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Nov 3 file

FAX**BUSH**
QUAYLE
921030 15th St. NW
Washington, DC 20005

Date: OCTOBER 21

To: BOBBIE KILBERG

Organization:

Fax Number: 456-2362

From: DEBBIE DUNN

Number of Pages to Follow:

Fax Number: 11

Additional Information:

Rose -
Debbie & Bobbie would
like you to review this list.
Then they'll give it to Mass.
If you have any questions
please call them.
R.

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w 305/520-2352

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Mr. and Mrs. Neil Bush
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President and Mrs. Bush's Grandchildren

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Miss Lauren Pierce Bush
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Miss Noelle Lucila Bush
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Mr. Pierce Mallon Bush
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o 202/336-8401

October 21, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR BILL MOSS

FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG

RE: MOSS EVENT/ '80 "BUSH BRIGADE" PROJECT

In response to your request for names from the '80 Bush Brigade get-out-the-vote project, the following is a list of individuals who have undertaken the major workload and/or been very supportive. Each of these individuals were early supporters of the President in '79-'80. It is my understanding that all the names for this event have to be reviewed by both Rose Zamaria and Susan Porter Rose.

~~B.B. Anderson~~ (Jan)
David and Ann Bates
~~Theresa Behrendt~~ (John)
Gerry and Margaret Bemiss
Rich Bond (Valerie)
Pat Burch
Fred Bush (Katie)
~~Jan Burmeister~~
~~Vicky Campbell~~ (Scott)
Andy Card (Kathy)
~~George Caulkins~~
Marion Chambers
~~Clyde Ensslin~~ (Taurin)
Laurie Firestone
Mary Gall
Shirley Green
Anne Gwaltney (Tom)
Betsy Heminway (Will)
~~Georgi Hippauf~~
Ron Kaufman (Allison)
Jane Kenny
Bobbie Kilberg (Bill)
Sally and Bill McKenzie
Judith McLennan
~~Mary Morgenstern~~
Jan Naylor
~~Brice Oakley~~ (Barbara)
~~Patty Presock~~ (Bernie)
~~Lia Reed~~
Don Rhodes
Susan Porter Rose (Jon)
Jack Steel
Kathy Super (Tom)

Betty Green
Betty Baker

Pete Teeley (Valerie)
~~David and Linda Tewes~~
Chase Untermeyer (Diana)
Rose Zamaria

In addition, the following Assistants to the President supported the President in '79-'80:

Boyden Gray
Connie Horner (Charles)
Gregg Petersmeyer (Julie)
Brent Scowcroft
Dorrance Smith (Stephanie)
Margaret Tutwiler

The following individuals from the above list are also on Debbie Romash Dunn's list:

David and Ann Bates
Gerry and Margaret Bemiss
Pat Burch
Marion Chambers
Laurie Firestone
Betsy and Will Heminway
Jane Kenny
Bill and Sally McKenzie
Patty and Bernie Presock
Don Rhodes
Susan Porter Rose and Jon Rose
Brent Scowcroft
Jack Steel
Chase and Diana Untermeyer
Rose Zamaria

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/14/92

TO: The President

FROM: ROSE ZAMARIA
Deputy Assistant to the President

I talked with Bill Moss about the election night party he wants to underwrite.

When I told him you'd only be there for 20/30 minutes, he appeared to lose interest. He had visions if he had your old staff and supporters, you'd spend the evening.

He was going to Houston to check with the Houstonian and then decide what to do.

RZ

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 10/13/92

TO: Jim Baker

FROM: ROSE ZAMARIA *RZ*
Deputy Assistant to the President

I know you and the President talked about Bill Moss wanting to give an election night party for family, old friends and staff. The President told Moss he would be back in touch with him in about a week. Time is up and Moss is calling.

Moss is talking about 200/250 people. The President is agreeable to doing it, and has suggested the Houstonian.

I'm wondering if there are other plans for that evening of which we are not aware. Do you see any reason why we can't tell Moss to go forward with his plans? //

Bill Moss
(310) 275-5200
Rm 501

Reception
supper 20

Kevin Jones -

(O) 713 - 942-8110
(R) " 376-7871



10/5 tickler



THE PRESIDENT

RZ

remind me to get back to Mo~~ass~~ in a week or
so.

GB

9



THE PRESIDENT

October 5, 1992

Dear Bill,

Thanks for your good letter. As I told you in Dallas our plans are not yet firm for election eve. I do appreciate your willingness to give that party on election night at the Houstonian. I will let you know very soon what our plans are. I am sure Barbara and I could come by whatever our plans are for the entire evening. We will be staying at the Houstonian.

I am grateful to you, old friend.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. H. W. Bush", written in a cursive style.

The Honorable William P. Moss
Turtle Creek Centre
3811 Turtle Creek Boulevard
Suite 700
Dallas, Texas 75219

newman 1-
do an event
of 250
people -
p.

WILLIAM MOSS
TURTLE CREEK CENTRE
3811 TURTLE CREEK BOULEVARD, SUITE 700
DALLAS, TEXAS 75219-4419

October 1, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I enjoyed seeing you Monday night at the Wyllys' home here in Dallas. I thought it was a very successful evening. Things seem to be getting better every day. Your challenge to Clinton to four debates has caught peoples attention.

As I mentioned to you at the Wyllys', I would like to have a party election night for you and Barbara and invite your old and good friends, and your family. I would like to include your staff, past and present. You mentioned perhaps I should do it at the Houstonian. I think that is a perfect place.

I have been working with Rich Bond, George W. and Bobbie Kilberg for some time on a project to reignite a lot of your early supporters and friends.

I told Kathy Super about our plans for election night. I also talked with David Bates and Ron Kaufman who thought it was a great idea -- we'll get the old gang together.

Sincerely,

William Moss

Mr. President!

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR ROSE ZAMARIA

FROM:

BOBBIE KILBERG *BR*

RE:

UPDATE ON '80 BUSH BRIGADE PROJECT

R2 - Discuss!

We must check on Moss also

As I described to you in an earlier conversation, the purpose of the '80 Bush Brigade project is to locate Bush supporters from 1980 and enlist their help in getting out the vote for the President. Through the help of a group of volunteers and with the assistance of Don Rhodes and Jan Burmeister (on her own time), we have identified 896 individuals and couples from throughout the country who were actively involved in the 1980 Bush presidential race. We have also located their present addresses and phone numbers. This group does not include most of the Texas workers which would have to be a separate project.

Rich Bond is providing us space and phones at the RNC and, from Monday, October 12 through Saturday, October 24, we will be calling each of these 896 members of the '80 Bush Brigade. Our callers will mostly be friends and staff who were part of the '80 campaign (e.g. Jane Kenny, Gerry Beemis etc.). We will be asking each person we call to turn out 100 voters for the President on election day.

Rich Bond is sending out faxes to the '92 Bush Quayle leadership list, explaining this project. He also will immediately send follow-up material to each person we call who requests it (e.g. Agenda for American Renewal, bumper stickers, NAFTA material etc.)

We hope this effort will make a small difference. One of its positive aspects is that it provides constructive involvement for people who were with the President from the beginning and want to do something to help his re-election effort now.

★ A second, proposed aspect of this project would obviously need the President and Mrs. Bush's approval, as you and I discussed earlier. We would like to invite the '80 Bush Brigade to Houston for election night for a reception that the President and Mrs. Bush would attend **for a short time**. As November 3 is the President's last election, it might be fitting that he and Mrs. Bush celebrate with individuals who were there at the beginning of his first presidential race. *★*

yes — no —

A We have no idea how many from the list of 896 would actually make the trip to Houston (and, of course, they would be supplemented by a substantial Texas contingent of '80 supporters). We might be talking about 200 people or we might be talking about 400 or more. If this event is approved, it would not be a small gathering at the Houstonian. It would have to be located at whatever site is selected for the election night rally. We could set up a separate room for the '80 Bush Brigade party and have the attendees join the rally after the President and Mrs. Bush have visited with them.

For your background, I am enclosing my memo of September 2 to Margaret Tutwiler on the project and Karen Groomes' memo of September 9 in response.

September 9, 1992

KG

MEMORANDUM

TO: DAVID BATES
KATHY SUPER
JOHN KELLER

FROM: KAREN GROOMES

SUBJECT: ATTACHED MEMO FROM BOBBIE KILBERG

The attached is for your action, now that we know President Bush will be in Houston on election eve, etc. Secretary Baker had suggested turning the entire "Houston Deal" over to one person to implement and suggested Red Cavaney as a great candidate. Whatever you decide, Bobbie should be pulled in to coordinate the attached suggestion.

. Thanks.

27

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR MARGARET TUTWILER

FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG ^{BK}

RE: EARLY SUPPORTERS OF PRESIDENT BUSH

November 3rd will be the President's last election and I think it would be fitting for him and Mrs. Bush to celebrate that evening with individuals who were his earliest supporters for the U.S. Senate in 1964 and his first race for President in 1978-1980. I have discussed this idea with Rich Bond, David Bates, Susan Porter Rose, Kathy Super, Shirley Green and Bill Moss and each of them was very positive about it. I think it would be a good idea to start planning for election night now.

I have the Bush for President lists from 1978-80 for the national steering committee, state steering committees and state finance committees. There are a number of White House staff members, you and me included, and others outside the White House who know the additional individuals from throughout the country who should be invited. Jack Steele, Chase Untermeyer, Shirley Green, Sally McKenzie and others know all the old Texas supporters. Also, Bill Moss has identified a list of individuals, some from the first Presidential campaign, that he wants to get involved in this campaign and has talked with Rich Bond and George W. about doing so.

I am recommending that we identify as many of the early supporters as possible, contact them and ask them to get involved in the Bush campaign on their state or local community levels (if they have not already done so) and invite them to Houston for election night. Bill Moss would like to work with us on this effort and Rich Bond is willing to work on getting these individuals involved in the campaign. I do not recommend that we make Houston travel arrangements or personally offer hotel accommodations for these supporters but that we create a nice event for them with the President on election night. (The President, as you know, normally invites his family and a small group of his closest friends to stay at the Houstonian).

I think this would mean a great deal to the President and I would like to see it happen. Though it would be a time-consuming task, I would be willing and pleased to take on the job of coordinating this effort. I was part of the planning group and Houston advance team for election night in 1988 and, during my tenure in public liaison, produced numerous POTUS events. I know that there are others who would be very willing to help.

Caron Jackson and I discussed this idea and she thought you were the right person to evaluate it.

APPROVE_____ DISAPPROVE_____SEE ME_____

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Susan Porter Rose	
Julie Cooke	
Anna Perez	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Ann Brock	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Sally Runion	
Jane Moore	
Peggy Swift	
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Secretary Baker	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Dennis Ross	West Wing
Margaret Tutweiler	West Wing
Steve Provost	Room 118 OEOB
Patty Presock	Residence
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Carol Powers	West Wing
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Chronological Files	
Event Files	(originals)

Last night in Houston, at the president's final rally as a candidate, George and Barbara Bush were "a little tired . . . but fired up because we're going to win."



BY LUCIAN PERKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST



Associated Press

President Bush with his wife, Barbara, at his side points into the crowd in Burlington, Wis., at the start of a whistle-stop train tour.

Tue 3-Nov-92 10:39 EST
Bush: 'We're going to win'
By HELEN THOMAS
UPI White House Reporter

HOUSTON (UPI) — Ending a marathon campaign and his last political race, an upbeat President Bush cast his ballot Tuesday and then awaited the verdict of millions of other Americans on his quest for a second term in the White House.

"We're going to win," Bush said confidently of his effort to vault past Bill Clinton to victory despite national opinion polls that show him lagging the Democrat by five to nine percentage points.

Bush came home to Texas on election eve after a final swing through six key battleground states, delivering an eloquent "last hurrah" to thousands of Republican Party faithful who jammed the Astro Arena in a show of support for the embattled president.

Bush was up early Tuesday for about two miles of jogging in the humid mist of Memorial Park in the city where he first ran for the Senate in 1964, shouting to supporters that his electoral future was "looking good."

He signed autographs — one, for the former college first baseman, was on a baseball — and then changed clothes and went by motorcade with his wife Barbara to vote St. Mary's Seminary.

"Very, very pleased," Bush said when asked his prospects after voting by paper ballot and shaking hands with many of the voters in the seminary gymnasium.

Barbara Bush, also smiling at the end of her husband's last political campaign for himself, almost forgot her most important task — she left the paper ballot in the booth and had to return to pick it up and put it in the ballot box.

The president then returned to the Houstonian Hotel for breakfast with Chief of Staff James Baker and other top aides, and arranged to pick up a hunting license for his usual post-Christmas holiday excursion to South Texas.

In the final speech of his final campaign, Bush told supporters Monday night, "Some say our campaign is against the odds, but I have a feeling the gods are smiling on us — and I know we're going to win."

"Tonight in Texas, I will give my last speech forever as a candidate for re-election. We come here from another long, long journey — worn out and tired but fired up."

Bush, who urged his supporters to ignore the "pundits and pollsters," declared, "We are on the verge of something very, very big — the biggest comeback in American history. I'm not much for predictions, but come Wednesday morning, there's going to be a whole lot of pollsters looking for something to do (for a living)."

Still, the president wound up what he called "the battle of my life" in a less-feisty tone than had marked earlier campaign speeches, interviews and talk-show appearances.

The 68-year-old incumbent — flanked by his wife, and celebrity Republicans such as Bob Hope, Charlton Heston and others — sentimentally recalled that he launched his political career in 1964, when he ran for the Senate.

"I got book-learning in the East but I learned about life here," Bush said.

"I think you also know I care very much about our nation," the president said. "We must help people...and be kind to people and pass it on to our children and grandchildren."

Bush's kinder, gentler tone contrasted the hard-hitting tenor the president displayed earlier in the campaign, when he hammering away at two major themes —

that voters couldn;t trust Clinton, and that the Democrat would raise middle-class taxes if elected.

Bush said that Clinton "dreams of expanding the American government, (but) I want to expand the American dream."

Going into Tuesday's election, the president hoped to emulate Harry Truman's famous 1948 upset victory - when Truman stunned the nation by beating Thomas Dewey despite appearing doomed in pre-election polls.

"I learned (that) you fight with your back up against the wall," Bush said. "And you never give in."

Mon 2-Nov-92 20:39 EST

BARBARA BUSH SLAMS CLINTON, SAYS ATTACKS ARE ONE-SIDED

DENVER, Reuter - Appearing at her last campaign stop, First Lady Barbara Bush slammed Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton for failed policies and accused the Democrats of a smear campaign.

"In Bill Clinton's Arkansas, and I want you to listen to this carefully because you'd never believe it if you listened to the debates, the unemployment rate has been higher than the national average for 11 out of the 12 years he's been governor," she said.

The First Lady spoke to enthusiastic supporters after working the phones for a few minutes at Denver campaign headquarters, reminding Republicans to vote on Tuesday.

"I'm not going to stand here and tell you everything is just great in America because it isn't," she told campaign workers.

"We all know people who are hurting, but our opponents can only win if they tell you America is losing."

Asked about the sharp tone of the campaign, Mrs. Bush said "It's very one sided when you look at the fact that (Democratic Party Chairman) Ron Brown announced to the world that he had \$40,000 to investigate our children. That's terrible.

"And Bill Clinton has called George Bush a liar," she said.

The First Lady, who traveled through Denver's first snowfall of the season, said she was anxious to return to Houston later Monday, which is the Bushes official place of residence.

Colorado is considered a swing state this year. Clinton holds a slight lead over Bush in state polls. He plans to make his last campaign stop in Denver early Tuesday before returning to Little Rock.

Mon 2-Nov-92 20:38 EST

First Lady Tackles Phone Bank

DENVER (AP) — First lady Barbara Bush worked the volunteer telephone bank in the basement of Colorado Bush-Quayle headquarters on Monday — and struck out on her first call.

"This is Barbara Bush calling asking how you are going to vote ... Well darn it, we need you ... Well, thanks a lot."

Did the answerer believe you were Barbara Bush? she was asked.

"No. I don't think he did," she said. "This one said he's a Democrat, but his mother and father are Republicans. He's the wayward son. No, that's not right," she said, correcting herself.

The second call went better.

"Hello? Eleanor Johnston? This is Barbara Bush calling from headquarters. That's good. Hope you're gonna vote for George Bush. That's right. I hope you go right down the line and vote Republican," she said.

Mrs. Bush, who campaigned earlier in the day in North Dakota and Iowa, said most of the voters she has called have been "very responsive." Most believe she is who she is, she said, "but some people say 'wha-a-a-t?'"

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

First Granddaughter Ellie LeBlond, trick-or-treating on grandpa George Bush's whistle-stop train trip Saturday night, was ready for candyless reporters. "Money's fine," allowed the 5-year-old, who was decked out as a movie star in sunglasses and costume jewelry.



From left: Ellie LeBlond's bucks; Hunter Thompson's books; Dave Beckwith's birthday; Dave Bonior's House team.

HELLO ELVIS, GOODBYE TIMBERWOLF

More jobs? National health care? Higher taxes? Here's PEOPLE's guide to the *other* changes that promise to shape President Clinton's America.

CLOTHIER

OUT Arnold Scaasi

After four years with Barbara, he can take his place next to Adolfo in the First Lady Couturier Hall of Fame.



STATUS SYMBOL

OUT Cigarette Boat

Except for the soon-to-be former President, who can now take a really long fishing trip on the 28-foot, twin engine *Fidelity*.



HOSTESS

OUT Georgette Mosbacher

The party is over for this socialite cum cabinet wife. She's back in Manhattan selling a new line of makeup via infomercials.



SNACK

OUT Pigskin

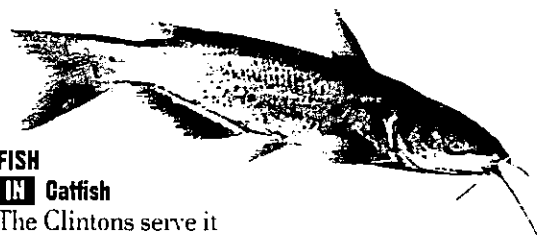
As in presidential pork rinds.

SOBRIQUET

OUT Timberwolf

Bush's Secret Service code name.





FISH
IN Catfish
The Clintons serve it
—fried—at dinner parties.



FISH
OUT Bluefish
Bush's favorite catch.



STATUS SYMBOL
IN Vintage Mustang
Clinton loves to blow off
steam in this 1968 aqua
convertible that once
belonged to his brother,
Roger. And it's like *so cool*
with those shades.



SNACK
IN Melon
As in the juicy beauties from
Clinton's birthplace—Hope,
Ark.—the Watermelon
Capital of the World.



HOSTESS
IN Pamela Harriman
The premier Democratic
Washington party-giver
since 1970. Harriman, 72,
can still attract the A list to
her Georgetown mansion.



CLOTHIER
IN Barbara/Jean Ltd.
Hillary shops off the rack at
this upscale Little Rock
boutique.



SOBRIQUET
IN Elvis
Bill Clinton's idol—
and nickname. (But
the Secret Service calls
him Eagle.)



ACCESSORY

OUT Presidential Seal cufflinks

The Eagle landed on Bush's sleeves.

ACCESSORY

IN Saxophone pin

Supporters can wear a gold lapel pin inspired by the First Instrument.



VEGETABLE

OUT Potato(e)

Enough said.



VEGETABLE

IN Sweet Tater

Clinton's favorite. (Bonus veggie: broccoli—the Clintons like it!)



ELIXIR

OUT Chinese Green Tea

President Bush sips this soothing brew every day.



ELIXIR

IN Mountain Valley Spring Water

Clinton guzzles this Hot Springs, Ark., water for his chronically hoarse voice.

ANIMAL

OUT Millie

Yes, but the lame-duck, book-writing pooch can retire to a gravy-train life.



TEAM

OUT Texas Rangers

Strike one: They had a losing record this year.

Strike two: They're from Bush's home state. Strike three: Bush's son, George W. Bush, is a part owner.



OH, BROTHER!

IN Roger Clinton

After his bout with drugs in the '80s, he now works as a production assistant on *Designing Women* and sings in an R&B band.



TEAM

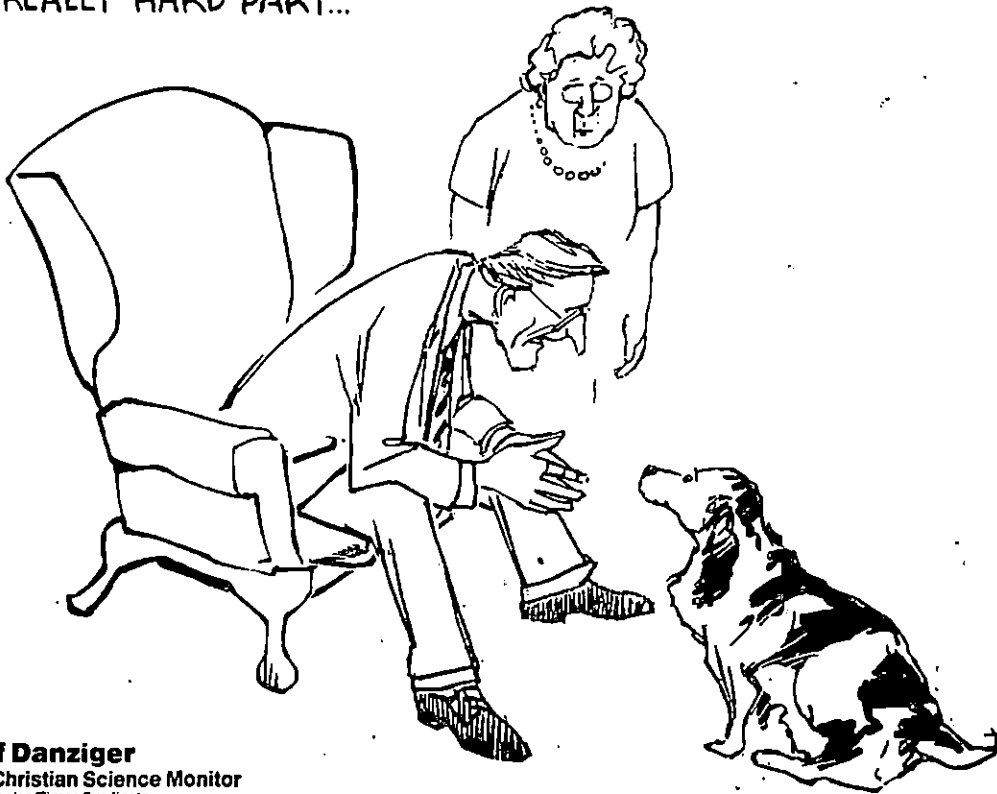
IN Razorbacks

Chant *Sooooey*, along with the new Prez. for University of Arkansas teams.

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11-3-93

THE REALLY HARD PART...



Jeff Danziger
The Christian Science Monitor
Los Angeles Times Syndicate

11-9-92

Scat, Millie! Socks Claws His Way In

By Laura Blumenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

Cat in the White House, rats beware.

Socks, the First Cat-elect, soon will be slinking through the Blue Room, pawing over documents on the president's desk, pouncing out to greet the commander in chief when he steps off Air Force One. Fabulous, purr cat people. But traditionalists wonder: How presidential is a man with a pussycat on his lap?

"A dog is an obvious for the president," says Mike Deaver, Reagan's chief image maker. "They're the most American pet there is."

Cats are for wusses, dog men say. They are preening, finicky, spooky-eyed stalkers that historically have been worshiped as gods, or hanged as witches. Not much PR value to black magic in the White House.

Dogs invoke manly images of thick-shouldered hunters thundering through the woods. They are a photo-op prop, a way to divert reporters, someone you can count on to lick your hand when everyone else has bitten.

The Clintons had a dog but a car ran him over a few years



BY PETER HAYES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ago, says a spokesman. Bill wanted a new dog. Hillary and Chelsea vetoed the proposal, and so they got Socks—black body, white feet—now 2½ years old. Chelsea, 12, carries him around a lot. He doesn't do any tricks, except make Bill and Hillary sneeze.

And he won't be writing any books, says Frank Greer, Clinton's media consultant. The Bushes' pet springer spaniel earned nearly \$890,000 in royalties from "Millie's Book."

"Socks has been through a lot this past year" with so many strangers tracking through his house, Greer says. "He gauges everyone when they walk in, rubs their leg if he likes them. He's pretty laid back, though, definitely not neurotic."

Even so, Clinton should get a dog, a mutt, to help his populist image, suggests Nial Kelly, author of "Presidential Pets." Kelly says only two presidents have

See CATS, A11, Col. 1

1-2

Among the Reigning Cats and Dogs, How Will Socks Do in White House?

CATS, From A1

had cats since 1932, Carter and Ford, "and that's not an encouraging sign."

Cat fanatics hiss at the suggestion.

"A cat is more thoughtful, a lot hipper, a lot cooler," says Peter Gethers, author of *The Cat Who Went to Paris*, "one of a litter of cute cat books. And that's Clinton, it fits his image—wearing dark glasses, playing the sax with a cool cat nearby."

Dogs are dopey and slavish, Gethers says: "A dog would be the one who sends all those personalized thank you notes."

Socks shows that the Clintons are typical of today's young families, says Bob Fleming, national president of the Cat Fanciers Federation. Cats have edged out dogs as America's top pet, according to a survey by the American Veterinary Medical Association. In 1991, the national feline population was 67 million, compared with 52.5 million canines.

With today's busy lifestyle—more working mothers and single-parent households, people socializing straight from the office—who has time to walk the dog? Throw some Friskies in a bowl and a cat's set for days.

But before Clinton lugs the cat box up from Arkansas, he should consider Socks's political baggage.

"If a cat's natural essence could be reduced to a political orientation, it would definitely be some sort of atavistic anarchism," writes Jeff Reid, author of *Cat Dependent No More! Learning to Live Cat-Free in a Cat-Filled World*. "Dogs, in the same kind of metaphorical mapping, would be obedient little fascists yapping approval of whatever *der Fuehrer* dictated."

Clinton also ought to consider the pet owner's persona.

Cat people feel more comfortable with "independence, stealthiness, sneakiness, spontaneity, the unknown, noncompliance," says Herbert Nieberg, a New York psychotherapist who specializes in what he calls human and companion animal problems (that's pet shrink to you).

Dog owners, opines Nieberg, are into "authoritarianism, dependency, intelligence and one-on-one companionship."

White House pets weren't always a two-party ticket. Taft kept a Holstein cow. Andrew Johnson cared for



Socks, Chelsea Clinton's cat.

"If Socks has perfected the feline blank stare, we'll have certain diplomatic advantages."

—Author Suzie Becker

a family of mice. Wilson kept sheep on the south lawn. Theodore Roosevelt adopted ferrets and a kangaroo.

Mostly, though, there have been presidential pooches, who've brought both political gain and shame on their masters. Voters never forgave Lyndon Johnson for picking up his beagles by the ears, provoking mind-cracking yowls all around.

But Franklin Roosevelt's Scottie, Fala, buried near the foot of his grave, helped clinch the 1944 re-

election. The incumbent said he could deal with smear campaigns aimed at him or his family but would not tolerate attacks on his dog. Pet lovers lapped it up.

Sometimes the dog thing has come in handy. Ford's golden retriever, Liberty, would jump up on cue and wag his tail at guests who'd overstayed their welcome. Ford would pause and chuckle "heh-heh-heh," or something, and then indicate it was time for his next appointment.

On other occasions, dogged behavior went too far. When Barbara Bush gave Sam Donaldson a White House tour, Millie licked herself—there—on camera. Charlie, the Kennedys' Welsh terrier, thought Jackie Kennedy's ankle was a fire hydrant. Nixon's Irish setter, King Timahoe, chomped up a corner of the Oval Office rug. And Jimmy Carter's dog, Grits, absconded from Washington amid rumors he was never White House-broken.

Now Socks will join other feline notables such as Amy Carter's Siamese, Misty Malarky Ying Yang. Or Coolidge's Tiger, a striped alley cat, who once ran away. Coolidge got on the radio and asked for help to find Tiger.

Speculation's rife about Socks's impact on the White House. Will the gold leaf Steinway become a scratching post? Will Secret Service men make emergency runs for fur-ball medicine? Will state dinners include Charlie the Tuna?

Cat pundits predict:

"With no barking, no sudden interruptions, fewer demands on the president's time, a cat should create a more reflective atmosphere in the Oval Office so that the presidential art of complete thoughts and whole sentences will be restored," says Michael J. Rosen, author of *The Company of Cats*.

"If Socks has perfected the feline blank stare, we'll have certain diplomatic advantages," says Suzie Becker, who wrote *Everything I Know, I Learned From My Cat*.

Socks will spend most of his day watching CNN, predicts author Gethers. None of this indiscriminate, slobbery dog friendliness, he says. Socks will watch visitors from afar and make "considered judgments."

"My guess is Millie would have bounded over to lick the hand of Saddam Hussein," says Gethers. "Socks would have seen him for what he was."

2-2

Meowve over, Millie, here comes Socks, the First Cat

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

The White House won't be going to the dogs when the Clintons move in next January.

Instead, for the first time since the Carter years, it seems there will be a pet cat in residence, as the Clinton feline — a black and white fellow named Socks — replaces the Bush dogs, Ranger and Millie.

"I assume Socks will be going with them to the White House," said Clinton spokesman Mike Gaudin, who mock-seriously summed up the first feline-to-be's nature this way: "Very much like a cat."

Socks is mostly black, but has white boots, a white face and a white stripe around one foreleg.

Socks joined the Clinton's as a kitten a few years ago after daughter Chelsea's golden cocker spaniel, Zeke, got killed by a car (he's buried behind the gubernatorial mansion in Little Rock).

"They did not get another dog after Zeke because Chelsea was so upset about it — and another dog would just remind her of Zeke," Gaudin explained.

The last White House cat was Amy Carter's Siamese, Misty.

Like the Bushes, the Reagans had dogs — notably a King Charles spaniel named Rex.

So did Richard Nixon, whose most famous dog was his cocker spaniel, Checkers (as in the speech), while he was vice president. Nixon's White House dog was King Timahoe, an Irish setter.

Gerald Ford took a bipartisan stance on White House pets with a golden retriever named Liberty as well as daughter Susan's Siamese cat, Shan.

The most famous Democratic dog was Franklin Delano Roosevelt's beloved Scottie, Fala.

The Clintons learned yesterday they can live in the Arkansas Governor's Mansion until he's ready to move to the White House.

They got permission from Arkansas Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, who's set to take over as governor when Clinton resigns.

Questions had been raised about where Clinton would live once he resigns the governorship, because he doesn't own a home. The president-elect has lived in the mansion 12 of the last 14 years.

"The mansion is designed not only for the governor, but also for guests of the state, and I think the president-elect of the United States is an appropriate guest," Tucker said.



SYGMA Photo

FIRST CAT: Socks by name and feline fine, thank you. From out of the Governor's Mansion in Little Rock this little rascal is off to the White House come January to serve the good claws.

. . .
“**M**oney’s fine.”
*Bush’s granddaughter ELLIE LEBLOND, 5,
while trick-or-treating around reporters*

INSIDERS

BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE WORLD OF BUSINESS

S&L agency's Ryan quits

Timothy Ryan will step down as the nation's top savings-and-loan regulator Dec. 4.

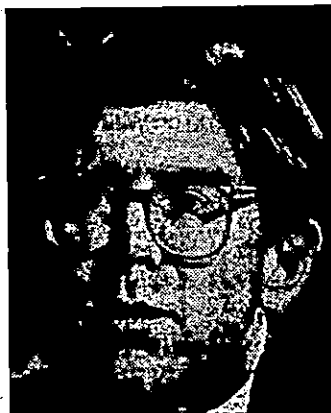
In 2½ years as director of the Office of Thrift Supervision, Ryan oversaw the closing of 730 failed S&Ls in what he called "one of the nation's worst financial disasters."

During Ryan's tenure, the troubled S&L industry shrank one-third, to 2,000 institutions from 3,000. Weak S&Ls that weren't taken over by the government combined with healthy S&Ls:

Ryan plans to pursue business interests but didn't offer specifics. He submitted his resignation Friday and is expected to announce it today at an S&L convention in San Diego.

Because Ryan was a political appointee, his resignation comes as no surprise in the wake of President Bush's defeat last week.

Ryan's chief deputy, Jonathan Fiechter, will step in temporarily. Ryan replaced M. Danny Wall, blamed by congressional Democrats for underplaying the magnitude of the S&L crisis before the 1988 election. Ryan ran into similar criticism since April 1990. But he drew compliments for going after accountants and lawyers, as well as officers and directors, saying they shared the



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

RYAN: Leaves frustrated.

blame for S&L failures.

In one case, the OTS censured Neil Bush, son of President Bush, for his role as a board member of the failed Silverado S&L in Denver. That bailout cost taxpayers \$2 billion. Ryan says the case made him *persona non grata* at the White House.

Ryan says he is frustrated that he is leaving with the cleanup unfinished. Since April, the OTS has lacked the spending authority to rescue or seize S&Ls or pay their depositors. Congress has not approved the \$42 billion needed. About 70 S&Ls are candidates for seizure.

— Chris Wloszczyna

11-9-92

Fashion's Designs On Hillary

The Industry Moves to Sew Up the First Lady's Look

By Cathy Horyn

Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—When Hillary Clinton moves into the White House on Jan. 20, she will have at her disposal some 200 fashion designers only too happy to dress her, shoe her, accessorize her and, above all, claim her.

Just as Jacqueline Kennedy anointed Oleg Cassini, Betty Ford tapped Alberto Capraro, Nancy Reagan promoted Adolfo and Barbara Bush patronized Arnold Scaasi, so too will Clinton make choices that will resonate far beyond her own personal preferences. Whether she buys from an unsung sportswear house or from a high-profile designer, she will be watched, imitated, criticized and held to a much higher standard than a woman who has to worry only that her shoes and stockings match. Ultimately, Clinton will be regarded as an unofficial ambassador of American style, a mantle not always worn well or with much distinction by her predecessors.

It is perhaps a pity that so much attention is focused on what a First Lady wears. And yet appearance counts for a lot in Washington, from the senatorial red ties that brighten sound bites to the alleged indifference to fashion expressed by women, including First

See FASHION, D6, Col. 1



As First Lady, will Hillary Clinton swap business suits for Scaasi ballgowns?

Hillary & Haute Couture

FASHION, From D1

Ladies, who quietly spend a fortune on their clothes. On the evidence of what has been written about Clinton, she cares about her appearance to the extent that she has consulted a fashion stylist, modified her hairstyle and makeup, and accepted advice from her closest friends. And while the idea of being courted, if not co-opted, by the fashion industry might seem a bit bothersome to a new First Lady, Hillary Clinton may just find that fashion moves in ways more mysterious than she had imagined.

"It catches up with every one of them sooner or later," says Bill Blass. "Even the ones who say they're not interested."

Among the largely Democratic ranks of designers and retailers attending the spring collections last week in New York, there was hope that Clinton will wear the clothes of not one designer but several. "I could see her wearing Donna Karan, Calvin Klein, maybe some Ralph Lauren," says Joan Kaner, the fashion director of Neiman Marcus. "I don't see her picking just one designer—that doesn't seem to be her style," says Bob Mackie. "You know, I've never seen her in evening clothes," says Blass, bringing up what will surely count as a major portion of her White House wardrobe.

Directly or indirectly, designers have begun to seek Clinton out. After the Democratic convention in July, the Council of Fashion Designers of America, an industry group that represents 165 fashion and accessory designers, contacted the Clinton campaign staff by letter, offering its assistance to Hillary Clinton as a go-between with its members. "Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore are role models for working women today," says Fern Mallis, executive director of the CFDA. "And I think we're in a position to help them." Donna Karan met the Clin-

tons at a fund-raiser in Los Angeles through a mutual acquaintance, Barbra Streisand, and Karan has already expressed her interest, through yet another intermediary, in dressing the new First Lady. The designer also contributed financially to the Clinton campaign.

"She's very confident, and I think she knows what she wants," says Karan. "We can all talk about what she should wear, and we can all suggest things, but only she can decide what's right for her." Even so, Karan and her longtime advertising director, Patti Cohen, have given a Clinton wardrobe some thought. "I see her in something really easy, clothes that she doesn't have to spend a lot of time thinking about," says Karan. "She can just put them on and go, like a uniform."

"Do you think she can wear black?" asks Cohen, hoisting the flag for fashion's favorite non-color.

"There are a lot of ways to approach a First Lady," says a publicist whose fashion clients have dressed former occupants of the White House. "You can send videos, invite her to come up and see your collection, or you can contribute money to the Democratic Party. It's not unheard-of in the fashion industry."

The mutually beneficial relationship that has existed between First Ladies and designers since the Kennedy era all but guarantees publicity for the designer chosen to make Clinton's inaugural ball gown. When Barbara Bush wore Arnold Scaasi's blue gown in '89, he let it be known that, in fact, the First Lady had worn something of his each day of inaugural week. And in subsequent interviews over the past four years, he hasn't been shy about mentioning his favorite client, their lunches together at the White House or their shared interest in literary programs, though Scaasi has never revealed anything of substance—nothing that would get him in trouble. Bush, on the other hand, has rarely said anything about her clothes, effectively squashing any fashion news that might have come from the White House during her husband's term.

"I don't understand the reluctance among this country's First Ladies to promote the American fashion industry when it is the No. 1 employer in New York," says Oscar de la Renta, who along with Blass, Adolfo and James Galanos dressed Nancy Reagan. "Nobody in France criticizes Mrs. Mitterrand, who is on the political left, for spending \$40,000 on Yves Saint Laurent clothes. She's recognizing that fashion is one of her country's major industries. I hate the double standard, the hypocrisy of Barbara Bush, who said she wasn't interested in fashion, and then went to one of the most expensive designers in New York for custom-made clothes."

Somewhere between the pay-now-or-pay-later practices of Nancy Reagan and the calculated indifference of Barbara Bush there is probably a happy medium, one that designers say they hope Clinton will seek. Because she is young and attractive, intelligent and forthright, they believe she is representative of women who see fashion as just one among many priorities and interests. "I think she's a very pragmatic woman," says Geoffrey Beene. "The image of the First Lady as a fashion plate died with Camelot. Mrs. Clinton is a modern woman whose clothes need to work for her."

Not surprisingly, many designers think she'll look best in sportswear—suits with simple blouses or sweaters, pantsuits and perhaps some of the jersey separates sweeping the spring runways. "She's not going to wear grunge or bell bottoms," says one editor from Harper's Bazaar. "She's not going to wear Marc Jacobs or Anna Sui. Nor do I think anyone expects her to."

"She's young and peppy, and hopefully there will be a lot more things going on in the White House under the Clintons—with the arts, fashion," says Mackie, who's never understood the fuss made over Hillary's headbands. "C'mon," he laughs, "it's a very WASPy kind of thing, and women all over New York do it when they don't have time to fix their hair."

As for Mackie—"Mr. Hollywood"—he's not lobbying for a new client.

"People always ask me why I've never designed clothes for a First Lady," he says. "And I'll tell you what would happen if I did: Her head would end up on Cher's body the next morning in *The Washington Post*."

Hillary's Ultimate Juggling Act

As First Lady, she's free to be herself

BY ELEANOR CLIFT

Watching Hillary Clinton campaign with her husband in the last few months was a little like looking at one of those grainy hostage films from Beirut: you wanted to check the rate of her eye blinks for signs of stress. She smiled, said little and had to be coaxed to the microphone. A cartoon on the final weekend showed Bill Clinton speaking to a box with air holes. The caption read, "Only a few days more, Hillary." Then, on election eve, his voice shot from 30 hours of nonstop campaigning, Clinton stepped aside and let his wife speak for him. The moment was not lost in Little Rock, Ark. Hillary even looked like the old Hillary. "Hey, guys, the headband's back," shouted a war-room aide monitoring the television images.

Hillary Clinton was both revered and reviled during the campaign. As the first professional woman to become First Lady, Mrs. Clinton is about to embark on the ultimate juggling act, a balance between her professional goals, her family obligations and society's still-evolving traditions. "After he's elected she can be Eleanor Roosevelt," a close friend said last summer. "Right now, she's got to be more like Marabel Morgan." With the total-woman phase behind her, Hillary is finally free to be herself. How she does it could rewrite the First Lady's job description.

Her first efforts last week reflected the caution she honed on the campaign. "I want to think about what I do before I talk," she told aides, refusing interviews and staying out of the public eye. Like any family celebrating a major event, the Clintons spent the days after the election surrounded by relatives from out of town. Hillary's briefing papers went untouched, perhaps the last breather she would dare take. Friends invoked a "no-comment policy" on her evolving plans. "I'm trying to be a little bit protective," said Marian Wright Edelman, an ally on children's issues. However hard Hillary struggles to keep her role substantive, there's also the style side of the White House. Socks, the family cat, is the subject of numerous inquiries. Mrs. Clinton's press secretary confirmed the cat's sex (male) but refused reporters'



JRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

The soul of an activist: Celebrating her birthday at a day-care center in North Carolina

entreaties to call the governor's mansion to ask if he had been neutered or declawed.

If Bill Clinton is another JFK, then Hillary is his RFK. She won't be attorney general (although she could handle the job). But just as John Kennedy relied on his brother Robert, Bill Clinton looks to Hillary for political advice. Hillary will take on the hostessing duties of a First Lady with style and grace, as she did in Little Rock. But she has the soul of an activist and will want to carve out a policy role either in education or children's issues. Rosalynn Carter was criticized for sitting in on cabinet meetings. Hillary Clinton didn't do that in Arkansas—though she did travel to every county in the state to pressure legislators to pass her husband's education program—and she probably won't in Washington. She won't chair some blue-ribbon commission, either. "I'm sick of commissions," she said recently. She wants to be held as accountable as her husband. Months ago she told an interviewer that in four years she wanted to be asked "what I've accomplished."

On edge: Hillary's activist past has made her a target for conservatives and even for some Democrats who worry that she will unleash the party's liberal interest groups. Just as there are FOBs (friends of Bill), there are FOHs (friends of Hillary), most of them unapologetically liberal. Edelman, who heads the Children's Defense Fund, a nonprofit lobbying group, goes back 20 years with Hillary. She recalls her friend showing up at a board meeting the day after the New Hampshire primary. "That's a testament to the kind of grit she has," says Edelman. Mrs. Clinton's brain trust draws on her years of service with public-interest groups like the Legal Services Corporation, the Children's Television Workshop and the National Women's Political Caucus. Susan Thomases, a New York lawyer and Hillary's closest adviser,

is likely to play a strategic role in the new administration. Sharp-tongued and assertive, Thomases has a reputation for setting people on edge. She pushed Bill Clinton to make a major AIDS speech five days before the election, a move other advisers thought was risky. When Thomases insisted, aides tried to time the speech to get less coverage.

The transformation from activist to public symbol has been rocky for Hillary. Next to her husband's easy bearing, she sometimes seems stiff and formal. The clothes and hair she never thought much about got so much scrutiny on the campaign trail that she submitted to a mini-makeover by the elves who work for Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the producer of "Designing Women" and an FOH. Now women are taking cues from the big sweaters, straight skirts and black tights she favors. On the campaign trail, she endured the photo ops. But her trips were always built around what aides called "message events," a visit to some promising program usually having to do with children. In Arkansas, she pioneered a Home Instruction Program for Youngsters (HIPY), modeled after a course she had seen in Israel that teaches parents to be their children's first teacher.

It's fair to say that Hillary Clinton got as rough a going-over as her husband did in the campaign. She found refuge in reading about other First Ladies. "Nobody has walked into this with eyes more open," says longtime friend Diane Blair. Indeed, Hillary is in many ways Barbara Bush's natural heir. The difference between them is 20 years of changing times when it comes to society's expectations of women. When most families have either two parents working or one parent struggling to do it all, Hillary may have an easier time making the transition to Washington than her campaign scars would suggest. ■

Sat 7-Nov-92 18:40 EST

By THOMAS FERRARO

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (UPI) — President-elect Bill Clinton took it easy Saturday, enjoying a round of golf and some college football as he prepared to kick-off the first Democratic administration in 12 years.

Clinton also predicted that if his new transition leaders do as good a job at helping him select a Cabinet as they did helping him pick Al Gore as his running mate, "We'll have the best government in the history of the country."

Sporting a campaign cap, Clinton made the remark to a Fox television crew as he golfed at Chenal Country Club with Web Hubble, a partner in his wife's law firm.

Representatives for Clinton and President Bush are to meet later this week to discuss what both sides promise to be a smooth transition of power.

As is tradition, Clinton, who takes office Jan. 20, will pay a call at the White House to meet with Bush — later this month or in early December — and Hillary Clinton will visit Barbara Bush to look over the family quarters.

Bush selected Transportation Secretary Andrew Card Saturday as his transition team leader, and White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said chief of staff James Baker will meet in Washington Wednesday with Vernon Jordan, newly named head of Clinton's transition team.

Among the many decisions facing Clinton is where to enroll his 12-year-old daughter Chelsea in school.

She now attends public school in Little Rock, and education officials in Washington Friday invited her to go to public school there.

Clinton was expected to spend Saturday afternoon watching the Arkansas-Mississippi State college football game on television, but unseasonably warm temperatures drew him away from the tube and to the golf course.

He still managed to catch some of the game on a clubhouse TV between the front and back nine holes.

Clinton, criticized last summer when he golfed at an all-white club in Little Rock, played this time at the integrated Chenal Country Club.

The president-elect wanted privacy as well as exercise and became visibly angry when an official at the club told reporters and photographers they could follow him to the first hole and watch him tee-off.

Clinton forcefully told an aide he didn't want any part of it. A UPI photographer reported hearing Clinton telling the aide, "Wait a minute. ..goddamn it, I thought we had an agreement they wouldn't be up here."

But he cooled off and let the photographers shoot a few pictures before they were escorted back to the clubhouse.

Clinton said he spoke earlier Saturday with Ricky Ray, a 15-year-old boy with AIDS who's hospitalized in St. Petersburg, Fla.

"I had a wonderful conversation with him," said Clinton, who promised during the campaign to escalate the government's war against AIDS. "I talked to him and his mother. I told them to hang in there. He said he wanted to come to Washington to see me and I told him I was pulling for him to do it."

Clinton, Arkansas' governor the past 10 years, conferred at the governor's mansion early Saturday with Eli Segal, who had been his

1-2

campaign's chief of staff, aides said.

"This is basically a down day for the governor," an aide said.

"He's taking a needed rest."

The pace is expected to pick up again this week, though, with countless decisions facing the president-elect, such as who he will name to his Cabinet. Bush, in a nationally broadcast radio address Saturday, accepted the will of the voters and called on Americans to support Clinton.

"President-elect Clinton needs all Americans to united behind him so he can move our nation forward," he said.

On Friday, Clinton named Jordan as chairman of his transition team, and former deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher as its day-to-day director.

Christopher told reporters his first priority will be to establish an orderly process for the selection of Cabinet officials and key aides.

Christopher said that the joint selection of himself and Jordan, a longtime civil rights leader and former president of the National Urban League, sends a signal about the diversity that will mark the makeup of the Clinton administration.

With respect to the ethics rules Clinton has pledged to adopt for his appointments, Christopher said the president-elect would address that himself this week.

"I think we'll see the most stringent set of ethics rules that have ever been promulgated for our country," he said.

Christopher predicted that Clinton's first appointments would involve key economic posts, such as Treasury secretary, reflecting his promise to make the ailing economy his top priority. ferraro-littlerock

2-2

Sat 7-Nov-92 11:14 EST

By Judith Crosson

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Reuter - Chelsea Clinton can still ride her bicycle on the grounds of the governor's mansion, but everyday life for the 12-year-old and her parents will be turned upside down in the coming weeks.

Decisions about when the family will move to Washington, what school Chelsea will attend, when President-elect Clinton will resign from the Arkansas governorship and whether his wife, Hillary, will work while living in the White House are yet to be decided, aides say.

The Clintons are expected to live in the red-brick governor's mansion here until they move to Washington, which could be as early as December.

Clinton is expected to hand over the duties of the governor to Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, who has said he will allow the family to stay in the governor's mansion until the move to Washington.

The Clintons have no other home and the mansion, on spacious fenced-in grounds, ensures privacy and makes the exacting task of providing security less burdensome until Inauguration Day Jan. 20.

However, aides said Clinton may move to Washington around Christmas, once more of the transition work moves to the nation's capital.

Hillary Clinton, a highly respected Little Rock lawyer, went on leave of absence from the Rose law firm during the campaign and no decision has been made about her status.

"We'll get to that in due course. No decision about that has been made whatsoever," said Bill Kennedy, managing partner of the 37-partner law firm.

He said it would have been inappropriate to discuss the matter before the election and since Tuesday night there hasn't been enough time to catch one's breath.

Although Mrs. Clinton has always worked, continuing her impressive career may prove a daunting challenge.

She takes the first lady's role with "great seriousness and great thought. It's a very important role," spokeswoman Maggie Williams said.

But for the time being, Mrs. Clinton's biggest concern is her family. "She's going to focus on her husband, and think about what's ahead of her ... Her attention is on her husband, family and child," Williams said.

She is the youngest first lady since Jackie Kennedy moved into the White House in 1961 while still in her 30s.

Mrs. Clinton turned 46 a week before the election, the day of the campaign's eighth and last bus trip -- through North Carolina.

One of the most important decisions will be choosing a school for Chelsea, who likes ballet and reading.

The Clintons support public schools, but with security concerns the child may end up attending private school.

"Everything is absolutely fluid" regarding Chelsea's

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school and other family issues, Williams said.

Mrs. Clinton has not formally sought out advice on being first lady but has spoken several times during the campaign with Rosalyn Carter, with whom she has a cordial relationship.

Barbara Bush called a day or so after the election, the spokeswoman said, to offer her a tour of the White House.

The future first lady's staff has already grown to 12 and once full-time White House duties are assumed more staffers will probably be needed.

Mrs. Clinton has received lots of flowers, calls and messages, but to date no one has sent her cookies, aides said. Mrs. Clinton was criticized during the campaign for a comment where she said she was not the kind of woman who baked cookies and gave teas.

Sun 8-Nov-92 14:31 EST

By ANDRA VARIN
United Press International

ALLIES AND FRIENDS: Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore are more than just political allies — they've also become good friends. The nation's future first and second ladies told People magazine they got to know each other during the campaign. "Just imagine being two couples on a bus for four or five days," said Tipper. "It's a major double date." She says Hillary is like "my long-lost sister," and Hillary calls Tipper "a real partner, somebody I can talk to, somebody who sees the world as I do." On the surface, they may not seem to have much in common: Hillary is an attorney while Tipper is a homemaker best known for her campaign to put warning labels on rock albums with sexually explicit lyrics. But Tipper's husband, Vice President-elect Al Gore, says, "There seems to be several dimensions to their friendship. One is that they are both mothers and have children roughly the same age." Another factor, said Clinton strategist Paul Begala, is that "they've been burned — some by the media, some by opportunistic politicians — and caricatured in a really unfair way." Whatever the reasons for their friendship, it seems likely the two will enjoy a closer working relationship than either Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush or Barbara and Marilyn Quayle.

FIRST FRIENDS

Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore are pals and very different role models

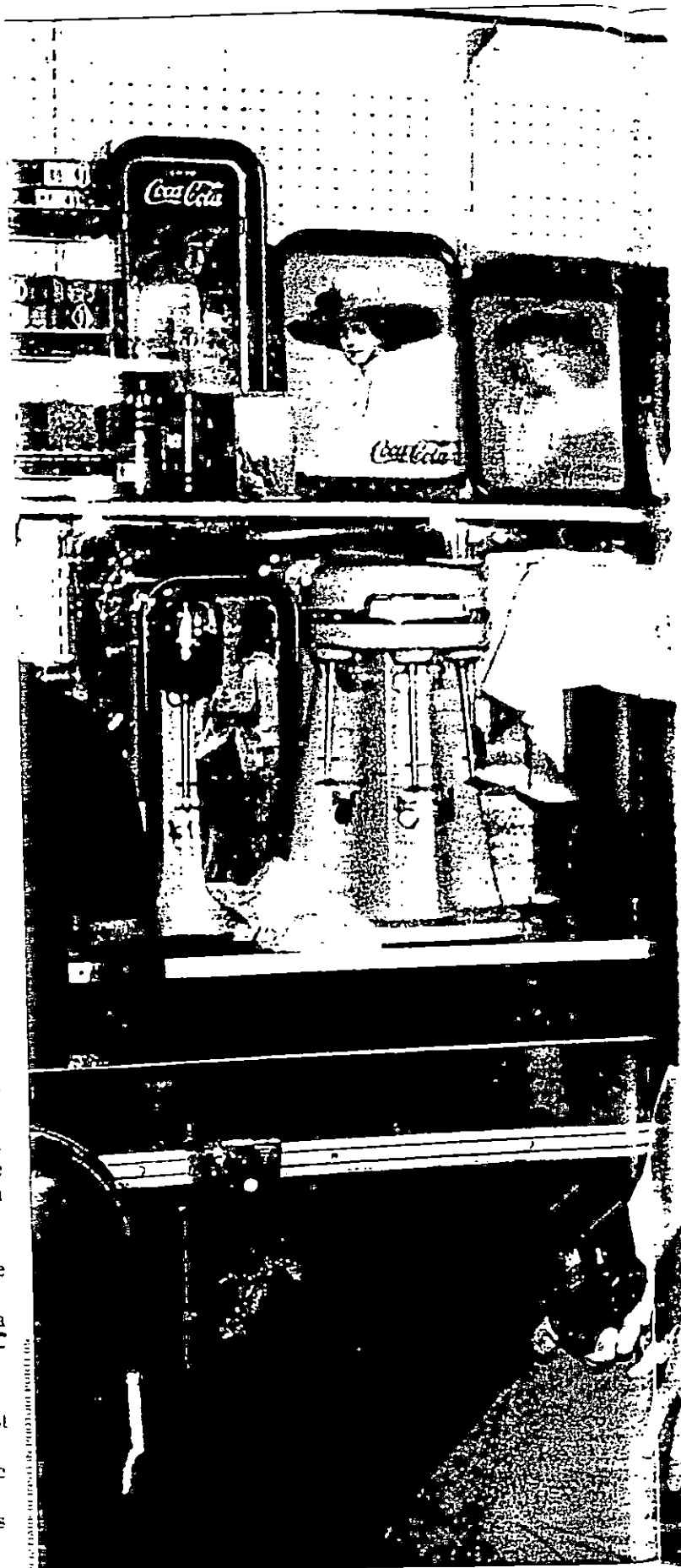
THE FRIENDSHIP WAS BORN OF political necessity but blossomed with physical proximity. For days, while their husbands traveled the road to the White House together, Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore found themselves sharing seats and confidences on bus journeys across the country. "Just imagine being two couples on a bus for four or five days. It's really been very intimate—*very intimate*," says Tipper, adding emphasis with a humorous and knowing look. "It's a major double date. We each have our own bus. We go to their bus. They come to ours. They come to lunch on our bus. They invite us to dinner. We all get together and just talk. I said one day, 'I know why this is so much fun: it reminds me of college.'"

Sometimes, Tipper, 44, and Hillary Clinton, 45, seem like twins. Their hair is virtually the same length, cut in nearly identical blond bobs; their suits—similarly tailored, long over the hips and short above the knees—are in intense Crayola shades. They laugh at the same jokes; they know just when to mug for the cameras. At the climax of the Democratic Convention in July, they spontaneously embraced on the rostrum and danced an impromptu boogie as speakers blared Fleetwood Mac's *Don't Stop (Thinking About Tomorrow)*. On the stump with their husbands, Tipper often glanced at Hillary, catching her eye and giving her winks. Hillary, Tipper has said, is "my long-lost sister." Tipper, says Hillary, is "a real partner, somebody I can talk to, somebody who sees the world as I do." Clinton and Gore are gal pals of the top order, future First and Second Lady in rank but friends first and foremost.

Not since Rosalynn Carter and Joan Mondale's close working partnership has Washington seen anything like the camaraderie between the spouses of the President-elect and his veep. The ties between Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush were cool and businesslike. The warmth between Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle was nearly undetectable. But Tipper Gore and Hillary Clinton, two quite different women who barely knew each other in July, are virtual best buddies even before their husbands take office. And the roles they eventually play may grab almost as much public attention as the deeds of their elected spouses.

Tipper and Hillary connected almost immediately. Says Al Gore: "They just hit it off really well, right away. There seem to be several dimensions to their friendship. One is

➤ "I always missed the fact that I didn't have sisters," says Tipper (in Texas with Hillary). "I wanted a sister like her."



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COVER



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that they are both mothers and have children roughly the same age. [Chelsea Clinton is 12; Kristin and Sarah Gore, the second and third of Tipper's four kids, are 15 and 13.] They talk about that all the time." In 1988, when Al was running for President, Tipper joked that she looked forward to having the Secret Service keep a watchful eye on her daughters. But now Tipper says that one of the things she and Hillary discussed that most concerned them was how to give their children as normal a life as possible.

With Hillary, Tipper also shared concerns not only about their children but about harsh criticism both have sometimes received. Says Paul Begala, a Clinton strategist: "They've been burned—some by the media and some by opportunistic politicians—and caricatured in a really unfair way. What's interesting to me is that Hillary has been savaged by the kook right [at the Republican Convention] and Tipper has been savaged by the kook left [for her concern about violent and sexually explicit lyrics in pop music]. They both have not only survived it, they have thrived."

"There are very few people who can understand what you're going through," says Tipper's friend Chris Downey, wife of New York Rep. Thomas Downey. "Everyone thinks, 'Oh, how glamorous, oh, how wonderful being a candidate's wife.' But those looks [that Hillary and Tipper exchange] are very comforting. It's nice to know that there's somebody there to help you through it. It's not like 'I think I know what you're going through.' It's 'I know I know what you're going through.'"

