, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and Texas Gov. Ann Richards, lost their re-election bids.

The possibility of better news for Democrats in the Western and Rocky Mountain states, where results were still being compiled, seemed unlikely to dim the luster of GOP successes even if their pursuit of congressional dominance falls short.

Republicans, who needed a net gain of seven seats to get control of the Senate for the first time since 1987, won contests for all the open Senate seats where Democrats are retiring: Ohio, Michigan, Oklahoma, Maine, Arizona and Tennessee.

In Pennsylvania, incumbent Democratic Sen. Harris Wofford, elected in 1993, lost narrowly to conservative GOP Rep. Rick Santorum. And in a second Tennessee contest, Republican Bill Frist, a physician and political novice, defeated Democratic Sen. James Sasser, a three-term incumbent who had planned to run for Senate majority leader.

Early results from the House showed a strong GOP trend; Republicans took 13 seats previously held by Democrats, including 10 in the South and border states. In Indiana, two-term Democratic incumbent Rep. Jill Long was defeated by Republican Mark Souder.

Tuesday's results dealt a paralyzing blow to Clinton's legislative agenda, limiting his options and enhancing the prospects for a ferocious clash of partisan wills in the next Congress.

There, Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas and Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia will likely assume leadership roles, forcing Clinton to decide between making accommodations with resurgent Republicans, or using his veto power to turn back GOP initiatives.

Clinton has scheduled a press conference Wednesday to discuss the election results and his agenda for the next Congress.

On a night that provided little in the way of good news for Democrats, they could point to Sen. Charles Robb's victory over Republican Oliver North in Virgina, the re-election of Sen. Edward Kennedy in Massachusetts, and Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles' apparent defeat of Republican Jeb Bush, son of former President George Bush.

And the Democrats picked up a Senate seat in Minnesota, where Democrat Ann Wynia beat GOP Rep. Rod Grams in the race to succeed outgoing GOP Sen. David Durenberger.

The GOP won in gubernatorial contests as well, sweeping a host of incumbent Republican governors across the industrial Midwest to easy re-election while taking open Democratic seats in Pennsylvania, Kansas, Oklahoma, Wyoming and Tennessee.

Republican George W. Bush, another son of the former president, beat Ann Richards in the Texas governor's race, despite an endorsement of Richards from Texas billionaire Ross Perot, while little-known Republican State Sen. George Pataki denied Cuomo a fourth term in the New York governor's race.

In Iowa, GOP Gov. Terry Branstad, who survived a bitter GOP primary fight, defeated Democratic Attorney General Bonnie Campbell, while GOP challenger Gary Johnson beat Democratic Gov. Bruce King in New Mexico.

Republican Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts, who has White House ambitions, won a big victory in his campaign for a second term, while popular GOP Gov. Steve Merrill of New Hampshire coasted to re-election.

With those numbers, Republicans were on track to gain a majority of governorships for the first time since 1970. Going into the election, Democrats held a 29-20 advantage in governors' mansions, with one independent.

As a long night of GOP victories stretched on, Democrats held out hopes for House Speaker Tom Foley, D-Wash., Georgia Gov. Zell Miller and California Sen. Dianne Feinstein, all of whom were locked in furious re-election efforts.

In California, early indications were that GOP Gov. Pete Wilson would hold on in his quest for a second term in the face of a challenge from Democrat Kathleen Brown.

Senate minority leader Bob Dole of Kansas called Tuesday's results ``a vote of no confidence on the Clinton agenda."

In the Senate, Democrats had known that maintaining control was contingent on the party's ability to hold seats left by popular incumbents who were retiring, notably Ohio's Howard Metzenbaum and Michigan's Donald Riegle.

But in those seats, GOP Rep. Mike DeWine of Ohio defeated Democrat Joel Hyatt, while in Michigan GOP activist Spencer Abraham beat Democratic Rep. Bob Carr.

In Oklahoma, GOP Rep. Jim Inhofe defeated Rep. Dave McCurdy, a moderate Democrat who had sought to play down

his ties to Clinton, and in Maine, GOP Rep. Olympia Snowe bested Democratic Rep. Tom Andrews in the race to succeed retiring Democrat George Mitchell.

GOP Rep. Jon Kyl defeated Democratic Rep. Sam Coopersmith in the Arizona Senate race, while in a second Tennessee Senate seat this one formerly held by Vice President Al Gore Republican actor/lawyer Fred D. Thompson beat Democratic Rep. Jim Cooper.

Carr and Hyatt had campaigned with Clinton, while the other Democratic candidates had avoided all presidential contact. In the end, it didn't seem to matter to the voters.

Sasser's defeat was especially telling. A senior Democrat, he was late in assessing the mood of Tennessee voters who just two years ago had boosted the Clinton-Gore presidential ticket.

The incumbent tried desperately to broaden his base, even taking out ads on syndicated radio host Rush Limbaugh's conservative talk-show program.

``It looks like one of the best Republican years in history,'' said GOP Rep. Bill Paxon of New York, who chairs the party's House re-election campaign.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

Democrats spent the day gloomily assessing exit polls which showed them losing ground in every region of the country.

Just two years after taking the White House, they must confront the image of being the party in disarray, a stunning reversal of fortune when the dispirited state of the Republican Party after George Bush's 1992 defeat is recalled.

The departure of Democratic National Committee chairman David Wilhelm, who is stepping down Friday to return to Chicago, is unlikely to enhance that image. Democrats will choose a new party chair in January.

Privately, Democratic strategists suggested that GOP control of the Congress could help Clinton in the run-up to 1996, giving him the option of attacking the Republican agenda in Congress and shifting the burden of incumbency to his rivals.

``There's little evidence that the Republican Party is interested in making government work or solving people's problems,'' said Debra DeLee, executive director of the Democratic National Committee.

Despite the Republican tide, exit polls conducted by the four TV networks and the Associated Press indicated that voters were favoring Republicans only slightly. In the South, however, voters were turning to Republicans by a 60-40 ratio.

During the long and often ugly campaign, Newt Gingrich had likened the political climate to 1974, when Republicans endured searing losses in the aftermath of the Watergate affair.

In that election, a beleaguered Republican Party lost a net of 48 House seats and five in the Senate.

An ABC News poll released Monday showed Clinton's job-approval rating at 51 percent, a boost of 6 percentage points since mid-October. But improving numbers for Clinton had little impact Tuesday, even in such states as Ohio, Pennsylvania and Delaware, where the president made campaign stops.