When Hillary was attacked at the Republican Convention as an advocate of antifamily values, Tipper was up in arms, says a Clinton aide. She wanted to do everything possible to defend Hillary. "When Tipper is your friend, she's your friend forever," says her pal Natilee Duning, wife of Frank Sutherland, editor of *The Tennessean*. *The Washington Post* said the intensity of the attacks surprised Hillary, leaving her sad and then hurt. But, said Clinton, "You have to learn to take political attacks seriously but not personally, so that you don't let them interfere with what you are."

As much as Tipper and Hillary have in common, they remain very different people. Clinton is a high-powered litigator; Gore is an activist and a homemaker. Yet the working mom and the stay-at-home parent admire each other. Hillary has publicly praised Tipper, presenting her to audiences as an advocate for children, the homeless and mental-health services. (Tipper has a psychology degree from Boston University.) Meanwhile, "Tipper has told me she loves hearing Hillary speak," says Hillary's friend Brooke Shearer, "and learned a lot by listening." In fact, Tipper may have acquired a bit of stage composure from Hillary. Tipper is sometimes greeted by scattered boos from elements of the MTV crowd. Gore, however, professes not to have heard any boos. "I don't notice it," she says. "I don't think I've been booed at all."

The most serious barbs have always been directed at Hillary and may continue now that her husband has triumphed at the polls. "Hillary as First Lady may well be the subject of much more conversation in average households than her husband," says Ruth



A "They talk like two couples who have been friends all their lives and have a lot of catching up to do," says Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey.

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1992 DENNIS BRACKEN/BLACK STAR

A "We talk about our plans for the future," says Tipper. "But we also share our stories about ourselves. It's been wonderful. We love it."

Mandel, director of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University. "We've never had a First Lady who met her husband in law school and who in her marriage developed a parallel professional career. I don't think she'll simply move into the job description of First Lady as written and handed down. She'll take it and redo it to suit her."

But what exactly will she do? She is unlikely to continue playing the part of virtually mute, adoring spouse that she assumed during the latter stages of the campaign—a role she has jokingly referred to as "designated wife." Yet even in that role, she exercised significant control over her husband's campaign. Bill Clinton's traveling companions included Hillary's representative, Deborah Sale. A former Carter Administration arts-and-humanities chief, Sale, 44, was resented by some Clinton staffers but, according to one source, went along on his trips because "Hillary thinks the young people around Bill might be goofing off."

Indeed, some people in Arkansas trust Hillary's judgments more than

her husband's. Says *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* editor John Robert Starr, a longtime antagonist of the Governor's: "She is as tough as he is weak and as direct as he is wishy-washy."

What one can expect from Hillary, however, is a warm, informal style. At the Governor's Mansion in Little Rock, she often opened the front door to greet guests herself—in blue jeans. And while she is not into haute couture, Hillary isn't indifferent to fashion. Hillary, says her press secretary Lisa Caputo, will often stop acquaintances to comment. "I love that dress. Where'd you get it?" She adds. "Hillary and Tipper have talked about different places to shop." Says Tipper's friend Natilee Duning: "When Tipper and I go shopping, we hit the sales racks first. When she's at home, she's most comfortable in jeans and barefoot."

And while she is still primarily concerned with her family, Tipper enjoyed taking to the hustings. She says, "I thought, 'Oh, a campaign, this is going to be hard,' but this has been a very pleasant surprise. It's the most positive, exhilarating experience I've ever

had." Unquestionably she was touched by the determination of people to meet her. "People on oxygen, parents bringing their children in wheelchairs—the emotionalism of the people that do come," she explains. "I remember one woman who said, 'I changed my chemotherapy appointment so that I could be here at this rally.'" She told her aides, "I don't want to spend all my time shaking hands with lawyers."

The campaign provided quick sketches of Gore and Clinton: Tipper soaking reporters with a water pistol and flirting anonymously with her nonplussed husband by phone on the Larry King show; Hillary standing stoically against her critics even as supporters hinted of her formidability—"Nobody tells Hillary what to do." The next four years promise fuller portraits of these complex women, a double feature of friends and partners in power. As Al Gore says, "You can see the relationship forming right now."

■ HOWARD G. CHUA-EOAN

■ MARGIE SELLINGER and LINDA KRAMER in Washington, D.C.; NINA BURLEIGH and DAVID ELLIS in Little Rock

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PUBLISHER'S LETTER



▲ David Ellis admired the spontaneity and resilience of First Mom-elect Virginia Kelley.

◀ In his fun house of an office, Howard Chua-Eoan holds a headline ready "if nobody else won."

GREAT HUMAN STORIES ARE THE LIFE-blood of this magazine, and from the primaries right through election night, the 1992 presidential campaign provided them in profusion. PEOPLE was there from the beginning. "When Bill Clinton was fighting for his life in New Hampshire last winter," says Washington correspondent Linda Kramer. "I talked with him on a tiny commuter plane. When he was campaigning in late October, there were about 15 buses, at least 7 of them press."

Starting with Kramer's Bio on Nebraska's Sen. Bob Kerrey last November, PEOPLE reporters filed stories on virtually every aspiring candidate—including Libertarian standard-bearer Andre Marrou—and many of their handlers. Coordinating the magazine's election coverage in New York City, senior editor Howard G. Chua-Eoan says his goal was "to get the candidates past policy statements and to open up their real lives."

Two of the more interesting lives in this campaign belong to Mary Matalin and James Carville, advisers to George Bush and Bill Clinton, respectively. This week, Kramer and New York staff writer David Ellis, assigned to Washington for the campaign, share their impressions of this politically challenged couple (see page 50).

Washington correspondent Margie Sellinger has been covering the Gore family since July, conducting two rare interviews with Tipper (page 98) and bonding with Tipper's mother, Margaret Aitcheson, who ransacked her old photo box for us. Washington special correspondent Nina Burleigh began her year with the Jennifer Flowers story, then was assigned to—and became impressed by—Hillary Clinton. "She was gentle and warm, contrary to that hard career-woman image that's been built up," Burleigh says. "She admired my green cowboy boots.

rather wistfully, because wearing anything but conservative suits would only inflame the controversy around her."

Ellis came to PEOPLE from TIME in September and immediately volunteered to hit the road, spending two days with the President-elect's mother, Virginia Kelley (page 46), in Hot Springs, Ark., which left a lasting impression. "Bill Clinton," says Ellis, "is literally the guy from down the block." Along with Burleigh and Chicago correspondent Luchina Fisher, Ellis was in Little Rock to chronicle the excitement of victory. "The last thing I saw," Ellis says, "was Bill Clinton leaving the hotel at 1:45 A.M. on election night, his voice lost, still greeting everybody."

Washington bureau chief Garry Clifford, an 18-year PEOPLE veteran, coordinated the coverage from D.C., a town she describes as "nervous all year—awash in Maalox and Di-Gel." By now, she says, her team, which worked together so long and so well, is "exhausted. It will be sad to say goodbye to the Bushes and even Millie," she adds. "But it really is a new generation. Imagine all the wonderful stories waiting to be done on the new people coming to town!"

Ann A. Moore

Publisher

Clinton Chic: Southern Comfort

Trade in those horseshoes for blue suede shoes—and get ready for the rock-and-roll presidency



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

School daze? Chelsea signs autographs

Like a lover at the end of a romance gone sour, Washington gives itself a makeover with each shift in administration. Now the capital is bracing itself for its first rock-and-roll presidency. Social observers predict the Clintons will have more style than the Carters, more rhythm than the Bushes and more Rhodes scholars than the three previous administrations combined. Jelly beans, pork rinds and *haut* WASPs will be out; mystery novels (Clinton reads three a week), saxophones and crossword puzzles will be in. Toss out those horseshoes—hearts is the official game. A look at Clinton chic:

Of Racehorses and Other First Pets. Rumor has it that Clinton's mom, Virginia Kelley, may be moving to Washington. If she does, Miz Virginia could become the first First Mother to frequent Pimlico, Baltimore's horse-race track—she is an avid gambler. (Record companies are talking about signing up half brother Roger and his band, Politics.) First Cat, Socks, will be relocating to the White House—despite Bill and Hillary's allergies.

Party Time. Arkansans already *in situ* will be key players in the Clinton years. "Everyone knows everyone else, and we all do keep in touch," says Ann Terry Pincus, a Little Rock native and major fund raiser. West Virginia Sen. Jay Rockefeller and his wife, Sharon, a

close friend of Hillary's, will be leading hosts, along with Democratic grande dame (and powerhouse fund raiser) Pamela Harriman. Expect some of Clinton's favorite stars to make the scene: Geena Davis, unwed-mother impersonator Candice Bergen, Richard Gere and Tom Cruise. *Hasta la vista*, Arnold: neither Schwarzenegger nor Bruce Willis, who campaigned for George Bush, will make the A list. And Frank Sinatra won't be found dancing cheek to cheek with this First Lady.

School Search. Chelsea, 12, attends public school in Little Rock, and her parents are committed to public education. Washington will put their principles to the test: Francis Junior High, which serves the White House area, is afflicted with the ills of most inner-city schools. It would be an embarrassing about-face, but the Clintons could use the Secret Service as an excuse for private school. They might pass up the National Cathedral School (too preppy) in favor of the politically correct Sidwell Friends.

House Hunting. "I'm going to have to carry smelling salts," says Fran Rehwaldt, a broker for Prudential real estate. Families who paid \$70,000 for a perfectly lovely house in Little Rock are in for a shock.

"\$250,000 is rock-bottom for a house in the American University area," says Steve Loew, an agent with Long & Foster. Make it \$500,000 for a town house in Georgetown.

Adieu Hermès. After 12 years of blue-suited Republicanism, blue denim is about to make a comeback. Clinton's easy-fit jeans will set the tone for aging baby boomers. "This is a cultural transformation," says Samuel Popkin, a Clinton adviser and political scientist at the University of California, San Diego. Goodbye Brooks Brothers. Hello Lands' End. Exit Hermès, enter ethnic jew-

elry. Women staffers will be wearing pants to the White House for the first time. Hillary herself is a "bridge" dresser, says Val Cook, vice president of Saks-Jandel, tending to off-the-rack, midpriced lines. Stores

will stock up on less expensive outfits—\$500 Inaugural gowns, not \$1,500 models.

Sitting Down at the Trough. As a matter of taste (Hillary's) and waist (Bill's), healthy nouvelle could become the cuisine of choice. After Bush's cruel snub, "Broccoli growers can take heart," says longtime friend Carolyn Staley. "They love it every way it's cooked, plus raw." Unlike the Carters, the Clintons will serve alcohol—though Bill rarely touches the stuff. Local hosts are already tendering Southern comfort. Last weekend Frank Mankiewicz of the PR giant Hill & Knowlton served up catfish hors d'oeuvres, curried okra and fried green tomatoes. But the meal was not unadulterated Arkansas, which might not cut the mustard in



PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

Sax appeal: They'll wail in the White House

Washington. "We did some research on the native foods of Arkansas," said Mark Chalkowski of Occasions Caterers, which handled the Mankiewicz lunch. "It's all garbage food. They serve Twinkie pie."

Hairy Times Ahead. Nobody could be happier about last week's outcome than Pietro Santoro, owner of Pietro's Hair Salon in the Capital Hilton. For most of the last few decades, his archrival Milton Pitts got to barber GOP power heads from Nixon to Bush. Now, he says, "Pitts is finished, dead. He's too close to the Republicans." Santoro stands ready to give Clinton a new do. "He needs it longer. It's too bushy."

Plus Ça Change . . . Humorist Art Buchwald, who has chronicled Washington mores since Truman, doesn't anticipate seismic shifts under the Clintons. "Washington never changes because the lobbyists, the lawyers and the journalists stay here. You can go anywhere and the same people, the same faces will be saying the same thing." That's true, but never before has Washington resounded with the cry "Whooooo . . . Pig . . . Sooooooie!" Welcome, Arkansans.

ELOISE SALHOLZ with CLARA BINGHAM and ADAM WOLFBURG in Washington and GINNY CARROLL in Houston



GOTSCHALK-SYGMA

Scat, Millie: Socks

On Election Day, an ebullient Carville celebrated with staffers in Little Rock at Clinton headquarters. But in Houston, love interest Matalin sadly watched the returns in her hotel.



ROBERT TRIPP/STAFF PRESS

MAKE LOVE, NOT POLITICS

James Carville and Mary Matalin, the Romeo and Juliet of Campaign '92, are free to be in love again

HE WAS BILL CLINTON'S ACERBIC chief campaign adviser, giving off a whiff of the gonzo while slouching toward victory in the Arkansas Governor's 13-month campaign for the presidency. She was political director of George Bush's campaign, a spin guerrilla extraordinaire, sniping at Clinton with acid references to "bimbo eruptions" and sarcastic asides about Hillary's cookies. His guy won. Her guy lost. But now, after all the hard work, the Romeo and Juliet of the '92 campaign—politics-crossed lovers James Carville, 48, and Mary Matalin, 39—were finally going on vacation. Together.

Not until Nov. 3 were Matalin and Carville finally free to end a self-imposed moratorium on their yearlong love affair. As she explained last sum-

mer, "It's a complicated relationship, the object of which is not to see each other, not to talk, and to spend our days destroying the other's work." Campaign reporters whispered about violations of the romantic cease-fire, but Matalin and Carville admit to only one report of fraternization: her birthday celebration, Aug. 19.

Getting through Election Day, though, was excruciating. For Carville, in Little Rock, the day began early—4:30 A.M. He was so nervous about the vote, he couldn't sleep. By 7 he was at a staff meeting wearing black woolen gloves—his good-luck charm for this election. During past campaigns he had satisfied his superstitious nature by wearing the same underwear for a week (though washing it out each night, he insists), by getting up on al-

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UP FRONT

2-4

ternating sides of the bed each morning and by spending Election Day in a fetal position. "He's weird," laughed Matalin after speaking to him on the phone from her base in Houston. "I don't do that stuff." Then she admitted, "I haven't read the papers in 10 days. That's my superstition."

While Carville fretted about polls and voter turnout, Matalin tried to act as if she were on a vacation. She slept past 8 A.M.—late for her—and then went for a 40-minute jog around the Houstonian Hotel, where the Bush party was staying. That was followed by a visit to a steam room and a massage. Then she stopped in the hotel salon and had her lethal-length nails painted a deep sienna red. That afternoon she went on CNN's *Larry King Live* to shore up the President's fortunes. Off-camera, she reports, King suggested she marry Carville on the show. "I said, 'Well, why don't you ask him to ask me?' He goes, 'All right, I will. . . . Does that mean you're on?' I said, 'No. Are you going to pay for it?' And he says, 'Yes—if you get married on my show.'"

Beneath her Election Day humor, though, Matalin was every bit as tense as Carville. At one point she ordered chicken salad from room service but ate very little of it. "I just can't," she said. Around 5 P.M., joining other staffers in a hotel meeting room, she grabbed a cigarette and some wine while watching CNN. Suddenly someone called out. "There he is." Carville could be seen on another set, being interviewed in Little Rock. She walked across the room and turned up the volume. "For Pete's sake, what a jerk," she said, shaking her head. "Look, he's got his Wild Turkey."

At one point she even got snippy. Overheard talking to friends about a trip to Paris with Carville, Matalin tried to obfuscate. "Anyway, I don't know if I'm going to go," she said. "Just because the guy's got two tickets doesn't mean I'm going." But she admitted, without apology, that she often speaks on the phone with Carville for hours. "My coworkers know I'm too professional [to share inside information with Carville]," Matalin said. Still, some of her GOP cronies find the relationship perplexing, she concedes. "It was like, 'How can you like this guy? He's like Darth Vader.'"

If it weren't for the fact that Matalin



> "I'm very proud of James," says Matalin. "I don't think they could have done it without him."

< Barbara and George Bush took Matalin along to a reception at their Houston hotel on Election Day.

is a Republican and Carville a Democrat, theirs might be the perfect match. Their relationship began in 1991 at a Washington dinner party. It was not exactly a setup, but it was Matalin's idea. Carville was on the verge of being one of the hottest political operatives-for-hire around. (Later that year he engineered a stunning senatorial win for Pennsylvania Democrat Harris Wofford.) "I wanted to learn more from him about my business," she says. But Matalin got more than a gunslinger's insights. She and Carville discovered that though their politics were at odds, their personalities weren't. "We cook and we run and we take trips and we read and we like movies," she said in Houston last week. "He's eccentric and he's funny. He makes me laugh, although not too much lately."

Carville is from rural Louisiana, the

eldest of eight children. His father was postmaster of Carville, La. (pop. 1,108); his mother once taught school. Matalin, for her part, is no country-club Republican. The daughter of a steel-mill worker and a beauty-shop operator, she grew up on Chicago's South Side. Both Matalin and Carville prefer jeans to dressing up, are used to living out of suitcases and are known for their irreverence, quick wit and earthy vocabularies.

Both are also committed—personally as well as professionally—to their candidates. "What an incredible, remarkable man he is," Matalin says of George Bush. "There are few people like him who give their lives to public service. I very much believe in him." Asked after the election to assess his man, Carville replied, with evident feeling, "Bill Clinton is the best presi-



A In May, Matalin and Carville showed up at a party, sort of separately.

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RICK FRIEDMAN/BLACK STAR

dential candidate of my lifetime."

Victory and defeat hit Carville and Matalin powerfully—and directed their thoughts to each other. As the inevitability of the Bush loss sank in, Matalin received a consoling call from one of Carville's five sisters. "I love [Jim's] Mom," said Matalin, cuddled in her pajamas watching Clinton's victory speech. "I love his family." Meanwhile, Carville, exulting in victory, seemed agitated to friends who speculated he was worrying about Mary. "She's hurting," he said in Little Rock. "Who wouldn't be? There are a lot of rats over there [the Bush campaign] who left the ship. She wasn't one of them. I'm real proud of her." During the campaign, he said, "she stood up for her guy. We fought back hard, and she said some things that got her in trouble, but she was there plugging away. If Bill Clinton ever gets into political trouble, and I serve him as

well as Mary did for Bush, I'll have served Bill Clinton well."

At last the election was over and all pretenses could finally be dropped. Matalin would admit now that she and Carville had worked out the details of a post-campaign vacation to Europe. "At the second debate I saw him beaming like the Cheshire cat, and he said, 'Guess where we're going?'" Matalin said. "He planned a wonderful trip." Late last week they were scheduled to fly to Paris and take the Orient Express to Venice. Said Matalin: "Venice will suit my lifestyle—a big dinner and a big nap." Who knows, maybe the couple will pick up some pointers from noted chef Marcella Hazan, a favorite of Carville's, who has a cooking school there. "We both love to cook," says Matalin. And maybe someday they'll even open a little restaurant. "I'd call it I-55 for the interstate that runs through Illinois [where she grew up]."

she dreams. "He'd cook, and I'd be the bartender."

And what of their future—besides the restaurant, of course. No matter what happens, it seems clear they will remain at opposite ends of the political spectrum. "It's been a wrenching year for the party," Matalin said. "I want to help pull it together." As for Carville, he has already signed on to work for New Jersey's Gov. Jim Florio, who faces a tough re-election fight in 1993. He insists he will not be joining the Clinton Administration. "I've had two contacts with the government," he said. "First in the Marines [in the '60s] and every year on April 15. I can't take a third." Even so, he will be going to Clinton's Inaugural Ball—but not with Matalin. "I can't," says Matalin. "The GOP is not just a job for me."

■ JOE TREEN

■ LINDA KRAMER in Houston and
DAVID ELLIS in Little Rock

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Daily 11/3

Mr. Thomas J. Devine
641 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022



THE PRESIDENT

November 3, 1992
Houston, Texas

Dear T,

Just wanted you to know your letter of October 28 caught up with me in Houston. I have asked the staff to look into it and give me a report.

Today is the day. We will know the outcome within the next ten hours. I'm still convinced I'll Win.

Thanks, old friend, for your support. Barbara joins in sending our love to you and Alix.

Warmest regards,

A handwritten signature, likely of George H. W. Bush, written in dark ink.

THOMAS J. DEVINE
641 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

212/593-1777

October 28, 1992

BY FACSIMILE

Dear Mr. President,

Here is an urgent issue which is not being aggressively managed in the silly season and which I believe warrants your personal attention.

In recent years the Soviets have accidentally lost six nuclear powered submarines. Among the most recent is a Mike Class in 1,200 meters of water off northern Norway. In the wreckage of these submarines are a variety of nuclear weapons and nuclear reactors.

The warheads are a particularly nasty threat. Exposed weapons-grade plutonium is the most lethal and has a half-life of 24,000 years. According to qualified estimates, this contamination will enter the ocean waters in the next three to five years.

Mr. Gates is fully aware of the situation. The Russians are alarmed and entirely forthcoming on the issue. The responsible man in the Kremlin is one Yablakov, not far down the corridor from Mr. Yeltsin, a measure of how seriously he takes the issue.

Should this stuff be salvaged or somehow encapsulated and buried, and if either, how? The immediate question is what first to do.

The preeminent organization to tackle the issue and the question is the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Among its accomplishments have been finding the Titanic. Woods Hole has devised and overseen the monitoring of the Thresher and the Scorpion. Both are U.S. nuclear submarines which sank in the North Atlantic in the 60s. The counterparts of Woods Hole in Canada, Russia, Iceland, Norway, Denmark and Sweden are anxious to participate because their constituencies are at risk. Marine biologists will be as important to the issue as ocean engineers because of the danger to the food chain.

Woods Hole has proposed to the Inter-Agency Arctic Research and Policy Committee that \$240,000 be found to fund a conference of ocean scientists, either at Halifax where the

Canadians are eager to preside, or at Woods Hole. The ball is with State at the moment. The urgency is because much needs to be done in preparation for the 1993 Summer window in the northern oceans.

I alert you because I believe you will want to take a hand. I write this time as a trustee of Woods Hole Oceanographic. This letter is known to Craig E. Dorman, its Director and Charles D. Hollister, its Vice President. Charley has just returned from leading a team to St. Petersburg and Moscow to understand the magnitude of the threat. They can be reached at 508/548-1400.

The tide is turning(like the metaphor?). Alix and I will vote several times on Tuesday.

Cheers,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'T. Devine', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Thomas J. Devine

The President
The White House
Washington

ELECTION DAY

Tuesday, November 3, 1992

1992 Presidential Candidate Comparison

	SLICK WILLIE CLINTON	PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
WAR RECORD	YELLOW BELLIED DRAFT DODGER	FIGHTER PILOT WAR HERO
DRUG USAGE	POT SMOKER	THYROID MEDICATION
GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT	GENNIFER FLOWERS	ENDED COLD WAR
POSITION ON TAXES	SPEND SPEND SPEND	PROPOSED TAX CUT
FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERIENCE	ONCE DATED A MEXICAN GIRL	TOO NUMEROUS TO LIST
FAVORITE SONG	"TO ALL THE GIRLS I LOVED BEFORE"	"GOD BLESS AMERICA"
FAVORITE VEGETABLE	AL GORE	TOMATOES
MILITARY LEADERSHIP	WAS ONCE THE CAPTAIN OF A PAINTBALL TEAM	COMMANDER-IN- CHIEF
SUPPORT	GAYS, LIBERALS, AND DRUG USERS	CONSERVATIVE CHRISTIANS
ABORTION BILL	PAID IT	AGAINST IT
INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE	HAS EATEN AT IHOP	AMBASSADOR TO CHINA - UN REPRESENTATIVE
CLOSEST BRUSH WITH DEATH	HILLARY CAME HOME EARLY	SHOT DOWN IN WWII
FAVORITE ACTOR	WARREN BEATY	JOHN WAYNE
FAVORITE BASEBALL TEAM	DODGERS	BRAVES
FAVORITE PHRASE	"THOUSAND PINTS OF RUM"	"THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT"
ANTI-DRUG POLICY	JUST DON'T INHALE	JUST SAY NO
CAREER BEST FITTED FOR	USED CAR SALESMAN	PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.

Please Choose Wisely

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

CLINTON AND BUSH IN A SPRINT AS RACE FOR WHITE HOUSE ENDS

DEMOCRAT UPBEAT

On a 9-State Swing, He
Appeals for Change,
Avoiding Attacks

By MICHAEL KELLY

Special to The New York Times

PADUCAH, Ky., Nov. 2 — On the last lap of a Presidential race notable for its hard, harsh language, Gov. Bill Clinton took the high-minded tone of a man ahead in the polls, avoiding the mention of George Bush's name to focus on promises of better times.

Winging around the country in 30 hours of ceaseless campaigning, Mr. Clinton made a final, grueling effort to generate a high turnout at the polls with a 4,106-mile trip, from the East Coast to western Texas. For this last push, he chose to touch down for brief airport appearances in nine states, ending at home in Arkansas Tuesday morning.

His voice a rough-edged ruin after a week of 18-hour days and relentless schedule of speeches, the Democratic Presidential nominee limited himself to the bare essential of his pitch, the lure of change.

Of Hope and Fear

"Never forget, never forget on this last day what this fight has been about," he said in Philadelphia, "a fight between hope and fear, a fight between division and unity, a fight between blame and taking responsibility for ourselves and our future, a fight between comfort in the status quo and the courage to embrace new ideas, a fight between those of us who are determined not to see our children grow up to be the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents and those who say 'Well, things could be worse.'"

The Clinton campaign also suffused two election-eve commercials and a half-hour televised program with its message of optimism. "Something's happening out there," one advertisement said. "A feeling — call it hope — that our country can move in a new direction."

The half-hour program, shown on the three major networks, featured pictures from the Clinton-Gore bus tour and, trying to win over independents and wavering Republicans, again declared the running mates to be New Democrats, not the tax-and-spend liberals of old.

Air of Confidence

Although Mr. Clinton was clearly tired today — he slept on at least one of the 10 flights scheduled between 8:55 this morning and 11:00 A.M. Tuesday, an unfinished crossword puzzle lying in his lap — he appeared relaxed and happy, and his tour had something of the air of a premature victory lap.

Smiling Democratic officeholders and candidates accompanied Mr. Clin-

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Avoiding Attacks, Clinton Ends With Call for Change

Continued From Page A1

ton on every platform, and the Democratic National Chairman, Ronald H. Brown, flew along. The mood of the crowds was notably expectant and imbued with a happy optimism that Democrats have rarely known in recent Presidential elections.

The people who introduced the candidate talked of him as the next President.

"After Nov. 3, Missourians will have a President who knows what Missourians need, because that President will be Bill Clinton," said Hillary Clinton, who accompanied her husband on the trip, as she introduced him in St. Louis. Even Mr. Clinton, who generally treats such talk as a jinx, allowed himself to sound a note of mild presumption.

"I have almost lost my voice trying to give you your country back, but tomorrow, you will be my voice, and then I'll be yours for four more years," he said to a crowd of about 1,000 in an air cargo hangar at the Lambert-St. Louis International Airport, under a large digital clock set to read "01, 1992."

Clinton's Lead In Poll

New poll results bore out Mr. Clinton's confidence. A New York Times/CBS News Poll taken Thursday through Sunday with 2,248 registered voters showed Mr. Clinton supported by 44 percent of the probable electorate, while 35 percent favored Mr. Bush, 15 percent were undecided. That 9-point advantage for Mr. Clinton across the four days of the poll was composed of an 8-point lead in the interviewing conducted Thursday and Friday and an 11-point lead in the interviewing done on Saturday and Sunday. The combined results had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus two percentage points.

Of the states Mr. Clinton chose to visit with his three-jetliner entourage, polls suggested he was well ahead of Mr. Bush in Pennsylvania, Missouri, Colorado and Arkansas. In Michigan, Kentucky, and New Mexico, the polls indicated the race could go either way.

Historically, Republicans turn out a higher percentage of their voters on Election Day, and it was in hopes of diminishing this differential that Mr. Clinton visited these contested states. At every stop Mr. Clinton urged his

audience to vote on Tuesday. "Tomorrow, you will be as powerful as the President, as powerful as any billionaire, as powerful as any candidate," Mr. Clinton told more than 1,000 people who gathered here in this small city in the tobacco-farming country of western Kentucky. "Your vote counts. It was a day spent among the faithful, preaching to the choir. The relation Clinton in Philadelphia, Cleveland, suburban Detroit and St. Louis were largely composed of local Democratic voters and union workers.

In Romulus, Mich., members of the United Automobile Workers filled an airport hangar to hear Mr. Clinton give a five-minute address that was rich in old-fashioned Democratic talk of idle rich and working poor.

Away from the rallies, he told reporters: "We've got to keep going to the rain on the East Coast tomorrow. I want a big turnout. It's supposed to rain on the East Coast tomorrow. I want them to vote in the rain. One last stab at trickle-down economics if it rains on them tomorrow."

Mr. Clinton began the day in a working-class neighborhood in Northeast Philadelphia at the Mayfair Diner, where John F. Kennedy spoke on his final campaign swing of 1960. "You know, tomorrow the great mystery of democracy will be played out again and all of you, and all of America can go into the quiet of the voting booth where your voice counts just as much as mine or Mr. Bush's or anyone else's in America," the candidate told several hundred people in the diner's parking lot.

Mr. Clinton waged a tireless and remarkably intimate campaign by the standards of Presidential general elections, as if he believed the margin of victory would lie in the number of voters he spoke to individually. The last day on the trail followed the same pattern. It was, in an odd way, an intimate day. The crowds were small, and in small areas, close to the candidate. The gray and rainy skies that accompanied the Democrats all day lent a cloistered air to the rallies. There were the moments of poignant connection. Mr. Clinton, who has something close to perfect political timing, seemed to pick up and echo the tone of the day early, in the grace note with which he ended his first brief address of the day in Philadelphia. "Goodbye," he said, his voice trailing off. "I love you."

Furious and Bittersweet End to President's Quest

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Nov. 2 — Win or lose, George Bush finished it on his feet and throwing roundhouses; angry and battered, defiantly unbowed.

Striving to overtake the Democratic rival whose very name he ignored until August, Mr. Bush plowed through five final campaign stops today with force and fury.

At every speech — in New Jersey, in Philadelphia, at hasty airport rallies in Louisville and Akron and Baton Rouge — he punched every political button, hard. He invoked his tax-cutting pledge, his success in easing nuclear terror, his victory over Iraq, his Navy combat record and even his wife, Barbara's, visits with AIDS babies.

'Utterly Without Principle'

The President assailed Mr. Clinton's avoidance of the draft, his antiwar protests, his foreign-affairs inexperience, his Arkansas record, his support of tax increases, his image of evasiveness.

Finale of the Campaign Mixes Fiery Defiance With Reflection

The foe whom Mr. Bush said in a television interview last weekend he would like, if it were not for the campaign, became on this trip "the slippery one," a politician "utterly without principle," whose economic platform was a "scam," and who was "coming at me with a vengeance" in the dying hours of the race.

Yet as the day lengthened, Mr. Bush mellowed, and his bite became less personal. And the impassioned calls for patriotism and character that he has wielded like clubs against his foe mellowed too.

By the time he reached Louisville, at dusk, the President's most durable applause line — a Persian Gulf war story,

crafted to contrast his wartime mettle with Mr. Clinton's youthful antiwar stance — had shed its political facade. It became instead a tribute to the country's young people that had even the candidate's voice quavering with emotion.

"I remember very well that very cold and rainy February, just before our young men and women from Kentucky and the other states were sent into battle," he said. "Barbara and I were at the Camp David chapel. And yes, we prayed — prayed hard to do the right thing. And we prayed that these young people would come back. And, boy, did they ever do this country proud. They did us proud."

The Fiercest Moment

The crowd applauded and cheered. "And don't let them take that away from you," the President added.

If he was looking wistfully back at day's end, the President earlier in the day was looking defiantly ahead, as when he addressed a drizzly rally in Glen Olden, Pa., a suburb south of Philadelphia.

"We are going to pull off one of the biggest surprises in political history," he cried, his voice rising. "Discard the pundits! Discard the pollsters! Discard the rhetoric out of Governor Clinton! Vote for me, and we will lead this country to new heights!"

It was the fiercest moment of Mr. Bush's monthlong, increasingly strident comeback attempt.

Pounding his fist, hatless but oblivious to a cold drizzle at the rally in Pennsylvania, he exhorted the crowd to

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Bush, in Bittersweet Valedictory, Ends Quest in Fighting Mood

Continued From Page A1

remember that Tuesday's election is not a poll, but is "up to what the American people think."

Mr. Bush saved his most cutting remarks for news organizations, which have reported the nation's economic ills and a steady drip of accusations about arms-for-hostages negotiations with what White House aides complain is gleeful zeal. Today, in his parting shot, he appeared both bitter and heartfelt in damning the reporting of the 1992 campaign as "the most biased year in the history of Presidential politics."

'We Don't Need Them'

"But we don't need them any more. We don't need them," he told several thousand cheering supporters at an early-morning stop in Madison, N.J., a prosperous suburb about 30 miles west of Manhattan. "They're all running for cover, and we are going to show them — wrong!"

In Louisville, he broke from his speech to proclaim, apparently more in sorrow than in anger, that this had been "certainly, probably, the most unpleasant year of my life."

"Which is totally unimportant," he quickly added. "But I think others know it's been a rather ugly year, with these national media just writing us off from day one."

But those barbs were the only notable indication that the frustration of a long and continually uphill re-election effort was abrading the President's normal air of confidence. And even they seemed to have largely vanished by midday when, laughing and waving, he ended a small but unusually frenzied rally in Akron by holding aloft a baby and posing for pictures.

Mr. Bush's campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, said his boss was "absolutely confident" of re-election. He dismissed the findings of national opinion surveys, saying, "They don't mean much now; the states are what count."

Still, there was every indication that Mr. Bush trailed, albeit sometimes narrowly, in most of the Midwestern and border states that he must carry if he is to win.

A Dizzying Trip

The President's itinerary today, from New Jersey 1,400 miles southward to Louisiana, reflected his aides' judgment of which battleground states still might be swung their way with an extra Presidential nudge.

Their long day was to end late this evening in Mr. Bush's adopted hometown, Houston, with a last rally at the Astrodome before he retired to his suburban hotel suite.

While Mr. Bush waged a largely negative battle today on the ground, his campaign was dividing its advertising time about half-and-half between positive commercials, boasting of Mr. Bush's leadership in crisis and his economic agenda, and attacks on Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Clinton and Ross Perot have purchased half-hour blocks of time for network television appeals to voters. But the Bush strategists chose to spend much of their advertising money locally, running one- and two-minute advertisements in those cities where their polling suggests they need help.

The President began this campaign day displaying the same determined optimism that has distinguished virtually all campaign appearances this month. His first words to the shivering New Jersey crowd were, "Go to the polls."

Having done all they could do, the President and his aides adopted a sort of senior-class, last-day-of-school approach to their work.

And beneath his feisty, sometimes rancorous manner, there was unmistakable poignancy to the 68-year-old President's last appeals.

"And now we go," Mr. Bush said near the end of his New Jersey speech, "the last day I will ever campaign for myself for President of the United States — or anything else."

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Perot Wraps Up His Campaign Where He Mostly Ran It: on TV

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, Nov. 2 — On the last day of his quixotic Presidential campaign, Ross Perot made his final live pitch, to supporters in a mostly empty hall. But the main forum for his appeal today was not that appearance but the medium that sired and nurtured his independent campaign: television.

For an election eve video blitz, Mr. Perot paid nearly \$3 million for two hours of television time tonight in the form of 30-minute blocks on ABC and CBS and an hour block on NBC.

The two half-hour commercials repeated his Sunday night program that harshly attacked President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton. The 60-minute program was a revised version of a program last week featuring snippets from Mr. Perot's rally speeches and testimonials from backers stating why they intended to vote for him.

Emphasizing the Magic

"My grandchildren can't have a wonderful life unless your grandchildren have a wonderful life," Mr. Perot said on the NBC program. "And that's part of the magic, is we're all going to win or lose together. It's up to you. You own this country. Pick the person that will do the job you want done."

In the two programs, and in his recent speeches, Mr. Perot has adopted a strategy of sharply criticizing his rivals for the Oval Office rather than presenting any vision of what he hopes to accomplish should he win the Presi-



Reuters

Ross Perot at a rally yesterday at the Reunion Arena near Dallas.

dency or what sacrifices his programs would require or what benefits they might provide.

While his television presentations have consistently drawn strong ratings, his rally today drew a surprisingly small crowd of about 4,000 to Re-

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Perot Wraps Up Race Where He Mostly Ran It

Continued From Page A1

Union Arena in downtown Dallas. The arena holds more than 17,000 people, and the rally, in Mr. Perot's home state, was intended to be a signature event for his campaign.

When asked about the crowd, Sharon Holman, the campaign's press secretary, said, "It's a big place."

The audience made up in decibels what it lacked in size, and Mr. Perot clearly seemed to be enjoying himself.

At one point, after noting that last week he was called "crazy" by Mr. Bush and the President's aides, Mr. Perot asked the Dixieland combo that had been entertaining the crowd to play Patsy Cline's 1961 hit, "Crazy." As the band played, Mr. Perot grabbed his youngest daughter, Katherine, a student at the University of North Carolina, and twirled her around the stage.

"You all are crazy," he said after his brief two-step. "You're crazy in love with your country, right?"

Just One More for the Road

At the end of his speech, Mr. Perot seemed reluctant to leave the stage and stood for several minutes, his face upraised to the cheers of his supporters. Like a master of ceremonies at a cruise ship supper club, he called for the band to play song after song — "Crazy," "America the Beautiful," "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans," "When the Saints Go Marching In," preceding each request with, "Now let's wrap this up with. . ."

As the band played and the crowd cheered, Mr. Perot clapped in time and danced in turn with his wife, Margot, and each of his four daughters.

Rather than wax nostalgically about the soon-to-end campaign, as is often the case in a Presidential candidate's last appearance, Mr. Perot spent his time in a familiar recitation of his view that neither Mr. Bush nor Mr. Clinton has any real business sense. He also compared what he considered the regal nature of their campaigns with his own folksy, seat-of-the-pants effort.

"As I said the other day," Mr. Perot told the crowd, "if you needed brain surgery, you wouldn't call on me. I don't know how to do it. But, you got two guys running for President who don't know how to create jobs, don't know how to manage money, don't know how to build businesses and don't know how to be the servant of the people of the United States."

Taking On the Polls

As he often does, Mr. Perot encouraged his supporters in the hall and those watching the event on television to tune in to the programs tonight. He exhorted them to ignore public opinion polls that show him in a distant third place far, and he predicted he would confound the pundits.

"I'll tell you one thing," Mr. Perot said. "All these pollsters who use yellow wooden pencils to do their calculations, I'll bet that there's tooth marks all over those pencils today, right?"

Mr. Perot asked voters to study Mr. Bush's record as President and Mr. Clinton's record as Governor and then push aside suggestions that they might be wasting their votes on him, and instead to vote their conscience.

As he has done everywhere on his last three-state tour, Mr. Perot asked the crowd which candidate they would lend money to, or want to have beside them in combat or trust to care for their children.

Appeal for P.O.W.'s

Throughout his last swing, Mr. Perot referred to American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia or those who are missing in action. Today, accepting a black and white P.O.W./M.I.A. flag from a person in the audience, Mr. Perot promised to get a full accounting of the prisoners.

With the crowd chanting, "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" Mr. Perot said that if elected President he would get right to work solving the country's problems. But he did not provide details.

"It's a privilege for me to be your servant," he said. "Just remember, you're the boss, I'm Ross and I will work night and day, seven days a week for you. And if you put me in there tomorrow, by sunrise, sunrise Wednesday, I'll be in Washington working on plans to fix this country."

Political Metamorphoses

*Voters Impose Discipline on the Candidates
As Perot Finds a New Way of Campaigning*

By ROBIN TONER

There was a common complaint after the 1988 election, a sense that for all the maneuvering, all the nastiness, all the millions of dollars and hours of television time, surprisingly little actually happened. The campaigns rarely dealt with the big issues of the day and never carried the country very far beyond the politics of the 1980's.

This is not a complaint likely to be heard about the election of 1992. From the New Hampshire primary on, the voters provided a merciless reality check on the candidates; those who strayed from the economy for very long were quickly punished. The parties themselves were forced to adjust to a political world remade by the collapse of Communism and the demanding new focus on domestic needs. And the process of campaigning itself was transformed, turning talk shows into primaries, allowing a Ross Perot to burst full blown on the scene while the political professionals were off analyzing caucus returns.

This was a big, sweeping, utterly serious campaign that left little in its path unchanged. It certainly changed the Democrats, who seemed rudderless and destined to lose their fourth

consecutive Presidential election just 16 months ago.

Whether or not Gov. Bill Clinton wins today, his campaign represents what his party has been struggling toward for years: a more mainstream image, a reconnection with the middle class through economic issues, an attempt to lay to rest the perception that the Democrats spoke only for a collection of constituent groups, from labor to minorities.

"Clinton has gotten across the point that we are a party of growth and not redistribution," argued Representative Richard A. Gephardt, the House Majority Leader. Representative Barney Frank, the Massachusetts Democrat, added: "Bill Clinton understood the need to focus on the electorate as a whole and not our own ideological core. And he was not afraid to say to the most ideologically left of our party, I'm sorry, but you cannot have a veto over everything I say because then I will lose."

Of course, for this redefinition of the Democrats to stick, Mr. Clinton not only has to win, he has to govern the way he so often campaigned, as a "dif-

Continued on Page A14, Column 1

Political Metamorphoses Brought About by the Voters and Perot

Continued From Page A1

ferent Democrat" willing to say no and buck the orthodoxy of his party's past. This, many analysts agree, would be much harder, particularly since he would face enormous expectations from all the core Democratic constituencies who have been out of power for so long.

This was a transforming year, as well, for the Republicans, who once seemed headed for another business-like re-election campaign complemented by heroic pictures from the war in the Persian Gulf. Instead, they were torn by the kind of divisions more typical of the Democrats.

Whether or not President Bush wins today, his party faces the formidable task of resolving the tensions between the religious right and the centrist Republicans that erupted with a vengeance this year. The cadre of Republican who hope to follow in Mr. Bush's footsteps will have to redefine their party for an era that seems to demand a more activist Federal Government, and that seems increasingly in conflict with the party's position on such social issues as abortion.

One image seemed to capture the Republicans' stunning turnaround in

WINNER: THE TV AUDIENCE

No matter who wins the Presidential election, television audiences did much better than usual. Word and Image, page C17.

RATING THE CANDIDATES' ADS

Ads work best when they deliver persuasive sales messages rather than denigrate the competition. Advertising column, Business Day, page D18.

this election year: Brent Scowcroft, who helped devise the foreign policy that was expected to be Bush's ticket to a second term, watching sadly from a railroad siding in a small North Carolina town while his boss struggled to defend his record on the economy and warn a group of townspeople that Mr. Clinton would do much worse.

"We Need Fresh Thinking"

"There's a million little groups planning to meet after the election to soul-search," said one Republican strategist close to the Administration. "And I think there needs to be one. We need fresh thinking on a variety of issues." Few pundits (or political reporters) predicted this upheaval back in 1991, but the voters seemed to have a gen-

eral shake-up in mind from the moment they entered the picture in the primaries. Former Senator Paul E. Tsongas tapped into it, and so did former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.; both men gave Mr. Clinton a fight for the right to be the agent of change.

Patrick J. Buchanan's embarrassing challenge to Mr. Bush was egged on by the voters of New Hampshire, who set the tone for this campaign: They wanted to hear about the economy and they wanted to hear it in detail. They felt that somehow the nation was unequipped for the new economic competition after the cold war, and they were very, very angry at Washington.

But it was Ross Perot who pushed the envelope.

Parallel Political Universe

Mr. Perot helped chart the existence of a parallel universe in political campaigns: Larry King, Phil Donahue, infomercials, morning talk. Other politicians had discovered those forums before, but none used them as Mr. Perot did, as an alternative to the normal round of primaries, political meetings, conventions.

Political scientists predicted he would fade, as independent and third-party candidates usually do. His support did show signs of flagging in

recent days after his remarkable accusations on the CBS News program "60 Minutes" about Republican dirty tricks. And Nelson Polsby, a political scientist at the University of California at Berkeley, argues that Mr. Perot's legacy will be far less significant than that of George Wallace and his 1968 campaign.

But Mr. Perot exposed the limits and the vulnerabilities of conventional politicians in an angry time, when the parties often seemed to be racing to keep up with the voters — when parti-

anship itself often seemed an outdated concept. And Kevin Phillips, the conservative analyst, said today: "I can't imagine that Ross Perot is just going to go away. And he could be a very big force in some of these states."

If the traditional parties learned anything this year, they learned not to put too much faith in predictions that the status quo would soon reassert itself. It is a rough, new and brutally competitive world out there, and the voters seem intent on keeping it that way.

Voters in Wonderland

By Lorrie Moore

MADISON, Wis. **I**s it too late to note the left-handedness of all three candidates? It left, so to speak, an eerie impression. Not because of the various primitive biases against left-handedness — that it is sinister, like the Italian word (*sinistra*), or clumsy like the French (*gauche*) or that it suggests a brain organized in mystery and improvisation.

No, mostly it was eerie because in watching the candidates it seemed we were viewing a reflection in the mirror, as if this were all taking place through the looking glass, and that Lewis Carrollian quality was unnerving, particularly given the people involved.

I guess I mean the *American people* — a phrase I hoped never to hear again, but there it is, and without a southern drawl, a Texas twang or a Camp David scoff. *The American people*: so fickle and unimpressed. What do they want? As I watched them being courted these many months, it occurred to me that the three candidates really were suitors, that they had courting styles — attitudes and tricks.

They were trying to get a date — Nov. 3 — with *the American people*. Clinton was the etchings man, the guy with the soulful but collegiate gaze, the curly mouth, such heat in the face and itchy restlessness in a suit it

Lorrie Moore teaches creative writing at the University of Wisconsin and is author, most recently, of "Like Life."

seemed his clothes would fly off him. At his place there were jazz recordings and art. "It's time for a change," he said, looking around the joint.

Perot came straight to the front door and rang the bell. "I'm crazy about ya. That's all there is to it." *The American people* noted the adjective but were charmed. When he skipped town, for the wedding of a relative, they blew their noses and began seeing other men. When two months later he showed up again at their office, *the American people* phoned 911. (Of course, they misdialed and got 411: information, infomercial.)

Get ready for the reality check.

Bush promised safety: "I won't drink and drive, not like you-know-who." But the trunk of his car was locked — Panamanian drugs? deposit slips from Iraqi banks? Copies of "Hamlet"? Of "Richard II"?

It was painful to watch them in Richmond negotiate the stools. The informal seating of the second debate was daytime talk show theater — Oprah Winfrey, Phil Donahue — and this staging, somehow paradigmatic of the entire campaign, seemed particularly uncomfortable to President Bush, Bachelor No. 1.

Stealing that vulgar format for a debate was a kind of beheading — and Mr. Bush seemed to know that. He arrived anesthetized. He was too proud to flirt. He threw in the towel

and waved to his wife in the audience. *Hi, honey!* He was still trying to figure out how Ronald Reagan had gotten away with sitting around doing nothing, but when he, Bush, had tried it he got nailed. It's so unfair! *Hi, honey!*

Clinton remained hunched over on his own stool, but then rose like a torch singer when it was his turn, microphone in hand, giving himself in the style of Piaf or Garland to each questioner. A cross between a sweet cocktail and a legal pad, he bespoke desire and its difficult math.

Perot meanwhile used his stool as a kind of elevator shoe and seemed amused at his newly acquired stature. He worked up a running gag with the commander in chief. He had fun. Heck, look what he was doing: he was running for President!

But this was all taking place through the looking glass. In some other world. That Lewis Carroll world. Wasn't it?

Is this longest and dreariest of courtships — the televised flattery, the bad candy, the shifting hair styles — the future of Presidential campaigning? I'm reminded of a remark made once by a transvestite-turned-transsexual. "When I was a transvestite," she said, "dressing up like this was fun. But now that I'm a woman, it's such a chore."

In the world of Lewis Carroll, strangeness and vanity are laws of physics: smiles linger in the air. Cakes are marked "Eat Me," beautifully in currants. Turtles croon of their own soup. But after the election, whoever is our President is going to have to pass through the thick silver mist of the mirror, into our side, *the American people's side*, the real side, of the room. □

After Months of Running, One Last Trip to the Track

Wrapping it up at the end of the trail.

It was 1 A.M. yesterday and his voice was down to a whisper, but Bill Clinton was still "pumped." So he went to the Garden State Race Track near Cherry Hill to address still another gathering of the faithful — and to meet a 2-year-old thoroughbred named Bubba Clinton.

This one was too good to miss. "Bubba" came through with a victory last week when the odds were 37 to 1.

And did "Bubba" have any advice for "Bubba?"

"Just run hard," the Governor rasped.

Then someone handed Mr. Clinton a sax. And that one was too good to miss, too.

He lit into a piece called "Can't Sit Down."

Clinton Aide Shows Willingness to Try

And the winner of the 1992 "spin" award is Bruce Lindsey, the Clinton campaign director.

Asked yesterday in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., why Mr. Clinton, his throat still badly inflamed, was standing in freezing temperatures shaking hand after hand after hand, Mr. Lindsey explained earnestly that the Governor's doctor believed working a crowd was good for the candidate because — ready? — the act of raising the arms and shoulders to shake hands gently loosens the muscles around the vocal cords.

Follow-Ups:

None of the above, says Sister Souljah.

The black rapper, who Bill Clinton criticized early in the campaign for calling for racial violence, told an audience at Syracuse University over the weekend: "I believe if Clinton becomes President the same things will happen that will happen if Bush stays as President."

She's not going to vote.

That widespread rumor that The New York Times was given a picture of Bill Clinton burning a flag to protest the war in Vietnam?

Not true.

That widespread rumor that reporters

were digging for World War II records that would show Navy aviator George Bush was disciplined at one point for some mysterious flying infraction?

True, there was digging. But nobody ever came up with anything.

Jim Miller, the high school student who discovered the bomb that forced Al Gore to cancel a rally in Fort Collins, Colo., last week, got to meet the Senator on his his return appearance over the weekend.

Senator: "If there's ever anything I can do for you, please let me know."

Student: "Well, as a matter of fact, I do need a recommendation."

Trail Mix: Centerfold

In California, one legislative candidate on today's ballot is the current centerfold display in Busty Beauty magazine, while another lists his occupation as female impersonator. Also in that state, a 9-year-old Santa Cruz County boy is running as a write-in candidate for a supervisor's seat, while in Irvine there's a mayoral candidate offering to return contribu-

tors' money if he is caught waffling on an issue.

In Chicago, Nick Ferrara says he wants off the ballot as a candidate for the Illinois Legislature. He's a Democrat who insists he has not a clue how his name somehow ended up on the Republican primary ballot back in the spring, a miscue that propelled him into the general election contest since his name was the only name on the ballot. In any event, he did not campaign back in the spring and has not since, which means his opponent, and fellow Democrat, is sure to win — and Republicans are sure to demand an investigation.

And in Georgia, Senator Sam Nunn confirms that the tabloid Weekly World News got it right. He says he and four other Senators — fellow Democrat John Glen of Ohio and Republicans Orrin Hatch of Utah, Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and Alan Simpson of Wyoming — are, in fact, space aliens.

"I confess," he told a Savannah rally. "It's amazing I've been able to keep it a secret for 54 years."

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

History Made and History Repeating

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2 — In many ways, the tumultuous 1992 Presidential campaign has been unique.

Never before have so many major figures in the "out" party declined to seek the White House, which is one reason that Bill Clinton, a small-state governor who had never previously sought national office, stands where he does today. Had the Democratic big boys run, he would have had precious little chance of victory.

Never before have an incumbent's approval ratings fluctuated as widely as George Bush's in the last year. Acclaimed as a conquering hero after assembling and leading the victorious coalition in the Persian Gulf war, he has been derided since as a bumbler who did nothing about economic problems at home.

Never had anyone done the things that Ross Perot did. He actually led the national polls for a brief time early last summer, a one-man band, a candidate without a party and without a conventional campaign organization. He withdrew from the race, then re-entered it. And he spent, by his own account, something on the or-

der of \$60 million of his own money, largely on television ads.

But this campaign also bore more than a passing resemblance to others.

The most obvious parallels are to 1976, when the successor to a two-term Republican President came from far behind and lost only narrowly, 50 percent to 48 percent, to a Southern governor. Like President Bush this year, President Gerald R. Ford won the Republican nomination only after beating back a challenge from the right; like Mr. Bush, Mr. Ford ran a campaign that was widely criticized within his own party.

Like Mr. Clinton, Jimmy Carter ran a campaign emphasizing his moderate views, trying with some success to win back Democrats who had come to consider their party too liberal. Like Mr. Clinton, the self-proclaimed candidate of change, Mr. Carter appealed to many people mainly because they wished to turn the Republicans out of the White House after the Watergate scandal.

The Republicans, not surprisingly, dislike the analogy between 1976 and 1992. Mary Matalin, the deputy manager of the Bush campaign, said the other day that Mr. Ford had stalled after his gaffe in a television debate, when he denied Soviet influence in Poland, while Mr. Bush, she said, was gaining.

That was last week, and this is this week. The final polls show a counter-surge by Mr. Clinton.

Still, the President has come from a long way back, only to find it tantalizingly hard to make up the last few points. That is a familiar scenario. Hubert H. Humphrey had seemed hopelessly engulfed in the Vietnam quagmire for most of 1968, but even with George C. Wallace siphoning off the votes of conservative Democrats, he came within 0.7 percent of Richard M. Nixon in a breathless finish.

Mr. Perot's third-force candidacy prompted comparisons, when he was at his peak, with the famous 1912 election. In that year, Theodore Roosevelt, seeking to recapture the White House, ran as the Bull Moose candidate, shoving President William Howard Taft into third place, splitting the Republican vote and permitting Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, to sneak into the White House.

More recently, however, Mr. Perot's late-starting campaign has more closely resembled, in the size of his constituency, the insurgent 1968 campaign of George Wallace.

If Mr. Bush is defeated, the election will resemble those of 1980, when Mr. Carter was turned out of office by Ronald Reagan, and 1932, when Her-

bert Hoover lost to Franklin D. Roosevelt. In both cases, the only losses by elected incumbents in the last 60 years, economic crisis or painful economic reversals played a major role.

One of the oldest maxims in Presidential politics holds that no matter how far to the left or right a candidate finds he must go to put together a majority in the primaries, when only his fellow party members and a few independents vote, he should move back toward the center in the fall.

Mr. Bush, many of his Republican friends believe, failed to do that in time. Indeed, at the Houston convention, he and his managers ceded valuable time on national television to such speakers as Patrick J. Buchanan and Pat Robertson, who delivered divisive, exclusionary speeches that offended many moderate voters.

Jack F. Kemp, the Housing and Urban Development Secretary, denounced the convention's emphasis on "family values" and tougher police measures against urban rioters in a speech in Texas only last week, and said it had cost his party badly needed votes.

The campaigns that are regularly cited to prove the dangers of extremism are the Republicans' 1964 fiasco, when Barry Goldwater gained only 52 electoral votes, and the Democrats' 1972 disaster, when George McGovern took only 17. Nothing on that order seems in store this year, but an electoral-vote landslide against Mr. Bush, if it materialized, would strengthen the voices of those warning that the Republicans must move back into the middle next time.

Finally, a non-American model — the comeback of John Major's Tories, who trailed in the final polls in this year's British general elections but nonetheless pulled off a victory. Bush backers have been talking about it for months, but they overlooked one central point: Unlike Mr. Bush, Mr. Major had not held high office for years; he himself embodied change, having replaced Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister in a party coup a little more than a year before.

Whatever happens, the 1992 election marks a major turning point.

No matter who wins, it is highly likely that President Bush is the last nominee to have served in World War II. That constitutes an important generational change. World War II deeply marked those who took part in it, as Mr. Bush's ringing appeals to 1940's patriotism and 1950's values demonstrate. For Bill Clinton and candidates to come, the formative experience was the far more ambiguous war in Vietnam.

Cloud Over the Election

It would be no surprise tonight at about 9:01 Eastern time if many voters sputter with irritation. That's when TV quite conceivably will declare the winner of the Presidential election.

The winner? What about the millions of people in the West who will not have voted yet? If they should then decide not to vote, democracy would be damaged in two ways. These discouraged voters, at least theoretically, could be decisive in other races. And in any case, their sense of public participation will suffer a bruising kick.

Who's to blame? The Senate.

There's a temptation to blame the networks, for wanting to rush to blab what they think they know from actual vote counts and from exit polls of people who have just voted. If only the networks would practice restraint, it is argued, the problem would disappear. The flaw in that argument is evident from rephrasing: "If only the networks would censor news ..."

There's a temptation, likewise, to blame exit polls, and to think banning them would make the problem go away. But that would trash a feature of modern politics. Exit polls yield priceless detail about the voters: Who was preferred by young people? Hispanics? The problem is that such polls also yield early information often indicating the likely winner.

The remedy comes in two parts. The first is a voluntary agreement by the networks to hold back, and they have done that, assuring Congress that they will not "characterize the outcome" in any

state until its polls have closed. To ask more is to ask the networks to act stupid, ignoring for instance actual vote count. But this agreement alone only mitigates the problem. By 8 P.M. tonight, voting will have finished in 29 states with 331 electoral votes, 61 more than are needed to win, and by 9 P.M. in 40 states with 436 electoral votes. A winner may be evident even though millions have one, two, three hours left to vote.

It is easy to exaggerate fears that, by not voting, they will affect other outcomes. Studies show that for non-voters to affect close races, they would have to favor the loser by unbelievably large margins. There is no exaggerating, however, the denial of a sense of participation. To make Western votes look meaningless is to dismiss Western voters as second-class citizens.