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## Republicans turn elections into a rout

**By William E. Gibson**
**Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel**

WASHINGTON Riding a wave of voter discontent, Republicans turned the 1994 elections into a rout Tuesday.

Voters in key contests in much of the nation turned to the Grand Old Party and shifted the political balance of power to create a more conservative brand of government.

Republicans appeared to win the big prize on Election Day: majority control of the U.S. Senate. With votes still being counted in the West, they also were headed toward majority control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1954.

Republicans won tight governor's races in the major states of California, Pennsylvania and Texas.

Among the Democratic victims: New York Gov. Mario Cuomo
and Texas Gov. Ann Richards, two of the glamour names of the Democratic Party, and Rep. Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, former longtim chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

And in Florida, Republicans won majority control of the state Senate, the first time the GOP has taken charge of any legislative chamber anywhere in the South since Reconstruction. Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles was one of the few bright spots for the Democrats, edging challenger Jeb Bush.

But in Texas, George W. Bush, another son of former President George Bush, beat Gov. Richards.

Jubilant Republican Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas promised: ``An alternative program. An alternative budget. An alternative vision.''

If they hope to get much accomplished over the next two years, President Clinton and Democrats will be forced to reach out to Republicans to find some common ground, said Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Graham blamed Democratic setbacks on ``a combination of state factors, a general feeling among the American people of anxiety during this time of rapid change and some negative reaction towards the Congress and the president.''

The voting returns will give Republicans more say on issues that matter most to average Americans: health care, welfare, crime control and how to spend the taxpayers' money.

The net result could be government gridlock or a series of bipartisan compromises to try to satisfy voter demands. Clinton's task will be complicated by the arrival of an especially conservative group of Republican freshmen.

``It's going to be impossible for Bill Clinton to pursue his original agenda,'' said Allan Lichtman, an expert on the presidency and professor of history at The American University in Washington. ``The best strategy is for the president is to reach out. But it's going to severely test his leadership.''

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

``What we are seeing is a continuation of a long-term trend toward lack of faith in American institutions,'' Lichtman said.

Voters waited in long lines to cast ballots in much of the nation, an unusual turnout in a non-presidential election year. Democrats in many places were saved by a strong showing of black voters despite predictions that they would stay home.

``There are a whole lot of messages being sent this time, which adds to the voting turnout,'' said Florida Attorney General Robert Butterworth, who won re-election. ``Some want to throw the bums out, and some want to stop bums from coming in.''

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Ironically, candidates most reliant on an angry turnout suffered some of the biggest disappointments. A leading symbol of voter outrage, Oliver North, lost the bruising Virginia Senate race to incumbent Democratic Sen. Charles Robb.

Democrats won some other key victories. Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts fought back to win re-election. Rep. Sam Gibbons of Florida, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, turned back a strong challenge.

The trend in most parts, however, was clearly Republican.

Republicans won Senate seats that had been held by Democrats in Pennsylvania, Maine, Michigan, Arizona, Ohio and Oklahoma. They won two formerly Democratic seats in Tennessee, including one that had been held by Vice President Al Gore.

(EDITORS: NEXT GRAF OPTIONAL)

In Florida, the GOP picked up two more U.S. House seats with victories in districts held by retiring Democrats in the western Panhandle and along the Space Coast.

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Republicans had been expected to gain at least some ground. The minority party almost always wins non-presidential elections, partly because the most discontented voters tend to turn out. Since World War II, the party in the White House has lost an average of 26 House seats and two or three Senate seats in mid-term elections.

Republicans exceeded the historical trend this year after exploiting Clinton's unpopularity in many states.

An air of resignation crept over the White House after half the states' polls closed and aides digested the gloomy results of an election that seemed, in many cases, a referendum on Clinton's presidency.

Aides said Clinton recognized that he will be dealing with a more conservative and more Republican Congress. ``I think the president will want to heal the wounds and close the gaps as quickly as possible,'' press secretary Dee Dee Myers said.

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)

Democrats elsewhere glumly mulled their party's propsects.

Defeated Gov. Cuomo said he had prayed after casting his vote, saying, ``Lord, let me understand the outcome and deal with it.''

## Gingrich sees Republican dawn

**Rep. Newt Gingrich** (R-Ga.) arrives Tuesday night at his campaign headquarters at the Cobb Gallerla Centre) where he said, "The trend in the Midwest and South has been remarkably good for us." Victory could make Gingrich speaker of a GOP-controlled House.

GEORGIA

# Miller squeaks back into office

## But GOP makes Capitol gains; '2 strikes' passes

**By Mark Sherman**
STAFF WRITER

Gov. Zell Miller was declared the winner in a tight race for reelection Tuesday night, according to two national television networks.

The projections, from ABC and CBS, came at about 11 p.m. before all the results — including some key suburban Atlanta precincts — were in.

Meanwhile, Republicans appeared headed for control of Georgia's congressional delegation for the first time this century.

Georgians also approved a constitutional amendment mandating life in prison without parole for people convicted a second time of murder, rape and several other violent crimes. The "two strikes and you're out" proposal, Amendment 2, was a key element in the governor's anti-crime platform.

Republican gubernatorial candidate Guy Millner was narrowly trailing Miller in returns from rural Georgia, where dissatisfaction with Miller's support for changing the Georgia flag was strong. Millner was seeking to become Georgia's first Republican governor in 122 years.

Miller supporters said the lottery-funded HOPE scholarship program was a factor in their votes for the incumbent. "I like the way Miller spent the lottery money," said Jane Hildebrand, a librarian in Brunswick.

Democrats control seven of Georgia's 11 seats in the 103rd Congress.

But Augusta dentist Charles Norwood defeated freshman Democratic Rep. Don Johnson in the 10th Congressional District and Saxby Chambliss, the GOP candidate in the 8th Congressional District, was ahead of Democrat Craig Mathis in a race for the seat currently held by Democratic Rep. Roy Rowland.

Democratic Rep. George "Buddy" Darden was in a close race with former U.S. Attorney Bob Barr in the 7th District.

Democratic Reps. John Lewis and Nathan Deal and Republican Rep. Jack Kingston won reelection.

Most incumbents in Georgia's statewide offices won relatively easy contests.

Secretary of State Max Cleland defeated Republican challenger Keith Mahoney, Cleland's first GOP opponent after 12 years in office.