The other part of the remedy, beyond TV restraint, is uniform poll closing. Several models have been proposed, notably by Representative Al Swift, Washington Democrat: Stop voting everywhere at once, that is, 9 P.M. E.S.T., 8 P.M. C.S.T., 7 P.M. M.S.T. and, by extending daylight time for two weeks in the West, 7 P.M. P.S.T.

The House has passed this legislation three times. The Senate, however, has repeatedly fumbled the chance. How many more elections before the Senate leadership acknowledges the importance of keeping America, clock notwithstanding, one nation indivisible? No, not even the Senate can stop the earth's spin. But it can advance democracy in a simpler way: Synchronize our watches.

Perot Gave Networks a Race, at Any Rate

By BILL CARTER

Even if Ross Perot's campaign for the White House is not successful politics, it was certainly successful television, if not quite an outright hit.

In a format he all but invented, the paid political program, Mr. Perot was a remarkably consistent television performer. In eight programs through Oct. 26, seven half-hours and one full hour, Mr. Perot averaged a 9.1 rating, which is only slightly below average for the three main networks and much better than average for the Fox network.

Each rating point represents 931,000 homes. The A. C. Nielsen Company estimated that an average of 13 million viewers tuned in to see each of Mr. Perot's commer-

cials.

In all but one case, Mr. Perot was more watched than at least one of the programs it competed against. In all but one case, his appearance did better than the network offering it replaced.

That pattern appears to have held up one more time on Sunday night, when Mr. Perot placed commercials on two networks. Mr. Perot's hourlong program, on NBC Sunday night from 7 to 8, scored an 8.8 rating in the Nielsen overnight ratings, which measure the 28 largest television markets.

That is considerably better than NBC usually fares in the national ratings with its regular program at that hour, "Secret Service," which is averaging a 7 rating this season.

Mr. Perot was actually compet-

ing with himself for the first half hour Sunday. His half-hour program on ABC from 7 to 7:30 averaged a 6.7 rating in the overnight figures. That means he actually pulled in a 15 combined rating for that half-hour — good enough to land in the top 20 programs in television.

Perhaps the best reflection of the consistent strength of Mr. Perot's paid programs is his rating if compared with all prime-time fare on this television season. His 9.1 rating would be good for 64th place, ahead of 36 other weekly series.

Ross Perot for President has been more popular than programs like "Life Goes On," "Roc," "Quantum Leap," "Cops," "Young Indiana Jones," "Homefront," and "America's Most Wanted."

Typhoon Threat Postpones Voting in Guam

AGANA, Guam, Tuesday, Nov. 3 (AP) — Typhoon Elsie forced a postponement of today's elections on Guam, but the typhoon, the third in 10 weeks there, sideswiped the island.

Forecasters said the storm passed south of the island today. But they warned that winds of 60 miles an hour with gusts to 80 m.p.h. could come in heavy bands of rainshowers trailing the storm.

Thirteen emergency shelters opened and military ships put out to sea with the approach of the storm, which had

sustained winds of 100 m.p.h. and gusts of up to 120 m.p.h.

As of 7 A.M. today, the storm was 60 miles southwest of Guam, moving away from Guam at 6 m.p.h., the United States military's Joint Typhoon Warning Center said. The island has a population of 132,000 people.

The shelters opened on Monday just three days after the authorities had closed the last shelter for victims of Typhoon Omar, which devastated the island on Aug. 28; another typhoon, Brian, caused light damage on Oct. 21.

Populist Media Forums And the Campaign of '92

By MAUREEN DOWD

Imagine the possibilities:

Presidential press conferences are replaced by Presidential call-in sessions on "Oprah." The President goes on the Arsenio Hall show to give the State of the Union address and sells his Agenda for Change with an MTV campaign called "Rock the Deficit." When another Middle East potentate gobbles up a neighbor, the White House and Congress set up competing 800 numbers to find out if the public thinks this should stand. Can-do millionaires, from Ted Turner to Brooke Astor, are besieged by volunteers brandishing ballot petitions.

As George Bush put it shortly before he called his rivals "bozos," "It's weird out there." Politics may never be the same.

'Crazy' Campaign Song

Who would have thought that a chatty, conspiratorial billionaire would suddenly decide, in the middle of "Larry King Live," to treat himself to a Presidential campaign, then

As George Bush put it before the 'bozos' barb, 'It's weird out there.'

go on to buy television time to unveil an Arkansas job growth chart featuring a large chicken and declare as his campaign song the Patsy Cline hit "Crazy"?

Who would have thought that a Democratic candidate desperately seeking stature would book himself repeatedly on Don Imus's morning radio show to play the saxophone and banter about his mother's pécadillos, his brother's misplaced aspirations as a country music singer and the mystery of Sam Donaldson's hair?

Who would have thought that the first President to win a war in half a century would end up bragging about his dog's foreign policy expertise and appearing on MTV four days before the election, reluctantly courting what he had mocked as the "teenybopper" vote?

William J. Bennett, a conservative prospect for 1996, mused today about the new world order, in which traditional forums for running for President have given way to the new populist arena where Don Imus is more of player than Dan Rather. "I used to play the electric guitar," he said. "Do you think I need to dust it off?"

The rush to more populist media forums tended, as Gerald Rafshoon, Jimmy Carter's media adviser, put it, to allow the candidates to "cut through the filters and get directly to voters." This significantly altered the role of reporters traveling with the candidates, much to the reporters' dismay. Often, the reporters who flew around the country with George Bush and Bill Clinton could not see major appearances in a given day because the television interviews with Larry King and Cable News Network and MTV's political reporter, Tabatha Soren, were shown while reporters were in the air or, on the bus.

This year was celebrated as a time when a lot of issues got discussed seriously, but the campaign also became personalized in new ways. Although Mr. Bush, appearing on the Larry King program last week, was dismissive of the journalistic style of Gail Sheehy, who writes profiles about character and psyche, Mr. King, Phil Donahue, Arsenio Hall and Mr. Imus are all trying to draw the candidates out in more personal ways than ever before.

"You get an opportunity to see a different side of these people," Mr. Imus said. "It loosens them up when we get them to try to humiliate themselves and reveal some embarrassing aspect of their lives."

While Mr. Bush had to apologize for calling Mr. Clinton a bozo — "I thought it was funny at the time, and everybody laughed," the President insisted — the insulting, school-yard brand of rhetoric that Mr. Bush and Mr. Perot used may have been an inevitable extension of a political discourse dominated by shows such as "The McLaughlin Group" and "Imus in the Morning."

Decaying Party Structure

Many political observers say that the cataclysmic changes this year were the natural result of the decaying party structure. As Ross Perot crowded the other night at a rally in Long Beach, Calif., as he stood beneath a Patton-sized American flag with his hands on his hips: "Do you have any idea how much the two parties must hate live television now? Hah, hah, hah, hah."

Noting that Mr. Perot did not succeed in circumventing the tough questions in the end, many historians say they are excited by the refreshed voter interest and the desire that swept the nation "to take it back," as the first populist preacher of the campaign, Jerry Brown, put it.

"This is cause for celebration," said Thomas Cronin, a Presidential scholar and political scientist at Colo-

Changes Worry Mondale

Walter F. Mondale, who learned something about the nexus of politics and entertainment when he lost to Ronald Reagan in 1984, worries about this year's dramatic changes. "I wouldn't have dreamt of going on MTV," he said. "It just wasn't done. There was a dignity to running for the Presidency." (Of course, one Mondale adviser did bill him as a man who "dares to be cautious.")

Historians, politicians and strategists agree that the campaign of '92 will have permanent and far-reaching effects on how people run for President, and perhaps even how they govern. But they are still debating whether the changes are healthy.

Mr. Mondale worries that Ross Perot, the Texas businessman who helped usher in the vogue of appearing on the sort of confessional talk shows usually reserved for celebrities and people with hyphenated addictions, may have set a "destabilizing" precedent.

"It's alarming to me that this man could skip most of the accepted methods of determining a candidate's readiness to be President," Mr. Mondale said. "Perot didn't run in any primary. He avoided the experienced and seasoned reporters in the field and appeared only on entertainment talk shows of his choosing. He used a mountain of money and double-speak to try to make it appear that he was selected by the people. It's almost Orwellian in proportion."

'Democracy was never meant to be tidy and efficient,' one scholar says.

rado College. "Democracy was never meant to be tidy and efficient. We pit candidates against each other and it's messy and sometimes it's nasty. Perot deserves a lot of credit for educating the public on a lot of issues on these talk shows."

Alan Brinkley, a professor of history at Columbia University, agreed. "The idea of the dignity of the office being something constantly kept at the center of campaigns is something of a myth," he said. "Candidates are going to see all sorts of advantages in this sort of campaigning, and they are going to keep doing it. They can get a lot of media coverage while circumventing the tough reporters. They don't have to talk to Sam Donaldson to get on television."

'More People Are Listening'

Barbara Kellerman, a political scientist who specializes in the Presidency, added: "No matter how much some might lament the deterioration of politics, no matter how much some may miss the elegance of rhetoric and old-fashioned classy campaigns, there is no going back. On the positive side, there is no doubt more people are listening."

Even though the voters devoured the candidates' books and pamphlets on the economy, even though they seemed more eager than ever for a substantive discussion of the issues, there was still evidence that slick, distorted negative advertising was just as effective as ever.

"The same people who tell you that they hate negative commercials are the ones who can recite verbatim the last one they watched," said Roger Stone, a Republican consultant.

Senator John McCain, an Arizona Republican, has already seen the changes at the local level. Tonight Mr. McCain, who has been campaigning on talk shows for more than a year, made a wistfully nostalgic pilgrimage to Prescott, Ariz., to finish his campaign in the city where Barry Goldwater always wrapped up his campaigns.

"Those days are gone forever," Mr. McCain said wearily. "I think it's a permanent change. You'll never see campaigns run again like they were, especially during the two Reagan campaigns, with photo ops reported by the three major networks."

Election Night: Polls

Why Forecasts By Newscasters Will Be Similar

News Media Will Rely On Polling Consortium

By RICHARD L. BERKE

After decades of battling to be first to declare winners, the networks for the first time in a Presidential race tonight will rely on the same voter survey to make their projections.

By pooling their resources into one cooperative that is interviewing voters as they leave the polls in every state, ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN are saving millions of dollars apiece. The networks each paid an estimated \$3 million to take part in the collective during the 1990 and 1992 elections. Nearly 100 newspapers, including The New York Times, and local stations are paying smaller sums for more limited use of the data.

The risk of this deal, besides taming the intense competition on election night, is that if there are flaws in the process, the nation will be in the dark about who is ahead until the actual votes are counted.

A Mixed Record

In its short life, the consortium, Voter Research and Surveys, has had a mixed record. During the New Hampshire primary election, the organization's survey of voters leaving the polls predicted that President Bush had only a 6-percentage-point lead over Patrick J. Buchanan, leading many news organizations to give an exaggerated view of how close the race was. Mr. Bush ended up winning by a 16-point margin. Analysts later said that Buchanan supporters may have been more willing to speak with poll takers.

And in the consortium's debut in the 1990 elections, a technical malfunction made it impossible for news organizations to get the national results the night of the vote; they had to rely on less comprehensive state-by-state data. Still, the problem did not keep news organizations from making basic judgments about the races.

All this adds to the pressure on Warren J. Mitofsky, the head of the consortium, who for more than two decades was the elections chief at CBS News. Now the individual networks no longer decide when to declare states won and lost by candidates; Mr. Mitofsky does it, in consultation with network representatives.

"There's no competition on who's going to call a state," he said. "I'm going to make all the calls."

To the many academics who say there is a danger in relying on one source, Mr. Mitofsky said: "I don't expect there to be glitches. But if the academics want to raise money to do other surveys, let them go out and raise the money for it."

Avoiding a 'Childish Game'

Mr. Mitofsky contended that the deal will force news organizations to worry less about "the childish game of who did it first" in declaring who won each state, and instead concentrate on interpreting results. If the networks were still running their own exit polls, he said, they would have had to scale back the breadth of their surveys at a time when news budgets are under pressure.

There will be some differences in the televised reports. Each network has added a few items of its own to the polling questionnaires, and will have exclusive rights to those survey findings.

Peter Jennings, the anchor for tonight's report for ABC News, agreed that the use of shared information should reduce the urge to rush on the air with projections seconds ahead of the competition.

"It's nonsense," Mr. Jennings said of the networks' past efforts to one-up each other with projections. "How many lunatics are out there watching four TV sets?"

But Lane Venardos, director of special events for CBS News, sounded as caught up in the competition as ever. "We have the means of putting a V.R.S. call on the air within four-and-one-half seconds of them making it," he said. "Whether my colleagues can do that I don't know. But we've got the most sophisticated system I've ever seen, with triple redundancy."

The only alternative to V.R.S. is a national exit poll by The Los Angeles Times. The newspaper is not conducting separate polls in every state, as V.R.S. is. But it is doing exit polls of California and in New York for more detailed coverage by The Los Angeles Times and Newsday, which are both owned by the Times Mirror Company.

"There's a tremendous advantage to having your own exit polls," said John Brennan, polling director for The Los Angeles Times. "We don't have to take what we're given from the V.R.S. people. We don't have the limitations imposed on us that V.R.S. puts on its clients, like when they can take the information and how they use the information."

Of course, the individual networks tonight decide how to use the cooperative's data, which is gathered by workers at polling places around the country who ask voters to fill out confidential questionnaires with not only their votes but also demographic information and their positions on issues.

The consortium sent news organizations a memorandum with tips on what to do with all the numbers. "Everyone shows a graphic with the horse race numbers that tell viewers which candidate is ahead," the memo says. "But to help make sense of the polls, report the trends, or change, since the last poll."

Election Night: TV

What to Watch for as the Networks Start Predicting

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

Like Super Bowl Sunday, Election night is one of those semi-national holidays when many Americans have a reason to celebrate while many others — sometimes even the majority — are plunged into mourning.

When will you know what group you belong to? This, of course, depends in large part on how close the vote is. But there are certain signs that are available early to help canny voters get a jump on the competition.

This year, all the networks are subscribing to the same exit polls, surveys of voters as they leave the voting booth, so the networks will all be predicting the outcome of the election using the same information. Because of this, there will be none of the usual scrambling to call the state-by-state results early, and viewers will get the same predictions at pretty much the same time on all the major networks.

This is a guide to what to look for while watching tonight's coverage:

6 P.M. The polls close in Indiana and Kentucky. If the exit polls show one candidate far ahead, the networks may predict the winner of each

of these states on the basis of the polls. But if exit polls show the races to be close, the networks will wait to see the results from key voting precincts. For do-it-yourself punditry, Indiana could provide the first important clue of the evening.

"Indiana is a state that usually goes Republican," said Bill Wheatley, who directs the political coverage for NBC News. "It's the home of Dan Quayle. If that state is too close to call, that will not be a hopeful sign for the President."

CNN begins its election coverage at 4:30 P.M.; ABC, CBS and NBC will not begin until 7 P.M., but will issue reports on their evening newscasts as they come in.

7 P.M. Polls begin to close in six states: Florida, Georgia, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Vermont and Virginia. These states are a potential windfall for election night prognosticators. Normally, New Hampshire votes Republican, but recent polls suggest Gov. Bill Clinton could win it. If he does, it could be another ominous signal for President Bush.

Florida, with its 25 electoral votes, is the first big state to report results.

Ross Perot is expected to be a significant factor in this state. But according to virtually all practical scenarios, Mr. Bush must win Florida if he is to win the election. "If Bush carries Florida, he's alive and well for another hour," said Hal Bruno, the political director of ABC News. "If not, his comeback is not going to happen."

7:30 P.M. The precincts close in three more states, North Carolina, Ohio and West Virginia.

The Clinton and Bush camps each view Ohio, with 21 electoral votes, as crucial. If the President wins Ohio and Florida, it could be a long night. If Mr. Clinton wins Ohio, expect the election to be called earlier.

8 P.M. The polls close in 18 more states, including Illinois, Michigan, Texas, New Jersey and Connecticut. If the shape of the race has not already become clear, it will at this point.

If Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton are splitting the big states — if, for example, Mr. Clinton is winning Michigan and Illinois and Mr. Bush is taking New Jersey and Texas — then it is fairly certain that the result of the

election will not be known until the West Coast returns come in. If one is winning most or all of the key states, the race is likely to be over before the voting ends in California, at 11 P.M. Eastern time.

Altogether, the states whose polls close at or before 8 P.M. have 331 electoral votes. (A state has as many electoral votes as the number of its Representatives and Senators combined.) To win, a candidate must assemble 270 electoral votes.

In theory, then, the networks could call the election by 9 P.M., the time the polls close in New York. (In 1980, NBC predicted Ronald Reagan would be the next President at 8:15 P.M.) But few political analysts expect this to happen tonight.

In the 1988 election, an electoral landslide for Mr. Bush, CBS called the race at 9:15, while NBC waited more conservatively until 10 P.M.

Because most states award electoral votes on a winner-take-all basis, a candidate can lose the popular vote and still win the electoral vote. But the last time that happened was long before television, in 1888.

Countdown to Election Day

GEORGE BUSH

The President plowed through five final campaign stops with force, punching every political button hard in speeches in New Jersey and Philadelphia, and at hasty airport rallies in Louisville, Akron and Baton Rouge. He invoked his tax-cutting pledge, his success in easing nuclear terror, his victory over Iraq, his Navy combat record and even his wife Barbara's visits with AIDS babies. "We are going to pull off one of the biggest surprises in political history," he said.

BILL CLINTON

In 30 hours of ceaseless campaigning from the East Coast to western Texas, Mr. Clinton took the high-minded tone of a man ahead in the polls, avoiding the mention of George Bush's name. His voice a rough-edged ruin, Mr. Clinton limited himself to the bare essential of his pitch, the lure of change. The Clinton campaign also suffused two election-eve commercials and a half-hour televised program with its message of optimism.

ROSS PEROT

For an election-eve video blitz, Mr. Perot spent nearly \$3 million Monday night to buy two 30-minute programs on ABC and CBS and an hourlong program on NBC. The programs featured harsh attacks on President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton and included snippets from Mr. Perot's rally speeches and testimonials from backers. Mr. Perot's final rally Monday drew a surprisingly small crowd of about 4,000 in the Reunion Arena near downtown Dallas.

RECENT POLLS

ABC News Poll Oct. 28-Nov. 1



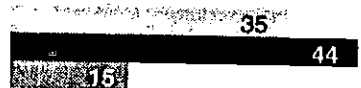
Gallup for CNN/USA Today Oct. 31-Nov. 1



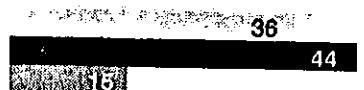
The Harris Poll Oct. 30-Nov. 1



The New York Times/ CBS News Poll Oct. 29-Nov. 1



Wall Street Journal/ NBC News Poll Nov. 1



Washington Post Poll Oct. 28-Nov. 1



PREVIOUS POLLS

Gallup for Newsweek Oct. 28-29



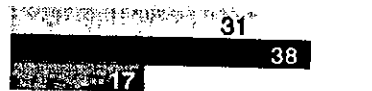
The Los Angeles Times Poll Oct. 24-26



Times Mirror Center Poll Oct. 20-22



Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for Time/CNN Oct. 20-22



U.S. News and World Report Oct. 20-21



The Poll Findings Converge

At the end of the campaign there is striking agreement among the polls. Mr. Clinton's support was identical in five surveys — 44 percent — and in a sixth it was 43 percent. Mr. Bush's support ranged by only three percentage points, from 35 percent to 38 percent. Mr. Perot's support was between 14 percent and 17 percent.

When the polls are averaged, Mr. Clinton has 44 percent, Mr. Bush 36 percent, and Mr. Perot 16 percent.

The convergence of polls in the final weekend of the campaign comes after a week in which surveys showed Mr. Clinton's lead ranging from 1 to 10 points.

Some of that variation could have been due to sampling error, the potential error inherent in all polls because they interview a sample instead of every adult. For example, in a poll where the margin of sampling error was three points and the results were 42 percent for Mr. Clinton and 35 percent for Mr. Bush, the gap between the two men could have been as close as one point or as wide as 13 points.

In addition, many polling organizations report results in terms of "likely voters" rather than all registered voters. Each organization has its own method for identifying the voters who are most likely to go to the polls on Election Day and these differences could also cause

the polls to diverge.

Poll takers use different combinations of questions about respondents' voting history, interest in the current campaign, stated intention to vote, and knowledge of where to find their voting place.

A New York Times/CBS News Poll of 2,248 registered voters, weighted to reflect a probable electorate, showed Mr. Clinton with a nine-point lead in interviews conducted Thursday through Sunday. In interviews taken just Saturday and Sunday, his lead was 11 points.

A CNN/USA Today "tracking poll" of 1,562 likely voters showed Mr. Clinton with an eight-point edge, but when undecided voters were allocated, Mr. Clinton's advantage was 12 points.

A tracking poll uses new samples each day and reports results for two or more days at a time.

A Wall Street Journal/NBC News Poll of 982 likely voters found Mr. Clinton ahead of Mr. Bush by eight points, as did a Washington Post Poll of 722 likely voters.

An ABC News Poll of 9,115 likely voters showed Mr. Clinton ahead of Mr. Bush by seven points. And a Harris Poll of 1,975 likely voters reported a six point advantage for Mr. Clinton.

The potential sampling error for the polls ranged from two to four points.

Undermining the Right to Vote

Public contempt for politicians has reached the point where proposals to limit their terms score as high as 75 percent in some polls. But the surface allure is deceptive. Term limits actually make matters worse.

Term limitation is on the ballot in 14 states today. It is billed as the sure way to throw the rascals out — automatic ejection from office after a set number of years. In truth, it's the sure way to throw the baby out with the bath water, ejecting valuable, experienced leaders along with the ordinary and the bad. Worse yet, it denies voters their fundamental freedom to vote for anyone they choose.

The idea of limiting terms is older than the Republic, but lay dormant until Colorado voted 12-year limits on its senators and representatives in 1990. Last year limits were voted down in the state of Washington. This year the idea has spread to 14 states with 28 senators and 150 representatives.

Local sponsors of term limits claim to lead "grass-roots" movements, but this grass didn't suddenly take root in 14 states without help. The 1991 campaign in Washington State was largely financed from Washington D.C. by an anti-big-government lobby backed by the conservative oil billionaires Charles and David Koch of Oklahoma. That organization has vanished, replaced by a group named U.S. Term Limits, also in the capital and also disbursing large sums.

Bad enough that big money from the outside

intrudes on an issue that is so fundamentally each state's own business. Voters should also realize that if they approve term limits, they consign their state to junior Congressional status.

If California's senators are held to two terms and New York's aren't, which state can build more seniority in its delegation, and the power that goes with it? New York, of course, and all the other states — practically all of the East, Midwest and South — that haven't been hobbled by term limit-itis.

It will be no surprise if limits are approved in most of the states that are voting. The shortest proposed limit is six years for House members, starting with next year's new term, so it will be six years before any state's limits eject an officeholder. Then, or sooner, the constitutionality of term limits will surely be tested in court.

Scholars are divided on whether states may keep Congressional incumbents off the ballot for reelection. But it doesn't take a Ph.D. in constitutional law to see what's wrong with term limits:

They put the nation's political leadership in the hands of amateurs. They strengthen the hands of unelected Congressional staff members and Washington lobbyists, whose tenure has no restriction. And they deny voters' freedom of choice.

There's a better solution. Campaign finance reform would give challengers a fairer chance against entrenched incumbents. But in the end, the best way to limit terms is for voters to exercise their precious right — in the voting booth.

Advertising | Stuart Elliott

Candidates' Spots Are Not Created Equal

VOTERS weary of watching political commercials should take heart that at long last, the mud stops here.

The Bush, Clinton and Perot camps seemed to have forgotten that advertisements typically work best when they try to deliver persuasive sales messages rather than denigrate the competition. Nevertheless, negative commercials, which political operatives smarmily delight in calling "comparative advertising," abounded. Though some landed wounding blows on their intended targets, over all they served only to wound the political process.

The November Company, formed by Madison Avenue advertising professionals to create advertising for Bush-Quayle '92, subordinated providing meaningful reasons to re-elect its client in favor of spitting insults at everything associated with Gov. Bill Clinton, from what it contended was the sorry state of his state to his viscosity (i.e., Slick Willie).

The Clinton-Gore Creative Team, a coalition of political advertising advisers and Madison Avenue executives, lambasted President Bush mercilessly while never figuring out how to present properly the man who wants his job as a true agent of change.

And the 270 Group, the professional ad executives producing advertising for the independent ticket of Ross Perot and James B. Stockdale, sometimes took flighty rhetorical turns, as when the Texan unleashed an attack in one of his omnipresent program-length commercials over the problems he saw in Arkansas: "The chickens keep on clucking, and the people keep on plucking, after 12 years of Gov. Clinton's leadership."

Perhaps what Mr. Perot meant to say was that the buck-buck-buck stops here.

For this perturbed viewer, the trio of naysayers became a single nattering nabob who dodged the draft, raised taxes, investigated his opponents and spoke lies as dots obscured his two faces.

Candidate *mélange* aside, it is time to review the Presidential candidates' advertising. Not surprisingly, only a handful of spots qualified for "yes" votes. Far more were so overwhelmingly dreadful as to warrant resounding "no" votes.

Here is a recap of the yeas and nays:

BLUEGRASS BUSH. Humor softened the sting of this negative spot. As twangy bluegrass music played in the background, comically speeded-up footage likened Mr. Clinton's tax increases in Arkansas to his plan for America.

And in an advertising in-joke, the musical soundtrack echoed a popular commercial for the Ikea furniture chain created by Deutsch Inc. in New York, whose top executives joined the Clinton-Gore Creative Team. "Yes."

INFOMERCIAL, PLEASE. By popularizing the infomercial — the industry's cloyingly coy name for lengthy spots disguised as programming — Mr. Perot earned a dubious honor. Perhaps he might have improved his standings in the polls had he dumped Mr. Stockdale from the ticket in favor of the infomercial celebrity Jay (The Juiceman) Kordich. "No."

PROTO-PEROT. Mr. Clinton's advertising was weakest when it attempted to sound themes that Mr. Perot exploited to better advantage. One spot pledged that a Clinton Administration would crack down on tax-evading foreign companies. Apart from its dismaying nativism, the spot's data were dismissed in media critiques.

There was, however, one deft touch: An image of President Bush included in this spot came from a television set with bad reception, creating a ghost double that subtly implied the President was two-faced. "No."

SHORT AND SWEET. Mr. Perot's spots in traditional 30- and 60-second lengths, in which a smooth-talking announcer intoned verities, Perot-style, outshone his oh-so-long infomercials. Particularly memorable was one on health care in which an electrocardiogram read-out proved hypnotic. "Yes."

SLIP OF THE LIPS. Several Clinton commercials cruelly, yet efficaciously, reran clips of President Bush's campaign pledges of 1988. One was especially telling because Mr. Bush looked easily 20 years younger. "Yes."

TRUST ME. a plethora of President Bush's commercials questioned the trustworthiness of Mr. Clinton, a decision that might have boomeranged once the Democrats retorted with Iran-contra charges.

One spot proclaimed the President the better choice "in a world where we're just one unknown dictator away from the next crisis" and ended with the slogan "President Bush. Commander in Chief." That might unleash a skein of prima facie slogans — imagine "Coca-Cola. Soft Drink," or "Mercedes-Benz. Expensive Automobile." "No."

TWO, TWO, TWO BILLS IN ONE. This spot was a surprisingly successful variation on the political ad cliché of the opponent as weathervane. On a split screen, two men whose faces were covered with gray dots take opposite stands on issues. The dots vanish to reveal that as a stern-voiced announcer put it, "unfortunately" both are Mr. Clinton.

The face-obliterating dots also evoked the William Kennedy Smith rape trial, suggesting a link between Mr. Clinton and Senator Edward M. Kennedy, whom the Republicans adore castigating as an ultra-liberal. "Yes."

VAST WASTELAND. A monumental misfire for the November Company in recycling a tactic used against Michael S. Dukakis in 1988. To portray Mr. Clinton's state as a hell hole, a glaringly overexaggerated landscape — with a buzzard in a dead tree limb, no less — served as a bleak backdrop for a skein of statistics painting Arkansas as a third-world nation. "And now Bill Clinton wants to do for America what he's done for Arkansas," the spot ominously warned. "America can't take that risk."

The spot inadvertently brought to mind a barb by the comedian Dennis Miller, who predicted that the Bush-Quayle campaign would produce a commercial inspired by the gay-bashing rhetoric of the Republican National Convention, in which Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore would be so described: "They're young. They're handsome. They share a ticket. Can America afford even the shadow of a doubt?"

(Note to the November Company: It's too late to rush a version of Mr. Miller's spot into production.) "No."

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

What Did We Learn?

A strange thing happened to the Presidential campaign of 1992 on the way to Election Day.

The November surprise is that the campaign turned out to be unlike so many others — only strings of clichés and epithets strung together like sausages, giving us nothing to think about except the bellyache.

The 1992 campaign gave us some nutrition — insights into our national self. It told us something about the condition of our political system — on the whole, good. It also told us something about the condition of our national conscience — on the whole not so good.

We hardly noticed during the campaign but this certainly pops out now that it is over:

The old lumbering American political system that we are instructed so often to despise produced exactly the right Republican and Democrat to face each other this year.

Mr. Bush was the essential Republican candidate. Nobody else would have served the country — not the fright-masks of the far right nor any of the intellectual conservatives smoother and better spoken than he.

With Mr. Bush on the ticket, Americans who had cast the majority vote for him had to review not only his decisions, but their own. They could not run from it.

If they decided to vote for him it would be because they still agree with the Reagan-Bush philosophy: government and taxes are the ruination of America. Good enough.

But Americans who voted for Mr. Bush in 1988 and decided to vote for Mr. Clinton or Ross Perot in 1992 could not in fairness say it was because the President had changed or betrayed them. They voted against Mr. Bush because so many could suddenly picture themselves unemployed, or begging banks for business credit, or in bankruptcy court — themselves, not somebody else.

So what they wanted in 1992 was what they scorned in 1988 — more and more government involvement to give them succor when needed.

Mr. Clinton talked of the new Democratic Party. But he also could convey the sense of warmth and ward that was the strength of the old Democratic Party. That link made him precisely the right choice to run against Mr. Bush among the few Democrats with guts enough to run.

If Ross Perot had been capable of the fundamental duty of a candidate — presenting a thought-out platform

and programs, staying in the race from beginning to end, keeping faith with his followers — Americans would have had a decent choice outside the two-party system.

Yes, and if my aunt had wheels she would be a trolley car.

Mr. Perot is so peculiar a man that he did not understand that when he gave one reason in July for quitting and an entirely different reason in October, why people might conclude that he had lied — at least once. That man has stamped himself canceled as a choice, hope or a trolley car. He is bad news.

So there is something else we can spot about ourselves as we examine the campaign: the American fantasy that the world will go away if we close our emotions real tight.

While we have been too busy to notice, Russia has been teetering on the verge of economic collapse, Communist China has been building its conventional and nuclear power and shipping overstock to Middle Eastern dictatorships, German Nazis have been having a great time beating

Insights from the campaign.

foreigners as thousands cheer, a war is going on Europe and African governments and gunmen are starving their own people to death in numbers known only to the God we assume is keeping statistics, although we cannot be sure.

Trouble is, we cannot blame the candidates alone. They would have, talked plenty about starving Somalis and butchered Bosnians and tortured Chinese if there were the slightest evidence that Americans care enough to register on the polls, even a quiver.

Also, they would have talked a lot more about such matters as the riots in Los Angeles and whether we have dealt with all the conditions that led to them, as we swore up and down we would when the city was burning and we were so afraid.

Maybe the candidates even would have told us how we can stuff family values into children of the streets who don't happen to have families.

But now we will have plenty of time to talk. The campaign is all over, and so is fantasy time. □

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 13, 1992

Bush Aides Discount Late Polls Showing Clinton Ahead

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The 1992 campaign ended last night with President Bush's strategists challenging the validity of a set of polls suggesting that he trailed Democrat Bill Clinton in the final hours before the election.

As Bush, Clinton and independent challenger Ross Perot held their final rallies and aired their last television appeals, forecasters said that more than 100 million Americans may cast ballots today for the first time in the nation's history.

Clinton held a 43 percent to 35 percent lead over Bush in the final Washington Post presidential preference poll. Perot was the choice of 16 percent of likely voters. Three other surveys had almost identical results.

Bush campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter challenged the findings and said that the president would win a second-term upset by sweeping Michigan, Georgia, North Carolina, New Jersey, Ohio and Wisconsin and adding them to the traditional Republican base states in the South and Rocky Mountains.

But even as Teeter spoke, Republican candidates were signaling a more pessimistic reading on the president's prospects. Sen. Arlen Specter (Pa.) and Lt. Gov. Mike DeWine of Ohio, both locked in tight Senate races, did not show up yesterday at the final Bush rallies in their states.

The Post survey found Clinton with a substantial lead over Bush in the Northeast and the West but deadlocked with Bush in the South, where several state surveys reported Bush gaining last

week. In the Midwest, where Bush's upset hopes center, Clinton held a 43 percent to 36 percent lead.

A total of 722 likely voters were interviewed Oct. 28-Nov. 1. Margin of sampling error for the overall results is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

The New York Times-CBS News poll, a Wall Street Journal-NBC News poll and the latest Gallup tracking survey for USA Today-CNN all gave Clinton margins of 8 or 9 points.

The Post poll showed that for the first time in 12 years, Dem-

ocrats appear more solidly behind their presidential nominee than Republicans. According to the poll, eight of 10 Democrats are voting for Clinton, while seven of 10 Republicans support Bush. Among self-described independents, Clinton led Bush 39 percent to 33 percent.

While the focus is on the presidential race, contests for 34 Senate seats and all 435 House seats drew unusual interest because of the prospect of a large turnover in both bodies.

With the post-census reapportionment and redistricting shifting

many lines, a record number of House members—65—announced plans to retire or seek other office. And a record number—19—were defeated in the primaries. With five races matching pairs of incumbents, at least 91 House members in the last Congress will not be back. The modern record of newcomers was 118 elected in 1948, and there are at least 50 incumbents who are viewed as being in some significant danger today.

Republicans originally had hoped to cash in on reapportionment and the widespread criticism of Congress to make large gains

in the House. But Bush's difficulties have dampened those prospects to the point that some observers are predicting the GOP may gain no more than 10 or 20 seats.

The final Washington Post poll showed 49 percent of likely voters said they preferred a Democrat for Congress and 36 percent chose the generic Republican. That is a slightly larger margin for the Democrats than yielded the 100-seat Democratic majority in the last Congress, but officials cautioned that redistricting and retirements limit the possibility of any Democratic gains in the House.

In the Senate, however, weekend polling revived Democratic hopes of adding to their 57 to 43 majority, perhaps even enough to give them a "filibuster-proof" 60 seats. The outcome turns on hard-fought campaigns in 14 states: California, Colorado, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Washington and Wisconsin. Five of the Democratic candidates are women, with one a clear favorite and four others given fair to good chances of winning. The Senate now has only two female members.

Dramatic demographic change is almost certain in the House, with more than 50 women expected, as compared to the 29 who served in the last Congress. Both the Congressional Black Caucus and the Hispanic Caucus anticipate 50 percent increases in membership, thanks largely to redistricting to meet requirements of the Voting Rights Act.

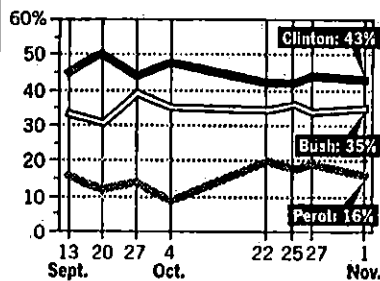
There are only a dozen governorships on the ballot, six held by each party, and odds favor at least a modest gain by the Democrats.

A wide variety of referenda will

THE HORSE RACE

THE WASHINGTON POST POLL

Q. The candidates in November's presidential election are George Bush and Dan Quayle, the Republicans; and Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the Democrats; and Ross Perot, the Democrats; and James Stockdale, the independents. Suppose the election were being held today. For whom would you vote? (Likely voters)



SOURCE: Latest figures are from a Washington Post poll of 722 likely voters (registered voters who say they are absolutely certain to vote), conducted Oct. 28 - Nov. 1 by ICR Survey Research of Media, Pa. Margin of sampling error for the most recent poll is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Sampling error is, however, only one of many potential sources of error in this or any public opinion poll.

be decided, including term-limits measures in 14 states, and votes on the death penalty, homosexual rights and an assortment of tax limits.

With large-scale get-out-the-vote drives planned by both parties, the Perot volunteer organizations, organized labor, minority groups and Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, expectations are that turnout may be the highest in several elections.

Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, said, "I expect more than 100 million votes to be cast," which he said would be an 8 percent increase over 1988 and bring turnout to 53 to 55 percent of the voting-age population.



Supporters rally in Glenolden, Pa., where president pledged to "show the pundits and the pollsters that they are wrong."

BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Voters Voice Hope, Discontent—and Sense of Involvement

By Dan Balz and Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writers

Five months ago, Doug Dollar, a young cabinetmaker from Sacramento, Calif., was politically AWOL. He had never voted and doubted he ever would. "Guess what?" he said with a laugh over the weekend. "I'm actually voting."

A year ago, Maureen Reed of Kenosha, Wis., was the archetype of the disaffected voter. "I've joined the ranks of the cynical," she said. "Can you tell me any time

when an average person made a difference?"

Reminded of her comment last week, she said, "I don't feel the same." Drawn by television coverage and "the talk show stuff" with the candidates, Reed is now engaged. "It let me into the system," she said.

In October 1991, John Horn of Charlotte, N.C., said the political system was "so messed up, it's depressing." After closely watching the fall campaign, Horn said last week, "I really feel helpless. I

don't think either major candidate has addressed the problems that we have."

On election morning, it is customary to trot out a familiar cliché—that, after all the hoopla, the campaign is now in the hands of the voters. Funny thing, this year: It's been that way all along.

They've been Larry Kinged and MTVed, assaulted by ads, turned off by talking heads. But from start to finish, the voters have made clear what they wanted the candidates to talk about, forced the campaign into unusual channels and de-

manded something different from the politicians and the political system. Today, the most polled and focus-grouped voters in history reveal what they really think.

One year ago, Washington Post reporters spent several weeks polling and interviewing voters around the country. The findings were stark: Voters had lost faith in the political system, viewed politicians as unresponsive to their interests and desperately wanted the 1992 campaign to focus on big issues like the economy, health care and education.

Over the past two weeks, Post reporters have made contact with a number of those same voters, as well as participants in focus groups sponsored by The Post and others encountered along the campaign trail this year—and conducted another poll—to determine how attitudes have changed.

This is an electorate variously described this year as angry or anxious, frustrated or irritable. But as they prepared to cast their ballots, the voters presented a curious tab-

See VOTERS, A9, Col. 1

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

VOTERS. From A1

leau of emotions: ambivalent, nervous, still dissatisfied, surprisingly engaged and vaguely hopeful.

Several things stand out:

■ Six out of 10 voters expect the next president to take the country in a new direction, while fewer than a third expect no change, according to the Post-ABC News Poll.

■ Ross Perot's candidacy, more than anything else, has changed the landscape of American politics and crystallized attitudes about what voters don't like about the political system. Three in four voters, regardless of how they plan to vote today, say Perot's presence in the presidential race has been beneficial. Perot is the reason Doug Dolan is now a voter, and others made clear that the Texas businessman had cut through the clutter of the campaign like no other candidate running this year.

■ While voters are paying closer attention to the campaign, many remain unhappy with the negative tone of the debate and the issues that have—or have not—been dealt with. With the exception of the budget deficit and the influence of special interests—two issues central to Perot's message—voters said they had not heard enough about such problems as the economy, crime and education.

■ After repeatedly expressing dissatisfaction with their choice of candidates at different points this year, three in four voters now say they are satisfied with the choice of President Bush, Bill Clinton and Perot. Those who are not happy remain outspoken about their disillusionment. "Why don't you ask me which one I dislike the least," said Betty Hughes of Rialto, Calif.

Through talk shows and call-in interviews, voters have had a chance to view the candidates without some of the traditional filters of the media, and that has had a significant impact on the interest level in the campaign.

Some voters contacted by The Post said they especially liked the second presidential debate, which featured questions from an audience of voters, and others made frequent references to television talk shows like CNN's "Larry King Live" as helpful to them in sorting out the candidates.

"It's had all the elements of petting of past campaigns," said Hal Jordan of Charlotte, N.C. "But I also think there has been more discussion of issues than either in 1984 or 1988. Part of it's been because the candidates are going not just through the regular print and television media, but through talk shows that have allowed them to get more than a sound bite out to the public. Maybe there's not more discussion of issues, but more of it unfettered has gotten to the public."

The electorate divided almost evenly when asked whether this year's candidates had spent "more time" or "less time" than past candidates in talking about "the country's biggest problems," according to the Post-ABC News Poll. They also split almost evenly when asked if the campaign had been about the issues they really cared about personally.

Voters had a more positive view when asked whether the presidential candidates had offered "new ideas" about solving the country's most important problems, with 60 percent saying the candidates had offered new ideas and 50 percent saying this year's crop had more new ideas than earlier presidential candidates.

Also on the relatively positive side, voters by 55 to 43 percent thought the candidates had "offered a clear direction about where they want to lead the country." And better than three voters in five said this year's debates had helped them make up their minds about whom to support.

But the poll found that 50 percent of the voters thought this year's campaign was more negative than in the past, compared with 38 percent who saw it as more positive. And by better than 2 to 1, voters thought candidates were more concerned about "their image" than about offering "real solutions to the problems facing the country."

The survey, as well as the interviews around the country, suggested that Clinton voters were happier with this election campaign than supporters of Bush or Perot.

Among likely voters, 61 percent of Clinton's strongest supporters thought the campaign had been about the biggest problem facing the country, compared with less than half of the Perot or Bush backers. In addition, 55 percent of Clinton's supporters thought this year's candidates had spent more time than past candidates in talking about the country's biggest problems, compared with only 41 percent of Bush's definite supporters and 40 percent of Perot's.

Last fall, Dennis Bezotte, a retired Chrysler worker in Kenosha, was thoroughly grumpy about politics and deeply worried about the nation's economy. Last week, he

was upbeat at the prospect of having a Democrat in the White House. "I think we have a chance with this man," Bezotte said of Clinton.

But Perot supporters also felt energized by the campaign, if for different reasons.

Ron Vitrakis of Phoenix said Perot's campaign will change the way people think about politics. "He just brought a whole lot that people had not thought about before," said Vitrakis. "He made people more aware of the problems that the

country has. He also served to point out the infighting between the Democrats and Republican, and how both parties are supported by special-interest groups."

As the candidates made their final appears yesterday, some voters wrestled with their choice. Dana Knight of Merrimack, N.H., voted for Paul E. Tsongas in the Democratic primary last February. He was trying to decide between Clinton and Perot. "I still sit a little on the fence," Knight said. "I have a tendency to put Perot in, as much

as I feel he has a wacky quality, just to see what would happen."

Other voters have finally reached a decision, but only after considerable agonizing. Susan Manne of Cincinnati moved from Bush to Clinton and back to Bush as Election Day neared. "I have this secret fear Clinton's going to cost me money," she said.

H.A. York of Rialto, Calif., said, "I really would like to give Ross Perot a chance, but I don't think he's an electable candidate. So I'm going to cast my ballot with George Bush."

A year ago, Sharon Sorrel, a nurse in Charlotte, said she was "fed up" with politicians. She's still discouraged, but thinks today's election might begin to change things. "I think the people of this country, hopefully, are . . . going to take an interest in the fact that we've sat on our own rear ends and we have to do something," she said. "It's not just the government that sat on their rear ends. It's the people too."

Staff writer E.J. Dionne Jr.
contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

HOW VOTERS RATED THE RACE

Q Do you think this presidential campaign was mainly about the biggest problems facing the country, or not?

About biggest problems	50%
Not about biggest problems	47

Q Do you think the presidential campaign has been mainly about the issues that you really care about, or not?

Mainly about the issues	51%
Not about the issues	47

Q Do you think the presidential candidates have had new ideas about how to solve the country's biggest problems, or do you think the candidates haven't had many new ideas?

Yes, new ideas	60%
No new ideas	37

Q Compared to recent presidential campaigns, do you think the candidates this year had more new ideas about solving the country's biggest problems?

More ideas	50%
Less ideas	40
Same amount of ideas	8

Q Do you think that the presidential candidates have offered a clear direction about where they want to lead the country, or not?

Yes, clear direction	55%
No clear direction	43

Q Do you think the candidates for president have been more concerned about their image, or more concerned about offering real solutions to the problems facing the country?

Their image	66%
Offering real solutions	30

Q Compared to past presidential campaigns, was this campaign more positive or more negative?

More negative	50%
More positive	38
About the same (volunteered)	9

Q Regardless of whether or not you plan to vote for him, do you think it was a good thing or a bad thing that Ross Perot ran for president this year?

Good thing	73%
Bad thing	24

Q Just your best guess: Do you expect that the next president will take the country in a new direction, or do you think that things will pretty much go on as they are now?

New direction	61%
As they are now	35

One year ago, The Washington Post and ABC News asked registered voters how much they worried about more than 50 concerns that ranged from crime to the deficit, declining educational standards to government waste. In the past two weeks, voters were again asked to rate those concerns. And those who said they worried about a specific issue "a great deal" or "a good amount" were then asked how much attention the presidential candidates had paid to this issue—too much, too little or about the right amount.

Here are the voters' top 15 worries, and the percentage of concerned voters who said the presidential candidates paid too little attention to that issue.

	Worry a great deal/ good amount about issue	Too little attention paid to issue
1. Crime will increase	85%	71%
2. The country's elected officials are not paying attention to the long-range needs of the country	84	70
3. A good college education is becoming too expensive	82	79
4. AIDS will become more widespread	82	63
5. The American educational system will get worse instead of better	82	74
6. The country faces more economic bad times	81	57
7. The use of illegal drugs will increase	80	72
8. The federal budget deficit will grow	80	48
9. Today's children will not have the same opportunities you did	79	71
10. Waste in the government in Washington will grow	79	68
11. The government isn't working as well as it used to	78	68
12. Nobody is looking out for the interest of the middle class	78	73
13. The welfare system rewards people for not working	77	72
14. Pollution and other environmental problems will get worse	76	74
15. Special interest groups have too much influence over elected officials	75	46

NOTE: Figures come from three Washington Post-ABC News telephone polls of randomly sampled registered voters from across the country. Polls were conducted Oct. 23-29, among 782 registered voters; Oct. 25-28, among two groups of 623 voters each and Oct. 28-29, among 380 voters. Margin of sampling error is between plus or minus 4 and 5 percentage points. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research Services of Radnor, Pa. and ICR Survey Research of Media Pa. Note that figures may not add to 100 because "don't know" is not included.

—Compiled by Sharon Warden

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

In 6-State Swing, Bush Promises Election Surprise

By John E. Yang
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Nov. 2—President Bush returned home tonight promising "the biggest comeback in American political history" as he ended the final day of his final campaign—a frenetic 1,645-mile, six-state search for the votes that would give him a second term.

"Tonight we come home from another long, long journey, a little tired, a little worn, but fired up because we're going to win," he told a raucous rally in the Astro Arena here. "We are on the verge of something very, very big, something historic in American politics."

Bush had often repeated that message during the previous 14 hours, following an itinerary dictated by polling results and the arithmetic of the electoral college. "I remind you that time and again in our political journeys we've defeated the odds and time and again we've proved the naysayers wrong," he said tonight in the last political speech on his own behalf.

He began the day at a chilly and damp outdoor rally in Madison, N.J. "So now we go," he said. "The last day I will ever campaign for myself for president of the United States or anything else."

In a dizzying blur of balloons, American flags and banners, high school marching band music and chants of "Four More Years," Bush went from bone-chilling rain in the Northeast to mild autumn sunshine

See BUSH, A3, Col. 3

BUSH, From A1

in the Midwest to a warm evening in the Southwest. The president—appearing tired, sounding raspy and projecting confidence and enthusiasm—sought to battle the public opinion polls that showed him trailing Democratic nominee Bill Clinton.

He began the day with a defiant tone. "We are going to show the pundits and the pollsters that they are wrong," he said to cheers at a rally on an athletic field in Glenolden, Pa., where a light but steady drizzle turned his view of the audience into a sea of umbrellas. "We are going to win this election. . . . Now it's up to what the American people think."

"We are going to pull off one of the biggest surprises in political history," he shouted, pounding the lectern with his left fist. "Discard the pundits, discard the pollsters, discard the rhetoric out of Governor Clinton. Vote for me and we will lead this country to new heights."

As the day wore on, Bush's comments became more reflective. In Louisville, the president asked voters to consider seriously their decision. "When you walk alone into that booth tomorrow, you will not spend more than a couple of minutes," he said. "But your single voice will echo down the corridor of time. . . . It's an act of power, a statement of principle and a harbinger of possibility."

And his voiced thickened with emotion as he recalled his decision to send troops into combat in the Persian Gulf War. "It's a responsibility that I have tried to fulfill with honor, duty and above all integrity," he said.

Between stops, Bush said he had relaxed by listening to the Oak Ridge Boys, a country-western group traveling with him, sing gospel songs aboard Air Force One.

Today's trip—from New Jersey to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Louisiana before touching down here tonight—took him to states that account for 108 electoral votes—states analysts say he must win to be reelected.

Campaign officials said they designed the trip to put Bush in states where they believed a personal visit would make a difference. He extended his reach beyond the rallies by giving local television news and radio interviews aboard Air Force One.

Top campaign officials sought to project confidence. "He's absolutely confident he's going to win," Bush-Quayle campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter said of Bush. "Several

times a day, I'm going over how we can do it."

White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III cited the shift in the polls in recent weeks as a reason for optimism. Other campaign officials were more cautious.

On the stump today, Bush was relentlessly upbeat and enthusiastic, slapping the lectern with his open hand or fist to punctuate his speeches. It seemed to be an example of what Bush described in his 1987 memoirs, "Looking Forward," as "the runner's high that hits a candidate when finally, after months of pursuit, he sees the goal in sight."

Still, Bush showed the toll of 17 uninterrupted days of campaigning, at times leaning on the lectern as if for support.

This afternoon, though, he seemed energized by the milder weather that greeted him in the Midwest and the boisterous greetings he received. "I feel good," he said, flashing both thumbs upward, after he walked to the stage in a hangar at Ohio's Akron-Canton Regional Airport.

At stop after stop today, he crammed the bruising, yearlong campaign into a rapid-fire 20-minute stump speech.

He swung away at Clinton, whom he called "slippery," over issues of character and trust. "It boils down to this: When you go into the booth all across the country, who do you trust?" he asked in Madison.

He warned of dire results if Clinton were to manage the economy. "When Bill Clinton's blowing that 'taxophone,' middle-class America is going to be singing the blues," he said, referring to the Arkansas governor's musical talents.

Bush boasted of his own policies on trade, health care, education and crime. He attacked Congress and backed term limits for lawmakers. He reminded audiences of his stewardship during the Persian Gulf War. "Let's keep a president in that Oval Office who is strong and knows to stand up for America," he said.

He was contrite and plaintive. "When a president makes a mistake, he says, 'Look, I made a mistake. Now please let me help to continue to lead this country,'" he said in Akron.

He blasted the news media. "There has not been objectivity in the coverage," he said to cheers. "This has been the most biased year in the history of presidential politics."

He even invoked his wife, Barbara—"the best first lady we possibly could have."

Win or lose, this was the last day Bush would ask for votes—28 years after his first race, in which he lost to Democrat Ralph Yarborough for the Senate. Bush discussed that with Baker and Teeter on Air Force One.

"He's beginning to realize that this is the last time," said Baker, who has been involved in each of his longtime friend's campaigns since 1970. "It's been a long time since 1964. He's come a long way since 1964."

For updated results of local and national elections tonight, phone Post-Haste at 202-334-9000 and enter Category Code 5500.

The Washington Post

Nov 3, 1992

Reading the Early Indicators: A Viewer's Guide

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

With a handy list of key states and an ample supply of popcorn, the sharp-eyed television viewer should be able to call the presidential election tonight well before the networks.

Even if Bill Clinton rolls to a big victory over President Bush and Ross Perot, it's unlikely that the networks will project him as the winner until at least 9:30 or 10 p.m. That's because the networks will not use

exit polls to "call" a state until most of its balloting is closed, and no proclamation will be made until one candidate is projected to have 270 electoral votes. (CBS called Bush's 40-state win in 1988 at 9:17 p.m.)

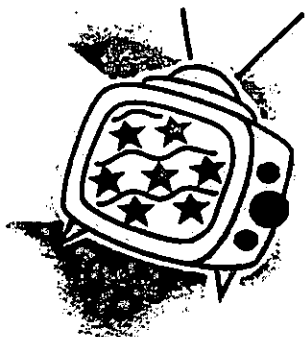
But there will be early indications of whether Bush can pull off an upset or Clinton is headed for an easy win. And anyone watching the tube can regale friends and neighbors with his or her very own "talking head" commentary. Just leave yourself some wiggle room, the ways the pros do.

■ **Earliest states to watch:** Polls close at 6

p.m. in Kentucky (8 electoral votes) and Indiana (12). A Clinton victory in Kentucky, which hasn't gone Democratic since 1976 (a statistic you'll hear over and over tonight), is a good harbinger for the Arkansas governor. If Clinton wins Vice President Quayle's home state, which hasn't gone Democratic since 1964, he may be in for a big night.

Tim Russert, NBC's Washington bureau chief, has cooked up a "10-10 rule. If Clinton wins Kentucky by 10 points or more and

See GUIDE, A9, Col. 4



THE WASHINGTON POST

Reading the Indicators: Tips for Election Watchers

GUIDE, From A1

Bush wins Indiana by 10 or less, then indications are a big night for Clinton. If Clinton barely wins or loses Kentucky, and Bush wins big in Indiana, it's going to be a close election."

■ **The big enchilada:** Texas (32). It is virtually impossible for Bush to win reelection without his adopted home state. Because the electoral math is against Bush, he faces many more must-win states than Clinton.

■ **Two other enchiladas:** Florida (25) and Ohio (21). In addition to Texas, "if Bush carries Florida and Ohio, he has a chance of winning this thing," says CNN commentator William Schneider. "If he loses one, he's in trouble. If he loses both, he ain't going to win."

■ **Big yawns:** California (54), New York (33), Massachusetts (12), Maryland (10) and West Virginia (5) are all solidly in the Clinton column. Ditto for the District of Columbia (3).

■ **7:00 surprises:** A Clinton victory in Georgia (13) would show he is breaking the Republican stranglehold on the South. "If Clinton wins Georgia, that's a sign the landslide is starting," says ABC's Hal Bruno. A Bush loss in New Hampshire (4), solidly Republican since Lyndon B. Johnson, could signal a New England sweep for the Democrats. Florida and Virginia (13) also close their polls.

■ **The 7:30 bellwether:** Ohio.

■ **8:00 avalanche:** Three of Bush's crucial states—Michigan (18), New Jersey (15) and Texas—will be in play at this hour. Two big states that Clinton expects to carry, Pennsylvania (23) and Illinois (22), also close their polls, and a Clinton

loss in either one would spell trouble for the Democrat. Bush will get a major boost if he can pick off Sen. Albert Gore Jr.'s Tennessee (11).

■ **9:00 news flash:** The pieces should be falling into place at this hour, particularly with poll closings in Wisconsin (11), Louisiana (9), Colorado (8) and Arizona (8).

■ **West Coast update:** Clinton's early electoral vote total won't reflect his true strength, in part because he's expected to sweep California, Oregon and Washington, where polls don't close until 11 p.m. EST. Unlike decades past, when the nation stayed up all night waiting for late returns, this election could be over by then.

■ **Perot's silent majority:** Earliest indications of the billionaire's strength should come in Florida and Texas. Perot also has a strong following in Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona and Alaska.

■ **Senate races to watch:** If Robert Abrams (N.Y.), Lynn Yeakel (Pa.), Carol Moseley Braun (Ill.) and Barbara Boxer (Calif.) win their tight races, it will be a strong night for the Democrats. The most endangered Democratic incumbents are John Glenn (Ohio) and Terry Sanford (N.C.). The shakiest GOP incumbents are Alfonse M. D'Amato (N.Y.), John Seymour (Calif.), Robert W. Kasten Jr. (Wis.) and Bob Packwood (Ore.).

■ **Early House races to watch:** According to Roll Call's Charles Cook, Democratic Reps. Frank McCloskey (Ind.), Romano L. Mazzoli (Ky.), Richard Ray (Ga.), Stephen L. Neal (N.C.) and Mary Rose Oakar (Ohio) already have "one foot in the political grave."

■ **Pundits to watch:** If David Gergen and Mark Shields find themselves in agreement, the election is probably over.

ON TV

ABC (Ch. 7), 6:30 p.m.

Live election coverage with Peter Jennings and David Brinkley begins with "ABC World News Tonight."

CBS (Ch. 9), 7 p.m.

Live coverage with Dan Rather.

C-SPAN, 6:30 p.m.

Live coverage starts with a viewer call-in program.

CNN, 4:30 p.m.

Live coverage with Bernard Shaw and Catherine Crier begins with "Inside Politics."

NBC (Ch. 4), 6:30 p.m.

Live coverage with Tom Brokaw and Bryant Gumbel begins with "NBC Nightly News."