# Indonesia: A coming Asian dynamo

## Economic talks set to showcase new potential of an old land

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By Bob Deans
STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Jakarta, Indonesia — Garinda M. Iman surveyed the sawdust-strewn floor of his one-room shop in the hill country just south of Jakarta, where his workers use wooden mallets, crude chisels and electric sanders to fashion ornate tables from the giant roots of century-old mahogany trees.

Carved to resemble the dragons, cranes or turtles long prized by wealthy Chinese, the tables will be shipped to Taiwan, where they'll fetch up to $2,000 each as furnishings for office suites, hotel lobbies and opulent homes.

"I want to build this into a big business," said Iman, 33, a father of two who already employs 10 workers and makes the local equivalent of $250 a week — five times what he was earning just a year ago making bean curd. "With better quality, more capital and hard work," Iman asserted, "I can succeed."

Bursting with promise and pulsing with newfound pride, Indonesia steps boldly onto the world stage over the next 10 days. The nation of 190 million will host President Clinton and heads of state from China, Japan and 14 other nations composing the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group.

The APEC summit is shaping up as a grand international salute to Indonesian President Suharto's 27 years in office and perhaps the crest of the 73-year-old former general's long and blemished career.

The summit also will serve as a sort of coming-out party for yet another Asian economic dynamo. After five years of economic growth averaging nearly 7 percent a year — triple the rate for the industrialized world — the vast and ancient land is galloping down the road toward modernity.

With per-capita income of just $814 a year, Indonesia remains a bitterly poor country, saddled with nearly $100 billion in foreign debt.

And by continuing repressive policies against an independence movement on the Indonesian-controlled island of East Timor, restricting press freedoms — Suharto shut down three Indonesian publications last June — and failing to enforce basic labor protections, Suharto has muddied his relations with the West.

And yet, by leading the economy away from its traditional reliance on raw material exports and instead stressing higher-value finished goods such as Iman's tables, Suharto appears to have brought his country to the cusp of the sort of development that raised countries such as South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore from poverty to prosperity over the past two decades.

"Indonesia is an economic success story," trumpets the U.S. Embassy's latest commercial assessment. "Prospects for continued growth are good."

For American workers and investors, that growth means jobs and profits. U.S. companies will ship $3.3 billion worth of aircraft, cotton, machinery, soybeans and other goods to Indonesia this year. That's a fourfold increase over 1988, U.S. government statistics show, and enough trade to support roughly 60,000 American jobs.

U.S. and other companies eager to exploit Indonesia's low-cost labor — the minimum wage is $1.75 a day — and burgeoning markets for goods and services, have invested $42 billion in factories, offices and hotels and have announced plans to invest an additional $23 billion in the months ahead.

When Suharto went shopping last month for foreign capital to help privatize part of the state-run telephone company, PT Indonesian Satellite, or Indosat, global markets quickly snatched up one-third of the company's stock — for a whopping $1 billion.

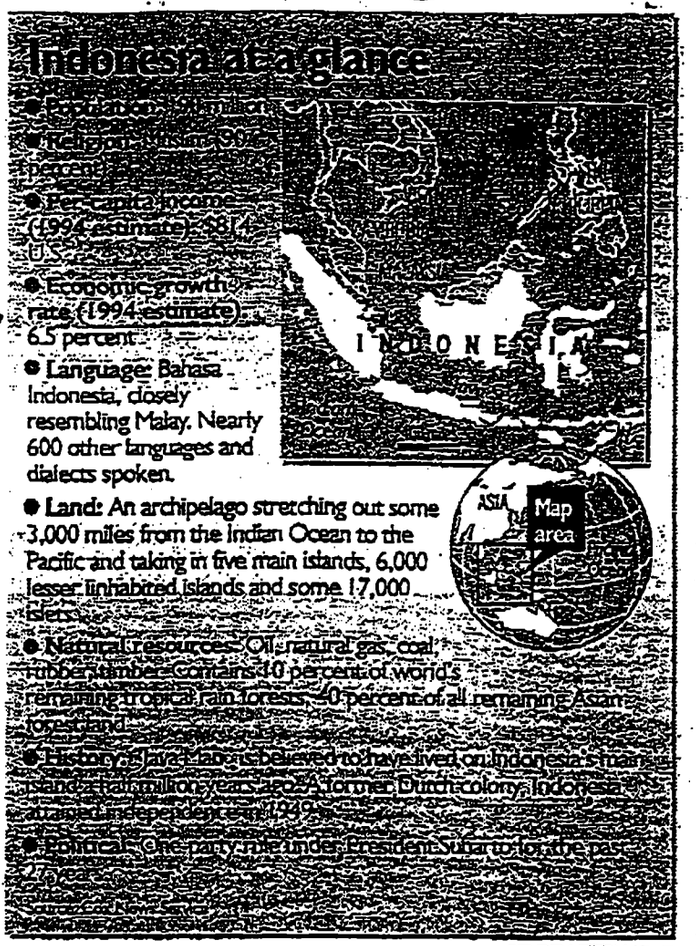
That's a drop in the bucket, however, measured against the tens of billions of dollars expected to be spent in Indonesia over the coming decade. The money will go to build or expand 16 airports, add at least 5 million new telephone lines, increase electric power generation, boost coal, oil and natural gas output and improve highways, ports and railroads.

Investment dollars, in turn, are turbo-charging an export boom. Indonesia will ship out $46 billion worth of crude oil, plywood, apparel, rubber, electronic goods and other products next year — a 40 percent increase over 1992.

The World Bank, among others, expects Indonesia's economy to continue growing by 6 percent or so a year at least through the end of the century. Those projections assume that the country will continue to attract the foreign capital it needs to fund its growth and that any successor to the aging Suharto will keep the core of his economic policies essentially intact.

One aim of those policies that Suharto expects to further as host of the APEC conference is to pull together the Asia-Pacific region into a massive economic bloc whose members play by more or less the same rules on trade and investment.

That would help keep Indonesia's exports and investment opportunities competitive with the increasingly aggressive Chinese and would help to further open Japan's rich markets to Indonesian goods.



REUBEN STERN / Staff

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**Late surge delivers Robb victory over North in Virginia Senate race**

**By Bob Kemper and Barry Flynn**
**Newport News Daily Press**

RICHMOND, Va. Sen. Charles Robb, D-Va., turned back one of the best-funded senatorial campaigns in U.S. history Tuesday to narrowly defeat Republican Oliver North and win re-election to the U.S. Senate.

``How sweet it is,'' Robb roared into the microphone shortly after 10 p.m. ET, and the crowd at his Northern Virginia victory rally roared back.

Incomplete returns showed Robb with 45 percent of the votes cast, North with 40 percent and independent Marshall Coleman with 15 percent.

Election returns from selected precincts told the story of the election: A large turnout of black voters for Robb matched the strong evangelical conservative support for North, while voters who identified themselves as moderates favored Robb by about 2-to-1, according to exit polling.

Robb overcame his own personal and political scandals with the last-minute aid of fellow Democrat but long-time rival, former Gov. Doug Wilder. Wilder helped turn out a bloc of black voters whom opinion polls showed had been indifferent to Robb until late in the campaign.

In the final days of the campaign, as most public opinion polls indicated the two front-runners were locked in a tight race, it became evident the result would turn on how well each campaign motivated its voters.

Blacks, who overwhelmingly favored Robb, turned out in large numbers.

Though both sides had predicted a long night of watching uncertain returns, the result was clear fairly early. Based on exit polls, ABC called the election for Robb at 8:25 p.m. ET. CNN followed soon after.

Robb waited until 10 p.m. to take the stage at his victory party. He said he had just received a concession call from North, and offered
a conciliatory word at the close of what had been called the meanest campaign in the country.

``Although we clearly had some very significant differences, I appreciate the fact that he gave me a call,'' Robb said. ``I salute both Oliver North and Marshall Coleman on this occasion.''

With Robb on the stage were his three daughters and his wife, Lynda, the daughter of President Lyndon Johnson. In the face of relentless publicity about Robb's marital infidelity, his wife campaigned at his side throughout the race.

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

As Robb began to thank his wife, the crowd began chanting: ``We love Lynda.'' The Robbs and their three daughters embraced each other.

Robb went on to thank many individual workers in the campaign, listed supportive interest groups such as organized labor, abortion rights activists, gay rights activists. Finally, he even thanked his old rival, Wilder.

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North, meanwhile, was thanking his supporters at a hotel in Richmond. In closing, he recited an inspirational poem, including the verse: ``Count your blessings, instead of your losses.''

North's campaign had raised a record of more than $17 million in contributions from across the country, attracted legions of impassioned supporters and focused worldwide attention on the race.

But North was unable to escape his past. A parade of associates from the Reagan White House including former President Reagan and his wife, Nancy publicly questioned North's truth-telling and even his grip on reality.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

The defeat was a setback for the conservative wing of the Republican Party, which delivered the nomination to North at a sharply divided state party convention in Richmond in June.

Coleman's maverick candidacy, and Sen. John Warner's sponsorship of it, inflamed many in the party's religious right faction, who have threatened to oppose Warner for the party's nomination for re-election in 1996. Mike Farris, who was the favorite of the Christian right in his bid for lieutenant governor last year, has already hinted broadly that he will challenge Warner for the nomination. As the Robb victory became clear, Republican National Chairman Haley Barbour warned on CNN that Warner may have
trouble getting the nomination. And G. William Whitehurst, former 2nd District congressman, predicted Farris would seek Warner's seat.

Robb got off to a slow start in the campaign and had slipped behind in polls until recently.

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So imperfect were Robb and North in the eyes of political activists that the first and perhaps the strongest resistance to both came from within their own parties.

North, a famously controversial figure who embraced the agenda of the Republican Party's conservative right, was a polarizing figure personally and philosophically. Moderates feared that he would alienate cross-over voters who might give the party its best chance of unseating the fallen Robb.

So intense were the objections to North that his victory at a raucous nominating convention this summer spawned the protest candidacy of Coleman, a former state attorney general.

On the Democratic side, Robb faced not one but two challengers from within his own party and that was just in the primary. Former Attorney General Mary Sue Terry, the party's 1993 nominee for governor, endorsed one of Robb's rivals.

Wilder not only did not back Robb's candidacy but eventually launched his own independent bid to unseat Robb.

Wilder called Robb unfit for office and said a Robb-North match-up would make a laughingstock of Virginia. Wilder claimed he was in the race to stay, but dropped out Sept. 15, three months after entering, saying he didn't have the money he needed to continue. After much lobbying from President Clinton and other Democrats, Wilder eventually endorsed Robb and campaigned for him, particularly among black voters whose turnout was considered crucial to Robb's showing in the polls.

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAFS OPTIONAL)

Despite his tenuous hold on his seat, Robb was slow in building any enthusiasm or momentum for his campaign. Through the summer, while North traveled the state, Robb remained locked away in an extended session of Congress in which the crime bill and health care legislation had stalled.

When the session ended, Robb was still an infrequent campaigner who party activists worried was taking the race too lightly.

Robb's relative inactivity allowed North to run virtually unchallenged for months. North raised millions of dollars and ran nearly continuous television ads that remade his image. No longer was he just the hero-villain of Iran-Contra. Now, Virginians were seeing North as the family man, the Washington outsider, a fellow victim mistreated by a liberal media and alienated by once-great American institutions that had lost their own moral grounding.

1996

# Republicans make big gains nationwide

By DAVID DAHL
Times Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — Republicans seized control of a greater share of the government Tuesday, riding an anti-spending, anti-President Clinton wave as they headed toward control of the U.S. Senate, huge gains in the House and victories in more than a dozen races for governor around the nation.

In what amounted to a stern repudiation of the 2-year-old Clinton administration, it appeared possible that the Republicans could take over control of both houses of Congress for the first time since 1955. The GOP also seemed likely to win a majority of 50 governorships for the first time since 1970 — including a startling win by George W. Bush over Texas incumbent Gov. Ann Richards.

A few Democrats in high-profile races snatched victories and saved their careers. Liberal Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy survived a tough challenge and was re-elected to the seat he has held since 1962. And, in the nastiest Senate race in the country, Virginia Sen. Charles Robb staved off a challenge from Iran-Contra figure Oliver North.

Elsewhere, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo was in a tight fight for his fourth term and out West, House Speaker Tom Foley was in jeopardy of becoming the first sitting speaker to lose his seat in more than 130 years.

"The message is: We do not like how you've been handling our business in Washington, D.C.," said Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, chairman of the GOP Senate campaign committee. "I think people feel they were betrayed, and the American people are quick learners."