PBS (Ch. 26), 7 p.m.

Live coverage starting with "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour."

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO

(88.5 AND 90.9 FM), 8 p.m.

Live coverage with Linda Wertheimer and Robert Siegel.



THE WASHINGTON POST

■ **Talking points:** Bush would be the ninth sitting president to be defeated in a general election. Clinton would be the third youngest president in U.S. history (Bonus: John F. Kennedy and Theodore Roosevelt were younger.)

■ **Delay of game warning:** If exit polls show a tight race in key states, the networks will delay calling them, which could make for a long night.

■ **Obligatory disclaimer:** Exit polls are sometimes wrong, especially in a year when many people are refusing to talk to pollsters.



Yesterday in Cleveland, Gov. Bill Clinton, above, told a rally that today's election "will shape the future of your country well into the next generation." Last night in Houston, at the president's final rally as a candidate, George and Barbara Bush were "a little tired ... but fired up because we're going to win."



Candidates Finish in a Sprint

Clinton Works President's Turf In Final Push

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

McALLEN, Tex., Nov. 2—Here in the heart of the Democratic stronghold of the Rio Grande Valley, where a heavy turnout is critical to his chances of carrying President Bush's home state, Clinton was greeted under a cloudless night sky by a crowd of about 10,000, the largest he encountered during his final day of campaigning.

As he did elsewhere, he introduced his wife, Hillary, as "the next first lady of the United States." And as he did at the earlier stops, he urged his supporters to "take part in that great mystery of democracy" when the polls open Tuesday morning.

"Tomorrow, your vote counts just as much as any billionaire, just as much as a president, just as much as any senator or governor," he said.

In one sign of Clinton's determination to defeat Bush on his home turf, he left later tonight for a second Texas rally in Fort Worth before pushing on to Albuquerque and Denver.

For all the miles traveled, however, this was no frenzied dash to the finish line. Instead, despite the electorate's proven volatility this year, despite the uncertainty that accompanies any election, a sense of quiet serenity settled over the Democratic nominee and his campaign staff as they hurtled their way through the day and into the night.

Clinton's message was positive, meant to inspire, with barely a mention of Bush and none of Ross Perot

ELECTION 1992
Washington area residents will vote today in presidential and congressional races, elect local officials and decide state and local questions. In Maryland and the District of Columbia, the polls are open from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m. In Virginia, they are open from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. Stories on local elections appear on Page B1, and a guide to what's on local ballots appears on Page B4.

or of the hostility and negativism that have marked their extraordinary, three-way contest for the presidency.

At Burke Lakefront Airport in Cleveland, as a sharp wind whipped off Lake Erie, the Arkansas governor echoed the opening passages of Theodore H. White's classic book "The Making of the President 1960," which recounts the election of Clinton's political hero, John F. Kennedy.

"Tomorrow," he said, "the great mystery of American democracy will sweep across this country. Wave after wave of you will go quietly into the voting booth and in the solitude between you and your vote, you will become as powerful as any person in the United States of America. I ask you to remember that this is a big election which will shape the future of your country well into the next generation, well into the next century."

Bundled against the cold and rain that greeted him in Cleveland, Detroit, and here, Clinton swept

See CLINTON, A8, Col. 5

■ Clinton leads in final polls by Washington Post, others. Page A8

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Clinton Camp Confident On Election-Eve Marathon

CLINTON, From A1

through the Midwest and headed south and west on a 4,108-mile journey through eight states that was to end after dawn on Election Day in Denver.

His troublesome voice was hoarse but functioning and his mood ebullient as Clinton, accompanied by his wife, Hillary, and Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown, made his final plea in a campaign he began more than a year ago.

Invoking the names of American heroes from George Washington and Thomas Jefferson through Abraham Lincoln, Franklin D. Roosevelt to Kennedy, Clinton told the sparse crowd at the Cleveland airport, "This election is a race between hope and fear, between division and community, between responsibility and blame, between whether we have the courage to change, to stay young forever, or whether we stay with the comfort of the status quo. Tomorrow, we will drown out the negative voices that have held us back so long and build the America you deserve."

The lofty rhetoric was a reflection of the confidence that imbued the Clinton campaign only hours before Tuesday's voting was to begin. Gone were the attacks and the Clinton specialty—the counterattack—against Bush, which were seen as unnecessary and probably counterproductive at this point.

Dee Dee Myers, who worked for 1988 Democratic nominee Michael S. Dukakis and is Clinton's press secretary, recalled today how four years ago the Democrats were "constantly on the defensive" until very late in the campaign.

"Four years ago, I just wanted it to be over," she said. Now, she went on, "a tremendous sense of responsibility is beginning to set in" among the Clinton aides as they begin to look beyond Tuesday. "He's not president yet and it's still hard for me to imagine his winning," Myers said. "I don't have much frame of reference for that in my career. But this doesn't feel like the end."

Part of Clinton's mission today was to shore up his party's ticket in

key races around the country. He urged his supporters to go all out for Lynn Yeakel, who is challenging Sen. Arlen Specter (R) in Pennsylvania, for Sen. John Glenn, who is fighting for political survival against Lt. Gov. Mike DeWine (R) in Ohio, and for Geri Rothman-Serot, who trails in her race against Missouri Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R).

But for Clinton himself, the front-runner in the presidential contest, the last campaign day was a time to remain carefully above the fray. In Philadelphia this morning, where he began the day with an appearance at the Mayfair Diner that was timed to coincide with the morning television news programs, he brushed aside a question about Perot's last-minute attack on his record in Arkansas. "My staff put out a statement on that already," Clinton said.

Nothing better symbolized the Clinton campaign than what turned out to be the first event of the campaign's last day. It took place in the early morning hours at Garden State Park, a racetrack in Cherry Hill, N.J.

He arrived on a bus—the symbol of the campaign ever since he and Sen. Albert Gore Jr. embarked on their first bus tour following the Democratic National Convention in July—and he arrived late, another Clinton tradition.

But inside the racetrack, thousands of people awaited him, cheering wildly as fireworks exploded. Nursing his raw throat, he gave a short speech, but when it was over, he could not resist picking up the saxophone in the band and belting out the 1960s song "Can't Sit Down."

The site was chosen because recently a standardbred horse named Bubba Clinton, running at 37 to 1 odds, had won a race at the track and after the rally, the governor and the horse were introduced in the winner's circle, where they posed for pictures with the colt's owner.

As he was leaving the track to climb aboard a bus for the last time before his political fate is decided, he was asked whether Bubba had offered any advice for the campaign's last day.

Clinton laughed. "Just run hard," he said.

Jim Hoagland

Mission No. 1

Almost as soon as the ballots are counted and a victor declared, President-elect Clinton or President-still Bush will be invited by circumstances and a desperate bunch of Europeans to shelve the deficit-cutting ideas that have periodically dominated the U.S. presidential campaign. It is an invitation the president, new or not, should seriously consider.

Deficit reduction is important. But it is not the urgent task that the Perot-haunted campaigns of Bush and Clinton made it seem. What is urgent now is a more active American role in stimulating world trade, which is dropping like a boulder hurled out of a jetliner.

Such a switch in emphasis—especially by a politically reborn Bush—would smack of Read-My-Lipism, Part II. But going now for stimulus and spending instead of retrenchment would in fact be a rational response to changed circumstances. During the long American political season, a deepening recession overseas has overtaken many of the central economic assumptions of the campaign programs.

None of the campaign economic programs anticipated the global crisis of confidence that is now weakening the economies and political systems of America's main trading partners.

The authority of the governments of Britain, Canada and France has been broken by party or voter revolts since the beginning of September. The leaders of Germany, Japan and Italy have fared only slightly better. They will be looking to the mandated candidate in Washington for leadership and support.

Signs multiply that they are also looking for a deal on a global stimulus package. The elements of such an arrangement are falling into place under the determined—one might even say desperate—prodding of Jacques Delors, the normally phlegmatic president of the European Community.

Speaking at the European Parliament in Strasbourg on Oct. 27, Delors openly warned that Europe now faces the prospect of a

"What is urgent now is a more active American role in stimulating world trade, which is dropping like a boulder hurled out of a jetliner."

1930s-style depression unless the 12 EC nations adopt a coordinated growth package, and fast. Supporting this dire view are a stream of new economic projections for 1993 showing German growth falling to one percent and France's expected rise in gross national product slipping a full percentage point to 1.6 percent or lower. Britain is already in a financial depression by any serious measure.

The dismal implications of the European collapse and Japan's stagnation for Bush's proposal to make America the global "export superpower" as the key to restoring American growth are clear. The important export markets for U.S. goods are shrinking, not growing—a point made by investment banker Jeffrey E. Garten, who notes that U.S. exports to Europe grew by 16 percent in 1988, 12 percent in 1989 and only 6 percent last year—"and that's before economic hard times hit the continent."

That news is not much better for the Clinton economic team, which was less explicit on the subject of exports in the campaign but counted heavily on foreign demand to help boost the U.S. growth rate to 3.2 percent in 1993. They derived that figure from Congressional Budget Office projections.

The still unverified 2.7 percent third quarter rate of growth reported by the Bush administration, while encouraging, does not significantly change the economic picture for next year, many analysts believe.

During the slow U.S. recovery, big American companies have "been kept afloat by their sales in Europe and Japan as the dollar weakened," says Richard Medley, managing direc-

tor of New York's Soros Fund. "Europe has been the sole profit center for a number of these big companies. Now, just as the American consumers are putting their toes in the water for the first time in five years, European consumers are packing up and leaving the beach altogether."

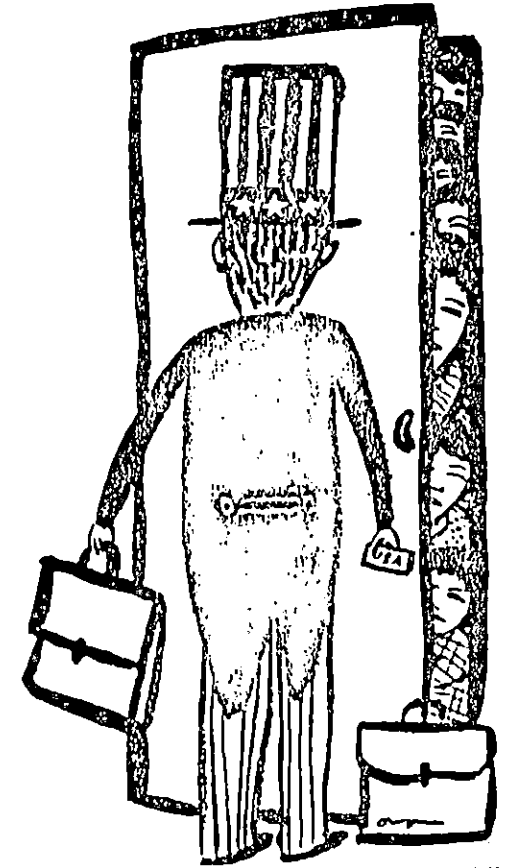
The sharp downward trends are causing European governments to soften their once-rigid goal of fighting inflation at any cost. In Britain, Prime Minister John Major, abandoning his fear of inflation, now identifies growth as the almost exclusive priority of his government's medium-term policies.

Politicians in France's right-wing parties that are expected to capture control of the National Assembly in March suggest privately that they too are prepared to risk more inflation in return for growth.

But the big change that gives Delors hope has come in Germany, where Chancellor Helmut Kohl has begun to talk of using tax increases to pay for German reunification. Raising tax revenue to get the budget deficit down is a precondition set by the powerful central bank, the Bundesbank, for reducing the interest rates that are stifling growth throughout Europe.

To sweeten the pot, Delors's staff is drawing up an EC spending plan that would fund significant infrastructure improvements across Europe. It would be a way of getting the rest of Europe more deeply involved in helping rebuild the roads, communication networks and other infrastructure items of Eastern Germany, as Kohl has demanded.

Accelerating infrastructure spending in



BY JOHN OVERMYER

America at the beginning of the new presidential term would provide the U.S. economic and political support essential to a global recovery.

Whether it is Bush or Clinton sipping champagne tonight, the American who is president for the next four years should take a fresh look at the global economy and realize how the numbers have been crunching and changing while he has been flesh-pressing. Instead of being shackled by fear of inflation and by outdated campaign assumptions, the president should choose an economic team that will emphasize and manage a program of growth.

A10 TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 ...

GOP Calls Release of Weinberger Papers a Political 'Low Blow'

By Ann Devroy and Walter Pincus
 Washington Post Staff Writers

GOP campaign officials yesterday charged that the release last Friday by independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh of an Iran-contra note harmful to President Bush was a calculated political "low blow" that affected the dynamics of the Republican's campaign.

But sources close to the Iran-contra prosecutor said the timing for filing a new indictment of former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, which contained the note, was set early last month by agreement with a U.S. District Court judge here.

The Weinberger note, describing his view of a Jan. 7, 1986, White

House meeting on arms-for-hostages dealings that Bush attended as vice president, appeared to contradict Bush statements about his knowledge of arms dealings with Iran.

Sources close to the prosecutor said that note, and 14 others by Weinberger disclosed for the first time in the new indictment, were required by the new false statement charge and pressure from defense lawyers to be more explicit about the case.

Bush, asked about the note Friday on CNN's "Larry King Live," suggested there was something suspicious in the "last-minute" timing. Asked by King if he was accusing Walsh of political motivation in the timing, said: "No, I'm asking, isn't it strange? I'm not implying anything!"

Bush aides were far more direct in background discussions with reporters. One senior official said the indictment and release of notes "was an incredibly low blow by a mean, political hack. . . This was the lowest of the low. It amounts to a dirty trick."

Another aide predicted late Friday that: "This could change the dynamic in play, it could stall us out if he spends the next two days being asked about this."

Bush was asked repeatedly in news interviews on Friday night, Saturday and Sunday about the Weinberger issue, and it was the lead report on all the network news programs Friday.

Yesterday, Bush aides worried aloud that the report had shifted back the momentum to Clinton. Most public polls showed a shift

toward Clinton before the report broke, but Bush aides said that on Friday, their internal tracking had put them almost even with Clinton and that by Saturday, Clinton had picked up steam again.

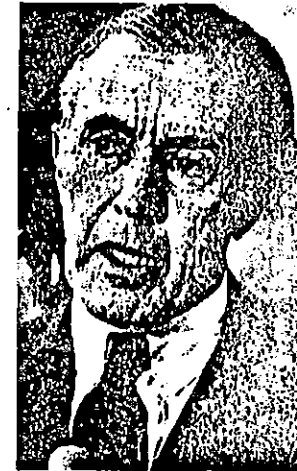
"We really were moving until this happened," said one official, suggesting that the first thing the president should do after the election is "fire Walsh and pardon everyone" connected with the latest Walsh efforts, particularly Weinberger.

Sunday on CNN, Bush refused to say what he would do about Walsh after the election but he described the six-year investigation as "a big witch hunt out there when you see a decent man like Cap Weinberger going through all kinds of hell."

The new Weinberger indictment,

which charges the former defense secretary with making false statements about the existence of his notes, replaced one that had been dismissed by U.S. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan here in September. The old charge of obstructing Congress by hiding the notes, had been criticized for being too wordy by Weinberger's chief defense counsel, Robert S. Bennett.

The old indictment did not contain the text of Weinberger's notes, but described in narrative form 15 meetings that prosecutors said they covered. The new indictment was drafted by the same lawyers who did the old one except for James J. Brosnahan, a Democrat and prominent San Francisco trial lawyer who took charge of the case Oct. 22.



LAWRENCE E. WALSH
 ... Bush aide urges counsel's firing

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Perot Offers Theme Song For Campaign: 'Crazy'

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

DALLAS, Nov. 2—Only a few days ago, Ross Perot had predicted a last-minute surprise, and today he delivered. "I found the theme song for our campaign," Perot told supporters here halfway into his standard stump speech. "And here it comes."

With that cue, a Dixieland band hired to warm up the crowd suddenly started playing. "We're crazy," crooned the band leader, improvising on the famous Patsy Cline song "Crazy." Perot signaled to his youngest daughter, Katherine, and, as his supporters roared with laughter and applause, led her dancing about the stage.

It was, in short, not your usual election-eve political rally. The crowd was disappointingly small, only about 4,000 people in Dallas's 19,000-capacity Reunion Arena. But after spending \$60 million of his own money on an often strange and unconventional quest for the presidency, Perot today was clearly determined to have a good time.

After finishing his 45-minute speech and predicting he would "landslide this thing" to victory, Perot danced again. He sang, belting out the words to "America the Beautiful." He shouted requests to the band. Embracing with relish attacks leveled by the White House, Perot shouted: "We're all crazy again now! . . . Don't worry folks. We got buses lined up outside to take you back to the insane asylum after all this is over!"

Perot also pressed his criticisms of President Bush and Bill Clinton. Today, Clinton became simply "the chicken man"—a reference to the Arkansas governor's efforts to develop his state's poultry industry. "If we can agree that the two biggest problems that face our country are managing what used to be your money and putting America back to work, then the question is: Is the chicken man the best qualified man?" Perot asked as the crowd laughed.

"When you talk about rebuilding America . . . I'll give it to you straight, folks, you can't do it with Third World minimum-wage jobs."

The Dallas rally capped a three-day cross-country barnstorming tour that was Perot's only foray into traditional campaigning since he got back into the race a month ago. And for the most part, it seemed to lift his spirits. Large, enthusiastic crowds showed up to hear him at arenas in Tampa, Kansas City, Long Beach and Santa Clara, Calif.

But the campaign swing also betrayed some of the same pitfalls that have conspired to bedevil his candidacy. Ever since he dropped out of the race in July, disappointing millions of supporters, Perot has cut his ties to advisers and has surrounded himself with aides who have little or no political experience.

Today's sparse turnout suggested disorganization and inadequate advance work. With no buses chartered to bring people to the event, Perot was forced to give his final speech to row upon row of empty seats.

But his supporters at the rally were excited and insisted to reporters that polls showing Perot finishing third were wrong.

"The enthusiasm in Texas has never waned," said Jim Serur, state director of the Perot campaign here. "We believe there's a large silent vote out there—people who say quietly, I'm going to vote for Perot, but I don't want anybody to know about it. A lot of people are afraid they'd be judged extremists."

But throughout the tour, there was also a wistful mood among some of his supporters. Some acknowledged that had it not been for Perot's acknowledged mistakes—his decision to drop out in the summer or his recent unsubstantiated allegations of GOP "dirty tricks"—their candidate might be more competitive in the voting Tuesday.

Jack Gargan, a retired Tampa businessman who launched a "draft Perot for president" effort more than a year ago, said before the Tampa rally that he still believes Perot can pull out a "stunning upset."

But had Perot handled his campaign differently, "he could have been waiting into office," Gargan said. "But you can't turn the clock back."

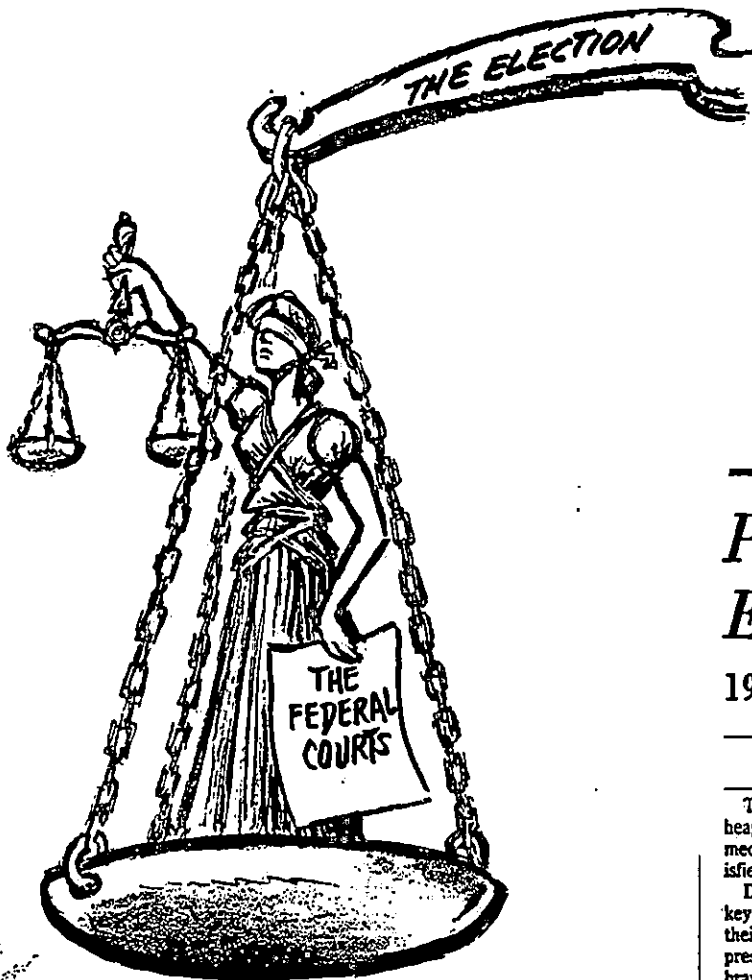
Ross Perot joins in his new campaign song, "Crazy," is sung at rally in Dallas.



The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

IN THE BALANCE



HERB RASMUSSEN

Pinning the Donkey, Elephant on the Parties

19th Century Cartoonists Created the Symbols

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

The presidential candidates have heaped a lot of criticism on the news media lately. And in one area, dissatisfied polls are justified in doing so.

Democrats who dislike their donkey and Republicans who condemn their elephant can fairly blame the press, according to Harry Katz, a Library of Congress researcher who says it was the 19th century political press that gave the political parties their symbols.

In neither case was it an act of praise.

The donkey had its origin in the scorn political cartoonists heaped on Andrew Jackson and his plans to distribute treasury funds formerly held in the Bank of the United States. In 1833, a cartoonist placed Jackson's head on the body of a kicking donkey and captioned his barnyard scene: "Let Every one take care of himself as the Jack ass said when he was dancing among the chickens."

The jackass image stuck to Jackson. But according to Katz, the library's curator of popular and applied graphic art, it wasn't until other cartoonists began using the donkey as a symbol for Democrats in the post-Civil War era that it evolved into the party's symbol.

Also during the 1870s, Thomas Nast, senior editor of Harper's Weekly, created the Tammany Tiger as the symbol of New York City's corrupt Tweed political machine. Although a Republican, Nast was furious with the scandals of Ulysses S. Grant's administration and he depicted "the Republican vote" as a marauding elephant in an 1874 cartoon.

Perhaps the preeminent cartoonist of the era, Nast was copied by others and the press made the elephant into the GOP's symbol just as it had done with the Democrats and the donkey.

In both animals, Katz said, the parties got a multidimensional image. Symbols "mild enough so they could be twisted a number of ways." The donkey can be humorous, tenacious or stubborn; the elephant, stalwart, stable or substantial.

Other parties were depicted in an-



ILLUSTRATION BY CLIFFORD K. BERRYMAN, 1912

imal imagery. The rooster has appeared variously as a Democratic and Whig Party symbol, a bull moose marked Theodore Roosevelt's third-party effort and the Prohibitionist Party had the camel, for an obvious reason. Its members had to go a long time between drinks, Katz noted.

Over the years, the cartoon images of the elephant and donkey have changed, perhaps more to reflect the changing style of cartooning than different images of the parties, Katz said.

Today's cartoons are more simple and direct than the early 19th century cartoons that were largely distributed by party officials. The advent of lithography allowed mass reproduction of the images in newspapers and magazines, Katz said.

Because the early cartoons were a major medium of political communication, artists would literally weave subtle meanings into the designs, confident that political junkies of the day would pore over them searching for meaning in every detail.

Overall, Katz said, most mainstream cartoons today are "less nasty" and funnier than in the past.

Still, animals may be the medium that most helps the political message. "By having animal imagery, you can make comments you can't make in print," Katz said.

"Party Animals," a collection of political cartoons showing the evolution of the party symbols, is on display through Friday at the Library of Congress Oval Gallery, sixth floor, James Madison Memorial Building, 101 Independence Ave. SE, 8:30 a.m.-6 p.m.

The Washington Post

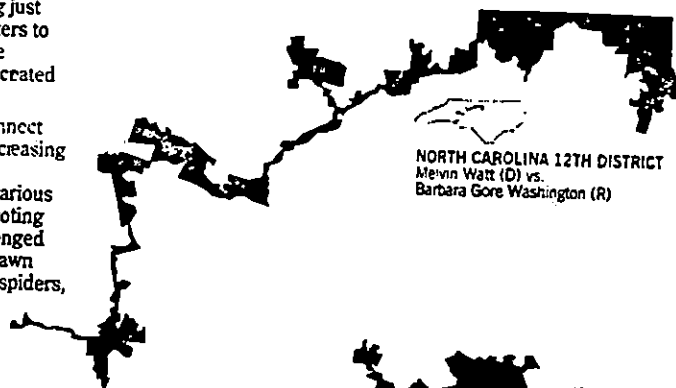
November 3, 1992

DISTRICTS THAT LOOK LIKE ANYTHING BUT AN ELECTION RORSCHACH TEST

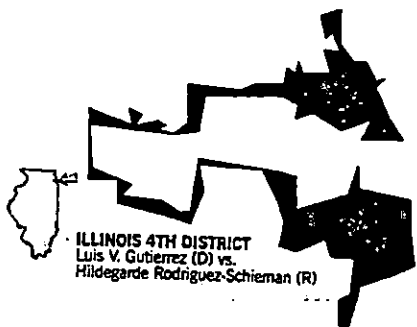
The decennial reapportionment of congressional districts may have some voters who cast ballots today wondering just which district they live in. It may be even harder for voters to understand where they are on the political map in some predominantly African-American or Hispanic districts created under 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act.

These districts twist, wind and everse diend to connect minority neighborhoods to meet federal standards for increasing the election chances of minority candidates. The 1982 amendments were designed to overcome the impact of various election laws and practices that denied or limited the voting rights of minority citizens. Achieving these results challenged legislators, courts and cartographers, who liken the redrawn district maps to jellyfish tentacles, crab legs, squished spiders, splattered paint and other Rorschach test images.

—Kenneth J. Cooper



NORTH CAROLINA 12TH DISTRICT
Melvin Watt (D) vs.
Barbara Gore Washington (R)



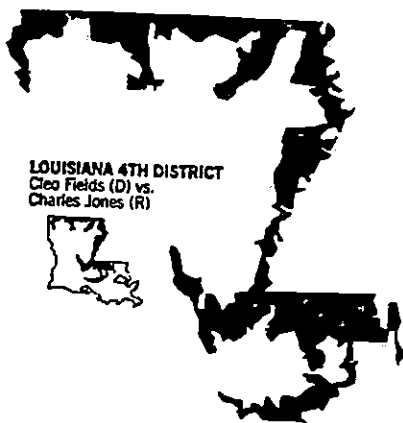
ILLINOIS 4TH DISTRICT
Luis V. Gutierrez (D) vs.
Hildegard Rodriguez-Schieman (R)



NEW YORK 12TH DISTRICT
Nydia M. Velazquez (D) vs.
Angel Diaz (I)



GEORGIA 11TH DISTRICT
Cynthia McKinney (D) vs.
Woodrow Lovett (R)



LOUISIANA 4TH DISTRICT
Cleo Fields (D) vs.
Charles Jones (R)



ALABAMA 7TH DISTRICT
Earl F. Hilliard (D) vs.
Kervin Jones (R)



FLORIDA 3RD DISTRICT
Carline Brown (D) vs.
Don Weidner (R)

The Washington Post

NOV 3, 1992

Election Interpreters Stand at the Ready *No Matter What Happens Tonight, the Explanations Are All Set*

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The results of the presidential election won't be known until tonight. But don't worry. There are a lot of people who already have interpreted the voting for you—and they know what they'll say no matter how the election comes out.

A vote can send a powerful message. But punches on a computer card, clicks on a voting machine or X's on a ballot are inarticulate. Somebody has to decide what the results really say. And make no mistake about it: The way an election gets interpreted can have almost as much long-term impact on the direction of policy and politics as the result.

So the interpreters went to work last week. For many on the liberal left, the great danger is that a Clinton victory will be interpreted as a ratification of centrist policies, the product of Clinton's support for the death penalty and welfare and his famous rebuke to Sister Souljah, the rap singer, at a meeting of Jesse L. Jackson's Rainbow Coalition.

To combat this view, Robert Borosage, a Jackson associate and senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, was already on the phone last week, arguing that Clinton's key stands were taxing the rich, supporting gay and abortion rights, and opposing "trickle-down economics."

It would be foolish, Borosage said, to say that conservative social issues elected Clinton—if win he does—in an election so dominated by economic concerns. In his perception, Clinton's economic "populism," not his social "centrism," was the key ingredient.

Since Clinton's basic strategy was to go "left" on some issues and "right" on others—and argue that the labels mean nothing anyway—both sides have a case to make. Will Marshall, president of the centrist Progressive Policy Institute—the closest thing to Clinton's personal think tank—said he didn't want to analyze a victory until it happened.

Still, he was prepared to stand up for the other side in this debate, arguing that Clinton's repositioning of the Democrats toward the center was central to his viability.

"The notion that Bill Clinton is a different kind of Democrat has been fundamental to his appeal from the beginning," Marshall said. "Among other things, it's helped immunize him against the 'soft-on-defense,



RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

soft-on-crime, tax-and-spend liberal-Democrat' attacks."

Democrats are so anxious to win that nobody wants to give their advance analysis of why Clinton lost—especially because that seems unlikely and no one wants to offend the next president. But that doesn't mean the arguments aren't already in place.

If Clinton is defeated, count on the party's left to offer careful interpretations of turnout patterns among blacks, the poor and the young to show that Clinton failed to "mobilize the base" and was mistaken in not seeking more help from Jackson.

The Democratic center and right will look closely at the Reagan Democrats and moderate-to-conservative independents to show that Clinton, despite his best efforts, couldn't overcome his party's liberal past.

If convenient, either side could beat back the other's ideological explanations by arguing that Clinton was sunk by the old "trust" and "character" issues.

On the GOP side, the interpretive battles are even further along, partly because Republicans have expected President Bush to lose for some time.

Conservatives have come up with an ingenious two-step: If Bush loses, it's because he abandoned conservative principles. If he wins, it's because he returned at the end of the campaign to the heart of the conservative argument.

L. Brent Bozell, executive director of the Conservative Victory Committee, told the Associated Press that Bush gained ground last week because he returned to his "conservative roots"—and got last-minute campaign help from former president Ronald Reagan.

Count on conservatives to talk a lot about Reagan after the election. The right has been infuriated by what its adherents see as Bush's failure to defend Reagan's record against Clinton's attacks on "12 years" of "trickle-down economics."

For moderate Republicans, especially those who support abortion rights, the culprits of 1992 will be those who wrote the GOP's firmly conservative platform and scripted the Houston convention's right-wing opener by Patrick J. Buchanan.

Count, too, on a lot of acrimony about the meaning of Bush's broken "no new taxes" pledge. Republicans will agree that the broken pledge signaled his fall. Conservatives will say Bush's problem was that he broke the pledge. Budget Director Richard G. Darman already has argued that the real problem was that he made the pledge at all.

If Bush should eke out a win, conservatives will say the triumph had a lot to do with his decision to declare his tax hike a mistake and to pledge—sort of—not to raise taxes again.

Another name that will pop up in conservative post-mortems is that of Bruce Herschensohn, the very conservative Republican running against Democratic Rep. Barbara Boxer for the Senate in California.

Herschensohn, who is well to Bush's right, is doing better in the polls than Bush. If he wins, or runs well ahead of Bush, the conservatives will count their argument as made—and never mind that some of his advantage has come from anti-Boxer, anti-Washington ads only tangentially related to ideology.

One leading indicator of conservative opinion, Wall Street Journal columnist Paul Gigot, was already out front with this argument last Thursday. "Voters appear ready this year to reject Republicans who find their philosophy in focus groups," he wrote. "Maybe convictions count for something in politics after all."

Another thing: Just because these folks have their arguments down doesn't mean you shouldn't vote. How you vote still matters more than what they say. But don't expect your vote to change their minds.

The Washington Post

Nov 30 1992

MARY McGRORY

Masquerading on Morality

President Bush's Halloween whistle-stopping through Wisconsin was something like one of those creepy British movies, in which a man stalks someone across lovely bucolic scenery, seemingly unaware that he is being stalked himself.

Bush, the stern connoisseur of character and truth, raised the alarm about Bill Clinton from a train that traversed buff-colored fields full of corn husks and goldenrod and passed old, remote Charles Addams-looking houses.

He did not seem to notice that he was being followed, although at Burlington, where the rural ramble of the 18-car "Spirit of America" began, a plane droned overhead in the gray sky with a streamer that read, "Iran-Contra Haunts You."

At his first two stops, he did not mention the circumstance that has snatched off his robes as a moral judge. Lawrence E. Walsh, special prosecutor for Iran-contra, had released, four days before the election, a notebook entry from Caspar W. Weinberger. It contradicted, with great clarity and succinctness, Bush's contention that he was "out of the loop" as he has claimed for the last five years.

Walsh's move had, complained campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter, "cost us a day when we need time." Like the rest of the president's men, he was strenuously trying to stamp out the significance of the disclosure. Press secretary Marlin Fitzwater went furthest: "Just a crock designed to hurt the president in the last few days."

With Walsh's tomahawk between his shoulders, Bush gave a different cast to the railroad ride. It had been hoped that it would be a last laugh for Bush in Wisconsin, where he is only 3 points behind, but it had acquired more of a "last mile" flavor.

By Oshkosh, he had to address the problem. He laid it on Clinton—not on Weinberger, the good Republican secretary of defense and notes author, or Walsh, a good Republican who served in the Nixon Justice Department.

No, it was all Clinton's fault. "He's begun a series of attacks on my character," said Bush, "and he has basically called me a liar."

Bush, at later stops, attacked the "Democratic witch hunt" and the "political fiasco," the \$40 million investigation that Walsh ran, to little effect until now.

"Well, frankly," the president said with a little swagger, "being attacked

on character by Governor Clinton is like being called ugly by a frog."

As it happened, among the Halloween revelers who gathered at crossings to greet him were children dressed up as frogs. There were also butterflies, mice, ghosts, witches, pirates and clowns. They added greatly to the picturesqueness of the day, and its eeriness.

At Stevens Point, Bush called Clinton a "guy . . . utterly devoid of principle—who waffled and weaved about the draft and was too inexperienced and untested to cope with the 'wolves in the woods.'"

Bush's attempts to wrest the election away from the economy and into character were succeeding. In the past few weeks Clinton underwent a sinking spell in the polls. But now the president is, as Lyndon Johnson might put it, "being bit by his own dog." The character issue has boomeranged big time.

The president's men say in their final argument that nobody cares about Iran-contra and they may be right as far as the complicated scandal goes.

But it could be of some interest and possibly dismay that voters are faced again with a choice of two men who, they feel, do not deserve the presidency. They know they have two candidates who tell the truth, if at all, only piecemeal or under pressure.

Bush, who waffled and weaseled over Iran-contra, was still quibbling last week over details. At first, he denied knowing of the opposition of Weinberger and then-Secretary of State George Shultz to the scheme. When cornered into admitting that he knew they had objected, he split hairs: "But I didn't know how strongly."

Similarly, Clinton resists admitting he organized antiwar demonstrations in England. Last week, ABC's Sam Donaldson nailed him with a quote from a letter Clinton wrote to his Arkansas draft counselor. Faced with evidence in his own words, Clinton quibbled, "But I didn't lead them."

If the truth about Bush had been known in 1988, he might not be president today. Clinton may be chary of telling all about his antiwar past for fear of contradicting previous statements tailored for hawkish Bubbas at home. Arkansas might not have voted for him for governor five times if they knew the whole story.

They both, in short, put their career needs above character. Truth must take its chances.

That's scarier than any of the hobgoblins Bush raised in his long gray day in Wisconsin.

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

The Water Bill

PRESIDENT BUSH last week signed into law with some reluctance one of the few major structural reforms on which he and the 102nd Congress were able to agree—an explicit turn in the federal water policy that has been the basis for development of the arid West. The largest federal reclamation project transfers vast amounts of Northern California water south to irrigate the desert. The legislation stipulates that some of it be held back to support endangered northern fish and wildlife instead. It also moves toward establishment of a market for water in California, so that the product will flow to the highest bidders; cities will be able to buy it from farmers.

The administration, while favoring the market, was against the provisions taking water off the top for environmental purposes. Growers in the state's Central Valley and the governor and Republican Sen. John Seymour were opposed as well. But the California reform provisions were shrewdly tucked into an election-year bill advancing reclamation projects in other western states. That made it all but impossible for the president to cast a threatened veto. Instead he said in signing the bill that he was instructing the

secretary of the interior to enforce it gently while preparing legislation to reverse its more "intrusive" aspects in the next Congress.

The bill's enactment was a tribute to the tenacity of its principal sponsors. Rep. George Miller, new chairman of the House Interior Committee, had an obvious interest in the legislation; he comes from Northern California. But the chairman of the Senate water subcommittee, Bill Bradley of New Jersey, had nothing comparable at stake. As has happened on other occasions, he simply became a master of a basic subject too technical, not to say dry in this case, for his colleagues.

Low-cost water was being transferred south at federal and environmental expense to subsidize large-scale production of sometimes unnecessary crops. Part of the cost was loss of entire species of salmon and other forms of fish and wildlife in the north. The pressure in the dry parts of the state was for more water—additional costly dams and diversions—rather than for reallocation of the water already at hand. The legislation is a move toward balanced use and greater conservation of existing resources instead. If only by default, it may be the most important environmental legislation of the last Congress.

POLITICS

Candidates Reach for Wallets To Give Themselves Late Boost

It's never too late to write a check, it seems, especially to your own cause. Ross Perot reported Friday that he gave his independent presidential campaign another \$1.2 million last week, bringing his total since April to almost \$59 million. Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio), locked in a tight race for reelection, reported donating \$350,000 to his campaign. Glenn's GOP challenger, Lt. Gov. Michael DeWine, contributed \$200,000 to his campaign.

Special interest groups representing business and labor also made late investments in candidates, Federal Election Commission filings show, though "independent expenditures" are down from recent years.

Political action committees (PACs) are limited to giving candidates \$5,000 per election but can make unlimited expenditures for or against a candidate as long as they are not coordinated with the campaign.

The Auto Dealers & Drivers for Free Trade PAC, for example, poured about \$1.4 million into key Senate races in 1988 and about \$750,000 two years ago. But Tom Nemet, of the import car dealer group, said the PAC will spend little more this time than the \$60,000 it reported last week for a mailing for Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.) and the \$40,000 payment for a phone bank for Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.).

\$100,000-Plus From Pro-Israel PACs

■ Pro-Israel PACs have donated more than \$100,000 to four senators in tight reelection fights, a study of records by the Arab American Institute shows.

Sen. Robert W. Kasten Jr. (R-Wis.), a member of the subcommittee that appropriates foreign aid money, led the way with nearly \$143,000. Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) was next with more than \$138,000, followed by Packwood, with almost \$116,000 and Glenn with nearly \$113,000.

AAI research showed the 65 leading pro-Israel PACs donated \$3.2 million to congressional candi-

dates through September of this two-year election cycle. A Center for Responsive Politics study found that pro-Israel PACs gave \$4 million to candidates in 1990, while individuals who donated to the PACs gave another \$3.6 million to the same candidates.

Withholding Projections on West Coast

■ At least five West Coast television stations, including three CBS television affiliates, will not broadcast network projections of a winner in the presidential election until shortly before polls close in the West. CBS called the move "a tremendous disservice" to the audience.

"We're very much aware of the risk of losing viewers," Mike Schafbuch, general manager of KOIN in Portland, Ore., told the Associated Press. "But I think maybe it's time somebody set an example."

Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown last week asked the four major national networks to refrain from projecting winners until polls close in the West, saying that to do otherwise could "hinder people from exercising" their right to vote.

Despite pressure from Brown, Congress and West Coast elected officials, the networks said they will stick with their policy of calling each state after most of the polls close in that state.

Betting That Women Will Be Winners

■ How confident are women, at least, Democratic women, about increasing their number in the next Congress? Ellen Malcolm, president of EMILY's List, which raises money for female Democratic candidates, challenged House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) that "we would increase pro-choice Democratic women in the House by more than he could increase Republican members in the House." Malcolm is predicting that 15 to 20 new Democratic women will be elected today. Gingrich had said he expects to pick up 10 to 15 new GOP members. Gingrich never responded to Malcolm's challenge, she said.

—Maralee Schwartz and Charles R. Babcock

The Washington Post

NOV 3 1992

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 A19

Richard Harwood

Princes of The Tide

For the press, the election won't end today. We'll be involved in introspective exercises for months to come. Do the politicians and people still love us? Were we guilty, guilty, guilty of the usual crimes: bias, superficiality, myopia, sensationalism, mud-slinging? Did we neglect that sacred animal, The Issues, or even worse, not understand what the "issues" were?

Many conferences, seminars and cocktail conversations will be devoted to these matters; many fees will be paid and collected. Pamphlets, books, magazine articles and columns will be published. They will teach us more than we know or may wish to know about the mechanics and assumptions of journalism in America in the last years of the 20th century: This is what we did, how we did it and why we did it.

We are unlikely, however, to find out what happened when we did what we did—i.e., did it make any difference? Were there consequences, for example, from our springtime fling with the Gennifer Flowers-Bill Clinton tale? Did it change the course of history or alter the electoral tide? Did the "Iraq-gate" affair, heavily publicized by the eastern press, cost George Bush eight, 10, 20, or 30 electoral votes, or none at all? Did the editorial endorsements of the New York Times and the Omaha World-Herald give New York to the Democrats and Nebraska to the Republicans? Will the network news coverage of the candidates—highly negative since Labor Day, according to the Center for Media and Public Affairs—stimulate or depress voter turnout? Has MTV become a more productive forum for a politician than the "Today" show? Is Arsenio Hall more politically influential than Sam Donaldson? Which political columnist or television anchor most swayed the outcome of this election? Did Ann Landers exert more influence on the "family values" issue than Murphy Brown?

Journalism is neither a science nor a profession. We know that when The Washington Post columnist Bob Levey conducts his annual fund-raising crusade for Children's Hospital, hundreds of thousands of dollars will roll in. The New York Times has raised millions over the years through its annual Christmas appeal for the neediest among the poor of Gotham. Cause and effect can be established. But we have no instruments or formulas to measure "influence," "bias" or the "subliminal impacts" of our work. We attempt to inform or redeem or propagandize the audiences out there. But since it is one-way communication, we do not know if they hear what we are saying or hear what we are saying in the way we wish them to hear it or whether, in any case, their behavior is affected. The academic community has wrestled with these questions for years but has found no Rosetta stone to unlock these mysteries of "mass

communication." So we ordinarily fly blind, functioning out of habit and tradition, tinkering from time to time with the old ways of doing things.

In that respect, we and the political consultants and advertising experts are not so different. They, too, operate in a fog of uncertainty much of the time and are as surprised by events as the rest of us. They did not anticipate the role talk shows would play in 1992 in giving candidates instant access to millions of potential voters. They were forced to reexamine their theories about long-winded political ads, believing for years that the attention span of the average voter was in the range of 15 to 30 seconds. But 16.5 million people tuned in recently to a half-hour lecture by Ross Perot; in subsequent 30-minute commercials, he out-drew popular sitcoms.

There is great confusion within these circles over the utility of "attack ads." In 1988 the celebrated Willie Horton ad was seen by many people in the political and advertising communities as an important factor in the election of George Bush, although I am unaware of any "scientific" measurement of its impact. Because of the controversy, "attack ads" were supposed to have been made socially unacceptable and politically ineffectual in 1992. That did not happen. "Attack ads" based on rascality themes are prevalent all over the country in both local and national campaigns. Do they matter?

One can make the argument, as economic modelers and political theorists have done, that Bill Clinton's election was predestined by the state of the nation and the state of the world, that nothing that has happened since his nomination has had any substantive bearing on the outcome. The polls—the nearest thing to "science" among the political arts—can be read in the same way. They have consistently shown that Clinton leads Bush by about 10 points. The Perot candidacy has not changed that spread. It has been unaffected by the most expensive advertising campaigns in the history of American politics, by the talk-show phenomenon, by newspaper exposes and endorsements and by the course of events here and abroad.

If that is a correct reading of things, it does not signify that the "media" or the campaigns themselves are inconsequential; the constant Clinton margin quite possibly could be a "media" result or the triumph of one ad man or consultant over another. It may also have a great deal to do with the electorate.

There is a tendency within the political class, journalists sometimes included, to regard The People as empty vessels who require guidance. They are thought to be ripe for manipulation by clever characters at Washington or Madison Avenue. This is the P. T. Barnum view of the world: a place inhabited by suckers. The political industry, to a considerable extent, is built around that cynical assumption.

Nothing in the political history of this country, however, validates the assumption. The record of American voters in making rational political choices is impressive. We have had no Hitlers. That should be noted after the election when the post mortems begin on how the media did or did not turn the tide in '92.

Meg Greenfield

A Year of Surprises

The oddity about this election is that whichever way it turns out will qualify for this year's ever-present, high-fashion term: "surprise." A Clinton win will represent a reversal of the expectations of six months ago, a Bush win those of a month ago, a Perot win those of everyone from beginning to end. I think the moment is right for a little meditation on this idea of surprise, which journalists especially have been playing up, as in the new cliché, "this has been a year of surprises." The truth is that we in the news business who love surprises ought to be more than a little embarrassed by them.

What we love about surprises is obvious and easy; they are a good story. And this year's seemingly endless political surprises have provided a kind of running suspense and titillation for audiences everywhere. But at some point I would think those of us who have been creating soon-to-be-exploded premises all year long should give some thought to the possibility that this is not exactly a glowing commentary on our own powers of observation and analysis.

It's all very well to respond, as many will at this point, with some mutters about the volatility of the electorate and so on. But the fact is that the missed and misunderstood story has become such a staple feature of contemporary journalism that we more or less don't even notice it anymore. We just say something giddy about the year

Why have we in the media been so often taken unawares by what was really happening?

of surprises, the volatile electorate, etc., and move on. The collapse of the Soviet empire was of course the model for this. When we are asked how so many journalists so closely covering a story could so completely miss it, we point out that American intelligence officers and diplomats, as well as those of other countries, missed or at least underestimated what was coming, too. Likewise, the diplomats and intelligence people all have an explanation of why they misinterpreted the signs of a hundred different events, to which they will immediately add that they actually did pick up the signs of a thousand others they are (naturally) not at liberty to reveal.

So we all have our excuses, but the biggest excuse, to my mind, resides in the very word "surprise" itself. It is a dodge. Think of all the lead sentences in all the news accounts you have read in the papers or heard on TV over the years concerning, say, the economy, that began, "In a surprise development yesterday..." Or consider the political narrative's use of the term: It is a dodge because the implication is that the surprise is itself an independent

phenomenon with a life or a cause in nature of its own—a kind of a separate thing out there, like a monsoon or a volcano or a herd of rhinoceroses charging by. The reporter or the pundit-prognosticator simply comes upon it in the course of his scholarly travels. And he then dutifully and faithfully records it. Never mind, especially if he is a pundit-prognosticator, that maybe last week on the TV shout-and-bash show of which he is a regular member, he said that precisely the opposite would happen.

Let me be plain. Sure, there are some events no one could have predicted. But for the most part in political reporting there is no such thing as a "surprise development." There is only a development that takes somebody by surprise. Us. And why should that be? This is the question that journalists and political consultants, pollsters and all-purpose groupies should be asking themselves after the election is over. George Bush seems to think it is significant, in a sinister sort of way, that the press is talking about doing some self-analysis as to fairness after this election; he thinks it means we believe we

were unfair to him. But the press always does endless self-analysis about fairness after elections—earnest seminars, cushy conferences, printed symposiums that nobody reads, world without end. We don't so often ask the simpler and more shaking question of how we managed throughout the year to be taken so often unawares by what was really going on in the story we were covering or opining about.

Partisans for different sides will promptly tell you that the answer is obvious: we were all misled by personal bias, the wish was father to the prediction, and so forth. There is some truth to this, but not much; political bias is not the principal reason for our so often doping the thing out wrong. Journalists consider being found wrong the worst thing that can happen to them professionally. This explains not just why we go to such lengths to ignore or dismiss the frequency with which it happens, but also why it is nonsense to suppose that we are simply giving rein to our political preferences without a care for whether they are humiliatingly disproved by the next day.

I suspect the answer has less to do with political bias than with an impaired ability to understand what others are feeling and thinking, to understand why they behave the way they do, what their lives are like, what their interests are, how things that matter appear to them. I will be grander here: to the extent that this is the journalists' or political special-

ists' problem, it is probably part of the more general disintegration of shared experience and understanding that marks the society today. And we aggravate the problem by insisting on viewing one another not as full human beings but rather as the little short-hand demographic entities we find useful in our charts and press accounts—black thises, middle-class thats, conservative Baptist the other things. This is as true of the right-wing political hotshots who thought it would be clever to stage disastrous Night One of the Republican convention in Houston, with its punishing message, as it is of any of the journalists who misheard the voice of the voters in other respects along the road to the election.

What makes all this alternately pitiful and funny is the extent to which we have brought our state-of-the-art technology to bear on the task of figuring out what we are saying to each other. All those hand-held gadgets that allow people being surveyed to record their emotions second by second when the debaters debate, all that incessant, complicated polling and repolling and asking and analyzing and on and on through the months. We can listen to everything, measure it down to its last millimeter and still not know how the object of our interest is putting his thoughts together. Too much science, not enough sense.

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DONNA BRITT

Once Again, A White Man Gets the Job

Sometime today, I'll stride boldly into my local polling place, punch a hole in a slip of cardboard and vote for the white Anglo-Saxon male representing a major party—or major personal fortune—who seems least likely to ruin my country.

I will do this with something less than exuberance for a reason I can no longer ignore:

I am tired of voting for white men for president.

This does not reflect a bias against white men. I know there are white guys who are smart, compassionate, imaginative and brave, with a good grasp of what's right and wrong with this nation. I've even met a couple.

What my feeling does reflect is my interpretation of certain irrefutable statistics or, as candidates like to call them, "the numbers":

As of today, I have voted for president of the United States five times. My mother and father each have voted 13 times. My grandmother has voted 17 times. We wouldn't consider *not* voting, since folks died getting us the privilege.

Not once, in three generations of presidential elections, has any of us had the opportunity to cast a meaningful vote for anyone other than a white man.

Not a white woman. Not an African American, Latino, Asian American or Native American of either sex.

Of course, women and black folks—like Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party and James Warren of the Socialist Workers Party, both of whom are on today's ballot in several states—have run.

But I'm talking about someone who can *win*. Someone with a serious shot at getting what the white guys always have gotten—the requisite votes from folks of both sexes and every shade to sit in the Oval Office. It's never happened.

And there's something very wrong with that.

I haven't always felt this way. Once upon a time, I was like lots of other kids who believe things are the way they are for a good reason. White men, I thought, without really thinking at all, must be best qualified for president since they're always the ones who run and win.

So like most other fourth-graders, I studied the painted portraits of U.S. presidents and memorized their names. I decided Jefferson was sort of handsome, Washington wasn't, and Lincoln looked noble. Their shared whiteness, as I recall,

See BRITT, B3, Col. 1

DONNA BRITT

Blinded by Whiteness

BRITT, From B1

didn't mean much because that was the way it was supposed to be.

I have no idea when I finally, irrevocably, turned the corner.

I was a high-schooler during Shirley Chisholm's "symbolic" 1972 run for the presidency, which must have pried open my mind a little. But it may not have been until Jesse L. Jackson—who in 1984 became the first seriously regarded presidential contender who was not a white man—that my growing discontent jelled.

Whatever you think about Jackson, the man did me, you and the nation a huge service by expanding our collective notion of what's possible here. That an African American could, in his two attempts for the nomination, win 18 primary and caucus victories, garner more than 10 million votes and actually get the Democratic nomination in his sights had previously been unthinkable.

My sense of what's possible is much larger these days. Much smarter too.

I know, and always have known, African American men with at least as much intelligence, sensitivity, toughness and vision as George, Ross and Bill—and even the sainted Jack. Thanks to the candidates' three debates and endless talk show appearances, no electorate has ever had a better opportunity to scope out the would-be emperors' new clothes. At times, it has seemed even Madonna has worn more.

Minorities have their scoundrels and bumblerers too. But don't forget Nixon, Ford and the host of less-than-sterling chief execs that brought us to where we are today.

Anyway, I'm talking excellence. The

worthy black men I've encountered make me know, without question, that there are guys with brown, gold and reddish skins with the right stuff for the presidency. Women too.

The nation needs them. Without the fullest possible contribution of all its sons and daughters, America won't survive.

People will contribute, regardless. It is human nature to do so. If their contributions continue to be limited by skin color, the gifts they give may also be limited or—as we've seen in myriad inner cities—downright negative. America requires *everybody's* creativity to make it, healthy and vibrant, into the next century.

Admittedly, every black, Latino, Asian, American Indian and white female candidate won't be better. But they may be different. Different is a good place to start.

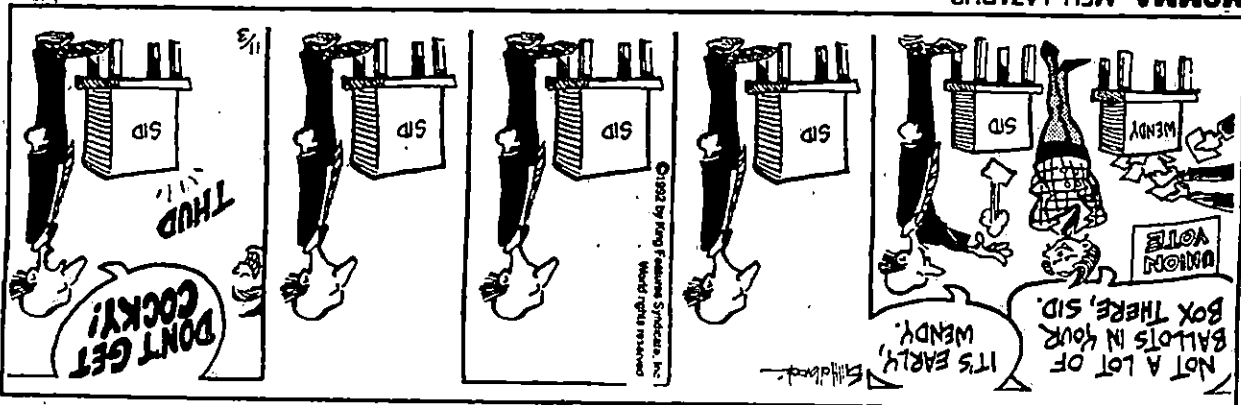
So where are the men and women of color who could run? Even those whose government experience has given them the "proper" credentials seem stuck—and what's proper now, considering the success of Ross "Not-A-Second-In-Office-And-Proud-Of-It" Perot? They are, it seems, mired in the glue of "it could never happen."

In grad school, I briefly dated a black guy who dreamed of becoming president. He had the glow—that sense of destiny, rightness and purpose—possessed by presidential types. Today, he's a U.S. government lawyer—who's still dreaming.

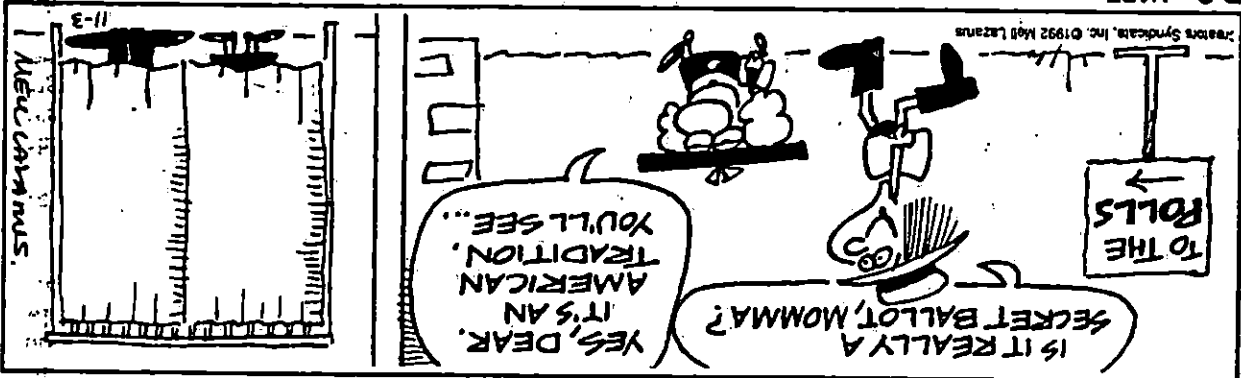
I wish he'd get on the stick. All of the others too, who are too "practical" or disheartened to take up the banner Jesse so miraculously hefted. I wish they'd grab it, run with it.

Who knows? I grew up. Maybe America can too.