Gramm's opposite number, Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee Chairman Bob Graham of Florida, blamed local factors for his party's losses —

**GOP** from 1A

plus "the general feeling among Americans of anxiety at times of rapid change, and a negative reaction toward Congress and the president in terms of policies that have been adopted."

It was not a happy night for Clinton. Exit polls conducted by ABC News Tuesday night in a handful of key states found that his approval rating rarely cracked 40 percent. He's doing even worse in his native South. Nationally, some 54 percent said the country is headed in the wrong direction.

The election was the first national referendum on Clinton since Democrats re-claimed the White House in 1992 after a 12-year drought. The youthful New Democratic president and the old-line Democrats who ran the House and Senate promised to end gridlock.

The Democrats claim they've delivered the change that voters say they want. They lowered the budget deficit. They tried to pass a health care bill. They gave low income, working families a tax break and parents guaranteed leave from work when they have a child.

But with the economy improving, the 1994 campaign was waged on Republican turf: social issues such as welfare reform, immigration and taxes, all of which spoke to voters' concern that their lives were unraveling and their government was out of control.

Republicans talked about the "Clinton Congress," focusing voters' generalized anger with incumbents on the Democrats who have run the House since 1948 and the Senate since 1986.

Clinton's health care plan didn't help, either. Nor did the package of tax increases and spending cuts he pushed to cut the deficit. The two proposals gave Republicans a hook to hang their most devastating charge: that he was a big spending liberal, just like all those other Democrats who preceded him. The health plan died an orphan in Congress, robbing Democrats of the issue they'd once hoped to present to voters this fall.

And so the voters sent Clinton a much more conservative Congress to work with — or against — in the coming two years. Look for Clinton — and some Republicans — to at least talk about working together in a bipartisan fashion.

"We'll have the responsibility to make the change the American people want," said Sen. Bob Dole, the Kansas Republican who is in line to become the next Majority Leader.

As the polls closed Tuesday, it was evident that voters are upset with incumbents and with the way decision-makers spend their tax money.

Voters in four states were considering measures to control of their state government's spending, by forcing lawmakers to take extraordinary steps before raising taxes. California voters were expected to approve a measure to cut off services to illegal aliens. Voters in eight states considered term limits; if the measures passed, a total of 22 states would have laws on the books to restrict the time their politicians could stay in office.

"I voted against all incumbents regardless of their party, except for Connie Mack," said Don Ellis, 39, of Inverness, a self-employed satellite-TV installer. "I'm sick and tired of incumbency. If the president is limited to two terms, why not everybody else.

"I'm tired of hearing them talk about how they cut us a deal. For every deal they cut for us, they give something up for somebody else. Career politicians have got to go."

"Overall, I don't like the Democrats," said Velma Sowerby, 60, of Brooksville. "The whole direction they're going is too liberal on almost every issue. They're getting away from the Judeo-Christian background and more into the new age way of thinking. I think it's dangerous for our nation."

By late Tuesday, the Republicans were well on their way to picking up the necessary seven seats to win a majority in the 100-member Senate. There were 35 Senate seats up — 22 held by Democrats and 13 held by Republicans.

A series of retirements gave Republicans a leg up, though, and they took advantage of the opportunity. They picked up Senate seats left open by retiring Democrats in Michigan, Arizona, Ohio, Oklahoma and Maine.

Clinton campaigned like a dervish the last eight days, but that only seemed to mobilize his enemies. The Christian Coalition distributed 33-million fliers Sunday. The National Rifle Association and other hard-right groups also mobilized.

"The people who are fired up about this election are our coalition," said Bill McInturff, a GOP pollster.

This was a nasty election year, one in which negative advertisements were the norm for even the most mild-mannered of candidates — Rep. Sam Gibbons of Tampa used attack ads, for instance. In Virginia, Sen. Robb and challenger North traded charges that the other was a liar. In California, Sen. Dianne Feinstein said millionaire challenger Michael Huffington couldn't be trusted, especially after it was disclosed that he'd knowingly employed an illegal alien for five years.

St. Petersburg Times
11/9/94

# Mack easily beats Rodham

■ Mack returns to the Senate contemplating life in the majority party, which could mean a panel chairmanship.

By CECI CONNOLLY
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Six years ago it was a squeaker for Connie Mack; Tuesday it was a landslide. Mack became the first Florida Republican ever re-elected to the U.S. Senate, thoroughly trouncing Democrat Hugh Rodham, the brother-in-law of President Clinton.

The apparent nationwide tide for Republicans at all levels meant more than just a good night for Mack whose victory was projected by wire services less than 60 seconds after the polls closed. It also meant Florida Republicans were poised to gain two House seats, according to early election night returns.



Mack, above, says his win over Rodham shows the people want conservative government.



With the GOP headed for a likely control of the Senate for the first time since 1986, Mack, 54, returns to Washington contemplating life in the majority party, which could mean a committee or subcommittee chairmanship.

"I would be hopeful the president understands this election is a statement from the people that they want conservative government, they want smaller government," Mack said Tuesday night.

The Florida results were a particularly bitter pill for Clinton, who had campaigned personally for Rodham, the brother of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. After nearly winning the state two years ago, Clinton is now "one of the most unpopular politicians down here," said professor Richard Scher, a political scientist at the University of Florida.

"The Democrats now have found out what happens when they do not bond together," Rodham said Tuesday night. "They need to stand their ground and stop taking a bully-beating from the Republicans with their lies and misinformation."

Because Mack won by a scant 34,000 votes in 1988, many expected a hard-fought contest this year. But no major Democrat entered the race, leaving a group of lesser-knowns to squabble for months while Mack stockpiled campaign cash.

From the start, Rodham struggled to garner money and credibility. Rodham, a former Dade County public defender who did not register to vote in Florida until 1991, trailed badly in fundraising and was often the butt of jokes.

Even the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, headed by Florida Democratic Sen. Bob Graham, refused to give money to Rodham's campaign until a week before the balloting.

Mack, meanwhile, once dismissed as an empty suit and an "ideological wacko," has watched his stature rise. In the Senate, he moderated his image with well-advertised votes in favor of environmental protection and a moderate Florida judge. He returned to his campaign theme of 1988, promising once again to fight for "less taxes, less spending, less government and more freedom."

Based on early incomplete returns, it appeared Republicans could pick up two House seats previously held by Florida Democrats. Republican Joe Scarborough was leading in the Panhandle's 1st District race, where Democrat Earl Hutto is retiring. In Central Florida, Christian activist David Weldon was ahead for the 15th District seat being vacated by Democrat Jim Bacchus.