ON THE FASTTRACK BILL HOLBROOK



MOMMA MELL LAZARUS



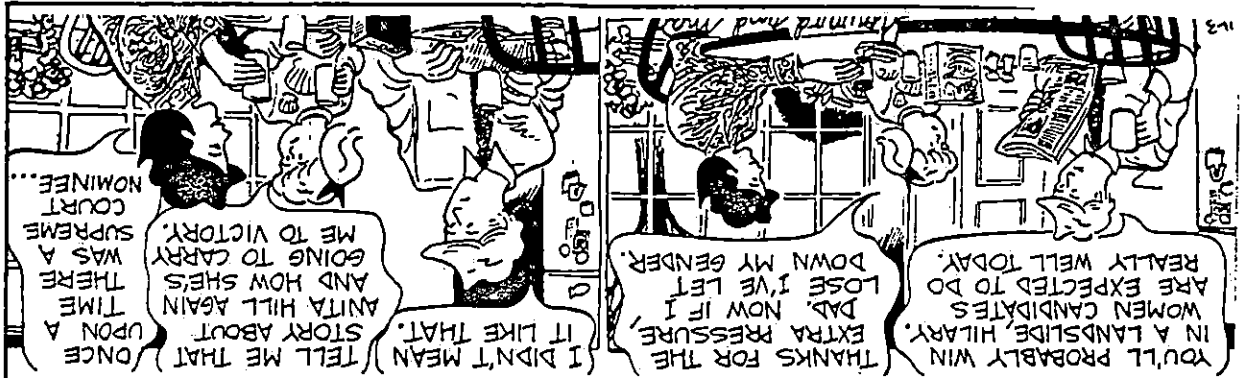
B.C. HART



THE BORN LOSER ART SANSON



SALLY FORTH HOWARD & MACINTOSH



SALLY FORTH HOWARD & MACINTOSH

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

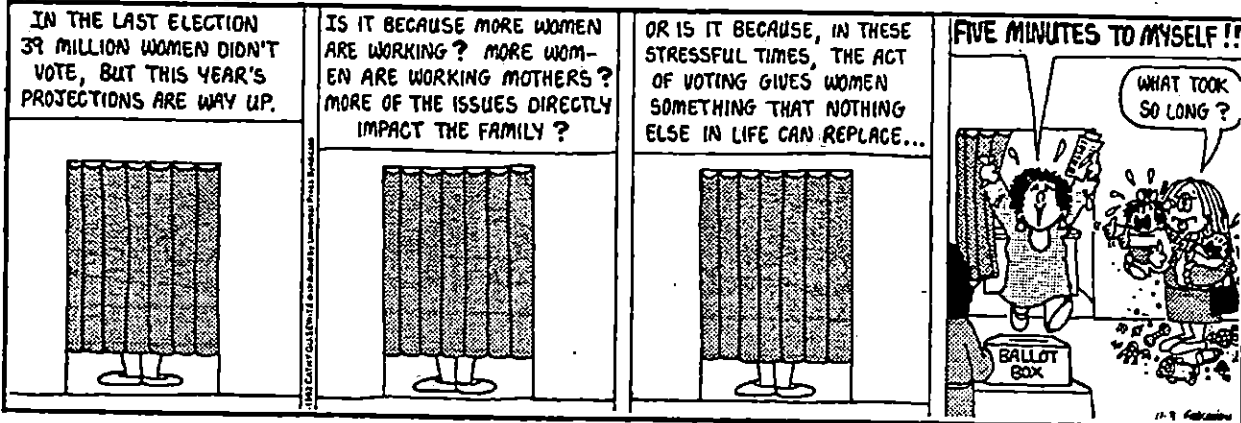
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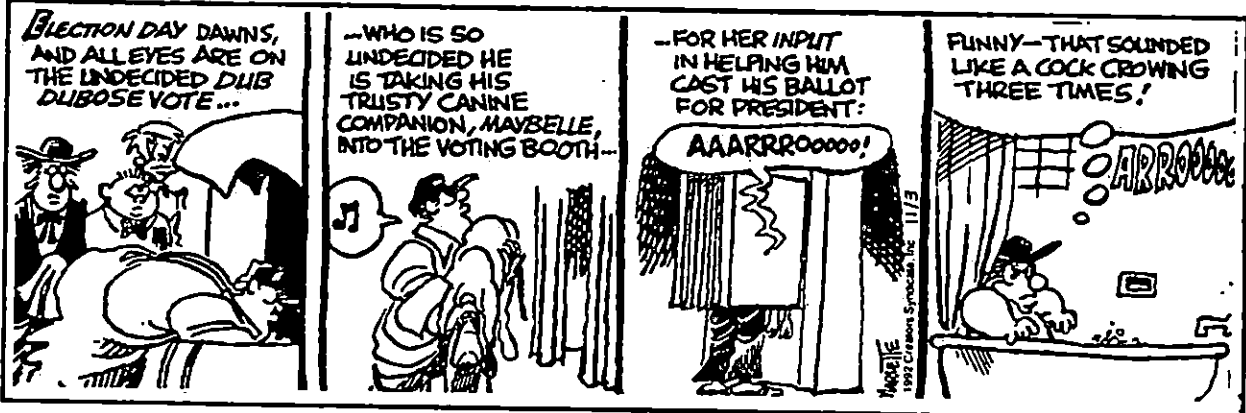
THE FUSCO BROTHERS J.C. DUFFY



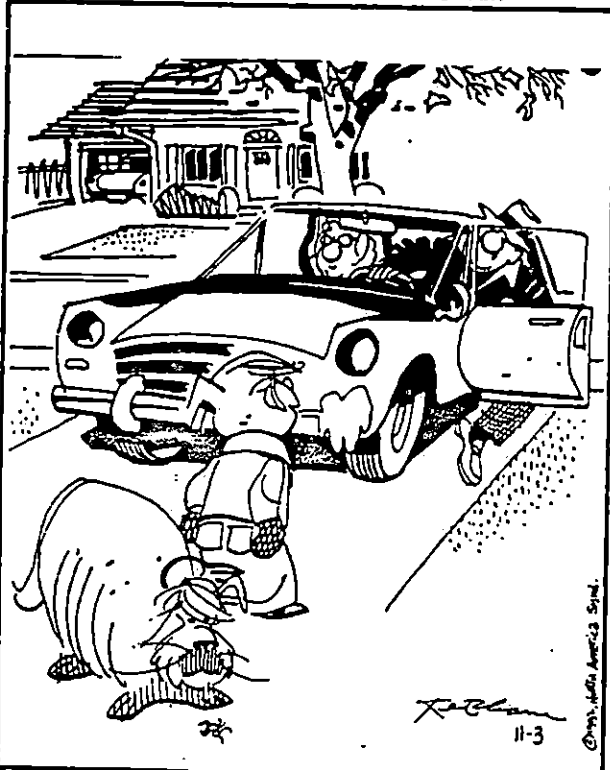
CATHY CATHY GUISEWITE



KUDZU DOUG MARLETTE



DENNIS THE MENACE HANK KETCHAM



"Who are ya votin' against THIS time, Mr. Wilson?"

THE FAMILY CIRCUS BIL KEANE



"Even if we add all our ages together we're still not old enough to vote."

The Washington Post

NOV 3, 1992

Post

COLMAN MCCARTHY

The Candidates Who Were Not Heard

In their presidential debate, the three candidates collectively veered away from precedent. They stayed focused on the issues and spoke with clarity. Their remarks were slogan-free, and not once did they say "the issue is trust and character" or "the American people want change" or "it's just that simple." And, truly astonishing, they were mutually civil, even to the point of listening to each other.

A new Bush, Clinton or Perot?

No. The candidates were John Hagelin of the Natural Law Party, Lenora B. Fulani of the New Alliance Party and Howard Phillips of the U.S. Taxpayers Party. Not as though you have much reason to notice, but Ross Perot was not the only non-Democrat or non-Republican who campaigned for the presidency. So were Hagelin, Fulani and Phillips, along with Andre Marrou of the Libertarian Party, Ron Daniels of the Campaign for a New Tomorrow and others.

Hagelin, Fulani and Phillips came together on Oct. 22 at George Washington University in a forum sponsored by the Non-Partisan Committee for Political Debate. Here were three presidential candidates on the ballot in many states, eligible to receive federal matching funds and offering ideas and proposals that could only broaden the political debate. They might as well have been standing on the sidewalk in front of the White House giving speeches to the squirrels in Lafayette Square for all the attention they won.

Nothing appeared in major newspapers the next day, nor were the candidates booked for further discussion on "Crossfire," "Larry King Live" or the morning network gab shows. Only C-SPAN, television's workhorse of political diversity, carried the debate.

Whether taking in the exchange at the campus or on C-SPAN, any fair-minded person had to feel cheated: Why were these three candidates politically marginalized during the campaign? They should have been on stage with President Bush, Gov. Bill Clinton and Perot in their three debates. The quality of discussion could only have risen. Hagelin, Fulani and Phillips, along with Marrou, were labeled minor candidates, despite some of

their ideas being innovative and many of the major candidates' ideas being bland.

Third, fourth, fifth and sixth party candidates—kept on the fringes by strict electoral rules written by the winners—have the excitement of putting fresh ideas into a campaign process that is, for Republicans and Democrats, mostly ploys and tactics. The two major parties offer centrist and conventional strategies because, it is believed, most of the votes are in the middle. But how do we know if the outer edges are not given a place?

Among the handicaps for a fringe candidate is the wasted vote burden: They know they are sure losers, except for a few dedicated loyalists who see a principled vote for, say, a Libertarian as a nobler act than a pragmatic vote for a Republican or Democrat. There can be, for sure, some reward in it years later. Who does not remember one of our grandparents telling us of the time he or she voted for Norman Thomas or Eugene Debs? Twenty years ago, Nixon-Agnew won by a landslide, yet does anyone ever boast of voting for those two? The proud citizens of 1972 speak of their support for the McGovern-Shriver ticket, which was like an honorary third party.

This year's campaign—with little air time given to the Hagelins and Fulanis who have met the requirements of legitimacy by being on the ballot in more than 10 states—will not be remembered for the freshness of political thought. Can anyone recall being awash in innovative ideas from Bush, Clinton or Perot?

While trying to remember, here is a thought from Chief Justice Earl Warren, written in a free-speech case in 1968, with Justice William O. Douglas concurring: "All political ideas cannot and should not be channeled into the programs of our two major parties. History has amply proven the virtue of political activity by minority dissident groups which innumerable times have been in the vanguard of democratic thought and whose programs are ultimately accepted. . . . The absence of such voices would be a symptom of grave illness in our society."

In 1992, the voices have not been absent. They were largely shunted aside. Everyone loses, not only the losing candidates.

The Washington Post

Nov 3, 1992

The Men Who Won't Be President

On the Sidelines With the Early Losers

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jerry Brown is answering his own phone these days.

"Yeh-lo!" the erstwhile presidential candidate chirped last week, picking up on the second ring of a call to his San Francisco house.

What, Brown was asked, will he be doing today?

"I couldn't tell you," chirped the former governor of California. He seemed to be in a very chirpy mood. "I'll be voting, but I don't have any specific plans—just a quiet evening at home."

Is that all there is? After winning Maine, Connecticut and Colorado, amassing 600 delegates and giving Bill Clinton—the guy he kept calling "The Prince of Sleaze"—a major case of gas in the New York primary?

Yep, that's all there is.

Thus ends the campaign of 1992 for Brown and his fellow also-rans—who must now come to grips with the sad reality that if it's Tuesday ... they won't be president. But Brown said he was feeling pretty good, "looking forward to the New Year" with "a lot of renewed determination" and bent on continuing his valiant crusade to "Take Back America."

See LOSERS, C6, Col. 1



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jerry Brown hammered away at Bill Clinton during the New York primary campaign in April, but today he plans

Presidential Also-Rans

LOSERS, From C1

And for whom will Brown be casting his ballot?

"Oh, come on!" the governor chirped. "You could say that I'm a loyal Democrat. But I'm not really giving interviews this week. ... You're the first person I've talked to, and already you've gotten more than you should have."

Sen. Tom Harkin, luckily, was more forthcoming.

"I'm only human—I have emotions, of course," said the Iowa Democrat, who was phoning in from Waterloo. "Sometimes I think that if I had done things just a little bit different, or something else had happened, I could have made it."

Alas, something else *didn't* happen, and Harkin plans to spend today "just hanging around home" in Cumming, fully expecting his onetime rival to win the White House.

"I do have some feeling of vindica-

tion," Harkin added. "A year and a half ago, even though Paul Tsongas declared his candidacy early on, while everyone was dancing around Bush's popularity, I was saying that the major issue of the campaign would be the economy, and the Gulf War would be just a blip for George Herbert Walker Bush. And everybody said, 'Harkin, you must be smoking something funny. He's at 90 percent in the polls.'"

But far from being a spoilsport, Harkin has been campaigning energetically for Clinton ever since dropping out many months ago. "Hey, I just thought of something!" he announced mid-conversation. "Watching Bush ride around in his train, the way he's always standing on the rear platform, it's a perfect metaphor for his presidency. He never sees anything until he goes past it!"

That's the spirit, senator.

"I certainly would have preferred to be president," said former Massachusetts senator Tsongas, reached at home in Lowell. "But when I think in

terms of what we did, compared to what we expected to do, we certainly have a lot to feel good about."

Tsongas—who after dropping out in March joined with retiring Sen. Warren Rudman (R-N.H.) in the Concord Coalition, an effort to fire a shot at the federal deficit—said that today he'll be going for his usual swim, having lunch with his former campaign manager, Dennis Kanin, and spending tonight doing television commentary.

"I'm out the door," he added, meaning that he was about to drive up to New Hampshire, the scene of a long-ago primary victory, to campaign for Democratic Senate candidate John Rauh.

Virginia Gov. Doug Wilder, meanwhile, sounded similarly upbeat, saying he hopes to fly to Little Rock, Ark., tonight to be part of a huge celebration.

"It wasn't at all heart-wrenching," Wilder said of his decision in January to give up his quest for the Democratic nomination. "It was a matter of just hard facts." In other words, no regrets. "I learned so much, and had I not done it," he said, "I wouldn't have had the opportunity."

But what of that fierce Republican who gave his president fits—you know, that TV guy who wrote those funny columns and bloodied George Bush's nose in New Hampshire?

"This is Pat Buchanan," said a familiar voice leaving a message for an inquiring reporter. "I'm afraid you're not going to be able to get back to me, because I'm going on a bus trip through Alabama that's starting in a few minutes. I was just returning your call. Sorry we couldn't make contact before your deadline."

But Buchanan associate Terry Jeffrey was available, saying the former presidential candidate, in fine fettle, "is working as hard as he can to help the Bush-Quayle ticket"—the bus trip was a campaign swing—and planned to be back in Washington to follow the returns.

Former Democratic candidate Bob Kerrey, unfortunately, never called back. Maybe the senator from Nebraska, who was once considered a formidable contender, at least until he launched his bid, just didn't like the topic.

And if so, who could blame him?

ART BUCHWALD

The Mystery of the Watched Watch

As the sun sets on the key electoral states and the voting curtains fall all over America—and the fat lady sings—we say goodbye to another presidential election campaign. Because there is so much we will never know, most voters are sorry it's over.

These are some big questions that remain unanswered:

What does the State Department really have on Bill Clinton's mother and why did it withhold the facts from the American people?

Why did Bill Clinton's passport photo when he went to Moscow look so different from the one he used when he traveled to New Jersey?

The big mystery of the campaign is why did President Bush keep looking at his watch during the debates? One theory is that when Bush went off to war his father told him three things: "Always write to your mother, always tell the truth, and never forget that the big hand is on the minute and the little hand is on the hour."

If Al Gore wins the election, will the spotted owl replace the turkey as our national bird?

We still don't know if the Bushes ever sent Ross Perot's daughter a wedding gift.

It will always remain a mystery whether Bill Clinton wanted to serve in the ROTC, be drafted into the Army, join the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or enlist in the Tailgate Association.

The tragedy of Ross Perot losing the election is that the American people will never find out what kind of vice president Jim Stockdale would have made.

Many Americans still don't know why George Bush failed to urge Dan Quayle to take early retirement.

Bill Clinton said that Rep. Bob Dornan of California frequently looked as if he needed a rabies shot. The question he never answered was, will Dornan be entitled to one under Clinton's health plan?

Will all three networks go bankrupt once they lose Ross Perot's half-hour political commercials?

There are questions and more questions.

Will George Bush locate his presidential library at Oxford?

If Clinton gets into the White

House, what kind of waffles will Hillary make him for breakfast?

How many corrupt Justice Department attorneys does it take to screw in an Iraqi light bulb?

Now that the campaign is over, will "Meet the Press," "Face the Nation" and "David Brinkley" kill each other to book Madonna as their guest?

To gain votes, George Bush's administration handed out billions of dollars like drunken sailors. If Bush wins, will he raise taxes to recoup the money?

If Al Gore as vice president visits a public school, should he refuse to spell a vegetable because it will demean the vice presidency? Are the American people better off today than they were two months ago?

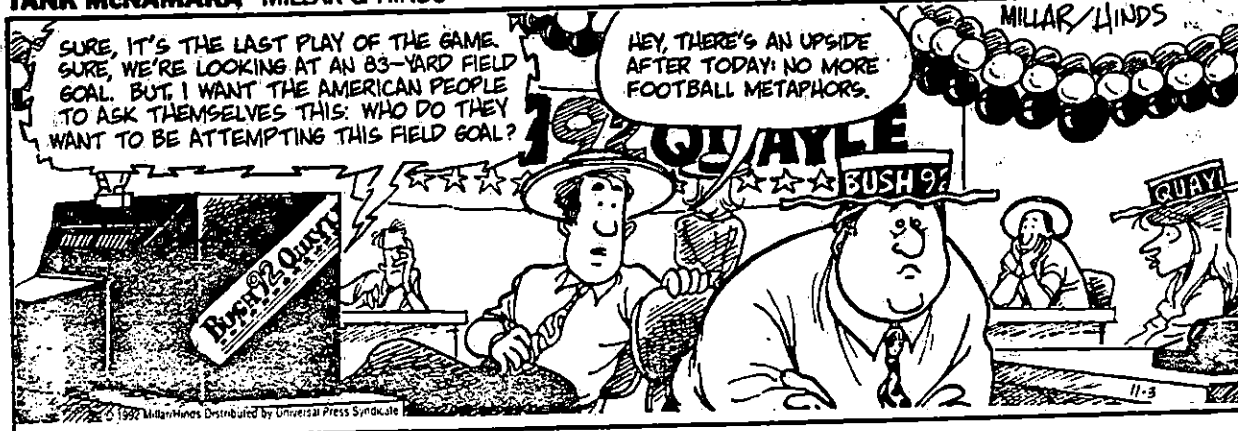
Will Ross Perot be asked to head up the FBI if Clinton is elected?

If Dan Quayle loses, will he donate Page 304 of Al Gore's environmental book to the Library of Congress?

To improve the electoral system, should Americans go back to the Reagan days and select their presidents by astrology?

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TANK McNAMARA MILLAR & HINDS



By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

First Granddaughter Ellie LeBlond, trick-or-treating on grandpa George Bush's whistle-stop train trip Saturday night, was ready for candyless reporters. "Money's fine," allowed the 5-year-old, who was decked out as a movie star in sunglasses and costume jewelry.

■ Clinton buddies and Hollywood producers Harry Thomason and his wife, Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, FedExed their friends Halloween cards, the covers of which shouted "BUSH WINS." Inside, the greeting explained: "This was the scariest card I could find."

■ Billy Pitta, top aide to House Minority Leader Bob Michel, will play the House



Billy Pitta's screen play.

doorkeeper in the upcoming flick "Dave." He plans to donate to charity the money he receives for his gig—to be filmed at the statehouse in Richmond this week. And yes, he'll get to shout the doorkeeper's most famous line: "Mr. Speaker, the president of the United States." And director Ivan Reitman tells us he's rented out the extraordinary Oval Office set made for the movie to Clint Eastwood's Secret Service thriller, "In the Line of Fire."

■ James Y. Suen, the doctor who helps Bill Clinton with his recurring voice problems, showed up on the campaign plane yesterday for the last marathon day. But the



From left: Ellie LeBlond's books; Hunter Thompson's books; Dave Beckwith's birthday; Dave Bonior's House team.

candidate's rapidly failing pipes don't have strategists worried. Twice before when Clinton's lost his voice, aide Paul Begala said over the weekend, "we've moved up in the polls."

■ Actor Ron Silver emcees the Dems' local festivities here at the Omni Shoreham tonight.

■ Random House has just purchased "Better Than Sex: Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail 1992," by wild man journalist Hunter S. Thompson, for spring publication. It's a sequel to his best-selling book of like title about the '72 campaign, and not to be confused with his first novel, "Polo Is My Life: Memoir of a Brutal Southern Gentleman," also due out next year.

■ Poor Dave Beckwith couldn't hide his dejection when the traveling press corps mustered only a few cheese crackers for his big 5-0 birthday Friday in Council Bluffs, Iowa. The pathetic party ended—to resume

with a vengeance a few moments later when scribes doused Dan Quayle's spokesman with whipped cream and champagne, and pelted him with waffles.

■ The House leadership—Speaker Tom Foley, Majority Leader Dick Gephardt, Whip Dave Bonior, caucus chairman Steny Hoyer et al.—will hit the road Saturday for regional meetings with newly elected Democrats, the number of which could exceed 100. The L.A., Atlanta and Chicago meetings are intended to both head off any whippersnapper insurgencies and secure their bases in December leadership elections. If they all make it that far, that is—Foley and Bonior are locked in tight races.

■ Audrey Hepburn, 63, underwent surgery at L.A.'s Cedars-Sinai Medical Center on Sunday to remove a tumor from her colon, but the hospital has not yet released information on whether it was malignant.

Transition Team: Not Sitting on Their Hands

■ Transition planning and organizing in the event of a Bill Clinton win today has been quite challenging for the elusive "Planning Foundation" in Little Rock, Ark., as there is no master model for the turnover of an entire government on computer file. During the last White House transition in 1980, the personal computer had not yet taken over the universe.

And as of yesterday, the Vermont

Avenue offices of the transition staff-to-be had been secured with guards stationed on each of the three Clinton floors and a nervous General Services

Administration official refusing to give out any info. However, sources say that Clinton-Gore aides have made their presence known, and 630 more are poised to relocate here from Little Rock and other sites tomorrow and Thursday. If...



Baby George

Kute Kid Kontest

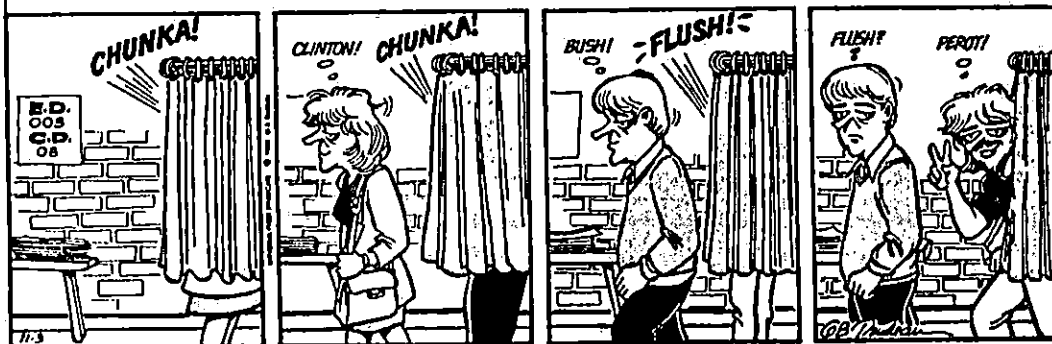
If at this late date you're still on the fence about who deserves the highest job in the land, you might consider the cute factor. Sixty-one percent of kids ages 5 to 10 picked Bill Clinton over George Bush as the cuter baby in a Playskool poll.



Baby Bill

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Battle Of the Beef

■ It's all in the eye of the beholder. Bill Clinton held a rally Sunday night at the Meadowlands in East Rutherford, N.J., with such Hollywood luminaries as Glenn Close, Michael Bolton, Kathleen Turner and Richard Gere. Yesterday morning, George Bush held a rally not far away at the borough hall in Madison, N.J., where he was introduced by Rush Limbaugh, the rotund, conservative radio talk show host.

"Last night, Governor Clinton was at the Meadowlands with Richard Gere and other Hollywood liberals," Bush said to boos,



Gere and Limbaugh: Taking sides.

reports The Post's John Yang. "Well, here's a good deal for you. Let Governor Clinton have Richard Gere, and I'll take Rush Limbaugh any day!"

The crowd went nuts.

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

C4 TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 ...

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

The big four networks' \$6 million election polling operation—Voter Research and Surveys (VRS)—will go to work about 9 this morning but won't release information to its 85 customers around the world until early afternoon...

VRS was created in 1990 by ABC, CBS, NBC and Cable News Network, with CBS veteran Warren Mitofsky as executive director, to tabulate exit poll results and make projections of local, state and national elections...

Some 52,000 people nationwide will be involved in today's vote-collecting effort, which includes monitoring some 1,600 sample precincts for actual vote counts to be used in the projections, as well as another 1,400 exit poll precincts (which also figure into the vote count totals)...

This year, says Mitofsky, networks in Japan, Germany and Italy and the BBC in Great Britain are using VRS information as well as most major newspapers (one exception: the L.A. Times, which is doing its own exit polling)...

Another exception is C-SPAN, which picked up VRS results during the primaries earlier this year while covering local TV affiliates that had subscribed to the service. C-SPAN is not a subscriber...

During the 1990 elections, VRS had trouble with one major calculation—how different groups of voters had supported House candidates. Mitofsky is confident the glitches have been fixed, but that's one reason the information won't start moving to the networks until this afternoon—they want to be sure the computers are purring...

Radnor, Pa., is where VRS collects its exit poll information, a big computer in New Jersey digests the vote count for the New York-based operation. The networks' \$6 million investment this year will be eased by about \$1 million in revenues. Some 60 people work year-round for VRS...

The networks start coverage at 7 (or during their 6:30 evening newscast feeds) tonight...

NBC will have Tom Brokaw, Bryant Gumbel, John Chancellor, Katie Couric and Tim Russert in New York; John Cochran reporting from Bush headquarters in Houston; Andrea Mitchell in Little Rock, Ark.; Lisa Myers at Perot HQ in Dallas; and Odetta Rogers on the Hill...

Joining anchor Dan Rather at CBS tonight will be Ed Bradley at the Presidential Desk, reporting "on the 'whys' behind the votes"; Connie Chung, checking issues; Bob Schieffer at the Senate and House desk; Mike Wallace "assessing the quality of the campaign"; and Charles Kuralt, "providing essays throughout the evening." Poor Charles!...

Susan Spencer will report on Bush, Richard Threlkeld on Clinton and Bill Lagattuta on Perot from their respective campaign headquarters...

CBS viewers will also have an opportunity to call an 800 number or send questions via fax machine during the broadcast...

Peter Jennings and David Brinkley will be anchoring for ABC News out of New York, starting at 7 (like the rest). Jeff Greenfield will provide analysis; Jim Wooten will report on key Senate races; Cokie Roberts on key House races; and Lynn Sherr on how people voted and why, based on exit poll results...

Sam Donaldson and George Will will provide analysis, Pierre Salinger will report from London and ABC political director Hal Bruno will discuss the campaign. Brit Hume will report from Bush headquarters, Ann Compton from Quayle HQ, Chris Bury and Jackie Judd from Clinton-Gore HQ and Mort Dean from the Perot campaign in Dallas...

At 11 tonight, the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour Special Edition" will feature Robert MacNeil and Jim Lehrer, with Judy Woodruff in Little Rock, Charlayne Hunter-Gault at Bush headquarters and Betty Ann Bowser of KUHT at Perot's Houston HQ. Kwame Holman will report on Senate and House races...

Now This

Vice President Quayle's office yesterday turned down a bid to appear on NBC's "Today" tomorrow morning because a month ago the show did a feature on Brett Kimberlin—the convict who claims he sold pot to the veep back in the 1970s...

Quayle was already booked to appear on ABC's "Good Morning America" tomorrow, anyway...

Jeff Zucker, executive producer of "Today," said yesterday that when producer John Rutherford asked Quayle press secretary David Beckwith to reconsider a previous turn-down, he said, "Why don't you guys do Brett Kimberlin?"...

"They appear to be holding grudges," Zucker said yesterday. "That's kind of silly because Dan Quayle is going to need a forum to make his case the next four years..."

"We can remember too," Zucker added, ominously. Well, sort of ominously...

"Maybe they have a guilty conscience," said Beckwith, when told of Zucker's remarks while traveling with the vice presidential candidate yesterday in his home state of Indiana...

Beckwith said he had "laughed" when he made the Kimberlin suggestion to Rutherford, that Quayle had been on "Today" within the past 10 days and, anyway, GMA had asked them a long time ago. Is it November the Fourth yet?...

Sander Vanocur, former ABC and NBC political correspondent and anchor—he was one of the panelists on presidential Debate One this year—joins KTVX political reporter Chris Vanocur tonight on the air at the ABC affiliate in Salt Lake City. Father and son will discuss election results...

It sure didn't affect the audience, but about 20 NBC stations in the Mid-Atlantic region—including WRC here—lost two minutes from Sunday night's telecast of "Saturday Night Live's Presidential Bash." At a commercial break about 10:19, the network switched to the wrong transponder briefly...

But "Bash" audiences in Nielsen's 28 overnight markets (Kansas City, Baltimore and San Diego joined Le Club last Friday) still delivered a 19.2 rating and a 27 share...

Locally, the two-hour comedy special featuring Dana Carvey and the rest of the SNL gang over the years averaged a strong 23.3/31 on WRC, while the Redskins-Giants game on Channel 7 Sunday night was doing a 30.8/41...

Four claims that's the best showing for an entertainment program against the Skins hereabouts since Nielsen meters started clicking in 1985 (Game VII of the Red Sox-Mets 1986 World Series on WRC beat the Skins on "Monday Night Football" on WJLA that night)...

Otherwise, Saturday night audiences were way down—in the 28 big-city Nielsen markets, anyway. NBC won with a 10.5 rating and a 19 share, although it got a 12.9/22 out of "Empty Nest." Fox did an 8.0/14, ABC a 7.1/13 (Robert Ulrich's "Crossroads" did a 5.1/9) and CBS a 6.2/11—after a paid half-hour for the Natural Law Party created a 4.1/7...

That same half-hour did a 2.2/4 on Channel 9 Saturday night...

While Fox's "Cops" averaged a 15.1/27 from 8 to 9 on WTTG!...

On Sunday night, CBS won with a 17.0/24 in the Nielsen big cities, but the movie "Her Final Fury" did a 13.5/19...

A paid hour for Ross Perot on NBC Sunday night averaged an 8.9/14, not bad at 7 p.m. against "60 Minutes"...

For half of the hour Perot was up against himself on ABC Sunday night, where he averaged a 7.1/11. The Natural Law Party candidate, who followed, averaged a 3.3/5 over 30 minutes. "Pretty Woman," preempted here by the Skins game, did an 18.4/26...

In Washington on Sunday afternoon, the Eagles-Cowboys game on Channel 9 averaged a very Redskins-like 30.4/51 between 4:15 and 7...

Perot on Channel Four did an 8.7/13...

Each overnight ratings point represents 462,635 TV homes; a local point, 18,510...

Helen Kushnick, fired as executive producer of "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno," will be on "Donahue" Thursday morning (Channel 4 at 9). New Yorker magazine this week tells the story of her dramatic fallout with NBC in the wake of her tough booking tactics. The article also says Leno's future depends on his showing in the November sweeps, and that David Letterman is first in line if Leno gets the boot (which, if true, would explain NBC's move last week speeding up Letterman's outside negotiations schedule)...

Oh, mercy! Gov. Clinton tells TV Guide this week that "I don't think there's anything undignified about a President going on Larry King or on the right kind of MTV program" and says if elected he will continue to use the new TV formats each of the candidates employed during the campaign...

Which reminds us: President Bush on "Larry King Live" Friday night got a 5.0/8 on CNN (some 3.07 million cable homes)...

Peter Chernin, head of programming for Fox Broadcasting since February 1989—yes, he brought a grateful viewership "Woops!" and "Studs"—has been named the chairman of parent 20th Century Fox, replacing Joe Roth, who is leaving to start a Disney production company. No replacement at the network named yet...

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 3, 1992

HIGHLIGHTS

- Live election coverage on WRC, WJLA, WUSA, WETA, WHMM, CNN and C-SPAN.
- Arnold Schwarzenegger is "The Terminator" on WDCA.
- And a special night of Fox comedies on WTTG.

Election Coverage

Live network coverage of the presidential, Senate and House elections begins at 7 p.m. on Channels 4, 7 and 9. CNN begins its election coverage at 4:30 p.m. and C-SPAN will start its coverage with a live viewer call-in program at 6:30 p.m. Local news airs at 10 p.m. on Channel 5 and at approximately 11 p.m. on Channels 4, 7 and 9 with network coverage of election returns following at 11:30 p.m.

Evening Exchange. A special four hours of election coverage hosted by Kojo Nnamdi with columnist Barbara Reynolds, pollster Fred Yang and Milton Morris of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (Channel 32 at 7).

The Finish Line. Hodding Carter and Ken Walker co-anchor election night coverage with analysis, interviews and commentary from a variety of guests (Channel 26 at 8).

Primetime Movies

The Terminator (1984). Arnold Schwarzenegger is sent from the future to eliminate a seemingly innocent woman. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Home at Seven (1952). A clerk cannot recall anything from a 24-hour period in which his friend was murdered and his club robbed. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

The Simpsons (CC). Homer forbids Bart to see the new "Itchy and Scratchy" film (Channel 5 at 8).

Martin (CC) (R). The plumber drops dead in Martin's apartment (Channel 5, 8:30).

In Living Color (CC) (R). Highlights from the third season including "Men on Football" and "Wanda, the Ugly Woman" (Channel 5 at 9).

Herman's Head (CC). Herman grapples with commitment in his new relationship after an old flame arrives to reclaim his love (Channel 5, 9:30).

Star Trek: The Next Generation (CC) (R). Romulan forces kidnap Geordi and transform him into a killing machine (Channel 20 at 10).

Late Night

Late Night With David Letterman (R). With Siskel and Ebert, Fran Drescher, the Rockettes and EMF (Channel 4, approximately 1 a.m.).

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC) (R). With Tim Robbins, Lara Flynn Boyle and Tori Amos (Channel 9, approximately 2 a.m.).

Wednesday Morning

Today (CC). An update on election results (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). Review and analysis of the election (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With the latest election results (Channel 9 at 7).

Q&A / TABITHA SOREN

Helping MTV's Fans Access Politics

By JANE HALL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Smart, cynical about politicians but not apathetic. That's how MTV political reporter Tabitha Soren describes her audience. It's also a good description of Soren herself.

A former reporter and anchor covering state politics for an ABC-TV station in Burlington, Vt., the 25-year-old Soren has won praise from TV critics for her informed questioning of the presidential candidates about young people's issues on MTV's "Choose or Lose" coverage of the 1992 campaign.

MTV's coverage has been aimed at getting the MTV generation registered to vote and motivated to go to the polls. In the last presidential election, less than 34% of eligible 18- to 24-year-olds turned out to cast ballots.

Soren, who is under contract to MTV through November, 1993, traveled the country covering the campaigns and became something of a celebrity. Last weekend she interviewed President Bush aboard his campaign train.

Question: Why do you think that President Bush decided to talk to you?

Answer: One reason may be that, independent of MTV, a young voter in Florida recently asked him, "Why won't you go on MTV?" His answer was that he was not a "mod MTV kind of guy"—which is the last thing young people want to hear. Using a '60s word like *mod*—that's sort of saying he's out of touch with young people. Young people have voted Republican in the last three elections. They grew up during a Repub-

lican dynasty, and that is how they formed their values. With the presidential race getting so close and seeing the numbers of young people getting registered, maybe [Bush's strategists] thought this could be an easy constituency to win over.

Q: Do you think President Bush is out of touch with young people?

A: He hasn't talked about young people's issues enough for young people to even be able to tell. His big things are the line-item veto, capital-gains taxes, public- or private-school vouchers—all of these are things within issues that young people care about, like the economy and education. But there aren't a lot of 20-year-olds that have capital gains.

Q: What are the issues that your audience is interested in?

A: They're interested in the economy, the economy and the economy. When I go to colleges to talk, to encourage them to register to vote and to vote, students will ask their "I'll ask this in front of an audience" serious, political questions. Then, afterward, they all come up to me and want to know how I got my job. They're getting ready to graduate, and they don't have job prospects. It makes me feel a little guilty about having a job.

The economy is No. 1 on their minds. But they're also concerned about the environment. They want the homeless problem solved, they want to find a cure for AIDS, they want the deficit eliminated. Young people are the ones who are going to be stuck with that deficit. . . . Ross Perot wants to eliminate the deficit, and he says he is running on behalf of young people. Before he withdrew from the race in July, it was hard to find young



JOE TABACCA / For The Times

people who weren't for him.

Q: How were you regarded when you first started out in the New Hampshire primary?

A: Nobody had ever heard of MTV News; they didn't know we had a news department. We'd walk up to the candidates, camera rolling, and say, "We're trying to get more young people to vote." When you say that, most candidates—hopefully, even without a camera rolling but certainly with one rolling—would look pretty bad if they didn't talk to you. I think they found it novel.

Each one of the Democratic candidates had their little thing they did to make them look hip for MTV. Jerry Brown had on a suit when we asked to talk to him,

but he changed into a turtleneck and flannel shirt for the interview. Gov. Bob Kerry walked up to me and said, "I want my MTV." And Pat Buchanan said, "I hope you aren't going to ask me about any of that hard-rock music because I can tell you right now I don't like it." Buchanan seemed surprised when I kept asking him questions about his 'America First' agenda—questions about music were not on my mind.

Q: Why do you think you and MTV News have received so much attention from other news organizations during the election?

A: I think we've energized a lot of young people with our coverage, and perhaps we're forcing the politicians to talk about young issues in ways they weren't before. Our coverage is fair and unbiased. But the whole point behind "Choose or Lose" is advocacy journalism—getting young people to vote, regardless of which candidate they vote for. There are a lot of voter-registration groups—Rock the Vote, Project Vote and others—that are using celebrities and others to make voting trendy, make it cool. As silly as those words sound, getting young people excited about voting—something so basic to this country—is very important. If we don't vote, how do we expect politicians to listen to our concerns?

Q: If young voters don't turn out to vote in greater numbers, will you consider that a referendum on your coverage?

A: I don't think it will be a referendum on our coverage, but I will be very disappointed. This is what my life has

Please see SOREN, B11

SOREN

Continued from B8

been consumed with for the past 10 months.

Q: How has it been for you to become a celebrity yourself, being interviewed by other TV reporters at the Democratic convention, appearing on "The Tonight Show" and being parodied on "The Ben Stiller Show"?

A: We were helped a lot in gaining credibility because other news organizations did stories on us early on. But being interviewed at the Democratic convention—I took that as a sign of slow news at the convention! Being on "The Tonight Show"—that made me petrified. I was already sick with the flu and a 102-degree temperature, and I was so nervous before the show I got sick to my stomach. It's not something you say, "Oh, no big deal." But I'm not going to get used to it—because after the election, it's going to be over.

As far as being parodied, I don't mind that because the people doing it don't seem to have seen our coverage, so how can I be offended?

Q: Why do you think alternative media—from MTV News to Larry King—have gained prominence during this campaign?

A: I think what we do is supplemental. I tell people all the time to read books and newspapers because you just can't get all the information you need from television. But I do think that political information has expanded. Movies like "JFK" are forcing the government to reopen files on the Kennedy assassination; rap groups like Public Enemy are addressing the issue of race much more directly than the evening news.

Q: Are young voters today cynical?

A: They're cynical, but they're not apathetic. That's the difference. They haven't voted, perhaps, because they grew up in an era first of government deregulation and, later, an era when many people feel alienated from Washington. But college freshmen today demonstrate and protest at the grass-roots level about issues like civil rights and abortion. They're worried about jobs, but they're also the ones who want to cure homelessness and feed the people in Somalia. They just want to know that someone in Washington is listening to their concerns.

Comment

ON THE NATION

Sincerity—
Even Faked—
Always Works

*Voters want to know the
deepest feelings of candidates.
But is that really any clue to
what their policies will be?*

BY SUZANNE GARMENT

WASHINGTON
After the second presidential debate, the one like a TV talk show, with real people asking questions, an audience member was questioned by the press about Bill Clinton's fluent performance: Was it too smooth? Did he seem coached? "I think the people that were coaching [him] have done a marvelous job," the woman answered. "I was impressed that he could pull it off and make it look sincere."

That's how this campaign is ending. Despite a fair amount of attention to The Issues, the contest's final days dramatize the continuing power of character questions—about honesty, sincerity, spontaneity and the like—in our politics. Clinton still looks like the winner on Election Day. But the gap in the polls between him and George Bush has shrunk, and it has done so because of voters' accumulated doubts about Clinton's personal integrity. Many voters clearly think they have not been able to look beyond the campaign artifice into Clinton's essential nature. And they are nervous voting for an individual they do not feel this intimate connection with.

They—we—had better grow up. For more than 200 years, technology has steadily enlarged our capacity to peer into our politicians' lives and motives. Just as steadily, the politicians have outwitted us, figuring out how to use each new technique for their own advantage while making sure their secrets stay secret.

The role a political leader plays in the life of the nation probably depends less on his personal attributes—from style of dress to nobility of soul—than on his and his colleagues' ideas, on the opportunities presented to him and on his skill in practicing the low arts by which politicians get things done.

Yet voters always look for a President who is human enough for us to love yet noble enough so that he will not abuse his power out of selfish ambition. Politicians, for their part, try to look as if they are complying.

Democratization transformed the relationship between leaders and citizens, and in the mid-19th Century, the painted portrait gave way to the more democratic photograph. A politician's visual image became a far more important part of his success. Because of the camera's close vantage point, a political leader had to appear less heroic and more approachable.

Abraham Lincoln, for one, adapted brilliantly to this more detailed inspection. He grew his famous beard after being told it would make him more politically appealing to the ladies.

Over the next century, our view was steadily magnified, but we did not really get any nearer to our politicians' souls. Candidates had to offer us more details of their domestic life—dogs, grandchildren, relatives' drug dependencies—to satisfy our demand for empathetic closeness. Perversely, all this prying put politicians "on stage" more than ever. They spent more time in performance and less on spontaneity.

Now, in reaction to post-Watergate journalism, we are entering the era of the politically relevant talk show. The questions are sometimes softer than those journalists ask, but a politician on one of these shows is exposed to close public view for quite a long time.

But this new kind of exposure, like its predecessors, will simply produce politicians good at manipulating it. These politicians will not be like Bush, who still stumbles when he tries to project the folksy sincerity and easy intimacy that talk shows require. No, the new politicians will be more like Clinton—who has a graceful informality, who is comfortable with the language of psychology, who has thought through the answers to embarrassing questions, who delivers his replies smoothly and who knows how to move to another topic without looking shamed or caught off guard.

The new politicians will be able to stand up to a camera lens powerful enough to show us their pores. Yet we will look at them and realize, somehow, that we know no more about them and their interior lives than we do about the old unimproved model.

"Sincerity," said the great George Burns, "is the secret of success. If you can fake sincerity, you've got it made."

Suzanne Garment, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of "Scandal: The Culture of Mistrust in American Politics" (Times Books).²

Bush, Clinton Both Pour Time, Money Into Michigan Race

■ **Politics:** State is crucial to President's strategy, but the Democrat is making every effort to deny him the prize.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

DETROIT—In the frantic final firefight of the 1992 presidential campaign, this battered industrial city may have been ground zero.

In the last days before today's vote, President Bush and Bill Clinton crossed paths over and over again through a narrow band of critical Rust Belt and Great Lakes states—from New Jersey and Pennsylvania to Ohio and Wisconsin. But no state occupied more of their attention than Michigan.

Into this battlefield, the two major contenders have fired television and radio ads, mailings, surrogate speakers and repeated visits of their own—to the point where even veteran local observers have been overwhelmed. Their efforts—reinforced by Ross Perot's national television barrage—have put the campaign on everyone's lips.

"There's a lot of strong feelings on it this year," said LeAnn Kirmann, a Republican activist from Grand Ledge, as she waited for Bush to arrive at a rally near here Sunday.

That appears to be the case across the nation, as voters render their verdict on this stormy, vituperative and often path-breaking campaign. Polls show the percentage of voters paying close attention to the campaign has soared this fall, and most experts expect a large turnout—a dramatic conclusion to a campaign that has regularly produced moments of high drama.

"It's a mortal lock that turnout is going up," said GOP pollster Bill McInturff.

After tightening significantly last week, national polls show Clinton again holding a comfortable lead over Bush, with Perot lagging behind. Few observers are entirely certain that a campaign that has been consistently unpredictable doesn't hold one or two more surprises. But a Bush comeback at this stage would rank as the most dramatic reversal of fortune in the final hours of a presidential race.

In their final maneuvering, both Bush and Clinton targeted this state for contrasting reasons that underscore the length of the odds facing the President.

The widespread economic uneasiness in Michigan—symbolized by the continuing turmoil of Gen-

eral Motors Corp., which led to a management shake-up Monday—has always made the state an uphill climb for Bush despite its Republican leanings in recent presidential campaigns.

It remains a daunting challenge for the President now. The latest statewide tracking poll for a Detroit TV station, released Monday night, showed Clinton leading with 46%, Bush with 30% and Ross Perot at 16%.

Facing such numbers, Bush might have written off Michigan in a different year to spend his last campaign hours elsewhere. But the President has been forced to pound relentlessly at the state because there appears to be no way he can win the necessary 270 electoral votes without Michigan's 18.

That reality defines Clinton's stake in the state. Although Clinton—with his strong base on both coasts—can probably win today without carrying Michigan, he has invested so heavily here precisely because he knows Bush cannot.

"That's Clinton's great advantage," said Democratic strategist Ted Devine. "He can focus on trying to take just one link out of Bush's chain."

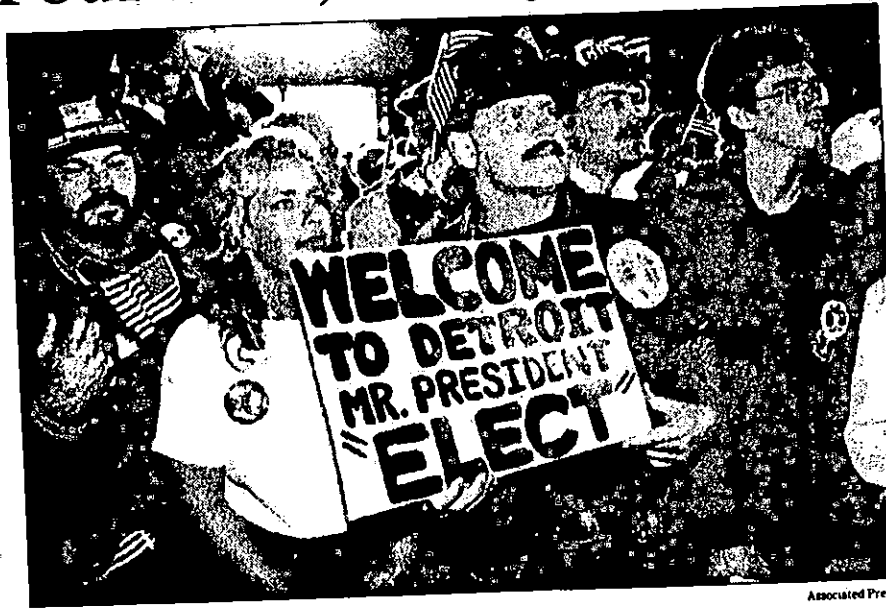
Clinton's intense focus on Michigan represents the reversal of a traditional Republican tactic. Because the GOP base in the South and West left Democrats so little room to maneuver in past presidential campaigns, Republicans have typically been able to dictate the battlefield in the election's final hours.

In past years, the Republicans devoted enormous resources to a single conservative-leaning state—usually Ohio—confident that if they won there, the Democrats could not reach an Electoral College majority.

This year, though, it is Clinton who has the lead and the flexibility to choose where to fight. He has selected Michigan as his version of Ohio.

"That is a pretty fair analogy," said David Wilhelm, Clinton's campaign manager. "Michigan is a linchpin to our Electoral College strategy; it is a state that if we win, it destroys almost any chance that Bush will be reelected."

With the state playing such a central role in the strategies of both candidates, their efforts here have been enormous. "Some of us," said Don Tucker, the Democratic chairman in populous Oakland County, "have started to think



Supporters from the Detroit area welcome Bill Clinton during a campaign rally at the airport.

Clinton and Bush are running for President of Michigan."

When Clinton arrived in Detroit on Monday for a lunchtime airport rally, it marked his third visit to the area in five days and his sixth trip to the state in two weeks.

On Sunday, Bush roused the faithful with a scathing attack on Clinton at a rally in Auburn Hills, just north of here—his third run at the state in eight days.

Last Thursday, voters from around the state were able to ask Bush questions in a televised town meeting from Grand Rapids. The next night Clinton flew to the Detroit suburbs to hold his own televised town meeting.

When Clinton forces made their final buy of television time last week, they estimated they were placing enough commercials on the air so that each Michigan resident would see them 14 times through Election Day.

Bush, both sides figure, is on the air even more heavily—especially with a foreboding spot about Clinton's record as governor that might be titled "Apocalypse Arkansas." From both sides, acerbic radio advertisements blare incessantly.

As for Perot, local observers say his ad assault has been less visible than in some other states. But his promises to shake up Washington have won him a strong following.

At one point early last week, Republican polls showed Perot

surging over 20% in this state. With most of Perot's gains coming from Clinton, that tightened the Michigan race considerably.

But, as has happened throughout the country, Perot's support has slipped here since he accused the White House last week of engineering dirty tricks that forced his withdrawal from the race in July. Initially, the voters deserting Perot disproportionately moved to Bush, but now Clinton is winning his share of those voters and consolidating his lead.

"The President is unlikely to close the gap in Michigan on Election Day," said GOP pollster Steve Lombardo.

Even with Clinton's lead in the polls, Democrats here remain edgy. Almost without exception, they are haunted by the memory of 1990, when then-Gov. James J. Blanchard led Republican John Engler by 10 percentage points in the final polls—and then was swept from office by a strong Republican effort to get out their vote, coupled with a poor turnout in Detroit.

Democrats are insistent that won't happen again. Registration is up in Detroit, and Mayor Coleman A. Young has put his shoulder into the Clinton effort. One local official estimated this weekend that 65% of registered Detroit voters could come to the polls today, compared

to just 54% four years ago.

Unions are pushing hard too. The UAW has been distributing to members copies of a Flint newspaper article reporting that Ross Perot owns a Mercedes-Benz and other foreign cars. In Michigan, that's not much different than burning a flag.

Republican efforts to turn out the vote are just as intense. In Oakland County alone, GOP volunteers made more than 150,000 calls last weekend, said Jim Alexander, the county GOP chairman.

Local observers say religious conservatives and anti-abortion activists are mounting powerful drives; thousands of copies of the Christian Coalition's voter guide on the presidential candidates were distributed at Bush's rally in Auburn Hills on Sunday.

Beyond its impact on the Electoral College, voting in Michigan should help answer some of the key questions on which the results will pivot around the nation. Among them:

• Can Clinton reclaim the so-called Reagan Democrats—the blue-collar ethnics who deserted the party during the 1970s and 1980s over taxes, the economy and the perception that Democrats favored minorities?

Stressing such issues as welfare reform and his support for the death penalty, Clinton has aggressively courted voters in Macomb

County, a Detroit suburb renowned as the breeding ground of Reagan Democrats.

Republicans have fired back with targeted mailers hitting Clinton on trust and taxes. And Perot could be a formidable competitor in Macomb County and similar neighborhoods for the votes of working-class residents disgusted with Bush and the gridlock in Washington.

• Can Bush hold suburban Republicans and independents who favor abortion rights? Four years ago, he carried the generally affluent Detroit suburb of Oakland County by 109,000 votes. But the hard-right line on social issues at the Republican Convention did not play well there, and Democrats are optimistic that Clinton's centrist message will allow him to make significant inroads, not only in Oakland County but in similar places in New Jersey, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

• Can Clinton get the high turnout he needs from blacks after a campaign so heavily focused on wooing white swing voters in the suburbs? The answer will affect the result not only here but in other industrial states, such as Ohio and Pennsylvania, as well as Southern battlegrounds like Georgia and Louisiana.

• Will young voters show up today? One reason Clinton's margin diminished in some national surveys last week is those polls included very few young people among their likely voters—and Clinton, the first baby boomer to top a national ticket, has been running very well with the young.

In 1988, just 36% of eligible voters age 18 to 24 actually turned out. Mike Dolan, field director for Rock the Vote, a nonpartisan national effort to register and turn out young voters, predicts as many as half of them may vote this year.

Such a spike in turnout would be a huge boost for Clinton; in this state, for example, he has courted students at rallies at both the University of Michigan and Michigan State University.

One cloud on the Democratic horizon is the possibility of rain today in Michigan and much of the Midwest. Conventional wisdom holds that rain could dampen turnout in Detroit and other urban centers and pinch Clinton's vote.

But many on both sides believe that interest in this campaign is so high that even rain won't cool it off. "With all of the attention to the race this year," Alexander said, "I don't know if even rain is going to matter."

Associated Press

Panel Sets Guidelines for Women in Combat

■ **Military:** The commission, still split on jobs, recommends equal strength requirements and involuntary assignments.

By MELISSA HEALY
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A presidential commission voted Monday to recommend that, if women in the military are permitted to serve in combat, they would have to meet the same requirements as men. But it left to today a showdown over the more controversial question of which combat jobs women should be permitted to do.

Completing eight months of hearings, debates and visits to ships and bases, the 15-member commission demonstrated that it is deeply split on the issue that prompted the establishment of the panel: whether women will be permitted to serve aboard combat ships and in combat aircraft.

That issue will not be resolved until today's votes. But Monday's vote established the principles that would guide the opening of any new military jobs to women: that women would have to meet strength requirements equal to those for men in combat positions and that they would be assigned to any new combat slots not by choice, but on an involuntary basis.

The commission was established in March—a year after the end of the Persian Gulf War—to offer its recommendation on the politically explosive question of whether combat slots should be opened to women and if so, which ones.

More than 40,000 women were dispatched to the Persian Gulf, making up just under 10% of the force there. After several

women died or were taken prisoner in Operation Desert Storm, Congress responded by repealing laws that have barred women from serving in combat aircraft since 1948.

The commission was established to consider how to implement the new legislation and whether to extend it to other areas. Its six women and nine men, drawn from candidates proposed by lawmakers and the White House, are more heavily weighted against proposals that would allow women to serve in "direct combat" positions, such as infantry jobs, where hand-to-hand fighting might occur between U.S. troops and future adversaries.

The commission's first round of recommendations, which were adopted after a sometimes rancorous debate, are to be forwarded within two weeks to the President. President Bush established the panel at Congress' direction, and Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton has said that he would review the panel's findings before taking any action to open new jobs to military women.

During its eight-month proceedings, the panel has spent \$4 million and pondered the legal, ethical and political effects of opening combat jobs to women, as well as its impact on military effectiveness. In debates leading to Monday's voting, commissioners have overwhelmingly argued that combat effectiveness—not equal opportunity for women long barred from combat jobs—should be the panel's foremost concern.

"Equal opportunity is not the principal

purpose of the military," said Elaine Donnelly, one of the commission's most strident opponents of opening new combat positions to women. "The purpose of the military is to defend the country."

While most commissioners echoed that sentiment, they differed on whether and how much the U.S. military's fighting power would be eroded by the introduction of women.

The panel's insistence that physical strength standards be the same for men and women in combat positions will have two effects, observed commissioner Charles Moskos. In adopting the measures, the commission upheld the principle that women should receive no special treatment in applying for combat jobs and that the combat effectiveness of the force should not be compromised.

At the same time, Moskos cautioned, the imposition of a single standard for both men and women virtually ensures that very few women will gain entry into combat units.

Marine Brig. Gen. Thomas V. Draude, a commissioner who has backed the liberalization of combat roles for women, said that Congress, reflecting American public opinion, will not allow the military to set unreasonable standards in an effort to keep women out of combat jobs. At the same time, he said, "people really understand fairness and they want us to uphold that" in the imposition of physical standards.

"We don't want tokenism here," said Draude, whose daughter and son are both naval aviators. "And those who have achieved in these fields have told us: 'Please don't cheapen the standards we've worked so hard to meet.'"

The panel on Monday also put off a decision on what promises to be another controversial issue: whether to limit the combat roles that single parents and parents in dual military-career couples can fill. Several members of the panel have urged that the Pentagon adopt new standards to prevent the deployment of parents to war-torn areas if their deaths would make orphans of their children.

In other action Monday, the panel:

—Rejected quotas for military women, but recommended that the defense secretary be given broad discretion to "set goals that encourage the recruitment and optimize the utilization of women in the services."

—Adopted a proposal that would make the assignment of women to any combat roles involuntary. In doing so, the panel rejected the establishment of a double-standard for servicemen and women, where women would be permitted to volunteer for newly opened combat jobs, while men would be subject to involuntary assignment to the same positions.

—Recommended that the military services adopt gender-neutral standards—sometimes called "unisex" standards—for military specialties that require special muscular strength or endurance. But they recommended that the military be permitted to maintain different standards for men and women in matters of general physical fitness and wellness.

—Allowed the defense and individual service secretaries to maintain different standards for men and women in basic and some advanced training courses, where both combat and noncombat specialists are trained.

Promises, Pleas End Campaign

■ **Democrat: Clinton** stumps in 9 states in a 30-hour wrap-up marathon, where he pledges to lead a newly optimistic America.

By CATHLEEN DECKER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

McALLEN, Tex. — Thirteen months after he set off on a long-shot crusade against a popular incumbent, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton swept across the country Monday with the presidency achingly close to his grasp and promised he would lead a newly optimistic America toward the next century.

Hoarse but smiling, Clinton hit nine states on a nonstop, 30-hour marathon beginning early Monday and leading him across the breadth of the industrial Midwest, into the South, across to Texas and the Southwest and into the Rockies.

He was to come home at midday today to Little Rock, where he had announced his candidacy on Oct. 3, 1991, when President Bush was riding a wave of support from the Gulf War and even Democrats thought Clinton's challenge to be a fool's errand.

More than a year has passed and the circumstances have vastly changed—Clinton began Monday

■ **RELATED STORIES, PHOTOS:**
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with a strong and consistent lead over Bush in public opinion surveys—but his pitch was remarkably similar to the one he used as he entered the race.

"This election is a race between hope and fear," he said in Cleveland, the second of his stops in the mad dash that took him 4,106 miles in a relentless search for votes. "Tomorrow we will drown out the negative voices that have held us back for too long and build the America you deserve. . . ."

Please see CLINTON, A4

CLINTON: Closes With Marathon

Continued from A1

"I'll work as hard as I can for you every day. I'll try to unite us all, try to stop the division by race, by region, by age, by gender. We're going up together. It won't be easy but we can do it!"

Throughout the day, as he dodged rainstorms and snowstorms and reveled in an occasional sunny sky, Clinton cast the election in the most basic of terms: the clash between new ways and old, negativity and optimism, laissez-faire and activist government.

"I believe things can be better," Clinton told supporters gathered in a steady rain in Philadelphia, where he began his day at a diner with the sorts of voters he has assiduously courted.

"I have fought to make things better. I have fought for jobs, for health care, for education, to employ people, to take control of their own lives and to bring this country together. And tomorrow is our chance to do it."

"Press on and we'll have a victory tomorrow..."

Clinton's campaign has ridden the heights of optimism and the depths of despair, and it emerged in the last days of the campaign relentlessly upbeat.

The candidate himself appeared buoyant despite a nagging bout of laryngitis, and seemed to grow more effervescent as the day proceeded. His confidence showed in one profound way: Clinton rarely mentioned his rivals—Bush and independent Ross Perot—as he hoppedscotched around the country.

In McAllen, Tex., deep in the Rio Grande Valley, Clinton stood silhouetted by light against the nighttime sky and lightly upbraided Bush.

"My opponent has spent too much time in this election attacking me," he said. "If he had spent so much time attacking your problems, we'd be in a lot better shape today, and so would he."

The candidate, who was accompanied by his wife, Hillary, described himself as "hopeful and

determined."

Monday was a day of anticipation not only for Clinton, his family and his loyalists, but for Democrats who have been denied the presidency for 12 long years.

Democratic Party Chairman Ronald H. Brown traveled with Clinton throughout the day, his broad smile reflecting the joy of party leaders who last year at this time could not have imagined Monday's optimistic circumstances.

"I feel victory in the air," Brown told several hundred Clinton supporters gathered in an airplane hangar in Romulus, Mich. "He is the candidate of everyday working men and women and working families who had to struggle to make ends meet with a President who did not care for them whatsoever."

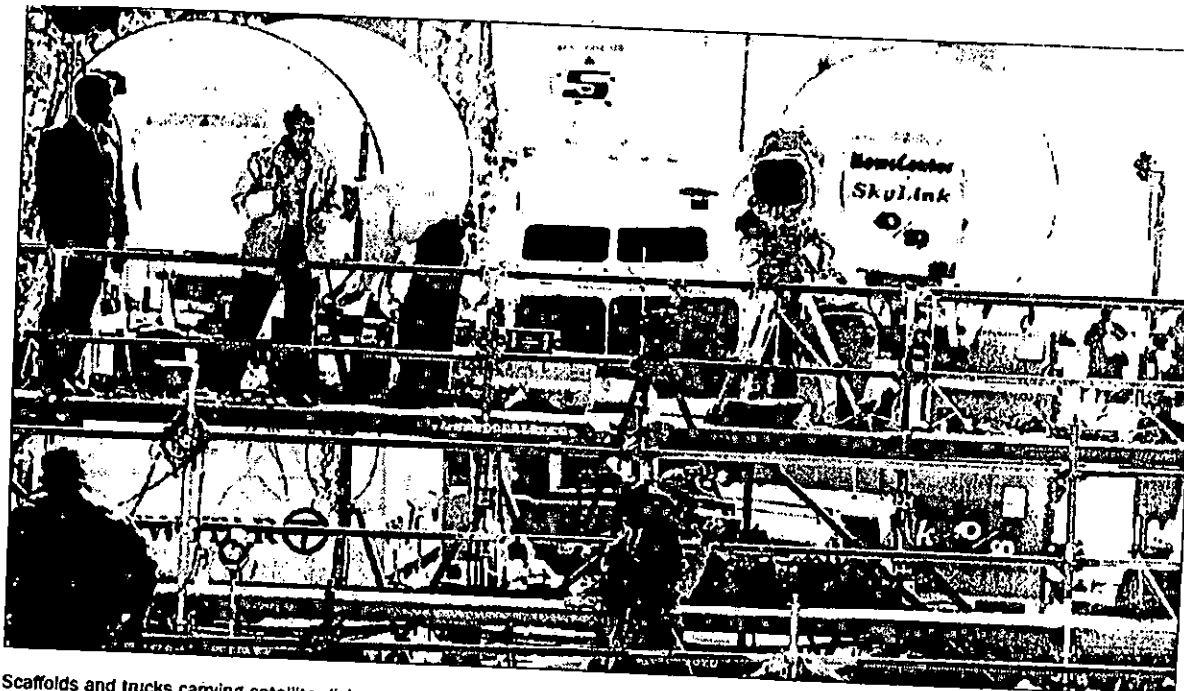
To reassure voters still on the fence, however, Clinton took great pains to cast his candidacy as one for the "new" Democratic Party.

"No more something for nothing," he said in Romulus, near Detroit. "We don't believe in bigger government, but we darn sure believe in better government that works for all the people, not just the privileged few."

In all of his travels, Clinton said, "I never met people who asked me for a handout. All the American people want is a hand up, and it's time they had a government that gave it to them."

Clinton also unleashed a final burst of television advertising—a half-hour on each of the three major broadcast networks. It combined a biographical film with footage from his bus tours, endorsements from prominent Americans and a final statement in which he told viewers they faced a choice between "fear and hope... drift and action... the status quo and change."

The campaign also aired two final 30-second ads, reminiscent of the soft-focus "Morning in America" spots aired by Ronald Reagan in 1984, showing hopeful faces of ordinary citizens at Clinton rallies.



Scaffolds and trucks carrying satellite dishes are set up in front of the Old State House in Little Rock, Ark., in preparation for Election Day. MARK POSTER Los Angeles Times

The half-hour program included a response to Perot's new criticisms of Clinton—and it came from Perot's former chief issues adviser, who now supports Clinton.

"I still support much of what we did," said John White, referring to the plan he helped write for Perot. "The problem with the Perot plan is not the plan, it's Ross Perot. He didn't follow through. He didn't show the kind of leadership we need in a President of the United States."

Clinton's final campaign swing began shortly after dawn in Philadelphia, where he chatted up voters in a diner and received a book from one optimistic family. The title: "How the White House Really Works." He then took off on what was essentially a series of touch-and-go landings in states deemed key by Clinton strategists.

First came Cleveland; then Romulus; then St. Louis; then south to Paducah, Ky.; west to McAllen and Ft. Worth; further west to Albuquerque, and north to

Colorado. Finally, in the late morning today, Clinton's three-plane entourage was due to land in Little Rock for a rally and voting. Aides said he would make no public statements until after the polls closed in California.

Throughout the day, crowds were large and enthusiastic, in keeping with Clinton's reception virtually everywhere in the last week. At every site, they shouted "One More Day!" and clamored to touch the candidate.

Emotions, particularly among Clinton loyalists, were running high. In Romulus, Clinton encountered Ed McNamara, the county executive of Wayne County and a Clinton ally since the early days.

"One more day. We're home free," McNamara told Clinton, who responded with a hug.

Also in Romulus, Clinton met Rebecca McGowan, an old friend of both Clintons. As they embraced, tears filled McGowan's eyes.

"I told him I was so proud of him, and to go out and win it," she said.

For Clinton as well, Monday appeared to be something of a sentimental journey. In every speech, he reminisced about the eight bus trips he took across the nation, about the people he met and their hopes and dreams.

He appeared to be running on pure adrenalin, for he has had little more than two or three hours of sleep a night for a week—and on election eve, slept only in his plane seat. His campaign days have stretched into the early morning hours and resumed just hours after the previous "day" ended.

On Sunday, for example, Clinton croaked through short speeches in Cincinnati and Wilkes-Barre, Pa., then ventured to East Rutherford, N.J., for a star-studded, get-out-the-vote rally that duplicated the emotional pitch of the Convention.

Then, not quite done, he traveled for more than an hour by bus to the Garden State Park racetrack in Cherry Hill, N.J., where thousands of enthusiastic supporters whooped and hollered as if oblivious to the

time—1:15 a.m.

Taking to the stage, Clinton sternly warned his followers—as he would all day Monday—that Election Day had yet to come.

That done, the Arkansas governor grabbed a saxophone and jammed with the starring band, leading the euphoric leader of the Doves to shout, "The next President of the United States—and he plays sax! All right!"

Someone led Clinton to the winner's circle—no subtlety for this campaign—where he met up with a trotter named "Bubba Clinton," which recently won a race at 37-1 odds, an omen not lost on the governor.

The Democratic nominee said later that Bubba had passed along his recipe for victory. It was a joke, but nonetheless advice that Clinton followed all day Monday, as he had for the 13 months before.

"Just run hard," he said.

Staff writer David Lauter, in Washington, contributed to this story.

COLUMN ONE

Stuck in Politics' Fast Lane

■ Voters reflect the hurry-up, sound-bite world of candidates. But in town after town, given the chance, people long to ponder, argue, persuade and be persuaded.

By JOHN BALZAR
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Assigned in August to explore what Americans were thinking about their election, my journey ends today.

I drove 12,450 miles through 27 states from East Coast to Gulf Coast, from Great Lakes to West Coast, rummaged into the lives of 220 Americans and enjoyed shorter conversations with many dozens more.

Often along the way my questions were preceded by a question. Sure, voters would say, come on in, you can have a few hours, a half a day, the run of the town, whatever you need. But first tell us, What are you finding out here?

The answer: America's epic campaign cavalcade called on voters to engage their mouths and not so much their minds; to utilize their base instincts and rash judgments, not their deliberative, shall we say, humanity.

What was lost along the way? Plenty if you believe that a campaign is when the public is supposed to get close to its democracy. After all, don't we call it participatory democracy? And if the participants are not enlisted for their

FIELD NOTES

Americans in an Election Year

■ John Balzar traveled America with the presidential candidates in the 1970s and 1980s. This year, with politics and voters still the assignment, Balzar was on his own in a Pontiac coupe.

thoughtfulness, their charity and complexity, how can the resulting administrators of our democracy be any different, or better?

Maybe without knowing it and almost surely without intending it, voters too often and too easily allowed themselves to be reduced to what they hate about politics.

They have come to think, speak, act and apparently submit to a melodramatic process in which the dialogue is canned, clipped, stale, hyped, poli-driven and straight from the talk shows.

In the ritual, not just the candidates talk in what we disparagingly call sound bites. Voters, too, realized they were expected to hurry up, shout it out, the louder the better, preferably in the sim-

Please see TRAVELS, A5

TRAVELS: Sound-Bite Politics Belies Voter Longing to Reflect

Continued from A1
plastic coin of cliché. A dialogue measured in decibels.

In rural North Carolina, I listened to a call-in show on the car radio. The entertainment that afternoon was to see who could rage the loudest against big spenders in Congress.

Goaded on by the emcee, the callers piled on until a good ole boy reached for the brass ring. Why, he thundered, it's easy enough to complain about Sen. Edward M. Kennedy but Kennedy was no worse a spender than Sen. Jesse Helms. "They're the same. Won't waste my gas to vote for any of them."

If this were simply the nature of Americans, we could stop here.

But given a chance, the voters I met reverted, gratefully so, from emotional clamor to genuine contemplation. Spend a few hours with a family, or a half-day, or even longer; watch them work and play, meet their children, and the transformation was as dependable as it was prodigious.

These are the people, the day after the call-in show, who mobilized fleets of gaily decorated, horn-honking tractor trailers full of clothes, food, lumber and love for those strangers in Florida and Louisiana who were knocked flat by Hurricane Andrew.

"Those people who didn't like government, they're the first one's in line now," laughed Grace Bush, a volunteer at a hurricane relief Red Cross Center in Houma, La. "They ask me where to go. I tell them to go to the government first. Get their name at the top of the list. They go. It's human nature. Good for them. Nobody should be beyond help."

Again and again through the weeks, it was plain that we voters are more reflective, less arrogant, more uncertain, more willing to admit and laugh at our contradictions, more apt to face up to our selfishness than we are commonly regarded to be. If only we would be given the chance.

No matter how charged the issue—excepting matters like abortion and the death penalty, which carry moral imperatives of life and death—I found people willing and ready to question themselves and their beliefs, entirely unlike what they are permitted in the hurry-up tempo of political discourse in the 1990s.

"Thank you, I cannot tell you how much I appreciate this," I heard it over and over, the longer we spent, the more we argued, the tougher the questions got.

"Thank you," said Emmett Shockley. He is a retired school administrator in Las Cruces, N.M., and an activist in the organization known as the American Assn. of Retired Persons. During one long morning, we have been engaged in a discussion on whether elderly Americans are getting more than their fair share of federal benefits.

"Yes, we're selfish . . . We see that we're greedy geezers, and it's time for us to do something about it," he said.

Later, at a home in Tempe, Ariz., I talk

with members of a black-leather motorcycle club. The door opened and I saw only the barrel of a shotgun. "OK, where is that slimeball reporter?" growls the voice connected to the shotgun.

Ha ha, the voice says next.

The bikers were demonstrating their support for a liberal interpretation of the Second Amendment's right to bear arms. Particularly 300-pound Ed (Animal) Bassett, who wore the standard black Harley T-shirt and wild hair and beard almost to his waist.

We've all heard their worries. Any attempt to regulate gun ownership is a first step . . . and so on. But Animal, it turns out, is a licensed motorcycle driving instructor. As we discuss the issue, I asked him, well what if everybody who wanted to buy a gun had to pass a safety course like motorcyclists? Just so that everybody who bought a gun legally knew how to use it and to safeguard it against misuse?

"Hummm, I could see that," he said after a pause to think. "At least if it was voluntary."

Not an earth-moving change of heart, granted. But a change. And a tough group, too, on its home turf. And compare that discussion to your common political stage-show confrontation over gun ownership.

Without attempting to allocate blame—plenty of opportunity for that on your own—let's say our process seems to have become rigged so that differences among us pile up thick as storm clouds, horizon to horizon, blotting out the light and putting common ground in perpetual darkness. As a result, whoever is elected President, I think, will suffer a stunted mandate and a more cynical, dispirited country.

Where is the patience for honest doubt or the struggle against our own confusion? If not during a campaign, when?

Voters might be asked, what do you think? But they understand the question is not really so much what they can think, but what can they say in a few quick words. What will boil out of them hot on the instant, regardless of its value? The result exaggerates our emotions and compounds the distance between our beliefs.

In Mt. Airy, N.C., Floyd's Barbershop attracts the tourist trade, thanks to its prominent place on favorite son Andy Griffith's old television show. Donna George started cutting hair there a while ago. "To tell you honestly, I didn't expect it when I started, but all these people who come in from other places are just like me. I don't know why, but I expected they would be different. The only difference is their accents, and they think we got one."

In this so-called Communication Age, political communication among voters has too much become a collection of impulses, grunts, echoes, yeas and nays. I might be wrong, but I suspect that a band of prehistoric hairy Neanderthals planned the administration of life in the damp limestone cave with at least as much enlightenment as is allowed by the modern "advance" of instantaneous voter reaction, recorded game-show like by telephone key pad at every debate utterance, and beamed back across the land by proud



Peggy Haine, left, and Lisa Small, members of Women of Substance Choral, illustrate the saying, 'It's not over 'til the fat lady sings,' in front of White House.

technicians and social scientists.

After watching the vice presidential debate, a group of students at Northern Arizona University gathered to talk and eat pizza. Leonard Begay, a Navajo and student of public administration, paused to think, paused a long time. And then he spoke softly, carefully.

"For me, having self-respect and respect for others, that's what I want to see. And don't. Who is the person that can rule with a caring heart and respect for people . . . ?"

Hard to measure that: from the galvanic action on the skin or on the nine digits of a key pad.

Curiously, our process demands that candidates be challenged on everything said, done and undone. But there is little of the same for the collected views of voters.

Whatever the voters say they want, it is presumed, must be what they want. Often it isn't. And many Americans are grateful to have their views tested by reasoned argument. Others may not be grateful, but their views beg for challenge nonetheless.

In Reno, Gerald DeVore sat in the basement of the Covenant Church Presbyterian and stewed as he listened to the final televised presidential debate.

He said it feels as if the would-be presidents are pandering to him with promises. "They're promising things they cannot deliver," he harrumphed.

So record him as against government spending?

But wait, Jerry, didn't you just say that you are alive today because of your second \$70,000 heart bypass surgery, paid for by

Medicare and your retirement insurance?

"Yes . . . In this country, we cannot stop giving," he said.

So record him as a grateful beneficiary of government spending?

Which is it? Both, he nodded. And he struggled a bit for an explanation. "We are cynical. But I don't see what we can do [as a country]."

We are, it seems, a sum of our contradictions.

Our process, perhaps like our society, dwells too deeply on stereotype.

At Custom Video Communications in Ft. Wayne, Ind., owners Bill and Marilyn Moran Townsend dress fashionably, feel the "'80s were good to us," and talk the familiar chilly jargon of business: global competition, growth and profitability. They expect more of all three in the 1990s.

They make training and marketing videos and the like, employ 20 people and staunchly oppose government mandates for such things as family leave and expanded benefits.

Why? The stereotypical answer would be that they think it's bad business. But in fact, they think such benefits are good business by offering them voluntarily to their workers so they can lure talent away from big-city competitors in Chicago, Detroit and Cincinnati.

They have been featured in newspapers and a textbook as examples of the modern, compassionate and competitive company. They devote each Friday afternoon to showing a movie in the office for employees and their families. They provide an annual budget for an employee "happy

committee" (the goal of which, Marilyn explains, is "to see that we never let our fun become work around here." Some stereotype).

None of this is to deny America its plentiful share of dunderheads to meet along the roads and way-stops. Plenty of them. Bigots, especially, both whisperers and yellers. To these people the issues and characters of the presidential campaign are mere abstraction, as far as I could tell the vote is black and white.

And the toll of this bigotry unaddressed is clear enough to tally.

"I don't personally think it's going to get any better as a result of this campaign. White people have instilled in black people's mind that we're not anything, that we're not going to do anything. So why do anything?" said Angie Martin, a student at Virginia Union University.

Nothing in the campaign absorbed so much energy as the frequent attempts to gauge the leanings of voters. Yet, I wonder, are we so deafened by the roar and the clang of campaign machinery that we cannot listen to each other's curious "whys" when it comes to explaining our preferences?

"I think you have to unify the country first," said George Wyatt, owner of the Flower Box florist shop in Winnfield, La. Given a chance, he wanted to talk not so much about whom he was for, but what he was for.

"We've done gross injustices to large groups of people, like single black mothers. We've put a cap on how much they can progress in our economy. We give them benefits but tell them if they get a job, they lose the benefits. The poor aren't the enemy, they're trapped."

Too often, however, the campaign process seems twisted in such a fashion as to make all of us potential enemies of each other. Few Americans have escaped the long, anxious debate about Washington's hopeless inability to forge ahead, whichever way ahead might be. A surprising number say only: good.

"At least it's gridlock. At least it holds things back a little," says Charles Betts, owner of Betts Cadillac in Des Moines.

Like many Iowans, Betts attributes to himself the best of heartland American values. His father worked hard to build a business, and he worked hard to build on that. And he has done well at it.

As he followed America's political debate, the choice was brutally simple: The needs of America are great, but the government is in the red. He looks out to see a nation that argues the matter in expressions of shrill caricature. And who can blame him his fear? In such an atmosphere, best look out for No. 1.

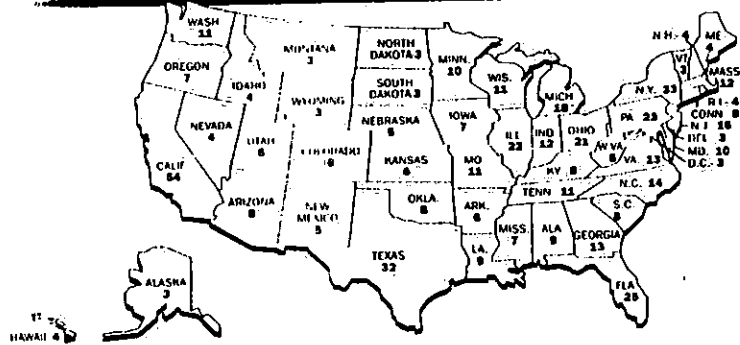
"I stopped listening weeks ago. Because I know, There's nothing that can be said. I feel I am perceived as someone who has more than his share. At least it's gridlock . . ."

Times researchers Tracy Shryer in Chicago and Doug Connor in Seattle assisted with this story, and with the preceding dispatches in the series.

TRACKING TODAY'S DECISION

Here's an electoral map and scorecard for keeping track of tonight's returns.

ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATE



AN ELECTION NIGHT SCORECARD

A majority of the electoral vote, 270, is required to win the presidency. Here's a scorecard for tracking tonight's winner:

Electoral votes	Clinton	Bush	Perot	Electoral votes	Clinton	Bush	Perot
Alabama	9			Montana	3		
Alaska	3			Nebraska	5		
Arizona	6			Nevada	4		
Arkansas	6			New Hampshire	4		
California	54			New Jersey	15		
Colorado	8			New Mexico	5		
Connecticut	8			New York	33		
Delaware	3			North Carolina	14		
District of Columbia	3			North Dakota	3		
Florida	26			Ohio	21		
Georgia	13			Oklahoma	8		
Hawaii	4			Oregon	7		
Idaho	4			Pennsylvania	23		
Illinois	22			Rhode Island	4		
Indiana	12			South Carolina	8		
Iowa	7			South Dakota	3		
Kansas	6			Tennessee	11		
Kentucky	8			Texas	32		
Louisiana	9			Utah	5		
Maine	4			Vermont	3		
Maryland	10			Virginia	13		
Massachusetts	12			Washington	11		
Michigan	18			West Virginia	5		
Minnesota	10			Wisconsin	11		
Mississippi	7			Wyoming	3		
Missouri	11			TOTALS			

PICKING A PRESIDENT

Several States Could Signal Turning Points

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

Here are a few key states to watch for early signals on how the presidential vote is proceeding:

3 p.m. PST. Polls close in Kentucky and Indiana. Though it has only eight electoral votes, Kentucky is a swing state whose result could signal whether Bill Clinton can make the breakthroughs he hopes for in the border states of the South.

A loss or a narrow victory margin for President Bush in Indiana, a staunchly Republican state, could signal problems ahead for the President.

"If Clinton wins Kentucky, the election is over," said Tad Devine, a Democratic strategist. "If Bush wins, it could be a long night before we know what is going on."

4 p.m. If Bush cannot hold Florida, the election is essentially over; the state should also provide a good gauge of Ross Perot's appeal. Watch to see if Clinton can reclaim Georgia—his best hope in the Deep South—and whether Bush can hold South Carolina and Virginia. Vermont and New Hampshire will provide the first read on Bush's standing in the Northeast, where he has lagged badly.

4:30 p.m. North Carolina and Ohio. If Bush loses

Ohio, analysts in both parties believe you can switch to "Wheel of Fortune": The curtain would have closed on his presidency.

5 p.m. The polls close in 18 more states. Look at Michigan and New Jersey: Bush has trailed in both and cannot afford to lose either. But a win for the President here, like a victory in Ohio, would indicate that the GOP base is coalescing more than it appeared in the campaign's final days.

Clinton is counting on victories in Pennsylvania, Missouri, Tennessee and Illinois. Texas should demonstrate the breadth of Perot's appeal. If the three-way split allows Clinton to take Texas, the overwhelming likelihood is that the Democrat is on his way toward a landslide.

6 p.m. Eleven more states end voting. In Wisconsin, Bush probably has his best chance of winning back a state the Democrats won in 1988. Clinton has made a major push for Colorado, and he rates Louisiana as one of his top hopes for a breakthrough in the South.

8 p.m. If the race is still unsettled, California, Oregon and Washington will be decisive. Clinton has led in surveys in all three states. But he will have had a run of bad news tonight if the election hangs on balloting along the Pacific Coast.

FACTS AND FIGURES

What's At Stake Nationwide

Office	Total	Up for election today	Term	Salary (rank and file)
President	1	1	4 years	\$200,000
Senate	100	34	6 years	\$129,500
House	435	435	2 years	\$129,500
Governor	50	12	4 years*	Varies**

*Exceptions are New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont, with two-year terms.

**Governors' salaries range from \$35,000 in Arkansas to \$130,000 in New York.

When and Where to Watch Tonight

(Coverage will begin at the times below. All listings are Pacific Standard Time)

4 p.m.	KCBS/Channel 2 KNBC/Channel 4 KABC/Channel 7 KMEX/Channel 34 CNN/Cable; check local listings)
5 p.m.	KCAL/Channel 9 C-SPAN/Cable
8 p.m.	KCET/Channel 28

■ Republican: President, in a sentimental mood, appeals for support and rests his case on familiar twin pillars of his candidacy: trust and taxes.

By DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

HOUSTON—With hoarse-voiced defiance and evident emotion, President Bush concluded his bid for reelection on Monday with a plea for the support of Americans whose Election Day decisions he said would "cast a shadow forward" into the nation's history.

In a daylong coda that brought his life's last political campaign to a close, Bush blended the harsh tones of final attacks on Bill Clinton with the more somber notes of an appeal that carried the pain of what he called "probably the most unpleasant year of my life."

"Your voice will echo down the corridors of time," Bush told thousands of supporters who packed an Astrodome annex here, "and with your vote you are going to help shape the entire future of this, the most blessed, special nation that man has ever known, and God helped create."

His voice cracking with sentiment at the end of a six-state tour, Bush called the votes Americans will cast today "an act of power, a statement of principle" and advised: "Only conscience should be your guide."

As he also sought to register a more direct claim for four more years in the White House, Bush rested his case on the twin pillars that have sustained his quest for a second term: trust and taxes, the issues on which he sees the starkest division between himself and his Democratic rival.

He urged Americans to "discard" the voices of pollsters and pundits who have discounted Bush's comeback bid and described the race as Clinton's to lose. To a raucous reception at a Texas homecoming

Please see BUSH, A6

Continued from A1

rally here, he proclaimed his campaign at the brink of "the biggest comeback in American political history."

With his wife, Barbara, at his side, Bush told the audience that he had returned to Texas "a little tired, a little worn, but fired up" at the end of what he called "the battle of my life."

The end of the long and bitter race clearly left him both drained and relieved. In midafternoon, he, his eldest son and top aides sat in a conference room aboard Air Force One for an impromptu midair concert by the Oak Ridge Boys, whose gospel renditions left the President with tears running down his cheeks.

"There wasn't a dry eye in the house," Bush told a few reporters later as he and his advisers adopted a rare informality on his final dawn-to-midnight quest for votes.

Aiming his hopes at a crucial cluster of states that held 108 of the 270 electoral votes necessary for victory, Bush rushed from New Jersey through Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Louisiana and finally on to Texas for the closing notes, a rally in his adopted home of Houston.

He said again and again of the choice facing the nation that "what it boils down to is who has the experience and who has the character to lead the greatest, freest country on the face of the Earth."

Along the 1,645-mile route, Bush roused supporters and taunted critics with a medley of harsh assaults upon Clinton's traits and economic-policy "taxaphone," and complaints about press coverage he said had been "the most biased in political history."

But his words also carried a dark undertone of anger at Republicans he said had sold his comeback prospects too short.

In New Jersey, he accused the non-loyalists of "running for cover," and all but spat out: "We are going to show them wrong."

The crowds that greeted the President throughout the day were sometimes small by election-eve standards. In Glenolden, Pa., at a ballfield across the street from the cemetery, so few supporters braved the rain to see Bush that Clinton supporters were able to press their way near the front to chant a mocking "one more day."

At stops along the way, top Bush strategists pointed to Clinton's even more grueling march as evidence that the Democrats also remained uneasy about Election Day. While most polls indicated

that Clinton held at least a seven-percentage-point lead in the popular vote, the Bush aides said their own assessments showed that vast numbers of voters remained undecided.

Robert M. Teeter, the Bush campaign chairman, said he was briefing the President several times a day about "how we can do it."

But another Republican aide traveling with Vice President Dan Quayle said Clinton now appeared likely to win by an eight-point popular-vote margin. He said Bush's comeback bid had been stalled by the disclosure of a memorandum last Friday that seemed to contradict the President's accounts of his role in the Iran-Contra affair.

Apart from his delight in the Oak Ridge Boys' music, Bush was said by aides to be in a nostalgic mood, reminiscing to longtime friend James A. Baker III, his current chief of staff, about his first campaign, an unsuccessful 1964 bid for the U.S. Senate in Texas.

He reminded the crowd here that this would be the final day he would campaign on his own behalf, even after a hoped-for victory for a final term. Amid the new spirit of informality, Baker, the usually exclusive chief of staff, proposed \$1 bets with reporters about which states would land in Bush's column.

The six states the President visited Monday offered the potential to put Bush over the top if he could bring about a clean sweep. That would require that Bush not only hold on to narrow leads in Ohio and Texas but to score minor upsets in each of the four others.

From a thunderous early morning speech at a New Jersey town square through midday airport-hangar rallies to the roaring evening congregation in Baton Rouge, Bush spared little effort in trying to woo support. In New Jersey, he presented former Republican Gov. Thomas Kean as a model of a politician whose victory had confounded the polls; in Pennsylvania, where Catholics form a crucial voting bloc, he paid a visit to Cardinal Anthony Bevilacqua, head of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

As he pressed his two-point attack upon Clinton, Bush renewed his warnings that the nation could neither trust nor afford an opponent the President insisted lacked the experience, philosophy and character necessary to accede to the Oval Office.

He portrayed recent news of a growing U.S. economy as "bad

news" for a Democratic rival whose tax-and-spend agenda could win favor only if Americans were convinced that the nation was in decline. He contended that a Clinton Administration would bring "higher taxes, more spending, economic stagnation," and warned: "When Bill Clinton's blowing that 'taxaphone,' middle-class America will be singing the blues."

In charging also that his rival lacked attributes crucial to leadership, Bush reminded his audiences of Clinton's equivocation on major policy issues, including the Democrat's conflicting statements in 1990 about a congressional vote that authorized the Persian Gulf War.

Boasting of managing a world that has changed at "almost biblical proportions," Bush said his Administration's success "can be measured by the headlines that were never written, the crises that never occurred."

"Let's keep a President in that Oval Office who is strong and knows how to stand up for America," he said in Madison, N.J.

But some 28 years after he lost his first quest for high office in that Senate race, Bush seemed also to look throughout the day for words by which his Administration might be remembered should that experience be repeated.

In an airport hangar in Louisville, Bush first began to speak poetically of the role elections can play in setting the nation's course. And even earlier, he spoke with emotion in remembering the Gulf War victory, calling it a "proud moment" in the nation's history. "And the press and the media are not going to distort it," he added. "It was decent and noble and made us the leader of the entire world."

Bush also continued to deride the Democratic ticket, which includes environmentalist Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee, as "Gov. Clinton and Ozone," once again calling attention to the harsh tone of the highly personal attacks that have dominated the Republican campaign.

David Williams, the Republican U.S. Senate candidate who introduced Bush in Kentucky, referred to Clinton as an "Arkansas stud" and said that between the two men the nation faced a choice between "a fighter-pilot hero and a draft dodger."

But Bush and his aides softened that edge on a day in which he seemed determined, whether re-elected or not, to exit the world of campaign politics on a higher plane.

Mary Matalin, the deputy campaign manager known for her sharp tongue, worked with other top aides to draft lyrics for a

still-tuneless song commemorating the campaign's end. Teeter, the top strategist, acknowledged that the state of the polls meant that a Bush victory would require a highly literal interpretation of the maxim that all campaigns are decided in their final days.

And Bush, who took his limousine's microphone in hand as his motorcade sped past reporters still working in the Louisville hangar, offered a single word of farewell.

"Later," he said.

Times staff writers James Gerstanz, with Bush, and Paul Richter, with the Quayle campaign, contributed to this story.

Closing the Gap in the Home Stretch

The gap between the two major party presidential candidates tends to close in the final two weeks of a campaign, history shows. This chart includes post-World War II Presidents who have sought reelection. Their standing in mid-October Gallup Polls is compared to November election results, measured in both cases as percentage points. Bush's numbers are based on a Gallup Poll taken Oct. 18-20.

	Year	Poll in mid-October	Election Result
Harry S. Truman (D)	1948	Down by 5	Won by 4
Dwight D. Eisenhower (R)	1956	Up by 10	Won by 15
Lyndon B. Johnson (D)	1964	Up by 35	Won by 23
Richard M. Nixon (R)	1972	Up by 23	Won by 23
Gerald R. Ford (R)	1976	Down by 6	Lost by 2
Jimmy Carter (D)	1980	Up by 4	Lost by 10
Ronald Reagan (R)	1984	Up by 20	Won by 18
George Bush (R)	1992	Down by 13	—

Source: Congressional Quarterly

Gore Makes Final Run in Key States

■ **Politics:** Staffers are quietly optimistic during 21-hour, 8-stop campaign swing.

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

COLUMBUS, Ohio—As his campaign plane bounced Monday from one airport rally to another, a reporter tossed a trick question at Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore: In these last hours, where could he possibly find anyone who has not yet reached a decision?

Gore considered the question for a few seconds before responding with a properly political answer, neither confirming nor denying the implicit assumption that the presidential race was over.

"We're going to look for them," he said flatly.

Kicking off a 21-hour, hopscotching election-eve tour on Monday morning in Raleigh, N.C., the Tennessee senator planned to touch down at Columbus, Ga.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Columbus, Ohio; Milwaukee; Waterloo, Iowa; Kansas City and Nashville.

When all is said and done, the "Gore Family No-Doz Tour," as it was dubbed by staffers who passed out T-shirts marking their last campaign ride, will have accomplished the strategic goal of hitting many of the campaign's battleground states east of the Mississippi River.

"We're now in the final hours of this campaign, and you know very well—you could have hardly missed it—that North Carolina is as close to the key state as you're going to find in the country," Gore said during the Raleigh rally.

Gore invited the audience to envision the ultimate victory celebration. "Imagine what you would feel like on Jan. 20 [Inauguration Day], if we were all marching arm in arm down Pennsylvania Avenue with President Bill Clinton," Gore said.

Joining the Tennessee senator on this campaign swing were his wife, Tipper, their four children, an expanded pool of reporters and camera crews and a new contingent of staffers. Some of the staffers were traveling with the candidate for the first time, having been glued to their desks for the last four months back at campaign headquarters in Little Rock, Ark.

Nearly everyone in this enlarged entourage seemed to sense—though few were willing to say—that this last hurrah was in effect a prelude to a larger celebration that they hoped would come.

Longtime family friend and author David Halberstam, who was along for the ride, felt freer to express an honest opinion.

As Gore talked about change and the failures of "trickle-down economics" before a small crowd at the Columbus, Ga., airport, Halber-

"It smells like they're going to win," he said, adding that his pre-election prediction issued more from his displeasure with President Bush than from the gray and drizzling skies.

Halberstam said he joined Gore for the day for nostalgic reasons. He recalled during Al Gore Sr.'s 1958 Senate campaign, a 10-year-old Al Jr. told his father he would rather play on the farm than make the campaign rounds.

"Now his children are on the road with him," he mused.

As for the paltry crowd at the Georgia stop, campaign aides noted that any crowd on the middle of a workday was a good crowd.

Nevertheless, Gore offered an appealing campaign pitch to those in attendance.

"Georgia is as close to a key state in this election as you will find," he said with the identical conviction displayed hours earlier in North Carolina. "You have the opportunity here in the Peach State to turn out the lights on trickle-down economics and shut the door on read-my-lips government."

Next stop, at the McGee Tyson Airport in Knoxville, Tenn., was much more like a traditional pep rally, complete with a high school marching band and wildly cheering partisans. Knowing that he was preaching to the converted, Gore avoided cluttering his stump speech with policy details.

Instead, he struck a neighborly stance with his Tennessee constituents, urging them to take a friend with them to the polls and vote in mandate-producing numbers. "When you boil everything down to the fundamentals here at the end of this long campaign, the basic choice is the one we knew we faced several months ago," he said.

Comment

ON BUSINESS

A Prescription for Healing the Economy

*Public-works investments
would increase consumer
spending and give a boost
to infrastructure industries.*

BY IRWIN L. KELLNER

While President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton vie for the presidency, the rest of the country is battling to extricate itself from one of the slowest three-year periods of economic growth since the 1930s. What is more, instead of creating jobs, the recovery is so weak that it is causing many companies to shed workers, thereby exacerbating the economic malaise.

On top of all this, there is a feeling outside the nation's capital that the people chosen to run this country find themselves unable to do anything to jump-start the economy. This too is a six-decade first. Not since the 1930s has Washington been so powerless.

Then, the government was too small to exert much influence over the course of economic events, even if it knew what to do—and it didn't, since taxes were raised and the money supply shrunk, when just the opposite was called for. Today, of course, the government is big enough to influence economic activity (some would say too big, but that's another story), and policy-makers presumably know what to do.

The problem is that the three levers that Washington uses to guide the economy have been used to their maximum and are no longer operative.

One lever, monetary policy, has been used extensively since the beginning of 1989. Then, the federal funds rate was 10%, and bank reserves were hardly growing; today, short-term interest rates are at 30-year lows, yet consumers and business continue to pay off debt. This is because both lack confidence: People are afraid of losing their jobs, while most businessmen see only dim prospects for sales. In this environment, the Fed could push interest rates down to zero without boosting borrowing.

Another lever, fiscal policy, is seemingly impotent as well. Washington's budget deficit is so huge, the government can't deliberately widen it by cutting taxes and/or increasing spending—two remedies that were recommended by Keynes to boost economic activity back in the 1930s, and which have been used throughout the postwar period, whenever stimulus was called for. The deficit for the government's fiscal year that ended Sept. 30 was the biggest ever in absolute terms, and one of the largest relative to the size of the U.S. economy since just after World War II. As a consequence, Washington's debt outstanding now is at \$4.1 trillion—an amount that equals 70% of the gross national product, the most in 36 years.

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The government's inability to use its fiscal and monetary levers limits its freedom to alter the value of the dollar in foreign exchange markets. To depress the dollar, which would make our exports cheaper overseas while increasing the price of imported merchandise, the Fed would have to create more dollars—in other words, ease money further. But this is not practical for reasons discussed above.

At the same time, the already huge budget deficit necessitates that Washington sell some of its securities abroad in order to avoid congestion in our domestic markets. But overseas investors will not buy Treasury securities if the dollar is falling and dollar-denominated interest rates are low. A falling dollar reduces the value of foreigners' holdings, while U.S. rates that are lower than elsewhere mean that they could earn more by investing in other countries.

I think that there is a way to jump-start the economy. In my opinion, we face not just the one problem of a sluggish economy, but a second problem of the burgeoning budget deficit. With this in mind, two courses

Please see KELLNER, B7

KELLNER: More Jobs, Lower Social Security Taxes Would Aid Economy

Continued from B6

of action necessary. First, deal with the more immediate and pressing problem of boosting economic growth. Second, address the longer-run issue of reducing the deficit.

Since the economy's problems are so similar to the 1930s, the main solution should stem from that era as well. I refer specifically to the government assuming the role of employer of last resort. In the 1930s, this took the form of the Work Projects Administration, or WPA. In the 1990s, it should involve increased public investment in the nation's roads, bridges, water and sewer systems.

Such a program would have tremendous ripple effects. First, by putting people back to work, we can simultaneously address the twin problems of lack of confidence

and depressed spending. Anytime an unemployed person finds a job, that person will feel better—and will spend every dollar earned and then some, addressing deferred needs.

Then remember that it is the private sector that makes the steel, cement and wire cables that go into rebuilding the infrastructure, not government, and you get an additional lift. This will eventually lead to increased hiring, more confidence, income and spending, and so on. As for the money, it's already in the budget, in the form of the transportation bill signed last year by the President but not yet widely disbursed to the states for a variety of reasons. Why not cut the red tape and get the money out?

The government could also cut Social Security taxes. This is the biggest tax that

the average household pays, and right now it is draining considerable buying power from families who need it most.

Social Security has always been pay-as-you-go, so what's the point of creating a surplus to be theoretically available for people who retire 20 years from now at the expense of holding down economic activity today?

Washington should also repeal the luxury tax. This has turned out to be far more harmful to those who build the expensive cars, private planes and yachts than to the would-be buyers. Help business overcome its lack of confidence by making it cheaper to invest in people and equipment by cutting the capital gains tax and restoring the investment tax credit.

These were the key provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1986, which also hurt

the real estate market, thus affecting many industries, so why not go all the way and repeal it entirely? This act has contributed to the decline in home building. It has cut into new-business formation, thereby stripping the economy of its main source of job growth. And by eliminating the deductibility of consumer interest expense, it probably caused much of the decline in new car sales the last seven years.

Longer run, the deficit must be reduced. But serious progress toward cutting the deficit must await faster economic growth. Like a patient needing an operation, the economy must be strong enough to take the strain of deficit reduction. When it is, the only politically acceptable way to reduce the deficit would be to freeze inflation-adjustable government spending

on everything except the interest it must pay on its debt, and combine this with a value-added tax excluding food, housing and medical care, a tax on imported oil, and higher taxes on alcohol and tobacco.

As long as the economy is growing, these measures will reduce and eventually eliminate Washington's deficit over time. The deficit is so big, it's difficult to say how long it will take to eliminate it, but my guess is at least five to seven years after the program is begun—and I wouldn't recommend starting it until 1994 at the earliest.

Our problems are not unsolvable. They merely require the application of common sense, sacrifice—and political leadership. Surely in a country as great as ours, we can find these traits within ourselves and our leaders.

Perot Finishes Campaign With New Theme: 'Crazy'

By JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

DALLAS—Ross Perot promised an unconventional campaign. He certainly delivered.

In an oddly listless final day of campaigning, Perot addressed a disappointingly small rally in his hometown of Dallas, bought two final hours of prime-time television exposure, then retreated to the comfortable seclusion of his high-rise offices.

While his Democratic and Republican rivals were exhausting themselves in a frenzy of last-minute politicking, Perot seemed serene as he appeared before perhaps 3,500 followers in the 17,000-seat Reunion Arena in downtown Dallas.

He thanked his supporters and summarized his roller-coaster candidacy this way: "What we've been

through hasn't been pretty, but by golly you're taking your country back."

While again predicting victory in all 50 states in today's balloting, Perot also announced that he had adopted the Patsy Cline classic "Crazy" as the official theme song of his quixotic candidacy. President Bush last week said that Perot's allegations that Republican dirty tricksters had plotted to smear his daughter and disrupt her wedding were "crazy."

"There are millions of crazy people in this country," Perot told the crowd as he urged them to round up all their crazy friends and get them to vote. "And I'll say tomorrow I bet it'll be a crazy day at the polls."

The lunchtime rally closed with Perot dancing to the tune with his wife, Margot, and each of their four children.

Please see PEROT, A6

PEROT: Turnout Is Low at Final Rally

Continued from A1

Monday's turnout was surprising after four well-attended Perot rallies over the weekend in Tampa, Fla., Kansas City, and Long Beach and Santa Clara, Calif. Aides had plastered Perot placards on virtually every seat in Reunion Arena, making the sparseness of the crowd all the more glaring.

Asked to explain the thousands of empty seats, Perot spokeswoman Sharon Holman said: "It's a big place."

As he had at the weekend rallies, Perot characterized both President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton as unfit to lead the country out of its economic morass.

He said that of the three candidates, only he is qualified to address fundamental economic problems because of his business acumen.

After describing Arkansas's economy as based primarily on the poultry industry, Perot ridiculed its governor.

"In putting America back to work, is the chicken man the most qualified man?" Perot asked, receiving a lusty "No!" in response.

"When you talk about rebuilding America . . . you can't do it with Third World minimum-wage jobs."

Neither is Bush capable of reducing the deficit and boosting employment, Perot said.

"You've got two guys running for President who don't know how to create jobs, don't know how to manage money, don't know how to build businesses and don't know how to be the servant of the people of the United States," the computer tycoon said.

The billionaire noted that General Motors' board of directors was meeting Monday to fire several of the ailing auto maker's senior executives after two years of massive financial losses and shrinking market share.

Perot noted that in the mid-1980s, he was GM's largest shareholder because of the company's

buyout of his data processing firm, EDS. "I put my belly across the railroad track and begged them to fix it while there was still time. I have done the same thing this year, and you've done the same thing, because time is our enemy and not our friend, and we need to go to work now."

According to Perot folklore, the tycoon drives a 1984 Oldsmobile to work and to the barbershop, to get a feel for the common man's automotive experience. But the United Auto Workers distributed literature in Michigan and Missouri this

'You've got two guys running for President who don't know how to create jobs, don't know how to manage money, don't know how to build businesses and don't know how to be the servant of the people of the United States.'

ROSS PEROT

weekend saying that an examination of Texas automobile registration records revealed that Perot owns a Mercedes, a Jaguar and a Volvo.

A Perot spokeswoman refused to comment on the UAW's assertion, nor would she say what brands of cars he owns. "That kind of information is not released freely around here," April Cotton said.

Perot spent nearly \$2.9 million for two hours of television time on election eve to rebroadcast his half-hour infomercial dubbed "Chicken Feathers, Deep Voodoo and the American Dream," on ABC, CBS and NBC.

The program is a harsh critique

of Clinton's 12-year record as Arkansas governor and of Bush's handling of the economy and foreign policy during his 12 years in national office.

Perot also aired a repeat of a half-hour show called "Ross, You Bet Your Hat We Can Win," designed to answer the assertion from both parties that a vote for Perot would be wasted because he cannot win the presidency.

In the latter program, which was re-edited Monday to include footage from the enthusiastic weekend rallies in Florida and California, disenchanted voters tell how Perot's common-sense message energized them to participate in politics for the first time.

The testimonials are repeatedly interrupted by rally scenes in which thousands of Perot supporters chant: "We want Ross."

At the end of the half-hour ad, Perot looks directly into the camera and tells voters: "The only way not to throw your vote away is to vote for me."

"You've only got one choice," Perot continues. "The candidate for President, as I've said on more than one occasion, if you want action, you are stuck with me. If you want talk, you've got two choices. If you want a nice, fine young man who has little or no experience running anything bigger than Dallas and Ft. Worth, whose major jobs in his state are in the chicken industry, you've got a choice there. If you want to keep a President who was instrumental in creating all these problems, keep him."

"If you want action, let's do it," Perot concludes.

But as Perot was talking of victory, even some of his most avid backers began to speak almost wistfully of the legacy of the Perot movement.

Jim Serur, chairman of the Perot effort in Texas, said that "this experience has changed my life dramatically. It won't be business as usual for me when this campaign

is over because we will have just begun."

Warming up the Dallas crowd before Perot's appearance, Serur said of his jaunty hero: "He's inspired us. He's challenged us. He's encouraged us. And he's convinced us that if we set our minds to it, nothing can stop us. For all of this, we will be forever grateful to him."

A Perot victory celebration is planned for tonight at a North Dallas hotel. Aides said that Perot planned to appear "at some point," but had no other public appearances scheduled for Election Day.

He voted last week under Texas' early voting program without informing reporters, so there will be no Election Day photograph of the candidate voting.

Cable, Local TV Vie With Networks on Vote Results

By STEVEN HERBERT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Although ABC, CBS and NBC still figure to draw the overwhelming share of the audience, cable television networks will have more of an impact than ever before during coverage of today's election.

Not only will four cable networks provide forms of coverage—doubling the two that did so in 1988—but elements of cable also will find their ways into the broadcasts of CBS and KCBS-TV Channel 2.

Aping the interactive nature of Cable News Network's "Larry King Live" and other television phone-in shows, CBS' Dan Rather and his colleagues have a call-in segment planned between 9 and 11 p.m. This is the first time the network has included viewer comments in its presidential election coverage.

KCBS, meanwhile, has added comedian Elayne Boosler to its election-night team, following the lead of Comedy Central, which has covered both major party national conventions and the vice presidential debate.

Changing technology is also allowing local stations in on a traditional function of the networks. KABC-TV Channel 7 and KCAL-TV Channel 9 are both taking advantage of low-cost satellite feeds to dispatch reporters to the national campaign headquarters of President George Bush, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and (in

Coverage Start Times

ABC, CBS, NBC	4 p.m.
CNN	1:30 p.m.
C-SPAN	3:30 p.m.
CNBC	6:30 p.m.
KTLA Channel 5	10 p.m.
KCAL Channel 9	5 p.m.
KTTV Channel 11	10 p.m.
KCOP Channel 13	10 p.m.
KCET Channel 28	5 p.m.
KMEX Channel 34	4 p.m.
KVEA Channel 52	4 p.m.

KABC's case) Ross Perot.

ABC, CBS and NBC will begin their coverage at 4 p.m. The first results of exit polls from the first states where the polls have closed—Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, South Carolina, Vermont and Virginia—figure to come in a few minutes later.

ABC, CBS, CNN and NBC all figure to have similar exit polling data, which is being conducted by Voter Research and Survey, a consortium formed in 1989. No network will declare a projected winner in a state until all its polls are closed. However, a presidential winner will be declared after a candidate is projected to have won in states with the 270 electoral votes needed for victory, which in four of

the last five elections has come before the polls close in California at 8 p.m.

CNN begins a planned 13 hours of continuous live programming at 1:30 p.m. with "Inside Politics '92." A special edition of "Larry King Live" follows at 2 p.m. "The World Today" gives an election preview at 3 p.m. Bernard Shaw and Catherine Crier will anchor the next six hours of coverage from 4 p.m. to 10 p.m., with Patrick Greenlaw and Susan Rook handling the duties from 10 p.m.-2:30 a.m.

KCET-TV Channel 28 will carry 4½ hours of election-night programming from the Public Broadcasting Service and will produce 2½ hours of its own. "The Finish Line," hosted by Hodding Carter and Ken Walker, airs from 5-8 p.m., followed by the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour Special Election Report" from 8-9 p.m. An updated "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour Special Election Report" airs from 11-11:30 p.m.

KCET and KCRW-FM (89.9) will simulcast "Life & Times California Election Night Special" from 9-11 p.m. and 11:30 p.m.-midnight. Warren Olney, who hosts KCRW's "Which Way L.A.?" joins "Life & Times" regulars Patt Morrison, Hugh Hewitt and Ruben Martinez, for a panel discussion on the results. Various community leaders, reporters and Times Poll Director John Brennan will also comment.

C-SPAN, cable's public-affairs net-

work, starts its coverage at 3:30 p.m. with a 90-minute call-in program that will also include portions of local nightly newscasts from Dallas, Houston and Little Rock, Ark., the three cities serving as the hosts for the election-night headquarters of the major presidential candidates.

From 5 p.m. to midnight, C-SPAN will devote the first 15 minutes of each hour to reporting on the presidential race, with the remainder of the hour devoted to the so-called battleground states in the presidential election and key U.S. Senate races. Stations in Denver, Sacramento, Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia and Portland will share their coverage with C-SPAN. Susan Swain will anchor the presidential coverage with Brian Lamb handling the individual states and the Senate.

Comedy Central is devoting five hours to election coverage. Political satirist Will Durst and comedian Bill Maher host an hourlong edition of "Short Attention Span Theater: An Election Night Preview" at 4 p.m., featuring political commentary, famous campaign commercials and clips from politically themed stand-up comedy. "Saturday Night Live" sketches and the network's coverage of the Democratic and Republican conventions.

Al Franken hosts "Indecision '92: Election Night" from 5-9 p.m. Comedian Joy Behar and author Roy Blount Jr. will join

Please see RESULTS, B11

RESULTS: Local TV

Continued from B8

Franken at Comedy Central's New York City studios.

Buck Henry and Robert Smigel will be at Clinton headquarters in Little Rock, Ark. Ben Stein will report from Bush headquarters in Houston.

CNBC, which features call-in programs at night after its daytime coverage of the financial markets, will present an expanded version of "Pozner/Donahue" with Phil Donahue and Vladimir Pozner taking calls from 6:30-8 p.m.

Univision, the Spanish-language network whose local affiliate is KMEX-TV Channel 34, will have coverage from 4 p.m. until at least 11:05 p.m., with reporters at all three national headquarters and in Los Angeles, Miami, New York City, San Antonio and Washington. Univision plans special emphasis on issues of interest to Latinos, along with the expected growth in the number of Latinos and women in Congress. Jorge Ramos and Maria Elena Salinas are the anchors, while pollster Sergio Bendixen will serve as an analyst.

KMEX will produce its own six-minute reports at 24 and 54 minutes past the hour from 4-8 p.m., an hourlong report at 8:24 and a half-hour at 11 p.m.

KVEA-TV Channel 52, another Spanish-language station, will

have 10-minute updates at the start of each hour and five-minute summaries at half past the hour beginning at 4 p.m., along with half-hour specials at 7 and 10 p.m. in addition to the regularly scheduled newscasts at 6 and 11 p.m. KVEA will also have coverage supplied by CNN and Telemundo's 11 owned-and-operated stations throughout the nation.

KCAL-TV Channel 9 will have the most extensive coverage of any Los Angeles television station, signing on at 5 p.m. Susan Estrich, who managed Michael S. Dukakis' unsuccessful 1988 presidential bid, and Bay Buchanan, who managed her brother Patrick J. Buchanan's quest for the Republican nomination earlier this year, will join KCAL's regular lineup of reporters and anchors to provide analysis.

KNBC-TV Channel 4 will have updates at 22 and 52 minutes past the hour between 4 and 8 p.m., before beginning extended coverage at 8 p.m. The station will continue its tradition of running a continuous electronic ticker across the bottom of the screen throughout its coverage to report on every race in Los Angeles, Orange, Ventura, San Bernardino and Riverside counties.

KABC-TV Channel 7 will also have updates between 4 and 8 p.m., with its own half-hour from 8-8:30 p.m., before rejoining the network coverage at 8:30 p.m. KABC will then intersperse its reporting with that of the network for the remainder of the evening.

KCBS plans seven-minute updates at 23 and 53 minutes past each hour from 4 to 10 p.m. and a 42-minute report from 10:53 to 11:35 p.m.

KTTV-TV Channel 11 plans open-ended coverage beginning at 10 p.m., while KTLA-TV Channel 5 and KCOP-TV Channel 13 plan to have election updates during their movies and to report on the returns on their regularly scheduled 10 p.m. newscasts.

On radio, KCRW-FM and most of the other area National Public Radio affiliates will broadcast an extended election edition of "All Things Considered," from 4-7:30 p.m. NPR will also conduct a national call-in show beginning at about 10:30 p.m.

Other radio coverage will include all-news KFWB-AM (980) and KNX-AM (1070). Michael Jackson and Steve Edwards will host on KABC-AM (790) from 8 p.m. to midnight.

Comment

ON ENTERTAINMENT

'Roc' Catches the Passion of the Election

BY RICK DU BROW

TV or not TV. . . .

BALLOT: Well, it could have been better, but Sunday's live episode of "Roc"—pegged to today's election—caught the passion of the moment.

The Fox sitcom, about a working-class black family, had the show's characters arguing about which presidential candidate to vote for.

Roc (Charles S. Dutton) was undecided, but others were split among Bill Clinton, George Bush and Ross Perot.

Not exactly original, and there were too many flubs of lines in the series, which is being broadcast live every week this season—although it is tape-delayed in the West.

What's more, there wasn't too much of the up-to-the-minute topicality that Fox promised. The differing sides had well-worn views.

But the emotions played well. Roc's wife favored Clinton. His father was for Perot. And the father's lady friend supported Bush.

As usual, Dutton's driving force carried "Roc." He probably touched a lot of people when he vented his frustration about financial problems.

He also had the show's best line. Asked who he finally decided to vote for, he replied: "I'm not saying, but I'll give you a hint. He's white."

HONCHO: Yes, says NBC Entertainment President Warren Littlefield, he wants the 18- to 49-year-old audience, which advertisers covet.

But no, he adds, he's not writing off viewers over 50.

Yes, Littlefield says, NBC rejected a sequel to "Bonanza" but only "secondarily" because Westerns attract older audiences: "We didn't think the elements were strong enough."

CBS is emphasizing that it is the only network seeking viewers of all ages.

But, retorts Littlefield, "Every night of the week, we offer shows for people over 50. At the same time, we had to encourage a new generation to come. I promise you, in the corridors of CBS they are saying the same thing—that you have to get a new generation for broadcasting."

Littlefield points to NBC's Monday sitcoms, "The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air" and "Blossom," as series that were oriented to "kids and teens" but then developed broader appeal.

As for older-appeal shows that NBC let slip away to competing networks—"In the Heat of the Night," "Matlock" and "The Golden Girls"—Littlefield says:

"NBC was at a crossroads where we had to say, 'Should we invest in our future or in [shows] that were trending down?' While it can be scary, you have to believe in the future."

Littlefield says NBC shows that appeal to viewers both over and under 50 include the weekly movies, "Quantum Leap," "Unsolved Mysteries," "Law & Order" and "I'll Fly Away."

NBC maintains it was not the only network to pass on the "Bonanza" sequel, which now will try syndication. But, asked about the loss of such dependable hits as "In the Heat of the Night," "The Golden Girls" and "Matlock" all at once, he says:

"My regret is that we hadn't been more aggressive and hadn't phased out some [of the shows] earlier."