But the early returns were also encouraging for two incumbent Florida Democrats thought to be in danger this year. Both Sam Gibbons of Tampa and Karen Thurman of Dunnellon were ahead in their contests.

Eleven Florida House members — nine Republicans and two Democrats — were unopposed.

St. Petersburg Times 11/9/94

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The Miami Herald

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# The political sewer

**NASTIEST ELECTION EVER**

**Newt Gingrich blames Democrats for children's murder. You have to ask: How did it come to this?**

'Enough is enough," Herbert Valentine said on the eve of yesterday's elections. "Day after day we have been assaulted by words and images of hate, all in the service of political advancement. We cannot continue to write this off as 'politics as usual.' "

Dr. Valentine, chairman of the Interfaith Alliance, could have been referring to almost any event in the last six weeks of this unrelievedly revolting campaign season. From Florida to California, from attack ads to whisper campaigns to high-level taunting and name calling, the whole septic season has been a display of infantilism and piggishness on a scale to make British soccer fans blush.

Any number of things might have set him off, but one particular outrage drove Dr. Valentine, a Presbyterian minister from Baltimore, to his typewriter. It was Monday's assertion by Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., that the murder of two children in Union, S.C., was somehow the Democrats' fault.

"I think that the mother killing the two children in South Carolina," said a campaigning Mr. Gingrich, "vividly reminds every American how sick the society is getting. . . . The only way you get change is to vote Republican."

Mr. Gingrich's remark was surely not the most hateful idiocy to spew from a politician this year. But it stung Dr. Valentine hard because Mr. Gingrich portrays himself as a champion of religious values. This is not the Interfaith Alliance's idea of religion, nor is it that of many Americans.

How did such a nice country — democratic model to the world — end up in such a political sewer? That is a question that politicians alone evidently can't answer. Rabbis, ministers, sisters, and priests may be able to help. Anyway, that's Dr. Valentine's reasonable hope.

But reeling from the bitter hangover of this electoral morning-after, and looking for someone to blame, Americans have little choice but to face the mirror sooner or later. The unflattering reality is that attack ads work; insults stick; flying muck draws a crowd. Mr. Gingrich got more notice for his goofy, insupportable remark than for anything that he has done in weeks.

Americans yesterday chose, for the next two years at least, the politicians whom they think they deserve. If the results are uninspiring, consider the system that brought these people into office. Voters now have two years to force some reforms in the electoral process — and to regain the civil spirit of democracy that once inspired the world.

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# Seattle Post-Intelligencer

A HEARST NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY MORNING | NOVEMBER 9, 1994 | 35¢


# Disenchanted voters give GOP sweeping victories in Congress

## KEY RACES at a glance

**Washington**
Slade Gorton (R) 50.1%
Ron Sims (D) 48.9%

**Massachusetts**
Edward Kennedy (D) 58.0%
Mitt Romney (R) 42.0%

**Virginia**
Charles Robb (D) 56.0%
Oliver North (R) 44.0%

**California**
Dianne Feinstein (D) 48.0%
Michael Huffington (R) 52.0%

**New York**
Mario Cuomo (D) 48.0%
George Pataki (R) 52.0%

**Texas**
Ann Richards (D) 46.0%
George W. Bush (R) 54.0%

**California**
Pete Wilson (R) 65.0%
Kathleen Brown (D) 35.0%

**Florida**
Lawton Chiles (D) 51.0%
Jeb Bush (R) 49.0%

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 1: Library | ? Yes | ? No |
| No. 2: Public safety | ? Yes | ? No |
| No. 3: Seattle schools | ? Yes | ? No |

? – Too close to call.

## Gorton joins GOP majority

By Joel Connelly
P-I Political Correspondent

Sen. Slade Gorton was headed for victory last night in a Washington Senate race with an impact on how solidly Republicans will control Congress' upper chamber in Washington, D.C.

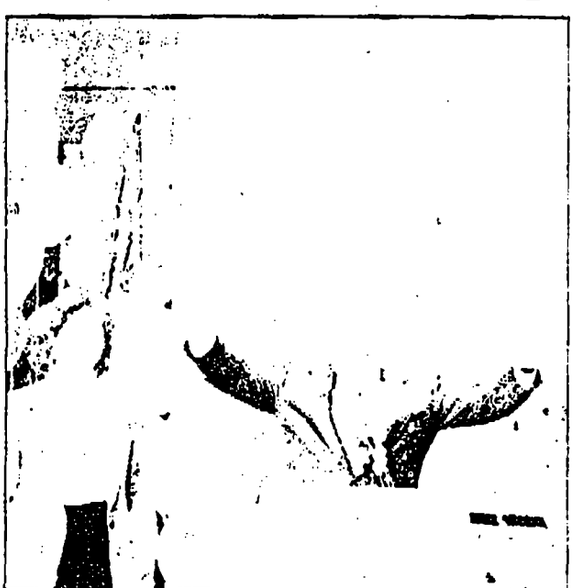
Nearly 70 percent of the state's eligible voters cast ballots. As early returns showed Republican Gorton surviving a tough challenge from Democrat Ron Sims, the political veteran was poised to join a GOP majority for the second time in his Senate career.

Sims had pledged to "cross the aisle" to work on bipartisan solutions. By the time polls closed in the state last night, it was nearly certain that a majority of senators would be across the Republican aisle.

Gorton was a productive, centrist Republican when the GOP ran the Senate between 1980 and 1986. He has been more a conservative critic as part of a minority over the last six years.

"When you're in the majority

See GORTON, Page A12



The Associated Press

Democratic Sen. Chuck Robb of Virginia, with his wife, Linda, celebrates his victory over Republican challenger Oliver North in one of the fall's most bitterly fought contests.

By John King
The Associated Press

Resurgent Republicans moved to take control of Congress for the first time in 40 years Tuesday, capturing the Senate and making a stunning showing in the House. The GOP won a string of governorships, too, in elections that sent President Clinton a chilling midterm message.

Voters voiced profound discontent with Clinton and Democratic liberalism, propelling Republicans to breathtaking gains in state after state just two years after electing Clinton.

Among the wide swath of victims were Govs. Mario Cuomo in New York and Ann Richards of Texas. Richards lost to one son of former President George Bush. Another son, Jeb Bush, lost a tight race to Lawton Chiles in Florida.