"In the Heat of the Night" drew a respectable rating in its fall debut on CBS last week. The new version of "The Golden Girls," titled "The Golden Palace," is also doing well on CBS. "Matlock," picked up by ABC, has a two-hour movie on Thursday and is expected to return as a series.

NBC acknowledged last week that its "major year-to-year losses are in the 50-plus group. NBC is off 22% in both men and women 50 and over." But it said that the worthy "Reasonable Doubts," switched from Fridays to Tuesdays, picked up 17% more viewers 18 to 49.

GAMBLE: Saturday's NBC sitcom "The Powers That Be," about a U.S. senator (John Forsythe), assumes that Bill Clinton is elected President—and producer Norman Lear says he has no intention of preparing an alternative show . . . just in case.

"We do want to be topical," says Lear, but he adds that the story is "much too involved" to be switched around.

Well, the odds are with him, but he says he's taken out an insurance policy should fate cause the episode to be thrown out. He doesn't seem worried: "It's exciting."

FULL HOUSE: Funny episode on tap Friday on Bob Newhart's "Bob" Please see **DU BROW, B11**

DU BROW

Continued from B8

series—a poker game with Dick Martin, Tom Poston, Bill Daily and Steve Lawrence. Poston and Lawrence make passes at Newhart's wife (Carlene Watkins). The series thus far is ideally sculpted to Newhart's priceless delivery.

SPLIT END: Say, that sure was interesting seeing NBC's David Letterman in the ABC broadcast booth during last week's Monday night football game.

RUNAWAY: "The Simpsons" is soaring—it smashed all of its head-on network competition last week. If it were on one of the Big Three

networks instead of Fox, it might be battling "Roseanne" and "Murphy Brown" at the top of the ratings.

SIGNPOSTS: Hints of TV's future become more and more obvious. CBS, for instance, has a Dec. 23 special marking the 20th anniversary of pay-TV competitor HBO. And then there are the crossover showings of the detective series "Silk Stalkings," which this week features veteran actor Ray Stricklyn on CBS at 11:30 p.m. Thursday and repeats on USA cable at 10 p.m. Saturday.

VIEW FROM THE TOP: Ratings success sure takes the heat off the front office. I mean, when was the last time you heard the name of Larry Tisch, the CBS chairman

who was all over the public prints when his network was in trouble—and until it sailed into first place last season?

TOUGH STUFF: Los Angeles gangs are the subject of a two-hour special on KNBC-TV Channel 4 Sunday. It's called "Dreams Under Fire: The Gang Crisis," and it airs from 5 to 7 p.m.

OLD FAITHFUL: "Knots Landing" may be on its last legs, but it pulled a decent-sized audience in its fall debut last week. Thirteen years and still chugging along.

BEING THERE: "God'll get you for that!"—Maude Findlay (Bea Arthur) in "Maude."

Say good night, Gracie. . . .

In Final Day, Quayle Praises Bush's Record

■ **Campaign:** He lauds the President's role in Desert Storm and says the Administration has brought the economy to the beginning of recovery.

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Vice President Dan Quayle, long the battering-ram of the Republican ticket, set harsh rhetoric aside on his final day on the stump to praise President Bush's record and promise a better next term.

In a six-city Midwestern swing, Quayle dropped his standard charges about Gov. Bill Clinton's draft record and hints about Clinton's infidelity. He didn't mention the Democrat's name once.

Instead, he warmly praised Bush's record in foreign and domestic policy, and attributes as a leader. Revisiting again Bush's role in Operation Desert Storm, Quayle told a crowd of several hundred at a Columbus Airport hangar that Bush "knew how to unite the world. He is a leader. He is a great President. And he's going to be our President for four more years."

Quayle urged voters to stick with an Administration that had brought the end of the Cold War, and had brought the economy to the beginning of a recovery.

"We don't want to change the direction that this country is going because we are out of the recession and into the recovery," Quayle said. "We don't want to change the fact that we have won the Cold War and now with the new Congress we can win the domestic war."

Quayle's press secretary said the shift in tone was intentional.

"We're going positive today," said David Beckwith. "He wants to leave people with a positive impression of what we'll be doing in the second term."

"The doubts are out there about Clinton," he added.

For most of the campaign year, Quayle has played the role of roundhouse-punching presidential surrogate, attacking the Democrats on their values and spending habits and trying to raise doubts about the opposition's character.

Only Sunday, Quayle came as close as he has to bringing up the accusations of Clinton's infidelity by suggesting the country needed a president who was "faithful to his family."

But Quayle has stopped short of the simple name-calling that Bush turned to last Thursday, when he called the Clinton-Gore ticket "bo-zos" and "crazies." Quayle aides said they saw no advantage in such an approach.

Quayle, who has been in a consistently buoyant mood since his vice presidential debate with Sen. Al Gore two weeks ago, was cheerful again Monday despite polls showing that Clinton's lead over

Early Monday, Quayle ventured into the rear of Air Force Two to joke with reporters that he had reserved his most effective campaign lines for the swing through Tennessee, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana.

"I saved it all for today," he said. "My lines in the speech are going to put us over."

Quayle's final day on the stump did not turn out overwhelming crowds. In Tennessee, 1,000 showed up to see Quayle, U.S. Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, former Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr. and former Sen. William E. Brock III.

Quayle's appearance in Columbus, Ohio, brought 500 to a damp hangar, where his appearance was hailed with a rendition of Richard Strauss' "Also Sprach Zarathustra." As the opening theme ended, the hangar door swung open and the crowd saw Quayle descending from the aircraft.

In Saginaw, Mich., 300 showed up, including a knot of protesters.

But Monday evening a home-state crowd of about 2,000 greeted Quayle in Ft. Wayne.

Today, in his home town of Huntington, Ind., the vice president plans to visit his dentist, with dozens of reporters and photographers in tow, before going to the polls. He has routinely made Election Day visits to Dr. John E. Regan because of his suspicion that seeing Regan in 1976, 1978 and 1980 had brought victories, Quayle said.

But if Quayle was upbeat, or at least serene, about his chances, his staff seemed less eager to predict the outcome of Tuesday's balloting. None would take part in a \$5 Election Day pool begun by the press corps.

Truce—and Victory

Now reformers must avoid refighting the water wars

Most Californians can celebrate President Bush's decision last week to sign legislation that alters the way this state's federal water is distributed—even if, in the end, election year politics was more important to the President than water reform.

It is not insignificant that Bush signed the Western water package, HR 429, aboard Air Force One while campaigning. The bill is a classic case of pork barrel politics, and contains water projects for 16 Western states. And with the exception of California, where public opinion polls indicate Bush is trailing Gov. Bill Clinton, most of the West is up for grabs in the presidential race.

So despite objections from some California farmers and political leaders like Gov. Pete Wilson and Sen. John Seymour, both fellow Republicans, Bush signed a bill that allocates \$922 million to complete the Central Utah Project, gives Arizona more control of the Colorado River's flow in order to protect the Grand Canyon, and so on.

With so much in it for almost everyone west of the Rockies, it is surprising that Wilson got Bush to even consider a veto. Wilson flew cross-country on Friday to meet with the President and try to convince him to kill the measure. Take that as a sign of just how much clout big farmers out here can muster when they need to.

Growers are unhappy with the new law's provisions that loosen their grip on the federal Central Valley Project, which controls 20% of the developed water in this state. CVP, built by the federal government starting in 1935, is one of the two major water systems that brings water from Northern California to the arid San Joaquin Valley and Southern California. But because of outdated federal rules most of that water had to be sold in

the Central Valley, at subsidized prices and under 40-year contracts, for use on farms.

Now it can be sold, at market prices, to California's fast-growing cities, which have been desperately looking for new water supplies due to a seven-year-long drought. In the old days new supplies would have meant new dams on far-flung rivers, and new canals to bring the water south and new reservoirs to store it until needed. But government no longer has the money for mega-projects like

that. So water officials have begun looking for ways to use more efficiently the developed water resources California already has. CVP was a logical, and necessary, target for reform.

Leading the reform campaign were Rep. George Miller (D-Martinez) who had been trying for

many years to make CVP water available for urban use and for environmental protection. His counterpart in the Senate was New Jersey Democrat Bill Bradley. But they were aided along the way by representatives of both farm and environmental groups who were willing to look beyond short-term interests and find practical solutions to California's long-term water needs. They succeeded admirably.

The challenge facing California now is to not let the bitter political water fight of the last few months spill over, so to speak, onto other water reforms that are also needed. For example, Wilson wants the state to eventually take over CVP and run it in coordination with California's other big water system, the State Water Project. That worthwhile proposal should be taken up in the very next session of Congress. But it will happen only if all the parties involved look ahead instead of trying to refight the water wars of the past.



Bradley

Miller

Two Views From Abroad on Campaign '92 Focus on Status Quo, Survival

■ Russia: America's decision affects disarmament and other unresolved post-Soviet issues.

By IGOR MALASHENKO

MOSCOW—During the Cold War era, U.S. presidential campaigns were watched by the Soviet political elite with interest, even though the policies of U.S. Presidents did not influence the domestic situation in the tightly controlled Soviet Union.

Disintegration of the Soviet superpower has changed all that. The new Russian Establishment is too preoccupied with domestic problems to care about U.S. elections. But if people in the Kremlin had time to take a stand, they would probably side with George Bush, a symbol of prudence and continuity in foreign policy.

However, they may be wrong on both counts. The outcome of 1992 election may have long-term consequences for Russia and prudence and continuity should not be considered pivotal virtues of the next President from Russia's perspective.

From Moscow, it appears that most people in Washington tend to believe that the monolithic Soviet Union simply broke up into 15 coherent nations, and that Russia just has taken its place as the largest Eurasian power. In reality, new nations are still being born within former Soviet boundaries, and their emerging constellation is marked with growing complexity. New strategies are clearly needed.

It is particularly important to reassess the nuclear dimension of the post-Cold War situation. Deterrence strategists assume that opponents are rational and able to exercise control over their arsenals.

However, Ukraine is bargaining with Russia over control over nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian soil, and Kazakhstan hints that it would like to retain nuclear status of some kind.

The former Soviet Army, like other post-Soviet institutions, is plagued with declining morale and growing corruption. There is no guarantee that each of the 25,000 nuclear warheads will be kept under secure control in such circumstances. And new masters of some of these weapons may not adhere to conventional rationality.

The Bush Administration is trying to avert such perils with modest assistance programs. But the U.S. efforts are perceived by many Russians as inadequate. Even more important, there are too many conditions. U.S. assistance is much needed to help Russia to get out of the crisis and to stabilize the situation here, but such programs must be more innovative.

There is also an unlimited demand for Western know-how in Russia. Thousands of experts are needed to help people start businesses, to explain marketing and to teach efficient management in virtually every aspect of market economies. A truly massive program of this kind, started by the U.S. President, would show that he cares less about *realpolitik* and more about the values of liberal internationalism.

Human rights may be a particularly painful and important issue for Russians. This issue was used by a number of U.S. Administrations to undermine the "evil empire," and it really contributed to the empire's demise.

There are still serious human-rights problems in the former Soviet Union, including Russia. But Russians have also become an ethnic minority in the Baltic states, where they have been deprived of

the right to vote, or in Latvia and Estonia to receive their share of state property.

The Baltic states are perceived in Russia as a part of the West. Many Russians tend to believe that the West has been hypocritical in its human-rights efforts, and have started to question liberal values *per se*. Such disillusionment is combined with the economic crisis, and may help produce an authoritarian regime in Russia.

To help Russia and its neighbors become full-fledged nations and assure stability and security in this region, the United States should get directly involved in systemic reforms here. There is, after all, a good reason to care about the outcome of the election on other side of the Atlantic.

Igor Malashenko was assistant press secretary to Mikhail Gorbachev.

For the Record

In Monday's Voices section, some words were inadvertently dropped from an editorial by Harut Sassounian of the California Courier, an Armenian-American weekly. It should have read:

During the 1984 presidential elections, I wrote dozens of "enraged" columns pleading with readers not to support the Reagan/Bush ticket. Back then, many prominent Armenians, mostly Republicans, were backing their partisan candidate under the guise that Reagan was good for America. Never mind the "petty" Armenian genocide issue, I was told.

We do not have to go out on a limb to endorse Bill Clinton. We also do not have to put Armenian interests against those of America.

■ Japan: There's sentiment for 'the devil you know,' but the less-known man is acceptable.

By KAN ITO

The Japanese are, as usual, fascinated with the U.S. election. This year's race, indeed, is much more fun to watch than the elections of '88 and '84. The noisy histrionic behavior of a little Texas billionaire has been pure entertainment, not just for Americans but also for the Japanese.

Japanese business people are mostly on the side of George Bush. This has nothing to do with whether they personally like Bush. The patrician dignity of George Bush was intolerably undermined when he vomited at the Tokyo dinner party. But business people—not just in Japan but also in Europe, Canada and Latin America—are almost instinctively pro-Republican. They are suspicious of the Democrats, believing they are scheming to turn capitalist America into an over-regulated socialist welfare state. That's not an America they want to do business with.

Japanese officials are also pro-Bush because they always prefer the incumbent. In 1980, when Jimmy Carter was President, they supported Carter. But in 1984, they preferred Ronald Reagan over Walter Mondale. Japanese officials want to deal with a devil they know rather than a devil they don't.

Besides, Bush is capable of using military power. Could Bill Clinton do that? The world, even after the Cold War, remains a nasty place. Perhaps various republics of the former Soviet Union will begin a bloody civil war. The not-so-civilized

Iranians or North Koreans may soon get nuclear warheads on their Scuds. How will Clinton handle that? Cautious Japanese officials are much more comfortable with the proven Bush.

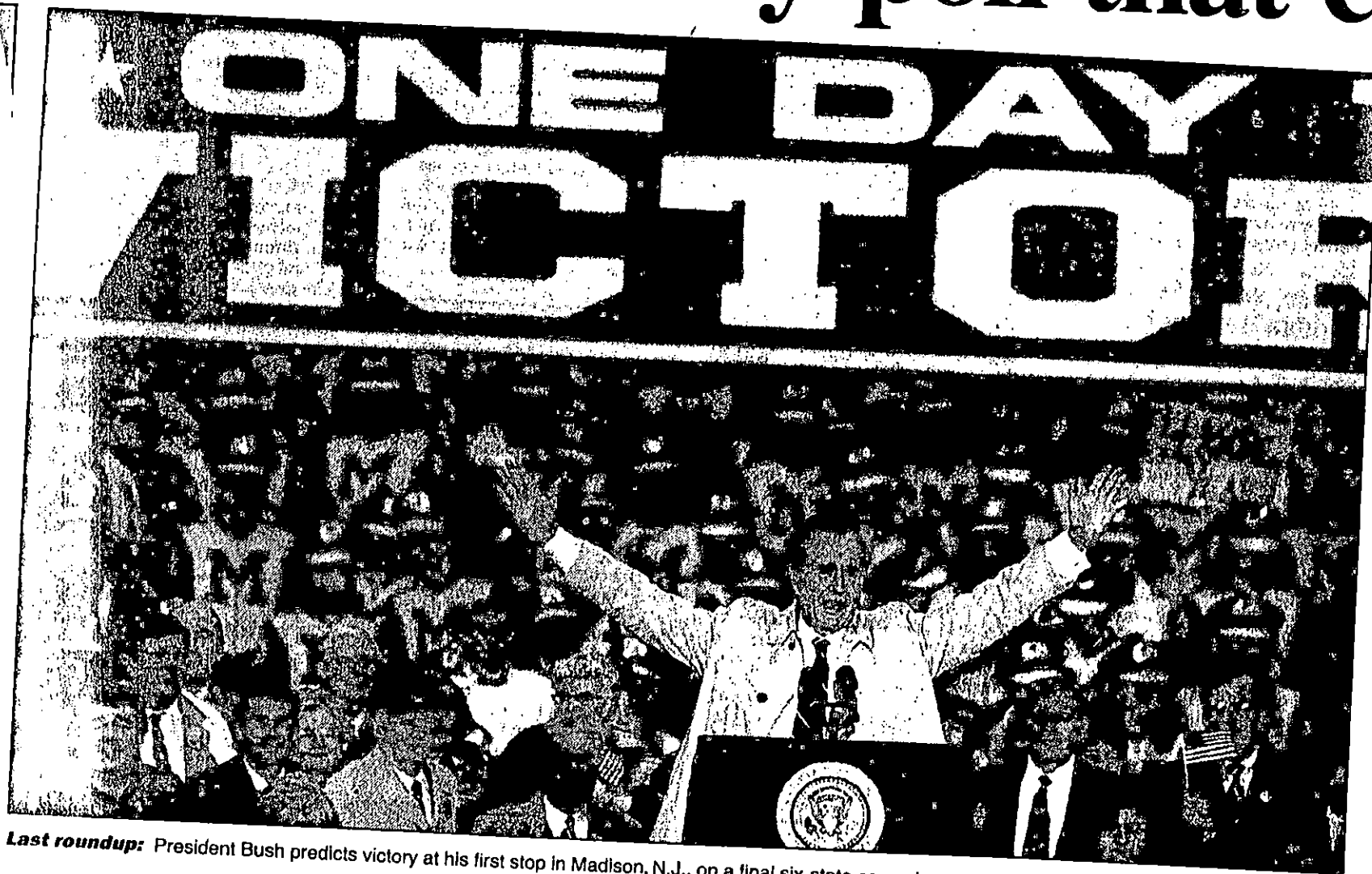
What side are Japanese journalists and intellectuals on? They tend to think, cautiously, that perhaps Clinton would make a better President. Because of the various charges against Clinton (the image of philandering, pot-non-inhaling, draft-dodging slick Willie has been dutifully reported in the Japanese media), there has been certain uneasiness about his character even among the Japanese intelligentsia. But many of Clinton's proposals—like improving the educational system, encouraging cooperation between government and business, rebuilding infrastructure, creating a comprehensive health insurance system—actually make a lot of sense from the Japanese viewpoint. Clinton seems to be more interested than Bush in improving conditions of ordinary American people.

There is one problem with Clintonomics, as many Japanese economists have already pointed out; his numbers. Clinton budget numbers (like those of Bush) are simply unreal. While Clinton's economic policy is good and enlightened, his numbers are wrong. Perhaps a President Clinton would grapple with the budget deficit only after his reelection of 1996.

Since both Bush and Clinton are basically moderate and consensus-seeking, the Japanese are not overly concerned with the results. They can work with either. Had the choice been between Jerry Brown and Pat Buchanan, the election would have scared the hell out of the Japanese.

Kan Ito is a foreign policy analyst based in Arlington, Va.

Voters to answer only poll that counts



Last roundup: President Bush predicts victory at his first stop in Madison, N.J., on a final six-state campaign push that ended in Houston yesterday.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 *

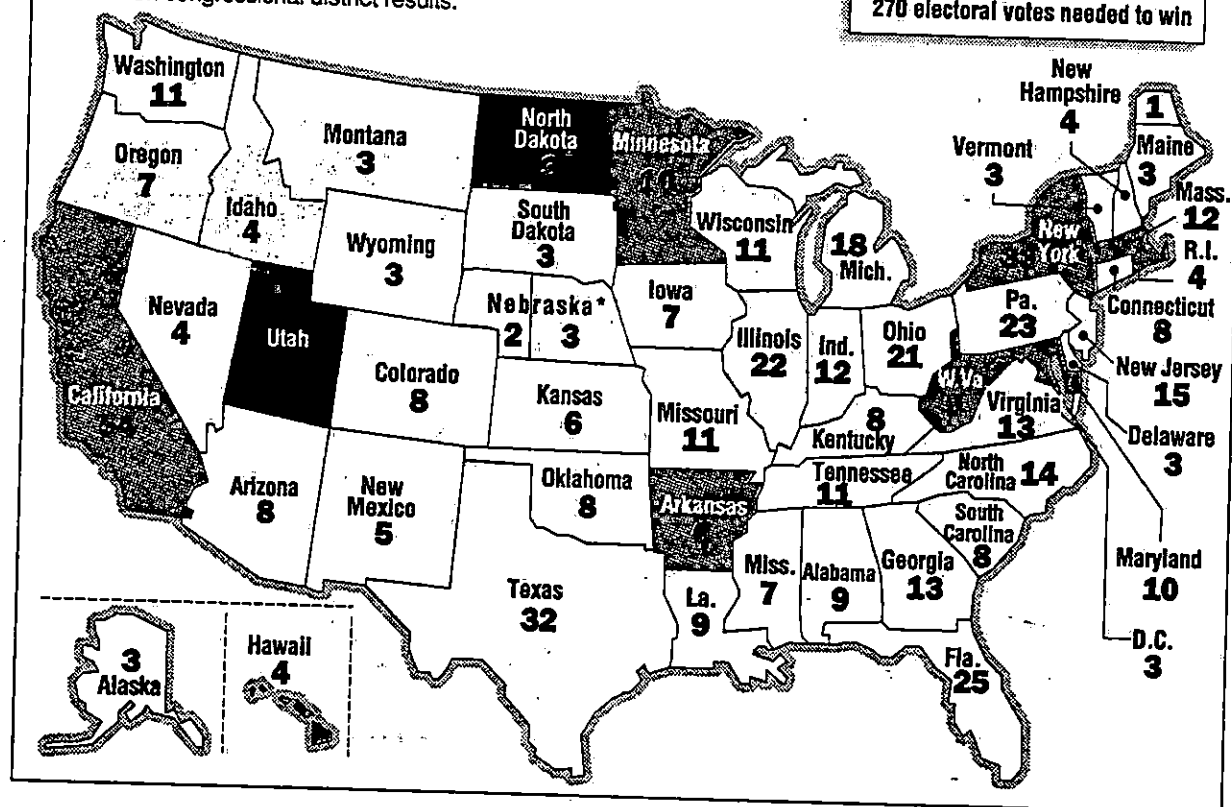
Bye Bushyuncion comes

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 *

DIVIDING THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The results of The Washington Times poll conducted by Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research Inc. shows 271 Electoral College votes that may go to Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton. **Details on page A4.**
 * Maine and Nebraska divide electoral votes based on congressional district results.

	Likely Clinton	Total: 141
	Leaning Clinton	Total: 130
	Competitive	Total: 187
	Leaning Bush	Total: 72
	Likely Bush	Total: 8
270 electoral votes needed to win		



The Washington Times

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 *

Local issues, races seen as big draw

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Five hundred fifty-three days after Paul Tsongas opened the presidential season in chilly Lowell, Mass., Americans will vote their pocketbooks, emotions and vision of the future for the man who will guide the nation toward the 21st century.

In what are expected to be record numbers, voters today will also decide whether conservative issues such as term limits, pro-life positions, tax caps and opposition to homosexual rights will continue to dominate the political agenda.

President Bush, Democrat Bill Clinton and independent Ross Perot sought additional support yesterday in the final day of a campaign marred by charges of womanizing, scandal and a high incidence of negative advertising.

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Perot appeared on national television last night for their last pitch. Mr. Bush declined to buy television time, and his aides said he preferred to rely on a fusillade of campaign advertising.

Second to Mr. Clinton in all national polls, Mr. Bush held out hope for the biggest upset since Democratic President Harry S. Truman beat Republican Thomas E. Dewey in 1948.

"You know, Governor Clinton has gotten a little premature. He's talking about his inaugural parade. My advice to him is: 'Put the parade on hold, Bill. You're not going to win this election!'" said Mr. Bush, who will monitor the results tonight in Houston.

Mr. Bush's aides said internal polls indicate he was a long shot for re-election. They added that the president's surge in the polls late last week was halted by new charges linking him to the Iran-Contra scandal.

"I smell victory in the air," said a confident, hoarse Mr. Clinton, who plans to watch the results in the Old Statehouse in Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Clinton campaigned in eight states yesterday. His voice virtually gone from a 30-hour, 4,100-mile election marathon, he whispered, "Drown out the negative voices that have held us back too long."

Mr. Clinton, his throat doctor in tow, even introduced his wife, Hillary, as "the next first lady."

Mr. Bush, racing toward what he feels is a photo finish with Mr. Clinton, landed Air Force One in six states yesterday before ending the day with a nighttime rally in his adopted hometown of Houston.

VOTING

From page A1

"We are going to pull off one of the biggest surprises in political history," he said. The president added that yesterday was "the last day I will ever campaign for myself."

Mr. Bush's final message: "Bill Clinton wants to expand American government. I want to expand the American dream."

Mr. Perot, meanwhile, continued to spend heavily on television advertising as aides predicted a 50-state landslide. The billionaire pressed his message that Washington needs a business approach, not politics as usual.

While the three candidates argued over their records and vision of America, they agreed that Americans should vote.

Analysts said today's turnout could be the largest in history, although such claims are common the day before a presidential election. Driving that prediction was a large number of contested House and Senate races and ballot measures that have attracted passionate supporters and opponents.

The biggest game in Washington was predicting the winner. In offices from the White House to the Democratic National Committee to the Friendly Inn tavern in Cheverly, voters picked their man.

"Most everybody is saying Clinton is going to get in, but, me, I hope Bush wins," said Charlie Warner, owner of the Friendly Inn.

"I wouldn't want to be George Bush today," said Democratic political consultant Alan Madison. He predicted Mr. Clinton would win 47 percent of the popular vote.

With polls showing a close election, many hedged their bets. Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council, for example, said the popular vote would be 43 percent for both Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton, with Mr. Perot getting the rest. He added Mr. Bush would edge the Democrat in the Electoral College.

Everyone had a key to predicting the outcome.

ELECTION NIGHT TV, RADIO

ABC: Coverage begins on news broadcast at 6:30 p.m., running until 11 p.m. when it will break for local news until 11:30 p.m. Election coverage will resume at 11:30 p.m. and run past midnight.

NBC: Coverage starts with news at 7 p.m., continuing at least until 1 a.m.

CBS: Coverage will start with news at 7 p.m., continuing until 2 a.m.

CNN: Begins its coverage at 4:30 p.m.

C-SPAN: Aired election results beginning at 8 p.m., and will stay on the story throughout the night.

PBS: "The MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour" will begin its regularly scheduled broadcast at 6 p.m. At 7 p.m., an updated "NewsHour" will be telecast. From 8 to 11 p.m., it will air "The Finish Line," with a panel discussing the election results. A one-hour special report follows at 11 p.m., with a final half-hour update at 2 a.m.

Univision network: Spanish-language coverage from 7 p.m. to 2 a.m.

Comedy Central: Presents another installment in its "Indecision '92" coverage with a humorous twist, from 8 p.m. to midnight.

National Public Radio: Will provide extensive coverage beginning at 5 p.m. Tomorrow, "Morning Edition" will start one hour early, at 5 a.m.

The Washington Times

"I think we'll get a pretty early indication when the results from Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Delaware come in," said Mr. Bauer.

"If Bush pulls off a win in Pennsylvania, that would be a real signal," said Burton Yale Pines, chairman of the National Center for Public Policy Research.

He predicted the outcome would be known by 9:15 p.m. "There is nothing out West with the exception of Colorado that could tilt toward Bush," he added.

Mr. Madison said exit polls of new voters would also give an indication of the winner. He predicted a surge of these voters would answer Mr. Clinton's call for change.

It was unclear late yesterday when the networks would call the election, but there was no reason to believe they would break with the pattern of announcing a winner after the West Coast polls shut down.

That practice began in 1980 after Ronald Reagan was declared a winner before the polls in California had shut, prompting supporters of former President Jimmy Carter to

charge that the announcement kept voters from the polls.

Most network coverage kicks in around 8 p.m. For humor, turn to cable's Comedy Central, which will present "Indecision '92" beginning at 8 p.m.

Many Americans welcomed the end of the campaign, although Republicans in Washington were more cautious. After holding power for 12 straight years, they were uncomfortable with placing their fate in the hands of the voters.

Many Republicans were prepared for a Bush defeat. Unable to stall Mr. Clinton's race for the Oval Office with charges of womanizing, issue flip-flopping and draft dodging, they conceded that his call for change and the prolonged recession doomed the re-election effort.

"We started too late and hit too little," said a senior administration official.

For most involved in Washington's basic industry — politics — today marks a return to normal life. And for those who can't get enough, the next presidential election is just 1,464 days away.

CAMPAIGN '92

Bush says his last hurrah in Houston

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HOUSTON — An optimistic President Bush led his thumbs-up tour home last night — "the last day I will ever campaign for myself" — to await the nation's verdict on his political career where it began 30 years ago.

"No way, Bill! No way!" he shouted hoarsely at a morning rush-hour rally near a New Jersey commuter-railroad station where train engineers roared whistles in reply as they inched past.

The rain and rhetoric intensified as Mr. Bush left behind dawn sheet for rallies at airports and Republicans suburbs of Philadelphia, Akron, Ohio, Louisville, Ky., and Baton Rouge, La.

He ended the campaign at Astro Arena in his adopted hometown, where he beat John Birch Society forces to become county GOP chairman in 1962.

"Let's go win it," he said in Louisville, where he called the presidential vote a matter of conscience.

Along the way he also invoked God, the flag, Barbara Bush and a band that played "Stand By Me."

The president constantly emphasized character without entirely abandoning the other issues despite advice in a rousing introduction at Madison, N.J., from talk-show host Rush Limbaugh.

"This is it. This is the last day. This is where nut-cracking time arrives," Mr. Limbaugh told a crowd of almost 9,000, citing Democratic Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts as proof that character mattered far more than "issues, issues, issues."

"If character doesn't matter in these things, why isn't Sen. Kennedy president today?" said the outspoken host of a radio talk-show network of nearly 500 stations.

Mr. Bush, who stepped to the first microphone just as a church bell

see BUSH, page A8



President Bush speaks at a campaign rally inside an airplane hangar at the Akron Canton Airport in Akron, Ohio.

"Vote for trust and character and lifting up this country..." Vote for George Bush," the president said in an Ohio airplane hangar. He was drowned out by cheers from the crowd of 8,000 when he pledged not to let "extremist" environmentalists views put the states auto workers out of work — a direct swipe at Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore.

The president said the nation does not need a "taxophone" in the White House, ridiculing at once Mr. Clinton's tax policy and his penchant for jazz saxophone.

Mr. Bush continued to tease and arouse crowds with his slogan "America is back" — a reference to the Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis in '88. Obviously, if he thought this thing was in the bag, it wouldn't be an all-night show.

White House political director Ron Kauffman said, declaring all campaigner's worried except independent candidate Ross Perot.

"I guess the only one cocksure he's going to win is Perot," Mr. Kauffman said.

All day Mr. Bush reprised numerous issues — family values, foreign policy expertise, trust, character, the popularity of Barbara Bush and the menace of Saddam Hussein — but kept his emphasis on the intangible confidence factor he says should define the world's leading superman.

"Who do you trust?" he said at every stop, tagging leading opponent Mr. Clinton at one point "the slippery one" but generally not doing much of the name-calling of previous days when he called the Democratic ticket "bozos."

Mr. Bush summed up his credentials by saying: "I have been tested. We've managed the world change of almost biblical proportions. And our success can be measured by the headlines that were never written, countless crises that never occurred."

"As for the Democratic nominee, we simply cannot take a risk on Governor Clinton. He is wrong for America on the issues and I believe I am better for America on character."

He passed up no chance to get the crowd laughing at Mr. Clinton.

"I read in the papers that Governor Clinton was already planning his inauguration parade. Put it on hold, Bill," he said.

At each stop, Mr. Bush offered several variations on the theme of "America is back."

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Polls apart at last

Figures change,
positions don't

By J. Jennings Moss
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush faces a formidable challenge today if he is to overcome Bill Clinton's lead in the all-important Electoral College and win a second term.

Even though polls over the closing week of the campaign showed Mr. Bush closing in on his Democratic rival, a poll conducted for The Washington Times said Mr. Clinton is expected to win and could get 325 electoral votes. Other national polls mirror the survey's general conclusion.

But the Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research Inc. poll predicted that Mr. Bush was favored to capture the bulk of the states it said were tossups, including such electoral powerhouses as Texas, Florida, Ohio and North Carolina. Mr. Bush would garner 133 electoral votes in the competitive states for a final tally of 213 electoral votes.

Mr. Clinton is favored to take 54 electoral votes now labeled as competitive: Michigan, New Jersey and Missouri. As of yesterday, Mr. Clinton had 271 anticipated electoral votes — one more than needed for victory — including the two biggest prizes, California and New York.

"It's going to be awfully difficult for George Bush to gain the necessary electoral votes he'll need to win," said Mason-Dixon President Brad Coker. "In a nutshell, he's going to have to run the table on everything that's still competitive and even beyond that — he's going to have to pull a state or two out of the Clinton column."

In other polls taken over the weekend, CNN and USA Today showed Mr. Clinton with 44 percent to Mr. Bush's 36 percent and independent Ross Perot's 14 percent. Even with the 3 percent margin of error factored into the poll taken Saturday and Sunday, Mr. Clinton still led.

ABC News' electoral map last night showed a slip for Mr. Clinton in the last 10 days. In contrast to Oct. 23, when he was clearly ahead or leading with 308 electoral votes and Mr. Bush had only 18, a new poll showed Mr. Clinton's numbers dropping to 295 and Mr. Bush's rising to 81. CBS News showed Mr. Clinton ahead with 293 electoral votes compared with Mr. Bush's 62.

Bush-Quayle and Republican officials cling to the belief they can overcome the odds and win in the style of Harry Truman in 1948. They maintain GOP polls show the president only 2 percentage points behind his challenger.

"The most important observation is never have we had an election cycle in modern history where more states were up for grabs this late in the cycle. . . . We're right in the thick of it in enough states to take to the Electoral College," said James Nathanson, Republican National Committee political director.

Both Mr. Nathanson and David Carney, Bush-Quayle director of political affairs, said they believe that if Mr. Perot's backers decide to vote for someone else, their choice will be the president. They reason that if those in the Perot ranks favored Mr. Clinton, they would have switched already.

"We have a strong chance for this to be a major blowout and I also think what is the big unknown is what do the Perot people do when they get it and close the curtain," Mr. Carney

THE BREAKDOWN

Results of The Washington Times poll, conducted by Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research Inc.

State	Electoral votes	Clinton	Bush	Perot	Undecided
Alabama	9	39%	38%	14%	9%
Alaska	3	34%	31%	23%	12%
Arizona	8	35%	30%	26%	9%
Arkansas	6	52%	31%	10%	7%
California	54	47%	30%	15%	8%
* Colorado	8	41%	35%	18%	6%
Connecticut	8	40%	31%	17%	12%
Delaware	3	36%	33%	19%	12%
D.C.	3	71%	17%	8%	4%
Florida	25	37%	40%	16%	7%
* Georgia	13	42%	35%	15%	6%
Hawaii	4	45%	25%	16%	15%
Idaho	4	25%	35%	28%	12%
Illinois	22	44%	37%	12%	7%
Indiana	12	34%	38%	18%	10%
Iowa	7	38%	31%	15%	16%
Kansas	6	33%	37%	18%	12%
* Kentucky	8	41%	39%	7%	13%
Louisiana	9	41%	36%	11%	12%
Maine	4	34%	28%	27%	11%
Maryland	10	44%	33%	15%	8%
Massachusetts	12	47%	23%	16%	14%
Michigan	18	38%	36%	16%	10%
Minnesota	10	40%	31%	18%	11%
Mississippi	7	37%	41%	11%	11%
Missouri	11	39%	33%	16%	12%
* Montana	3	35%	28%	23%	14%
Nebraska	5	35%	39%	14%	12%
Nevada	4	35%	30%	27%	8%
New Hampshire	4	35%	33%	21%	11%
New Jersey	15	40%	34%	15%	11%
* New Mexico	5	40%	36%	13%	11%
New York	33	45%	32%	15%	8%
North Carolina	14	39%	38%	15%	9%
North Dakota	3	30%	41%	17%	12%
Ohio	21	39%	42%	14%	5%
Oklahoma	8	34%	41%	15%	10%
Oregon	7	39%	30%	22%	9%
Pennsylvania	23	45%	36%	11%	8%
Rhode Island	4	50%	27%	11%	12%
South Carolina	8	38%	41%	8%	13%
South Dakota	3	35%	31%	20%	14%
* Tennessee	11	46%	39%	9%	6%
Texas	32	43%	35%	15%	7%
Utah	5	24%	36%	22%	18%
Vermont	3	38%	29%	16%	17%
Virginia	13	38%	43%	10%	9%
Washington	11	41%	29%	23%	7%
West Virginia	5	49%	26%	15%	10%
* Wisconsin	11	40%	32%	15%	13%
Wyoming	3	32%	35%	23%	10%

* Polled Oct. 25-Nov. 1

State polls were conducted between Sept. 19 and Nov. 1. The margin of error for each state ranges from plus or minus 3.5 percentage points to plus or minus 5 percentage points.

The Washington Times

said:

Clinton-Gore and Democratic officials point to their consistent lead in public-opinion polls, albeit one that narrowed, and are sure those numbers will hold up.

"I don't want to sound overconfident," began a Democratic National Committee official, who asked not to be identified but detailed internal polls that gave Mr. Clinton 318 electoral votes in states solidly or leaning toward him. The comparable number for Mr. Bush was 159 electoral votes with 61 votes as a tossup.

Clinton senior strategist James Carville said the key to the election will come by looking at results mostly in the Eastern time zone.

"If you wanted to look for an early knockout punch, you have to look at New Jersey. If you have a real bad sign for us is if we lost Pennsylvania, which I don't think we will," Mr. Carville said. "If we carry either New

Jersey or Ohio, it's over."

Mr. Coker of Mason-Dixon added Michigan to the list and said the race would definitely be over if Mr. Clinton won all three and likely would be decided if he won just one.

Surprise victories for Mr. Bush could come in Georgia and Colorado, two states where Mr. Clinton now is favored, Mr. Coker said. A top Democratic official said Iowa, one of the few states in 1988 nominee Michael Dukakis' column, may end up going Republican.

Democrats could have a few surprises of their own, such as picking up Nevada and New Hampshire — two states that have chosen a Republican in every election since 1964.

The other pivotal states on almost everyone's list are Florida, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Kentucky and Louisiana.

Four years ago the final polls before Election Day accurately measured the ultimate votes.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 *

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

Ready to roll

We're not sure which crowd is less confident about George Bush retaining the presidency, the Heritage Foundation or the Wall Street Journal. If the prez loses today, Wall Street Journal editors have ready for tomorrow morning's paper an article headlined "Why Bush Lost," written by Heritage president Ed Feulner. As for the tone, look for something similar to Mr. Feulner's 1992 "State of Conservatism," in which he wrote, "Conservatives supported George Bush and they got Michael Dukakis."

Annoying media more

By a 2-1 ratio, more Americans say they gain a better understanding of political candidates appearing on radio or television shows when the questions asked come from ordinary citizens rather than from journalists.

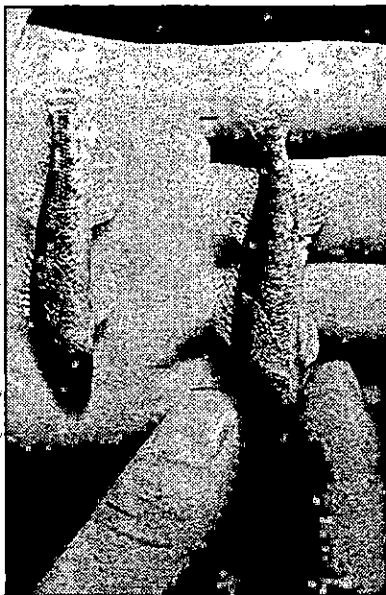
That finding, from a Columbia Journalism Review and Roper Organization survey, might not sit well with ABC correspondent Sam Donaldson, who likes to hear himself ask questions. On last Thursday's edition of "PrimeTime Live," during which President Bush and Bill Clinton were interviewed, Mr. Donaldson reminded his audience that the ABC newsmagazine was "investigating media bias in this presidential campaign."

"Unwittingly or not," wrote Associated Press critic Frazier Moore later, "the veteran ABC correspondent may have earned himself a couple of citations that very hour." Mr. Moore continued, "In his live remarks before and after the taped interview segments, the newsman didn't always seem so even-handed."

"After the Clinton interview, Donaldson ticked off the candidate's remaining heavy campaign schedule, then congratulated him with a hearty, 'That's commitment!' No equivalent nod was directed toward Bush."

Darting the snail

Al Gore told readers in his recent book "Earth in the Balance" how hard he fought to save the spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest. But where was Mr. Gore when those endangered snail darters needed his help to continue swimming in the then-Tennessee



The snail darter, habitat Tennessee River, escaped Sen. Al Gore's zeal.

congressman's own back yard? Apparently not on the side of the fish.

Mr. Gore sent a letter to a concerned resident of Fort Meade, Md., on Oct. 12, 1979, shortly after Congress enacted legislation exempting the Tellico Dam from the provisions of the Endangered Species Act. In it Mr. Gore wrote:

"I consistently supported the completion of the Tellico Dam. . . . It was unfortunate that the controversy over the snail darter was used to delay completion of the dam after it was virtually finished. I am glad that Congress has now ended this controversy once and for all."

Win or lose

Regardless of the outcome of today's election, demonstrators will gather at noon Thursday outside the Old Executive Office Building adjacent to the White House to draw attention to White House Budget Director Richard G. Darman's role in "prolonging the recession." Organized by The National Center for Public Policy Research, a flyer is planned: "Not Wanted, Dead or Alive . . . Richard G. Darman."

Same old thing

Sister Souljah — who posed the question "why not have a week and kill white people?" — has told Syracuse University students that Bill Clinton won't get her vote. That

won't surprise Mr. Clinton, who labeled Sister Souljah's remarks after the L.A. riots hateful. And President Bush won't be happy to learn that the sister sees no difference between him and Mr. Clinton. "I believe if Clinton becomes president the same things will happen that will happen if Bush stays as president."

Apron strings

If Mr. Clinton proves the big vote getter today, the White House press corps can kiss Maine and the coastal town of Kennebunkport goodbye and instead make plans to wallow elsewhere while the commander-in-chief rests. And where might that be?

If Bill Clinton's mother has her way, it will be close to Hot Springs, Ark., where little Willie grew up after moving from Hope at age 7. In fact, Virginia Kelley, Mr. Clinton's mom, sits on the Arkansas panel — the "Kennebunkport Committee" — that will present the possible new first family with a list of Arkansas vacation sites. The Clintons, who don't own a vacation home, have only one child, and Mrs. Kelley told one reporter: "I'd like to have Chelsea in my back yard. Wouldn't any grandmother?"

Weighing in

Weight Watchers International surveyed 326 registered dietitians attending an annual meeting on what advice they would offer each of the presidential candidates. President Bush scored well, with his regular exercise and lean frame mentioned most often. Texas billionaire Ross Perot received positive comments for his healthy appearance, though several respondents suggested he cut back on sugar and caffeine to help him relax.

As for Mr. Clinton . . . well, he was advised to lose weight by reducing junk and fast foods, refraining from turning to food under stress, getting more sleep and taking care of his voice, which as of yesterday he was having trouble holding on to.

In closing

That he was born it cannot be denied. He ate, drank, slept, talk'd politics, and died.

John Cunningham — c. 1750

— John McCaslin

WILLIAM BUCKLEY JR.

Defining differences

An old friend called this afternoon — 10 years had gone by since I last heard from him — to ask a question that, quite simply, took the breath away.

Look, he said, George Mitchell is a terrible majority leader of the Senate whose constituency in Maine is numerically small and educationally below average. How can one defend the ascendancy of such a man, to such a position of power?

What on earth is there to say? One is left only with standard democratic software: Er, Mr. Mitchell was elected majority leader by a plurality of his 100 colleagues. To say this is not to defend George Mitchell. It's to say, merely, that democratic practice often yields results that aren't pleasing.

But to make that point is simply to recapitulate all the hoary reservations about self-government. It is of no use at all for an American voter who is a dissident from the heavy momentum of state socialism to say: "I am not going to vote for George Bush because he is not Abraham Lincoln."

William F. Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of National Review and a nationally syndicated columnist.

George Bush has appointed men and women to the bench who do not confuse themselves with moral arbiters.

In a soaring moment of self-adulation during the convention that nominated him, Bill Clinton said that in the year 2020, Americans will be looking back at 1992 as the year in which the republic was reoriented toward a finer destiny, and this the American people did by rejecting George Bush and electing Bill Clinton.

Well, the polls suggest that voting for him is what the majority of the American people intend to do, but such polls tell us nothing at all about whether in 2020 the American republic will look back with pride on that vote. Just what was it? Caprice? Pout? Tantrum? Hallucination?

George Bush will certainly be asked in the years ahead why did he not more firmly accost the historical vectors that continue to carry us on Fabian shoulders toward the omnipotent state. It would have been fine to hear from Mr.

Bush just one mention of Social Security other than devotional.

He might have said Social Security was constructed around an actuarial generality that was correct for 1935 — it was that the American who reached the age of 65 would conveniently die a year or two later — but that such figures are no longer accurate; and that therefore to live up to the ideal of Social Security authorizes the indexation of longevity; that to burden the working population with payments for Americans who retire with 15 or 20 years of life expectancy is a maldistribution of income.

see BUCKLEY, page F4

BUCKLEY

From page F1

He might have said that, hard though he has pondered the question, he simply does not understand why the whole of the Democratic Party and much of the Republican Party take it for granted that the question of who will look after the children when Mother goes off to work is for Washington to answer, rather than Albany, or Sacramento, or Austin. George Bush has not looked the zeitgeist in the face, and said to it that, in his second term, he will stand athwart it, yelling stop.

But at least George Bush is a reluctant statist. His 36 vetoes have every one of them served a good social purpose. His adamant refusal to bow to the class-dividing demagoguery of Mr. Clinton — who asks us to loathe the rich except to the extent that we can continue to use them as cash-cows for his enterprises — is entirely admirable, even if he shrinks from making the philosophical case against unequal treatment

under the law. He may be philosophically irresolute, but the right instinct is there, and the differences will in the feel of America be considerable if Mr. Clinton becomes president.

For over one generation now, the

Hopefully, we will be spared the presumptions of Bill Clinton, the scatter-minded statist who believes that if only we send him to the White House, his smile will illuminate the Twenty First Century.

Supreme Court has become the operative moral tribunal of the United States. When candidate George McGovern was asked whether he approved of school busing, he answered ingenuously that he hadn't formed an opinion on the question, because the Supreme Court hadn't yet ruled on it.

Republican thought on the question of the role of the judiciary may be vague, even sloppy. But there is a difference. George Bush has appointed men and women to the bench who do not confuse themselves with moral arbiters. Bill Clinton's nominations will see themselves as newly appointed jurors at Mount Sinai.

It is a very important election, however imperfectly the issues have been framed. One must hope fervently that George Bush will be sent back to Washington, and that we will be spared the presumptions of the scatter-minded statist who believes that if only we send him to the White House, his smile will illuminate the 21st century.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992 *

SAMUEL FRANCIS

Unused buttons

Strait is the gate and narrow is the path through the White House door, and tightening opinion polls in the last week suggest President Bush just might slip back in after all. If he does, the very people who have been slamming him all summer for his lackluster campaign will no doubt expound upon the brilliance of his tortoise-and-hare strategy. But, win or lose, Mr. Bush has let drop some major themes that at least might have secured an essential political base of his party.

The main error of the Bush campaign has been its failure to keep the so-called "Reagan Democrats" firmly on board the party wagon. The "Reagan Democrats" are more prosaically known as blue-collar white ethnics in Northern industrial cities and white Southerners whose ancestral loyalty as Yellow Dog Democrats has withered ever since the dog started turning pink.

A recent NBC-Wall Street Journal survey found that while Mr. Bush enjoyed the support of 52 percent of ethnic Catholics in the 1988 election, this year he had dropped to a mere 32 percent among them. Bill Clinton held 41 percent of their likely vote, while Ross Perot was picking up 21 percent.

The vote of Reagan Democrats ordinarily turns on the state of the

economy, and with manufacturing jobs gurgling down the drainpipes, Mr. Bush was obliged to play other cards to keep them (the voters, not the jobs). He tried to do so mainly through ill-defined sloganizing about social issues — mainly opposition to abortion and invocation of "family values." But every time the Republicans conjured these spirits from the vasty deep, they also made noises that sent the spirits right back down to the inferno where bad Republicans go when they die.

Vice President Dan Quayle muffed "family values" by waffling on "Murphy Brown" and boasting of the administration's record of "non-discrimination" against homosexuals. Barbara Bush's remark that "however you define family, that's what we mean by family values" signaled pretty clearly that there would be no serious discussion of the subject.

But conjuring on abortion may have been misplaced anyway. If you'll notice the numbers in the poll cited above, you'll see that adding Mr. Bush's percentage of "ethnic Catholics" to those who support Mr. Perot gives a total a bit higher than Mr. Bush's 1988 majority. Yet neither Mr. Perot nor his running mate, Adm. James Stockdale, is noted for opposition to abortion, and the admiral's endorsement of a "right to choose" was one of the few intelligible utterances he made in the vice-presidential debate.

In other words, anti-abortion issues don't seem to play all that well these days among ethnic Catholics, and Republican reliance on them in the future may be misplaced as a political tactic. Nor, of course, does anti-communism, once a lure for Eastern European ethnics worried

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

see FRANCIS, page F4

FRANCIS

From page F1

about Soviet tyranny and military power, butter the political bread anymore.

How, then, could Mr. Bush have kept the Reagan Democrats? One card never played in the campaign at all was the thinly veiled racial appeal that has been at the heart of conservative Republican politics since the 1960s.

In almost every election since 1964, conservative Republicans have won white Southern and ethnic votes with subtle appeals that glitter in the racial subconscious. Barry Goldwater's opposition to civil rights bills, Richard Nixon's opposition to busing, Ronald Reagan's "welfare queen" and Mr. Bush's Willie Horton ad all punched the proper subliminal racial buttons without being so explicitly racial as to embarrass or alienate the Yuppy Republican Party Reptiles who run GOP campaigns.

This year, Mr. Bush hasn't

punched those buttons at all, even though, with the Los Angeles riot and characters like Sister Souljah and Ice-T running around, he had every opportunity to do so. Instead, it was Mr. Clinton whose open condemnation of Sister Souljah seemed to say he wouldn't take any fatmouth from her and her soulmates like The Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Appeals to race and its cultural ramifications are not "racist"; they're perfectly legitimate points of view that need serious public discussion and debate, and millions of Americans — including what used to be Reagan Democrats — want to hear such a discussion and want clear answers from their political leaders.

As with so many other issues, then, Mr. Bush and Mr. Quayle simply haven't provided the leadership the country and their own constituencies demand and need. Maybe they've discovered a way to win without leading, but if that's what American politics has come to, maybe we're worse off than anyone has yet thought.



USA TODAY invited the three leading presidential candidates to make one last appeal to voters as you go to polls across the country today. The candidates accepted our invitation. Here are columns by each on why they believe you should elect them. The rest is up to you.

Why you should vote for me

BUSH: Leadership based on experience

Ask yourself: Who has the best vision and agenda for our future? Who can you trust when unexpected circumstances threaten?

Today, you will choose a future by electing a president.

Ask yourself: Who has the best vision and agenda for our future, and who can Americans trust when unexpected circumstances threaten?

I believe my philosophy, agenda and character best meet these tests.

Philosophy —

Since I took office, we have won the Cold War. Now we must transform today's anxiety into tomorrow's triumph by answering the challenge of global economic competition.

The epic changes of recent years have contributed to a worldwide economic slowdown. Although the United States has outperformed Japan, Germany and our other competitors in every relevant economic category — output, retail sales, interest rates, inflation, production, worker pay and productivity — we must do better.

My Agenda for American Renewal will meet the defining challenges of the 1990s, so we can win the peace.

Here's how:

My agenda —

I will work with Congress to pass three important initiatives by early next year:

► **Jobs:** My economic package will help small businesses, provide job training, make it easier to invest, create jobs and save. It won't raise your taxes.

► **Trade:** My North American Free Trade Agreement and other trade initiatives will create good new American jobs by toppling foreign barriers to goods and services "Made in the USA."

► **Health care:** My plan will control costs while making health insurance available to all. It will limit



USA TODAY

it malpractice premiums — so you won't have to pay a lawyer whenever you visit the doctor.

My agenda also includes these crucial elements: Educational and legal reform: I want parents, not government, to choose the best schools for their children. Our elementary and secondary schools need the kind of competition that makes our universities the world's best.

I want to eliminate frivolous lawsuits, which mock common decency and cost us billions of dollars annually.

The deficit: I will push for a Balanced Budget Amendment, a line-item veto, limits on mandatory spending programs other than Social Security and an income-tax checkoff that lets you pressure Congress to trim the deficit.

Opportunity: Every American should have the chance to own a home, walk the streets without fear and hold a job with a future. My agenda gives all Americans the tools to get good jobs and build dignified, independent lives.

"Rightsizing" government: I want the White House and Congress to cut staffs and reduce the pay of top-level officials — including the president. I want to abolish political action committees and limit congressional terms.

In sum, my agenda sweeps away outdated practices and institutions, and helps us remain the strongest, smartest, most creative and optimistic nation on earth.

Bill Clinton, in contrast, promotes a "trample-down" economics that looks backward and embraces policies that have failed here and in Europe.

Clintonomics would punish success through high taxes and regulation, divide us through a politics of envy and put government, not individuals, in charge of the decisions that shape our destiny.

Character —

The character of our president reflects our national character.

In times like these, when unexpected threats can challenge our security and livelihood, Americans need someone they can trust.

They need someone who understands the world — and who will do what's right without hesitation or waffling.

Compare the candidates:

I will hold the line on taxes and spending.

Bill Clinton won't.

I will give power back to the people by reforming government, education, health care, defense and our legal system.

Bill Clinton won't.

I will offer you leadership based upon experience.

Bill Clinton can't.

Our greatest days lie ahead. Today, I ask for your vote so that together we can lift America to new greatness.

Campaign '92: the worst

OPPOSING VIEW Two of the candidates seem to have no convictions; the third has troubling convictions.

What's the difference between George Bush and John Gotti? Gotti has at least one conviction. Is Bush "pro-choice" or "pro-life"? Does he accept or reject voodoo economics? The answer is that, at any given moment, the president believes whatever he thinks will best advance his political career.

And is Bill Clinton any different? Listen to the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, the largest and most influential newspaper in Clinton's home state: "Bill Clinton is a master politician, but what principles, if any, inform his politics? Who knows?" According to the *Democrat-Gazette*, the one thing we can count on from Clinton is that he'll "never give up where his career is concerned."



By Jeff Rigenbach, a San Francisco writer and broadcaster.

So on the one hand we have an unprincipled opportunist, and on the other hand we have an unprincipled opportunist. This is the real and meaningful choice we are supposedly offered?

And since men who have no convictions are incapable of discussing issues (all they can do is report on which way they think the political winds are blowing), there hasn't really been any serious discussion of important issues during this campaign.

Of course, there's Ross Perot. He at least appears to have convictions. He apparently believes that the Bush campaign has been plotting to slander his daughter in order to damage him, that the North Vietnamese once hired the Black Panthers to assassinate him, and that the Constitution should be amended to permit officers to enter homes and search at will, without having to show probable cause or obtain warrants.

I'm sorry. If a good election year is one that brings us intelligent public discussion of important issues and presents us with a real, meaningful choice at the ballot box, then 1992 has been one of the worst election years in recent memory.

CLINTON: Choose fundamental change

Together, we can make this election a victory not just for a person or party but for everything that is best in the American spirit.

The best reason I can give you to vote for me on Nov. 3 is this: Nov. 4.

On Nov. 4, we're all going to wake up with the election behind us. There will be no more charges to answer, nobody to accuse and counteraccuse. All we'll have before us is our future. A future you will choose.

This election is about a choice as old as our history: the choice between more of the same — and fundamental change.

George Bush is asking us to settle for less. He looks at an anxious America and tells us this is as good as it gets.

I am challenging us to reach for better. I look at an America that wants to hope again, and I know we can do more to bring out our best.

George Bush believes economic growth is a game that can only be played by the fortunate few who are already wealthy.

I believe that we must all be one team — America's team — and every man and woman has an important job to do.

My plan stands for fundamental change in our economic policies. Our working people haven't failed America; George Bush's trickle-down economics have failed America.

I'll start by putting America back to work. I have a plan to create 8 million new jobs and rebuild our roads and highways, retool our factories, retrain



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

our workers and restore our competitive edge.

I'm going to change the way the tax burden has been dumped on the shoulders of the middle class. And I'll ask the very wealthy to pay their fair share for a change.

I'm going to hold down health-care costs, before they bankrupt our families, our businesses and our state and federal governments. I'll make health care a right, not a privilege, for every man, woman

and child in America.

I'm going to fight crime, not with photo-ops but with real muscle. I'll put 100,000 more police officers on the streets, wage a real war against drugs and make our schools safe.

I'm going to give every American who wants it the chance to go to college. We'll set up a National Service Trust Fund that will lend them the money they need for higher education.

But they'll have to pay it back, either as a small percentage of their income or, better yet, by serving their community — as a teacher, a police officer, working with children or the elderly.

And for young people who aren't going to college, we'll offer the challenge of job training worthy of the name. We'll establish an apprenticeship program to help them prepare today for productive work tomorrow.

I'm going to make sure people on welfare get training and education, health care and child care. But after two years, if they can work, they must take a job.

I want to be a president for every man, woman and child in this country. But that means we all have to be Americans again, not just getting but giving, not just placing blame but taking responsibility, not just looking out for ourselves but looking out for each other.

I believe with all my heart and soul that Americans want to be part of a country that brings out the best in us, not the worst.

Together, we can make this election a victory not just for a person or party but for everything that is best in the American spirit. Together, we can take responsibility for making the country we love the country it was meant to be.

PEROT: Get the country moving again

You have to decide: Should we get on with the business of paying our bills and creating jobs, or just hope the problem will go away?

As we prepare to vote today, our country faces a problem of almost unimaginable proportions:

The national debt stands at \$4.1 trillion. We are adding over \$1 billion per working day to this amount. We must fix this problem before it is too late.

I have spelled out a specific solution that will fix this problem. Today you have to decide whether we should get on with the business of paying our bills and creating jobs, or if we should just hope that this problem will go away.

For the last few years, the American family has been working hard — usually with both parents working — but not able to get ahead.

Today, we are working hard just to stay even, and in many cases, families are working hard just to find a job.

Even sadder is the sight of a college graduate — whose family has sacrificed for his or her education — who cannot find a job.

Our children dream of the world that we promised them as parents — a world of unlimited opportunity. What would they say to us if they knew that we are making them the first generation of Americans with a standard of living below the generation that went before them?



By H. Darr Beiser, USA TODAY

We cannot do this to our children. We must take on the task at hand. We must not pass these problems to the next generation. We must restore the American Dream for our children.

We can be — once again — a purposeful and thriving country.

We can be a country where the diversity of our people is our greatest strength, rather than a country where divisiveness by race and religion is our greatest weakness.

We can be a country leading the way for the world instead of a country falling behind.

We must make the correct decisions today about our economy, our education system and about who will serve as your president for the next four years so that we can begin tomorrow to solve our problems.

If you choose me as your president, I will be proud to go to Washington as your servant.

Between Nov. 4 and Christmas — the first 50 days — we will finalize the procedure for putting our plan into action to get the country moving again.

When Congress goes into session in January, we'll spend the first 100 days passing our program into law. We won't spend the first 100 days just talking about it, we'll be doing it.

I have had no finer honor in my life than to be placed on the ballot in all 50 states. Since that time, I have seen what all of us can do together when we roll up our sleeves and really get down to work.

I have seen what a group of people can get done in a short period of time when we are all working together for the same goal. Nothing will ever make me prouder than to have been a part of this effort. We can apply this same effort to restoring the American Dream for our children.

Your vote for me today is a vote to end the gridlock in Washington and get this country moving again.

Campaign '92 was a celebration of democracy

OUR VIEW **Wow, what an election! Voters have themselves to thank for making the campaign so interesting.**

Tempted to skip voting today because you think one individual can't affect an election? Think again.

Of all the presidential campaigns in recent memory, this one echoes loudest with the voice of the people. Time after time, individuals stubbornly followed their own whims and made mockeries of the political pros' predictions.

If you doubt it, just remember:

This was the year that Bush was supposed to be re-elected by such a landslide that most prominent Democrats never bothered to run: Sen. Bill Bradley, D-N.J., and New York Gov. Mario Cuomo stayed out. So did Sen. Al Gore, who later upset the conventional wisdom by filling out an all-Southern ticket.

Instead, voter anxiety over the economy and the Washington status quo gnawed away Bush's popularity and made the campaign a horse race.

Even the two-party monopoly on power was threatened as legions of eager volunteers rallied to support Ross Perot.

When he dropped out of the race, the media promptly discounted him, only to see his populist platform again capture the public's fancy after the debates.

In Congress, incumbents were supposed to enjoy the same unbeatable advantage they had every other year. But voters wouldn't sit still for it. Disgusted by scandal and weary of gridlock, they helped guarantee that at least 99 senators and House members will leave. Unprecedented numbers of women and blacks will be part of the new crowd.

This was going to be another one of those years when candidates would keep mum about the need to raise taxes, treating voters as too shortsighted to see beyond their own bank balances. Bush and Clinton still ducked it, but two contenders — Perot and Democrat Paul Tsongas — rose to prominence by forcing the dirty little tax secret out of the closet.

If you doubt that you, the voters, hold the cards in this election, just look where the candidates turned to get out their messages: straight to the call-in, audience-response, town-hall TV that is the most direct link to viewers.

That's the way elections are supposed to work. It's been a whale of a year.

And the winner is?

On another topic, USA TODAY says the show may be over but, oh, what a script it had.

Election '92 may have been dirty, but it sure hasn't been dull.

Political humor tickled, occasionally telling us more about candidates — and the voters' mood — than any dry position paper could.

Some of the best:

Best metaphor: "Voters think Washington is a whorehouse and every four years, they get a chance to elect a new piano player." — *Peggy Noonan, Republican speech writer*

Best scholarly advice: "He's an OK guy, but he needs to study." — *12-year-old William Figueroa after Vice President Quayle told him to spell potato with an 'e'*

Best explanation: "I didn't inhale." — *Bill Clinton, on his experimentation with marijuana as a student*

Biggest laugh line: "I'm all ears." — *Ross Perot, underscoring his appearance — and his willingness to listen*

Best memory: "I knew Thomas Jefferson. Thomas Jefferson was a friend of mine, and, governor (Clinton), you're no Thomas Jefferson." — *Ronald Reagan in convention address*

Best sound effect: The "giant sucking sound" of jobs leaving the country." — *Ross Perot promised we'd hear it if either of his opponents is elected*

Best resume: "I haven't had any experience running up a trillion dollar deficit." — *Perot*

Best question: "Who am I? Why am I here?" — *Perot's running mate, James Stockdale, at the vice presidential debate*

OK, perhaps there's little in the humor to decide a matter as serious as who will be the next president of the United States. But the wit grabbed our interest, and public interest is much of what this election has been about.

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Treasury Note and Bond Prices Finish Lower As Investors Move to Sidelines Ahead of Election

By THOMAS T. VOGEL JR.
And THOMAS D. LAURICELLA

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK — With cautious investors crowding the sidelines in advance of today's election, there was little incentive to get involved in the bond market yesterday.

Treasury note and bond prices fell as much as $\frac{1}{8}$ point, and the benchmark 30-year bond was down more than $\frac{3}{8}$ point by late yesterday at 95 $\frac{3}{32}$ for a yield of 7.65%, up from 7.62% on Friday. The 10-year note dropped $\frac{1}{8}$ to 96 $\frac{12}{32}$, and its yield was up to 6.86% from 6.78%.

Prices of most investment-grade bonds dropped $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ point in light trading as just \$250 million of new bonds was brought to market. Municipal bond prices finished $\frac{1}{8}$ point lower to $\frac{1}{4}$ point higher, and many mortgage-backed securities finished as much as $\frac{1}{2}$ point lower.

After yesterday's quiet session, the Election Day results together with today's announcement of the size of the Treasury's next quarterly refunding and the October employment report to be released Friday will make for a hectic week in the bond market, traders said.

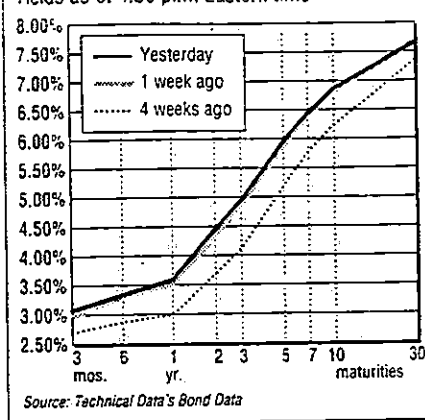
"There is too much going on for the rest of the week for the market to stay where it is," said Thomas R. Lynett Jr., a director of government trading at Merrill Lynch & Co. "A lot of investors have been on the sidelines for upward of a month, and after the election results are out, the market should be pretty volatile for the rest of the week."

"We're not predisposed that the market will do anything in particular," Mead L. Briggs, manager of government trading at Deutsche Bank Government Securities Inc., said about the potential response to the election results. "There has been a gradual acknowledgement that [Democratic candidate Bill] Clinton is likely to succeed in this race," he said, "but you can never tell" how the market will react to political changes.

If Mr. Clinton does win, as many on Wall Street now expect, there could be reactions from European and Middle East-

Treasury Yield Curve

Yields as of 4:30 p.m. Eastern time



Source: Technical Data's Bond Data

YIELD COMPARISONS

Based on Merrill Lynch Bond Indexes, priced as of midafternoon Eastern time.

	11/2	10/30	52 Week - High	Low
Corp.-Govt. Master	6.45%	6.37%	7.41%	5.85%
Treasury 1-10yr	5.35	5.25	6.57	4.57
10+ yr	7.64	7.60	8.17	7.18
Agencies 1-10yr	5.91	5.89	7.01	5.44
10+ yr	7.94	7.92	8.37	7.56
Corporate				
1-10 yr High Qlty	6.83	6.71	7.86	6.20
Med Qlty	7.28	7.20	8.34	6.64
10+ yr High Qlty	8.24	8.20	8.82	7.92
Med Qlty	8.66	8.62	9.24	8.33
Yankee bonds (1)	7.87	7.80	8.54	7.27
Current-coupon mortgages (2)				
GNMA 7.50%	7.84	7.78	8.52	7.12
FNMA 7.50%	7.84	7.77	8.63	7.15
FHLMC8.00%	7.80	7.73	8.59	6.50
High-yield corporates	11.36	11.36	13.27	10.85
New tax-exempts				
10-yr G.O. (AA)	5.80	5.85	6.15	5.20
20-yr G.O. (AA)	6.55	6.60	6.70	5.82
30-yr revenue (A)	6.80	6.80	7.05	6.05

Note: High quality rated AAA-AA; medium quality A-BBB/Baa; high yield, BB/Ba-C.

(1) Dollar-denominated, SEC-registered bonds of foreign issuers sold in the U.S. (2) Reflects the 52-week high and low of mortgage-backed securities indexes rather than the individual securities shown.

ern investors who might have still been holding out hope for a win by President Bush, Mr. Briggs said. Many investors equate a Democratic presidency with increased spending, a larger budget deficit and increased inflation, all of which are bad for bonds.

On the other hand, many bond traders said, a surprise victory by Mr. Bush could send the bond market off on a rally.

Adding to the uncertainty and contributing to yesterday's price drops were worries about the flood of securities to be auctioned next week as part of the Treasury's quarterly refunding.

With the Treasury due to disclose the size of the refunding package today, R.H. Wrightson & Associates Inc. said it will probably announce a \$37 billion operation, \$1 billion larger than the August refunding. Wrightson said it expects the Treasury to auction \$15.5 billion of three-year notes, \$11.25 billion of 10-year notes and \$10.25 billion of 30-year bonds.

Analysts point out that because supplies of the current 10-year note are tight, the Treasury could opt to reopen the issue rather than offer a new one. Because of short supplies, some traders have lent money at effective annual interest rates as low as 0.05% to borrow the notes from those who hold them. In these so-called repurchase agreements, the holder temporarily sells the note to another investor, receiving what amounts to a loan.

"The market is crying out for supply" of 10-year notes, said Jerry Zukowski, an economist at PaineWebber Inc. "It isn't often one can say that. But right now there's a big need for securities in the 10-year sector."

New supplies of Treasury notes and bonds can push prices down and yields up because the Treasury often must offer higher yields than are prevalent in the market to entice investors to buy the securities.

Another factor that will affect bond prices this week is Friday's October employment report. Many economists are calling for an increase in nonfarm payrolls, with some estimates ranging from 20,000 to 45,000. If the report shows a substantially larger increase than expected, bond prices could dip even further. Bond investors tend to react negatively to positive economic news because they fear that accelerated economic growth will lead to greater inflation.

Some money managers say bond prices could rise after the election in a so-called relief rally even if Mr. Clinton wins. After months of uncertainty, they reason, investors will be relieved that at least the big question of who will be the next president has been resolved.

Meanwhile yesterday, the Treasury sold \$23.64 billion of three-month and six-month bills at its weekly auction. The three-month bill was sold at an average discount rate of 3.05%, up from 2.97% at last week's auction for a coupon-equivalent yield of 3.12%, up from 3.04%. The six-month bill was sold at an average discount rate of 3.27%, up from 3.22% at last week's auction, for a yield of 3.37%, up from 3.32%. The Treasury accepted \$2.44 billion of noncompetitive bids from individual investors, up from \$1.83 billion at last week's auction.

Here are the details of yesterday's auction by the Treasury of 13-week and 26-week bills:

	13-Week	26-Week
Applications	\$32,231,740,000	\$31,558,210,000
Accepted bids	\$11,808,060,000	\$11,829,510,000
Accepted at low price	96%	82%
Accepted noncompetitively	\$1,469,360,000	\$966,545,000
Average price (Rate)	99.229 (3.05%)	98.347 (3.27%)
High price (Rate)	99.234 (3.03%)	98.357 (3.25%)
Low price (Rate)	99.229 (3.05%)	98.347 (3.27%)
Coupon equivalent	3.12%	3.37%
CUSIP number	912794A53	912794C51

Both issues are dated Nov. 5. The 13-week bills mature Feb. 4, 1993, and the 26-week bills mature May 6, 1993.

Corporate & Junk Bonds

Trading was quiet ahead of the election. In secondary dealings, most investment-grade bonds fell $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ point. Traders said institutional investors were largely absent.

Most junk-bond issues ended little changed in thin trading. Dealers said the high-yield market is anticipating a win by Mr. Clinton and is primed to rally on confirmation of it.

Only \$250 million of new bonds was priced yesterday, including \$150 million of 10-year senior notes from Tiphook Finance Corp. The notes were priced at par to yield 10.75%. The noncallable notes are guaranteed by the borrower's parent company, Tiphook PLC. Rated Ba-1 by Moody's Investors Service Inc. and triple-B-minus by Standard & Poor's Corp., the issue will be sold through Salomon Brothers Inc.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Municipal Bonds

Prices were narrowly mixed, ending $\frac{1}{8}$ point lower to $\frac{1}{4}$ point higher.

The Supreme Court cleared the way for distribution of an \$850 million settlement to holders of \$2.25 billion of defaulted Washington Public Power Supply System bonds.

The justices declined to hear the plea of a dissident group of bond holders that the settlement was inadequate and that Washington state hadn't contributed enough. The default in 1983 grew out of a failed nuclear power plant project.

Among closely watched issues, New York City Water Finance Authority's 6.375% water and sewer system revenue bonds of 2022 closed unchanged at 93 $\frac{3}{4}$ to yield 6.81%.

Mortgage & Asset-Backed Securities

Prices of mortgage securities finished lower.

In secondary trading, issues from all three agencies finished down 16/32. Government National Mortgage Association 7% issues for November delivery ended at 95 7/32. Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. Gold 7% issues ended at 95 11/32, and Federal National Mortgage Association 7% issues ended at 95 7/32.

Three real estate mortgage investment conduit deals were announced, as well as an increase to an existing deal, for a total of \$1.72 billion in new mortgage paper.

Two of the new deals were announced by Freddie Mac and were backed by 7.5% mortgage securities. The third was announced by Fannie Mae and backed by Fannie Mae 6.5% balloon securities.

The lower volume of Remic deals in recent weeks has removed one key source of price strength in the mortgage securities market — healthy bidding by dealers needing to gather securities for deals they have underwritten.

Clinton Victory Wouldn't Slash Top Officer Pay

By AMANDA BENNETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Memo to million-dollar executives: Relax.

No matter who wins at the polls tonight, your big pay packages aren't going to vanish — despite Gov. Bill Clinton's vow to eliminate corporate tax deductions on all pay over \$1 million. On the eve of the election, compensation consultants, shareholder activists and companies themselves are shrugging off the possible impact of that Clinton campaign pledge. Even if Gov. Clinton wins, and does support a cap on pay deductions, compensation experts say that outside Wall Street the actual effect on pay will be slight.

"I doubt if we would see significant immediate changes in [chief executive officer] and other top officer pay practices," says Sharon Gurwitz, vice president of consultants Strategic Compensation Associates, who calls the proposed cap "political posturing."

Some say their clients would bite the bullet and pay the extra tax. Others say they are already pondering ways to cope with potential legislation. Still others say they will shape coping strategies when such a law is actually passed.

Looking for a Loophole

Says Gordon Wolf, a pay expert with consultants Towers Perrin: "Most laws end up with some sort of loophole."

Indeed, some think tax legislation on compensation over \$1 million might actually legitimize million-dollar pay, as many believe earlier laws regulating golden parachutes did. "It's the law of unintended consequences," says Webb Bassick, a partner with consultants Hewitt Associates in Lincolnshire, Ill. He says that when companies lost tax deductions on golden-parachute payments totaling more than three times an executive's pay, many companies without such large packages appeared gradually to raise their planned payouts to meet that level or to provide extra funds to cover the extra taxes.

President Bush has already vetoed legislation that among other things would have capped corporate compensation deductions, and he would be expected to continue to oppose attempts to use tax law to regulate executive pay. But hardly anyone doubts the future holds change for executive-pay practices. Both parties appear increasingly inclined to address popular concerns about what is considered excessive compensation.

What's more, with the prospect of a Clinton victory leading to higher rates of personal income tax, especially on high earners, many Wall Street firms are readying plans to pay at least a part of this year's bonuses before the end of the year, rather than early next year as is customary.

In the quest to control executive pay, though, the million-dollar tax cap is generally viewed as mostly symbolic. One reason is that the number of people affected would be so small. Although the number of million-dollar pay packages has grown

greatly in recent years, such compensation is still relatively uncommon. Outside Wall Street, where thousands are thought to earn over \$1 million every year, million-dollar-plus pay is mainly confined to those in the top posts at the biggest companies.

Rarefied Group

In a survey of compensation of chief executive officers done for The Wall Street Journal last year by Towers Perrin, 235 of the 350 companies surveyed — or two-thirds — paid their chief executive officer more than \$1 million in salary, bonus, and long-term compensation like stock and stock options. But below the CEO level, such million-dollar packages dropped off sharply. Only 46 of all chief operating officers in the survey — or 13% of the No. 2 officers — were paid over \$1 million. Below No. 2, million-dollar packages become increasingly rare.

When salary and bonus alone were taken into account, the numbers became even smaller. Among the 350 surveyed CEOs, 178 earned \$1 million or more; among chief operating officers, it was only 25. The 350 companies surveyed include most of the country's biggest companies.

Because such a small number of people would be affected — in each company probably no more than one or two — consultants say many companies would simply choose to pay the extra tax. For most companies big enough to be paying million-dollar compensation, the extra cost would be "just not big enough to be an issue," says Towers Perrin's Mr. Wolf.

At the current 34% corporate tax rate, eliminating the corporate tax deduction on the extra \$1 million of a \$2 million pay package would raise a company's cost of paying that compensation by \$340,000 to \$1.66 million from \$1.32 million, a 26% increase. But many companies would wind up paying far less. Among the 235 companies paying their CEO more than \$1 million in the Towers Perrin survey, 85 are less than \$500,000 over the limit, meaning an extra tax of \$170,000 or less.

In the current atmosphere of close scrutiny of executive pay, "boards can't and won't be oblivious to those costs" associated with eliminating a tax deduction, says Robert Salwen, a consultant at compensation consulting firm William M. Mercer. But he and others think the effects of a tax change would probably be transitory. "In the long term, market forces prevail" in setting pay, he says.

Strategies for coping with such a change would depend on the exact way the bill would be written. Gov. Clinton has given no indication of his specific proposal. If only salary and bonus were counted, consultants say that moving compensation into long-term compensation like restricted stock or stock options to escape the limit would be relatively simple. But most consultants feel that lawmakers would draw the net more tightly.

In the legislation vetoed by President Bush last March, nearly all forms of compensation were included. Still, say consultants, companies could structure payouts of a portion of compensation so as to recapture the lost deductions some time in the future. A compensation expert at a major accounting firm suggests that complex vehicles like pension annuities could let companies defer payment of a part of compensation and pay it out later in forms that are tax-deductible.

Yet others suggest that companies might choose to gamble on the brevity of a particular administration. By having the executive defer payment of a portion of his or her pay for four or more years, the company might figure it would pay it out under a different administration with different ideas about executive pay.

—Kevin Saluen in Washington contributed to this article.

President Levels One Final Blast At Democrats

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Bush, Brushing Off Polls, Relives Past Glories And Hopes for an Upset

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HOUSTON — An emotional George Bush, reliving past glories and leveling one final, cross-country blast at Democratic rival Bill Clinton, asked Americans for a second term and flew back here to wish for "one of the biggest surprises in political history."

Fueled by a last burst of campaign adrenaline — and obviously relieved to reach the finish line — Mr. Bush brushed off bleak poll numbers and hailed his proudest moments, from the end of the Cold War to Operation Desert Storm to what he called "the countless crises that never occurred" on his watch.

And for those who say his diplomatic skills are now passe, the 68-year-old president, fists jabbing the air and pounding the lectern, warned against electing a "completely untested" young Arkansas governor who couldn't be trusted to handle international challenges, to restore luster to the faded American dream, or even to tell the truth about his background and policies.

"We simply cannot take a risk on Gov. Clinton," Mr. Bush beseeched a small, shivering crowd in Madison, N.J. Later, at an airport in Louisville, the president told Americans that "your single voice will echo down the corridor of time, and . . . help shape the entire future of this most blessed, special nation that the world has ever known."

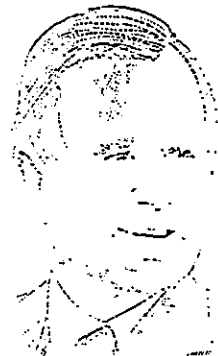
Last Campaign

Mr. Bush vehemently accused his front-running rival of "duplicity" in glossing over planned tax increases, and derided him as "the slippery one" with "a troubling pattern of deception, an ingrained habit of trying to lead people by misleading." But as much as anything, Mr. Bush seemed enthusiastic to get this difficult and perplexing election season — "probably the most unpleasant year of my life" — over with. "The last day I will ever campaign for myself for president of the United States, or anything else," he called it, with a sigh and a smile.

It was a day that, in many ways, spanned the course of his life and political career. Mr. Bush, who grew up in the Connecticut suburbs of New York, began the day on the New Jersey side of the city, then touched down in Pennsylvania.

Ohio, Kentucky and Louisiana before heading to Texas, where he set out in the oil business and launched his political career with an unsuccessful race for the U.S. Senate some 25 years ago. "He's come a long way since 1964," said White House chief of staff James Baker, his longtime friend and political strategist.

CAMPAIGN
★ **92**



President Bush

The president campaigned alongside not only former New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean — part of the moderate, establishment Republican Party of Mr. Bush's upbringing — but also Rush Limbaugh, the irascible talk-show host who speaks for the hard right that the president has courted with mixed success during his long climb up the GOP ladder.

Yet even within his party, there were signs of the political distance Mr. Bush has fallen in little more than a year as the glow of Desert Storm gave way to national anxiety over a weak economy and uncertain presidential leadership. GOP Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, facing a tough fight to hold his seat, didn't join Mr. Bush on his visit to the Philadelphia suburb of Glenolden.

In public, at least, Mr. Bush's aides maintained they were still headed for an, unlikely upset, that a "closet vote" would materialize for the president and tip enough swing states to reach a 270-vote majority in the Electoral College. Jabbing his finger at a reporter, the president's son George W. Bush defiantly insisted that Tuesday's returns would "break your heart."

But anyone searching for bad omens had plenty to choose from in Glenolden, from gray skies, to the cold rain falling on Mr. Bush's bare head, to the cemetery across the street from his sparsely attended election-eve rally.

At some moments, the day took on a nostalgic quality. A band called "Flashback" kicked off the New Jersey rally with golden oldies, and Mr. Bush offered his own.

Some Listeners

At another point, he grew emotional as he told Americans that he had tried to carry out his "awesome" responsibilities as commander-in-chief with "honor, duty and above all, integrity." Referring to such landmark developments as the collapse of Communism and the onset of Arab-Israeli peace talks, he boasted, "We've managed a world change of almost biblical proportions."

Some of his listeners, especially those of his generation, were grateful. "We were fortunate to have him for this time in history," said GOP loyalist Emma Fontanella, 72, of Madison, who waited for two hours in near-freezing temperatures to hear Mr. Bush.

A few steps away, however, Mr. Bush's political problems were underscored in the economic worries of undecided voter Barbara Rostiac, 26, who has a job with a magazine distribution company but said, "I feel sorry for anyone who's graduating from college" because of the dismal job market. She is considering voting for Ross Perot.

Weekend polls showing Mr. Clinton holding or widening his lead have seemed to drain some of the fire from Mr. Bush's public remarks. But the one-time baseball player summoned his competitive juices once again yesterday, slinging epithets at the Democratic nominee and the "talking head" media like so many fastballs.

"I like a good fight," Mr. Bush told cheering supporters in an airport hangar in Akron, Ohio, and "there's no reason for holding back any more." On Air Force One between rallies, Mr. Bush reminisced about past campaigns, joked about a "revolt" of the political "handlers" he looks forward to doing without, gave away presidential windbreakers in a raffle game, and sang "Amazing Grace" with the Oak Ridge Boys, who campaigned with him. "Not a dry eye in the house," the president said later.

He blasted Mr. Clinton for "blowing that taxophone" at the expense of the middle class, and said his proposals would wreck the economy and jeopardize America's international standing. He said even Saddam Hussein was rooting for the Arkansas governor to win, but warned the Iraqi leader: "Saddam, put it on hold, old friend. You're going to have to contend with me."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Clinton Ignores Polls, Closes Campaign With Mad Dash Through Eight States

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MCALLEN, Texas — Bill Clinton ended this campaign the same way every recent Democratic presidential candidate has ended his campaign—in a mad dash across the country in search of votes.

The difference, of course, is that most of those other candidates were desperately trying to come from behind. You'd never know from the way Mr. Clinton was campaigning, but every published poll in the country gave him the lead as the campaign wound down.

The Democratic presidential nominee's frantic dash through nine cities in eight states was scheduled to last nearly 30 hours without break. The marathon was designed to prove that he was hungry to win the White House, and that he wouldn't rest until he got it.

And he didn't. Operating on only about three hours of sleep, he began his journey with a visit to a 1950s-style diner in a white, working-class neighborhood in Philadelphia. He then hopped from airport to airport through the cold and rainy battleground states of the Midwest. He planned to end in the snows of Denver before returning home to vote in Little Rock.

His message at each stop was brief, in part because of the shambles that remained of his voice. But he also seemed in a few words, to have distilled to its essence why the voters should choose him as their president: hope for the future.

"I have tried to lift up to America a vision of what we might become," he said to a cheering throng in an airplane hangar in Detroit. "Tomorrow let's vote to go up together."

The Clinton campaign even put on two new TV ads last night, both of them warm and hopeful. One, called "We Can Do It," shows smiling faces from various campaign rallies. The other, called, "You're Not Alone," shows joyful scenes from several of Mr. Clinton's patented bus tours. "Change is coming," the ads say.

Meanwhile, the man whom his aides call Robo-Candidate motored on, shaking every hand offered to him, autographing every piece of paper and, ultimately, regaining his full stride after weeks of harsh

criticism by President Bush that had forced him onto the defensive.

To illustrate this new, confident pose, Clinton aide Paul Begala wore a black silk tie printed with tiny skull-and-crossbones. His motto for the day, he said, was to take "no prisoners" and to give "no quarter."

To assist him with this offensive, Mr. Clinton brought his wife, Hillary, and Democratic National Chairman Ronald Brown on his three-jet entourage. Mr. Brown in particular did Mr. Clinton's dirty work by repeatedly asserting that President Bush "didn't tell the truth" when he promised in 1988 to be the environmental president and the education president, and to conduct a "kinder and gentler" presidency.

Joined by Martin Luther King III

Mr. Clinton also shared the podium in Cleveland with Martin Luther King III, who said that the Bush-Quayle campaign had "lied" when it broadcast that Mr. Clinton's Arkansas didn't celebrate a holiday in honor of his father, the slain civil rights leader.

The candidate, then, was left to give the more uplifting address. He focused on his plans to create jobs, create a national health-care program and revive the economy — issues that have been staples of his campaign from the beginning.

But he also reached new heights of political rhetoric. On tarmacs across the country, he invoked the names of — and by inference compared himself with — the great American presidents of the past: Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, the two Roosevelts — and most of all John Kennedy, the man with whom Mr. Clinton would most like to be compared. By voting for the Clinton-Gore ticket, he said in Cleve-

land, "You can honor the commitment to the future of John Kennedy."

Indeed, Kennedy allusions abounded throughout the day. In Philadelphia, Democratic Sen. Harris Wofford recalled seeing off then-Sen. Kennedy on the day before his election in 1960. And in St. Louis, senatorial candidate Geri Rothman-Serot compared the idealism of the Kennedy administration with what she expected in a Clinton administration.

Push to Get Out the Vote

The cross-country romp was meant to bolster one of the largest and most sophisticated get-out-the-vote efforts ever attempted by the Democrats. Clinton staffers estimate that 250,000 people will be working today, often with the help of computer printouts, to target Clinton voters and get them to the polls. "The machine is locked and loaded," said Clinton staffer Bob Boorstin.

Part of that effort will be joint projects with other Democratic candidates. Mr. Clinton worked to augment that so-called coordinated campaign yesterday by sharing his stage with eager Democrats running for Congress, and asking voters to cast their ballots for them, including challenger Lynn Yeakel in Pennsylvania and embattled Ohio incumbent John Glenn.

The official word from the campaign was that Mr. Clinton was "nervous." But the mood among his aides was relaxed and even buoyant. The day's schedule betrayed some of the optimism. For example, two stops were slated for Texas, a state that has long been Republican territory but has lately been considered a tossup. Mr. Clinton insisted on the visits, asserting that his instinct said the time had come for a Democrat to carry that state.

And so Mr. Clinton soldiered on, keeping his eye, no matter how bleary, on the prize. In Detroit he exhorted voters to turn out by saying, "This is a big election, folks; it will chart the future of this country well into the next century." In St. Louis, voters greeted him with chants of "One more day! One more day!" And in Philadelphia, the usually tardy Mr. Clinton admonished others to try to stay on schedule. "Two minutes each," he demanded of those on stage with him, and, miraculously, kept his own speech not a single second longer.



Bill Clinton

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

Arkansas Sax Man Threatens Future of

By PETER CARLIN

Here's another reason I support Bill Clinton: If the governor of Arkansas gets elected president, I won't have to listen to The Doors anymore.

Or The Rolling Stones. Or the Grateful Dead, Fleetwood Mac or Pink Floyd. Finally, all those ancient hits that blare from my car radio will be retired from heavy rotation. I'm not saying this because I fear the wrath of Tipper Gore's censorious Parents' Music Resource Center. On the contrary, a win for Clinton and Al Gore will drive a stake through the heart of classic rock for the opposite reason: because they like it.

Boy, do they ever. Clinton, whose resemblance to Elvis Presley has already been noted by other observers of the rock/politics nexus, started his electoral surge in June by taking his sax to "The Arsenio Hall Show" and honking a passable "Heartbreak Hotel." His campaign theme song is Fleetwood Mac's mid-'70s hit "Don't Stop." Gore campaigns to Paul Simon's bouncy "You Can Call Me Al."

(The song is just six years old, but Simon, who first hit the charts when Eisenhower was president, is past 50.) Gore has worked references to songs by Dire Straits into his stump speeches, while his wife revises her public image as a free-lance censor by pointing out that she once slapped the skins in a band called the Wildcats and now owns a CD version of the Grateful Dead's "Europe '72" album.

I keep expecting the Clinton/Gore caravan to hit town blaring The Who's psychedelic anthem "Magic Bus."

The Clinton White House will be a rock 'n' roll White House. This may be a tad disconcerting, but it's hardly surprising. Clinton, after all, was born two years after Jim Morrison, the Lizard King. He grew up with rock, and like the rest of his generation he remains entranced by the music of his youth. Thanks to his generation's demographic dominance, The Doors, the Stones and the Dead still blare from the radio and video waves. What Clinton doesn't know, however, is that presidential approval of his rock heroes will serve only to finish them off.

It's a generally unrecognized rule of nature that the White House affects rock 'n' roll. Everyone knows that America's Beatlemania began when John F. Kennedy was assassinated. After losing a youthful president, the nation craved youth and energy. Since then I've always looked to the White House as a beacon for rock trends. I noticed that Richard Nixon's election under a law-and-order banner in 1968 precipitated a sudden escalation of rock 'n' roll radicalism.

"We want the world," Jim Morrison belted, "and we want it now!"

But rock grew more mainstream in the '70s, and by 1976 Jimmy Carter was quoting Bob Dylan in his campaign speeches. Carter's election — with the support of the rock industry, if not Dylan himself — established rock's place as a big business with



Rock Giants

influence in the national power structure. Noting this, an army of punk rockers rose to challenge their elders in the late '70s, but their mission was cut short. By Ronald Reagan, of all people.



Reagan yearned for a simpler, old-fashioned America, but I doubt he guessed his version of old-fashioned America would include the Lizard King. Still, the popular landslide that swept Reagan into office that November tumbled Jim Morrison along too.

In a nation hungry for the past, a repackaging of decade-old Doors songs soared into the top 10, the Morrison revival triggered a boom in classic rock, and from that moment America has never stopped looking back.

Reagan and Vice President George Bush both loved to condemn the '60s counterculture, so naturally the echoes of that bygone era grew louder with each presidential condemnation. By 1985 the radio dial and the concert stages seemed stuck in 1969. The Who came back. The Dead never went away, and neither did the Stones. Now it's 1992 and Bush is still complaining about the '60s — at least Clinton's role in them — and his distaste lends a youthful sheen to even the craggiest '60s dinosaur. As long as the president hates them, they must still be relevant, even on the edge, right?

Not for long. As Al Gore might say, it's time for a change. It's time for them to go. Do you realize that when Clinton takes the oath of office on Jan. 20, Mick Jagger will be older than the president of the United States? And that if they had attended the same high school, Jerry Garcia would have graduated before Clinton even had a chance to run for freshman-class president?

How can the new generation of high school students identify with the rebellion of musicians who are older and grayer than the highest authority figure in the nation?

They can't. They won't. Starting in 1993, rock 'n' roll will finally return to the hands of the kids. Classic rock will live on, I'm sure, but not in the halls of your local high school. From now on it'll be where any middle-aged art form belongs: in the casino showrooms, in the supper clubs of the 21st century.

Bill Clinton is going to be president. The rock 'n' roll generation is now in charge. You say you want a revolution? Write your congressperson.

Mr. Carlin is a free-lance writer based in Portland, Ore.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

The Economy According to Joyce

Nearly half a century ago James Joyce completed his epic "Finnegans Wake." The experimental novel, replete with pun-filled and invented language, presented the world from the point of view of a sleeping Irish barkeeper. Below, Robert J. Barbera, chief economist and a managing director at Lehman Bros., tries his hand at a modern-day look at the economy in the style of the master:

moneyrun, past ease and add'em, from splurge at store to lend at bank, brings us by a commodius vicus of reliquification to White House and Environs.

Sir Grnspnsham had as passenger North Armorica, where he'd wielded his preciprice war and promised gorgeous-growthstreams; not yet though venissoon



Joyce Contemplates the Numbers

after, then had a deerscad of a clintonlad claim Dem's efforts were worth more than twobushes. The consequent fall of a once grand oldpa is retaled herein, amid a vision thing or two, by recounting the old electioneer parable.

The Death of the GOPse And the Debt Gripes

Eighties was a place and a creditwide place it was ere ruled a GOPse. His onesomeness was alltomanly, archand-posing, ovaloffice, and a GOPse he would a photop go (my heli!cried Giorgio Ronaldo). so one latesummer evening, after absorbing great credit amid his good supper of commies and irakish, having flattend the reds, freed the thrifths, defeated the Dukes of Kakis, and saddamized the desert storms, he put on his impermeable, seized his impugnable, harped on his crown stepped out of his immobile Chey Maison Blanco and set off for mainstreet to see

how gladness was gladness in the splashiest of all expensible ways.

As he set off with his father's sword, his Raygun raisondettra, he clanked to my clinking, from Veepee to buck stop, every inch of a twelve-year incumbent.

But no sooner did he come upon the bridge between memoriamalls and shopping spreadom, then was he dumbfounded as he gazed upon the most unconscionably dead in the water spending stream he ever locked eyes with. It trickled down little and it flowed less and it acted narrow and it rose showshallow. And as it limped it wafted in creeky creepy voice: my my my!me and me!Little lift here I won't carry thee!

And Dem's declare, what was there weighing on yonder banks of the stagnant stream that would be a recovery but the debt gripes. In all his specious heavings, as be levered by optimist maximus, the GOPse had never seen his dumbville spenders-on-low so nigh to an election.

Good day to you, sir GOPse! Squeezed the gripes in a debt laden line. Pin no hopes on rising currents if you please. For I am obliged to weigh heavy, and whine for a lot more than you give me credit for.

Rates! Bullowed the GOPse, as he lowered the fundsboomer time and again. Blast yourself and your interest in payments. Excite yourself upon my new world order. Cry me a rivcovery if you pull ease. Gripes however would have none of it. But you kind sour are indebted to US. And I regret to proclaim that US liabilities assure you'll miss liftoff by inches. And of course the sad truth was that with such a thrust of an argument there was simply no room for leverage. For you cannot quake a milkenedhouse out of a lent ear.

Twas true, gripes had come to bury Caesar not appraise him. And as the year rolled by the gripes held tight despite cashcading all the time, the short interest slide and ride rated wildest ever wielded. At last in desperation our August GOPse tried breaking with convention and employed his subjects to look beyond their gripes: the new world's taken order, forget what's owed and let my tenure flow. Only after your nomember, delevered the gripes! And the gripes not the GOPse made good on his delivery. For twasnt till nomember GOPse greeped silently, no charge, away.

All me life I have lived above them, but now they loath me. I was kind and gentle when I came into view. I could of stayed up there forever. Only. Its

something fails us. First we run. Then we fall. . . .

Yes! and then the gripes, too, began to lose its grip, and slip, and soon the banks were awash in new greenery, amid a lifting of gloom to glidder times.

And thus it was, eversolate but ever so visible, with banks over brimming in cash, grand oldpa gone, and a newly minted clint in everyone's eyes, we arrived at the sight of salvXLration. Too late for bushes, but bursting dollops from its banks nonetheless.

Yes! Quitealive, yes. There's where. We pass through cash, we're flush, then, whush! A glow, wow. Far calls. Coming far. US then. A rise again! Awakened too. A way a loan at last a lift a long the

—New York, Nantucket, Greenwich, 1992.

Job Worries: Nervous Vigil At White House

By JOHN PODHORETZ

"Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad," Euripedes said. Since the gods have been driving everybody in the Bush White House insane in recent weeks, it seems a fair bet that the Bush presidency will be destroyed when the election results are counted tonight.

That seems to be the overwhelming consensus of White House staffers. They have come to this sorry pass after working 90 hours a week at low pay for the privilege of spending their days at the center of the known universe.

You used to see them — young, attractive, strangely innocent — walking purposefully, cockily, through the corridors of the Old Executive Office Building across the way from the White House proper. They would rush past the huge wooden doors, their heels echoing on the black-and-white tile, and stride confidently into offices where they were expected to plan policy, consort with Congress, write speeches, and return 50 to 100 calls a day.

The cockiness is gone. For the past three weeks, the staffers have clustered together at the foot of the building's eight semi-circular staircases, sharing an emotional roller-coaster ride that reached its apparent end on Sunday when the polls turned decisively against the president.

Just a few days earlier, the same staffers were uncontrollably excited when a CNN poll suddenly made it look like Mr. Bush was staging a dramatic comeback. In the passageway to the White House Mess, a dozen conversations converged on the same two words: "Two points . . . we're down two points . . . tracking poll . . . likely voters. . . ." People waved to each other, exchanged hearty handshakes as if it were Sunday after church.

Hysterical rumors about disarray in the enemy camp flew, too: Mr. Clinton's in a rage. Bill and Hillary aren't talking. Chelsea and Bill aren't talking. James Carville is having a nervous breakdown. And what was the story with that reporter who was pulled off the Clinton campaign because she was getting too, shall we say, buddy-buddy with the candidate?

WALL STREET JOURNAL

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

As quickly as the surge of enthusiasm came, it vanished. The weekend talking heads — from "Washington Week in Review" to the "McLaughlin Group" — almost unanimously predicted a Clinton win. Friday, the polls began to widen again, and the spread grew and grew over the weekend. Nearly everyone in the White House came down with the flu.

Long before that, the White House complex seemed to be suffering from a bizarre variant of "sick building syndrome." Signs of manic-depressive behavior first surfaced after the vice presidential debate 21 days ago.

The White House staff had been plodding along in a trough, preparing for defeat, since Labor Day. The president's inability to rise above 30% in the polls had led some to wonder whether a Clinton presidency would be as significant a shift away from the 1980s as the Reagan presidency had been from the 1960s. "In 1980, you had the election of Reagan and then, a month later, the assassination of John Lennon," said one mordant staffer. "Now you have simultaneously a Clinton election and the exonerated of Alger Hiss."

Mr. Bush did nothing to dissipate the bleak mood with his indifferent performance in the first debate. The staff was driven to distraction by James Baker's statement on CNN afterward that, if Mr. Bush lost, you couldn't blame him because he wasn't the campaign manager. Several senior staffers even used the word "disturbing" to describe Mr. Baker's performance. (The invisible Mr. Baker has done nothing since to assuage them.)

The maddening upswing began when, two days later, Dan Quayle went after Al Gore with a galvanizing ferocity. A couple of hundred staffers went to the South Lawn of the White House to welcome Mr. Quayle — who is not especially beloved by the Bushies populating the place — as a conquering hero when he arrived by helicopter the afternoon after the debate. Mr. Quayle was showing the way.

Twenty-four hours later, however, it was time to take some lithium. Mr. Bush's disconnection in the second debate horrified his people, like a car wreck as seen from the passenger seat. Staffers from four different White House offices, watching the debate together, found it nearly impossible to sit still. They got up in the middle of it, looked out the window, thumbed through a book, gazed at the ceiling. They muttered imprecations against Dick Darman and his factoid-heavy briefing book that had Mr. Bush talking Beltway-speak about tax credits and penny-ante initiatives.

And they took a quick journey from the genuine fondness they felt toward Mr. Bush to anger at how he seemed to be sinking the ship with them still on it. "He deserves to lose," said an otherwise loyal young assistant who has risen quickly in the Bush ranks.

The gods were not through with them yet. Four days later, Mr. Bush came alive in the final debates and again the prospect of pulling the election out seemed plausible. He was doing better on the campaign trail, and the polls were closing.

By Friday, the mood fluctuations were out of control. Eleven-thirty: Mr. Bush remains close in CNN's tracking poll. Up. Four o'clock: The new Weinberger indictment features a troubling arms-for-hostages note about Mr. Bush. Down. Way down. People are getting dizzy, exhausted. "I wish I could just go into a coma and wake up Wednesday, when it's over," said one spent staffer.

She didn't get her wish, but it will be over in a matter of hours now. The first and most overpowering emotion of the White House staffers will be relief. Then they may have to consider a future in Bill Clinton's Washington, where Republicans will have as much cachet as an Albanian finance minister.

Mr. Podhoretz, a visiting fellow at the Hudson Institute, is writing a book about the Bush White House.

Don't Sell America Short

What a downer. If the general drift of sentiment is to be believed, Americans are dragging themselves to the polls today, their pride bedraggled, their hope in tatters. "We can do better," said the plaintive voice from Arkansas. "Yes, these are hard times," said the perplexed President. "We'll end up a nation of chicken pluckers," warned Jeremiah of Texas. Can it be so bad?

Not really. For instance, real GDP in the just-completed third quarter was nearly 30% higher than in the fourth quarter of 1980; a lot of people have still been working very hard the past 12 years. More promising, the Journal yesterday reported a long-awaited upsurge in business start-ups. Compared with a one-year peak in 1986 of 703,000 incorporations, the first half of this year produced 344,800 new businesses. Bank lending is also up slightly, after a 10-month decline.

Still, there's no denying the glum tenor of our just completed campaign. But is pessimism really what we see? We suspect that if you look closely at the electorate what you'll find is not so much pessimism or doubt about the American prospect, but impatience.

Impatience that *they*, the American voters, are ready and able to assume the responsibilities of leadership that wealth and size necessarily confer upon the United States. But America's elites, the normal repositories of that leadership, seem oddly incapable at this time of devising a clear plan for the way forward, in our domestic or foreign affairs.

In this respect, Mr. Bush is not alone. Yesterday, the board of directors of the world's largest corporation, General Motors, lost patience with its corporate leadership and threw much of it overboard, starting with the chairman. Congress, controlled by Democrats, carps but doesn't lead; voters will likely punish a good many incumbents. The Mayor of riot-torn Los Angeles will not be running for office again.

Why, the voters seem to be asking themselves, has this leadership vacuum been happening to us just when we were poised to make good on our sacrifices and our investments?

The sacrifice has been the public's largely quiet acceptance of the often painful rationalization process that now makes much of American business well prepared to compete globally. Those exports numbers the President keeps citing are real; ask the Governors of Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Arizona and Texas.

Many of these products have grown from corporate seeds planted in the

dynamism of the economically robust decade of the '80s: innovations in financial and administrative services, telecommunications, high-tech agriculture, the myriad products and services running off the microchip.

The brains, instincts and beliefs that made those successes possible are still very much alive in America. From 1988 onward, for example, voters have repeatedly supported free-trade candidates over protectionist demagogues. Having made the tough decisions at no small cost, Americans are now impatient for the payoff. (This rebirth of energy, incidentally, was to be the purpose of the capital-gains tax cut, but George Mitchell smothered that with the "fairness" pillow.)

The payoff for accepting these hard decisions, of course, requires a growing world economy. The world may well be enduring a general asset deflation, but any serious consideration of general political conditions inside the three leading economies of America, Germany and Japan leads to the conclusion that only the U.S. is capable of leading growth upward again. Beyond that there are Russia and China, two vast nations that deserve close attention from a superpower. Seen clearly, these are not burdens for America but opportunities for leadership into the next century.

Domestically as well, we do not see ennui but a kind of anxious, intense energy. The widely remarked-upon public interest in this campaign, with unprecedented millions tuning in for the debates, suggests a public desperate to get to work on its future. To cite one example, the ferment over the condition of the schools reflects acute public understanding of education's role in America's success. Put more bluntly, the kids aren't stupid, but the schools' leadership has been. The likely success of the term-limits initiatives will also be the work of an American public that refuses to let its key civic institutions become moribund.

The American presidency is undeniably a position of great power, but it is possible that in the highly watched "talk-show" campaign of 1992, we are experiencing a rearrangement in the locus of power. It may turn out that whoever sits now in the Oval Office will have his hands full merely trying to keep pace with the American electorate. We doubt that the recent pessimism will ultimately prevail in this historically upbeat, can-do Republic. It isn't clear who first said, "Don't sell America short," but we have no doubt that it remains a strong strain of the spirit in which voters go to the polling booths today.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1992

We Need a Foreign Policy President

By KAREN ELLIOTT HOUSE

Like an embarrassing, alcoholic uncle at some family gathering, foreign policy has been confined to the closet during the course of the 1992 presidential campaign. But, as the campaign closes, foreign policy seems certain to stumble out of the closet, causing stress and distress in the next presidential term.

During the long campaign, the words "foreign policy" barely passed the lips of presidential contenders. But whoever is elected president tonight is likely to face many of his earliest and largest challenges from abroad. The post-Cold War world is less threatening only in the simplistic sense that superpower confrontation, for the time being, is a thing of the past.

The Cold War was like a protracted Super Bowl, replete with violence, emotionalism, and exceedingly high stakes, but played out under a set of ground rules largely accepted by both participants. By contrast, the era we are entering will bear more resemblance to the Roller Derby, with many reckless competitors careering about with little regard for any rules of the game or results of their actions. While America may not want to play in this arena, self-interest and self-protection inevitably will force the U.S. to impose some order on at least the most reckless participants.

Defining Issues

This certainly isn't the first presidential campaign waged almost entirely on differing domestic agendas. If Gov. Bill Clinton wins, he will be the third governor in 16 years to be elected president with little foreign policy experience — or expressed interest. Both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan ran primarily as domestic problem-solvers, not exponents of America's global role. Yet, arguably, the defining issues and major accomplishments of both presidencies were in foreign affairs. In Mr. Carter's term, it was the humiliation of Iran hostages and the triumph of a Mideast peace. In Mr. Reagan's terms it was waging the final quarter of the Cold War and presiding over the start of the collapse of communism.

Presidents are drawn to international issues for several obvious reasons. First, these issues often emerge as sudden "crises" that present an immediacy absent in even the most serious domestic issues. Second, presidents find they have more independence and authority in dealing with international issues than with domestic ones. Third, presidents who play to the grandstand of history (and they all do) find the more lasting legacies are in foreign affairs. Finally, even a president seeking to fix domestic economic problems faces the reality in the '90s that currencies, capital and companies are global.

The former Soviet Union has to head any list of topics the next president must address. Its vast arsenals of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, once in the hands of a largely predictable Politburo, are now spread across at least four new, unstable republics under the control (if indeed that word applies) of men we hardly know and minds we barely understand. One prospect is that these impoverished republics will rapidly tire of begging for Western assistance and rationally conclude, as one Asian leader puts it, that "being an extortionist is more profitable than being a supplicant."

A second prospect, which many fear is already beginning, is that Soviet weapons of mass destruction will be sold surrepti-

tiously to an assortment of Third World despots and zealots. To cite one example of this problem, a German company is preparing to destroy some 7,000 tons of chemical weapons stored at only one Russian site. The task is expected to consume more than a decade, and those undertaking it are dubious these weapons will remain under anyone's control long enough to make a significant start on the project.

Biological weapons are an even greater threat. It's precisely this kind of issue, unmentioned in the campaign, that is likely to emerge as a more immediate "environmental" priority than rain forests, auto emissions, or spotted owls. To compound matters, the next administration can't assume it will continue dealing with embattled Boris Yeltsin.

If the former Soviet Union is an empire in disintegration, China is a society in the throes of economic change, political inde-

The largest, albeit not most immediate, challenge facing a new president may well be Japan, though ironically not for the reason discussed in the campaign (Japan's economic might).

cision and generational transition. The country seeks to modernize and thus liberalize its economy without significantly loosening a repressive political system. Achieving this hat trick is unlikely. The ruling gerontocracy, led by Deng Xiaoping, 88, will disappear during the next U.S. administration. It's unclear who will succeed to power and how far their power will extend over a nation already devolving into deeply dissimilar components ranging from boom regions in Southern China to primitive provinces in the communist heartland.

An American president concerned about bringing together components of his own society is likely to have to deal with instability caused by far greater disunity in a country halfway around the world. An immediate test for Mr. Clinton would be extension of "Most Favored Nation" trade status for China. This issue would test whether he follows his predecessors in placing economic relations with China (and the presumed political stability that this encourages) ahead of "human rights." A far more significant issue is the degree to which China is modernizing its military and becoming a major source of sophisticated weaponry to Third World markets.

One of those boom markets is the Mideast, where the one predictability is unpredictability. There the Bush administration has seized the opening created by the Gulf war for the best chance at a comprehensive Middle East peace in recent history. Palestinians, largely bereft of radical supporters like Iraq and Syria, are for the first time negotiating with Israelis. Israel's new far-sighted government is willing to negotiate a territorial compromise because it doesn't view the disputed West Bank of the Jordan River as land given Israel by God.

A second Bush administration would have an obvious incentive to continue this process. A Clinton administration initially might see less urgency but would be likely

to conclude quickly that the alternative—renewed hostilities—is real enough to force these talks to the top of its agenda.

Looming over all this is the re-emergence of Iran, a regional power rapidly increasing its military might while retaining its fervent, fundamentalist ideology. While America's focus has been on Iraq, Iran has built long-range ballistic missiles with Chinese help, purchased a Chinese nuclear reactor that experts believe could produce weapons material, and is widely believed to be producing chemical weapons. Iran's designs clearly remain the expansion of Islamic fundamentalism, with formerly Soviet Central Asia an active target of its ambition.

Iran is indicative of a larger problem. As the world's traditional powers cut defense spending, the most unstable, isolated and angry nations — Iran, North Korea, Iraq, Syria — are assiduously seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction. This asymmetry seems certain to haunt the next U.S. president.

Another looming risk is black-white conflict in South Africa. For now, black and white leaders talk while black citizens kill one another. While that's bad, it hasn't yet induced U.S. involvement. That likely wouldn't be so if carnage becomes white vs. black. For a president dedicated to reducing racial tensions at home, being sucked into such a conflict abroad would be a nightmare.

The next president will hope that European allies help cope with global challenges, but that desire will prove largely a delusion. Only a few years ago, Western Europe seemed genuinely to be unifying. But Europe now is once again trapped in its own history of suspicion, rivalry and disunity. Anyone hoping for European leadership need only look to Yugoslavia for a cold dose of reality.

Unforgiving Neighbors

The largest, albeit not most immediate, challenge facing a new president may well be Japan, though ironically not for the reason discussed in the campaign (Japan's economic might). Rather, the challenge will ensue from Japan's political insecurity and the risk that stalled economic expansion will exacerbate that insecurity to the point where Japan seeks confidence and recourse in expanded military might. Already Japanese privately talk about military "needs" — a topic unmentionable five years ago. They do so with some perceived logic.

Japan's neighbors remain unforgiving of its wartime actions 50 years ago. Meanwhile, Japan sees the well-armed Koreans pursuing reunification, China massively modernizing its military, Russia in disarray and the U.S. reducing its military presence in Asia. None of this seems alarming to Americans, but it does to many Japanese. In this context, tougher U.S. trade policies against Japan, however justifiable on economic grounds, will be seen there as further evidence of an unreasonable and threatening world.

Whoever inhabits the White House for the next four years will—and should—be a "foreign policy" president. The success of that presidency in large part will be measured by his handling of the challenges that confront him from beyond America's borders.

Ms. House is vice president, international, of Dow Jones.



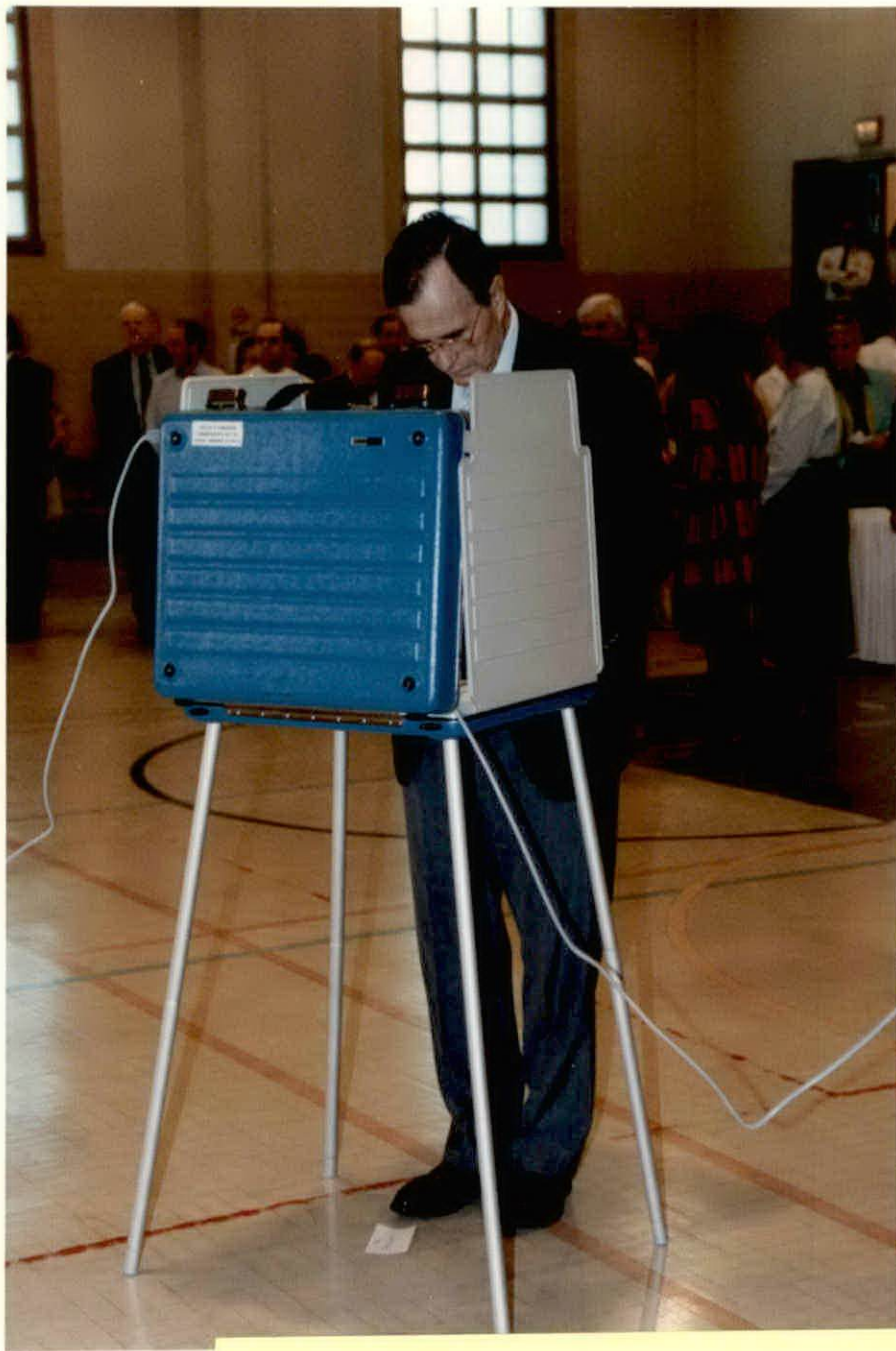
*After concession speech
Houston Texas*

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Concession phone call to
Clinton





Voting
Houston Texas



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