The marquee race was in Virginia, where Sen. Charles Robb gave Democrats a rare dose of good news, narrowly beating Iran-Contra figure Oliver North.

Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, in line to be majority leader in a Republican Senate, cast the results as a "vote of no confidence in the Clinton agenda." GOP Chairman Haley Barbour said voters were sending a blooming message: "Government is too big for its britches."

A projection by Voter News Service, based on voter surveys and returns from key precincts,

See GOP, Page A13

## Foley losing close race for House

By Christopher Hansen
P-I Washington Correspondent

SPOKANE — House Speaker Tom Foley was trailing Republican attorney George Nethercutt in his effort to win reelection last night, but early returns showed the contest was too close to call.

Meanwhile, according to a Cable News Network projection, voters nationwide appeared to be booting Foley from his job as House Speaker, giving Republicans a House majority for the first time in 40 years.

Foley said it was too early to concede either his race or the loss of a Democratic House majority. But he said that if the GOP did take over they would be obligated to help President Clinton govern, not to obstruct him, as he said they had done in recent months.

"It's the irony of the race . . . that those who have obstructed . . . may be inheriting the benefits of that obstruction," Foley said.

"After the election is over . . . those who are elected have the responsibility to work together," he told supporters at the Ridpath Hotel in downtown Spokane.

If the Republicans won a majority of the House, and Foley won reelection in his district, he could be elected House minority leader. That

See FOLEY, Page A12



PAUL JOSEPH BROWN P-I

Speaker of the House Tom Foley, with his wife, Heather, pops his ballot into the box yesterday morning after voting at Lewis and Clark High School in Spokane.

## City bond measures all failing

By Mark Higgins and Mike Barber
P-I Reporters

Seattle's $490.6 million "Kids, Books and Cops" bond campaign was in trouble last night, with each of the measures failing short of the needed 60 percent "yes" vote, according to early returns.

**City bond**

The school bond proposal had captured about 55 percent of the vote, while the library bond had about 50 percent. The public safety campaign trailed the field with less than 50 percent yes votes.

"We still have a fighting chance," said Kim Osborne, campaign manager

See BONDS, Page A13

## Morrie Alhadeff, the 'Squire of Longacres,' dies

By Lenny Anderson
P-I Reporter

Morrie Alhadeff, who guided Longacres Race Track to its greatest success, died yesterday. He would have been 80 years old Monday.

Alhadeff was president and chief executive officer of the Washington Jockey Club, which operated Longacres, from 1971 until 1988, when he handed the duties to his sons, Mike and Ken Alhadeff.

Although Morrie Alhadeff gained his greatest renown through Longacres, he had a wide range of civic and cultural interests. He served as chairman of the Bicentennial Commission for the State of Washington, chairman of the Seattle Arts Commission, president of PONCHO and honorary chairman of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Committee, among other volunteer positions.

He brought his appreciation of the arts to his work. The art collection that decorated Longacres' walls was regarded as the largest at any racetrack in the country.

Seattle Mayor Norm Rice acknowledged Alha-

See RACING, Page A10



Alhadeff

AP/1982


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Rain chance 80 percent today, 70 percent tonight. Highs near 50. Lows near 40. Details, Page B4.


THE SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER


## Sniper hits B.C. abortion doctor

By James Wallace
P-I Reporter

VANCOUVER, B.C. — A sniper armed with an assault rifle took cover behind garbage cans in a residential neighborhood here yesterday morning, then opened fire on a doctor who performs abortions as he sat in his kitchen having breakfast.

The shots shattered the glass in a sliding patio door, and one bullet struck gynecologist Garson Romalis in the upper leg. The wound caused extensive damage to a thigh bone and an artery, a Vancouver Hospital spokeswoman said.

Romalis, 58, was reported in serious condition last night.

His wife and daughter were home when three shots shattered the morning quiet of their affluent, tree-lined neighborhood in this city's West End.

The assailant got away and was at large last night. Police said an AK-47 assault rifle was used in the attack, but a weapon had not been recovered.

Police Inspector Dave Boyd said bullet casings were found in the lane behind the house.

"It's fairly obvious that this was planned," Boyd said.

The shooting provoked shock, outrage and fear among medical professionals in British Columbia.

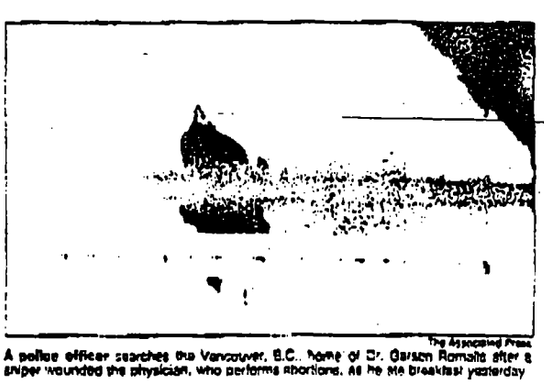
"Gary is very well thought of in the medical community," said Dr. Brad Fritz, a family physician in Vancouver and a past president of the British Columbia Medical Association.

Romalis had been the target of some earlier anti-abortion demonstrations, but Fritz said no one expected it could escalate into the kind of violent attacks that have been characteristic of the abortion debate in the United States.

"There's never been much in the way of (anti-abortion) violence here," he said. "I guess you never think it's going to happen until it happens. It's an outrage."

Abortion is legal in Canada, and

See SHOOTING, Page A4



The Associated Press

A police officer searches the Vancouver, B.C., home of Dr. Garson Romalis after a sniper wounded the physician, who performs abortions, as he ate breakfast yesterday

■ Reaction: Both sides in debate condemn Vancouver violence. Page A8

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Donald Kaul; RELEASE: 11/9/94

## LIMBAUGH, YOU'RE NO WALTER WINCHELL

**By Donald Kaul**

In my continuing effort to be on the cutting edge of the information revolution, I listened in on the Rush Limbaugh radio show last week. Three times. (Some people give up meat for Lent; I give up rationality for elections.)

I have to tell you, folks, it was hard work. He'd take a call from someone who would say:

``Oh, Rush, thank you for taking my call. You're one of my great heroes. Ditto, ditto, megaditto. I just love your work. I mean, I just can't tell you how smart I think you are and how you put into words everything I've believed since I left school at the age of 9."

And he'd answer:

``You better believe I'm smart. I'm smarter than two-toned shoes with a straw hat. I am also great. Also funny. Few people are as great and funny as I am. Plus, I'm going to be on the Letterman show and you're not. Ha, ha!"

It goes on like that, servile, groveling callers feeding the gigantic but fragile ego, a legend in his own mind.

Take away the callers telling Rush how much they admire him and Rush announcing how much he agrees with them, and there's hardly time left for the commercials, which are numerous. Funnier than this is Pat Robertson.

A woman called Limbaugh to complain that a liberal talk show host in Baltimore had said that while he didn't believe (ital) his (end ital) show should be censored, it might be a good idea to censor Limbaugh's. I didn't hear the Baltimore show but it seems fairly self-evident that the guy was making a little joke as much on himself as on Limbaugh but Limbaugh went off like a rocket, raging about typical liberal hypocrisy.

The next day Limbaugh played a public service announcement he said came from the White House, featuring President Clinton urging people to vote. It went something like:

``If you're one of those people who is dissatisfied with the way things are going, who want change, if you're the kind of person who's fed up with oppressive, ineffective government, I urge you to go to the polls and vote on Nov. 9."

Limbaugh pointed out, rightly, that the election was on Nov. 8, and for several days afterward he and his callers clucked about the president's efforts to mislead disaffected voters so that they'd miss the election.

Again, the tape was an obvious phony. It was a joke, and the voice, while it resembled that of the president, was not Bill Clinton's. A caller finally suggested that to Rush and he said he'd have his people check on it. I don't know if he ever got it straightened out, but the point is this: Limbaugh didn't get it. He, like his listeners, has no sense of humor. He used to, but now he doesn't.

Limbaugh wrote a piece entitled ``Why Liberals are Terrified of Me" a few weeks ago, published in newspapers around the country. In it he said, with typical modesty: ``Thirty years after Ronald Reagan's brilliant enunciation of conservative ideals at the end of the Goldwater campaign, the torch has been passed to me. And liberal fear is palpable."

Really? I guess I hang out with the wrong liberals. Humorless clowns don't scare us. He claims 20 million listeners, but that's per week. Give him the best of it and he has 9 or 10 million people who listen to him at some time during a week. But not all of them are ditto-dunderheads. Some just want to be entertained.

And, as of late, he ain't being very entertaining. When the Republicans take over and he loses Clinton as a scapegoat, he'll be less so. Eventually, he'll fade away.

To those who argue otherwise, I offer two words: Walter Winchell.

During the '30s and '40s Winchell was the biggest, brashest, most-influential, most-hated and best-loved media personality in America. He virtually invented the gossip column and rode it to a radio career and a place among the nation's kingmakers. A word from him could make an entertainer or politician. Two words could break them.

Everybody was afraid of him, and with good reason.

Finally, his game played out. Times changed, he didn't and by the time he died, in 1972, he was a lonely and forgotten man.

And he was a lot bigger deal than Rush Limbaugh.

Rush, too, shall pass.

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bc-germond-witcover 11/9 Politics Today

## BLAMING VOTERS

**By Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover**

WASHINGTON -- It is politically foolhardy for a politician to blame the voters for failures in the system, as President Clinton seemed to be doing the other day and as then President Jimmy Carter seemed to be doing with his infamous ``malaise speech" 15 years ago. Voters are too accustomed to being courted to welcome straight talk from those seeking their support.

But the hard truth is that political campaigns might not be such mindless and negative exercises as the 1994 campaign proved to be if more voters paid more attention and demanded something better from the candidates and their strategists.

Everyone likes to complain, for example, about the negative tone of the campaigns and particularly the reliance on commercials that make accusations based on flimsy evidence. But whatever their complaints, the voters accept these negative television spots as providing ``information" and allow their opinions to be shaped by them.

Campaign managers have learned that the way to ``move the numbers" -- that is, to improve a candidate's position in the opinion polls --is to ``go negative." Positive commercials rarely work.

This might not happen if more voters took the trouble to look into the truth behind the charges in the commercials. But they don't --even when newspapers provide factual analyses of the spots, as most do these days.

On the contrary, most voters now say they gain their knowledge of a campaign by watching television news programs, most of which present only the skimpiest coverage of complex issues. Reading long position papers or even newspaper accounts of them apparently is simply too much trouble.

Many voters seem to believe they are paying close attention to a campaign if they manage to watch a televised debate or two. But the fact is that candidates usually use debates only to repeat their standard stump speech and to zing their opponents with the same kind of half-truth accusations they use in their commercials.

And even when the debates are more rewarding, there is a legitimate question about how much weight should be given to debating ability in deciding who would make a better governor or senator.

There have been occasions in which voters became so fed up with the conduct of politicians that the politicians had to mend their ways. In North Carolina's Senate race in 1984, for example, the tone of the campaign between Sen. Jesse Helms and Democratic challenger Jim Hunt was so harshly negative that the electorate reacted angrily. The result was that in a Senate race two years later between Democrat Terry Sanford and Republican Jim Broyhill, neither candidate dared ``go negative" against his opponent.

In fact, the candidates were so sensitive to the public mood that Broyhill upbraided a reporter who asked him only why he would be a better senator than Sanford, accusing the reporter of ``trying to make me say something negative about Terry Sanford."

The reform in North Carolina didn't last long, however. In 1990 Helms defeated Harvey Gantt, a black former mayor of Charlotte, with a final-week television spot on affirmative action that played on racial resentments in the electorate. Gantt was holding a narrow lead, but once again ``going negative" worked and Helms slipped in for another term.

The most immediate result of lousy campaigns is, of course, a decline in participation. Potential voters find nothing to give them a reason to bother going to the polling places when they have been treated to nothing more than exchanges of half-baked charges.

But the long-term result is growing alienation in the potential electorate. What's the point of paying a lot of attention when the choice -- as defined by the campaigns and commercials -- is between a knave and a poltroon?

To some degree, the mindless quality of the 1994 campaign might be attributed to the lack of compelling and significant issues. There is no public question facing the country today comparable to, for example, policy on civil rights or the war in Vietnam -- issues that provided litmus tests for voters of another generation.

There are, nonetheless, differences between the two parties and between candidates more significant than the question of which one has the most venal and effective television spots. But, as Adlai Stevenson once observed, the first duty of a politician is getting elected. So if ``going negative" works with a lazy electorate, it's what we can expect.

In the long run, the voters get what they deserve, for better or worse.

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